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*By Raya  
Dunayevskaya*

"Mankind has evidently reached the end of something, when the richest and most powerful military might on earth shouts not about its production, affluence, or nuclear gigantism, but about the 'strange spirit of malaise throughout the land.' This is not all due to 'spirit.' It has deep economic roots: whether one looks at the money crisis . . . unemployment . . . ceaseless militarization and nuclear gigantism . . . the depth of poverty in the midst of affluence . . . reaching the barren moon or the hollowness of America's so-called democracy. But the overwhelming fact is that the U.S.'s GNP hitting the trillion-dollar mark, far from winning the battle for the minds of men, lost not only the battle but its mind, its spirit." —p. 288

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## WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Production workers at Chrysler plants were yelling when they heard that Ford workers had rejected the UAW contract with Ford Motor Company, especially the overtime provision. Some are saying that it is the worst contract ever negotiated for workers.

The biggest lie the labor bureaucrats ever told was when they said production workers voted some three to one in favor of the contract. No production worker believes this. In fact, they all know better—nobody that you talk to accepts the overtime provision.

In many Chrysler plants the schedules are from ten to twelve hours a shift, and the starting time on some jobs is as early as 4 a.m. All this started after we ratified the contract for a nine-hour day, six-day week, which won't go into effect until January, 1974.

### SKILLED TRADES VETO

A few years ago, when the UAW was having serious problems selling contracts to production workers, and knowing we were in the great majority, the brains over at Solidarity House amended the constitution so that skilled workers could override the production workers' votes on the contract. They are the union's elite workers, and their wages were so much higher than ours that it was much easier to please skilled trades workers. So they got veto power over production workers.

But all this damn overtime is wrecking their lives too, making them a cog in the machines. Now Woodcock, acting like Tricky Dick, is saying the skilled tradesmen's

10¢

# NEWS

# LETTERS

*'Human Power is its own end'*

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DECEMBER, 1973

## THE U. S., GLOBAL POLITICS AND THE MIDEAST WAR

By Raya Dunayevskaya

National Chairwoman, News & Letters Committees  
At prime time, on Nov. 25, the President took to the TV and air waves to tell us about the energy crisis. As if reducing house and office temperatures to 68 degrees and auto speed to 50 miles an hour would solve the crisis which caused him to create still one more bureaucracy, the Energy Emergency Action Group, the overconfident but distraught Mr. Nixon unfolded still another fairy tale: by the end of the decade the

U.S. would be so totally self-sufficient in energy that we would be independent of any other land, the Middle East—or whatever!

The gilding of the lily for the 1980s hid from us that this Administration is doing nothing whatever "to discipline" the oil monopolies, although it is they who are neither producing enough oil nor in any way "disciplining" the oil kingdoms, sheikdoms and emirates who are so totally dependent on the know-how and technology of "the seven sisters" (BP, Shell, Jersey or Exxon, Stancal or Chevron, Texaco, Gulf and Mobil).

### WHAT NIXON DIDN'T TELL US

That was not all that we did not hear about in Nixon's hurried 15-minute address. Not one word was uttered about the Middle East war and the total disarray this has caused among the West European powers plus Japan—all U.S. allies.

The wolf-eat-wolf policy is practiced not because they have much interest in either side of the Arab-Israeli war, but because the question of oil is as potent a weapon and impotent a political principle as ever was Munich.

Most deceptive of all was the silence about the one simple and overriding truth that faces us: a recession, a deep one. No serious economist now denies that unemployment, far from receding, will reach unsatisfactory levels in 1974. The average, by spring, may reach eight percent—and that never fails to mean that for Blacks it is unbearably twice that high.

To get to the depth of the crisis we have to turn away from Nixon's lollipop chat about no lighting for the Christmas trees and turn to the myriad contradictions in U.S. relations with the Mideast, with West Europe, with Japan, with the world, especially Russia.

### THE NEW ANTI-RUSSIAN STANCE

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's whirlwind "peace tour" through the Middle East ended in, of all places, Peking, and there on Nov. 14 achieved a totally new set of relations. To the surprise even of Kissinger, he was presented that morning with a change in the paragraph from the joint communique with Nixon in 1972. In place of the 1972 communique making Taiwan the crucial question obstructing "normalization" between China and the U.S., the 1973 paragraph limited itself to affirming "the principle of one China."

Even before the moment, on Nov. 11, when Chou greeted Kissinger as "the Mideast cyclone," it was clear that the Mideast war had brought U.S.-China relations to a sort of joint anti-Russian stage.

For one thing, China had not used its veto power against the U.S.-Russia sponsored cease-fire resolution in the Mideast. Secondly, and crucially, it was not Russia's sponsorship that kept China from using its veto power. Rather, it was China's appreciation of the new U.S. anti-Russian stance.

When Russia threatened to enter the Mideast imbroglio, America called a world alert. As against West Europe that refused to let the U.S. use its ports or air space, China declared that the U.S. had to do so "to forestall the Soviet Union from sending troops uni-

(Continued on Page 5)



—Angela Terrano

Kissinger's trump card: The threat of Russian presence in the Middle East. (See lead article)

## UAW vetoes the veto

rejection does not nullify the production workers' ratification. Some of us feel that in the not too distant future they will get a contract and just say, here it is, you can vote on it. But if it is rejected by production and skilled workers, too bad. It is all you are going to get.

We once had voluntary overtime in the UAW. Everything over eight hours, and over five days a week was voluntary overtime. Workers fought for an eight-hour day from the very beginning of labor struggles in this country, and achieved it, especially in the mines and steel mills, and in the auto shops when the UAW was first organized. All local unions held a position against any overtime work, and discouraged it among their members.

Now our International leaders are calling for nine hours a day, six days a week, which is 54 hours. Then if a worker puts in more hours after that it is supposed to be voluntary overtime.

I was talking to a former president of a UAW local in Detroit, a Black man, who had recently been defeated for re-election. A worker asked, how was it possible that you lost to a white skilled worker with only 10 years' seniority, and your plant is 80-85 percent Black workers, and you also support the Woodcock slate.

### MEN IN THE MIDDLE

He said it was because there is absolutely nothing local union officers can do for workers, except fight against them when they try to solve their own justified grievances. Everything has to come from or be approved

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## ON THE INSIDE

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## Historic continuity and new forces

# Report on special convention of News & Letters Committees

Detroit, Mich. — The special convention of News & Letters Committees—called to amend the constitution which had been adopted at their founding convention in July, 1956—brought together, on Oct. 20-21, committee members and friends from all over the country, including activists in the Black movement, Women's Liberation, the amnesty movement, United Farm Workers, and rank and file workers.

The central purpose for calling the special convention was to include in the constitution a paragraph to spell out a recognition that the unity of philosophy and revolution is both the need and the characteristic of our age; and that we are articulating "philosophy and revolution as organization builder" in place of "the party to lead."

### PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

The paragraph the convention voted to add came directly after the paragraph that had been included in the original constitution when News & Letters and Marxism and Freedom were named as our indivisible foundation:

"Heretofore, American radical groups have failed to establish the theory of Marxism on native grounds despite (1) the great traditions of the Abolitionist movement whose aims and activity paralleled that of Karl Marx and the Workingmen's First International that came to the aid of the North in the Civil War; and (2) the historic contributions the struggle for the 8-hour day by the American workers made to Marx's thinking, specifically to the structure of his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*. We have therefore undertaken to set forth our own interpretation, in book form, *Marxism and Freedom* . . . from 1776 until today has accomplished this task by: (1) establishing the American roots of Marxism; (2) presenting a comprehensive attack on present-day Communism, which is, in truth, a form of state capitalism; (3) re-establishing Marxism in its original form of 'a thorough-going Naturalism or Humanism'; and (4) pointing to the new Humanist philosophy of the working-class in this period of Automation as expressed in their actions, and in their own words through News & Letters."

To this we now added:

"What *Marxism and Freedom*, with its dialectical form of presentation of history and theory as emanating from the movement from practice did was to lay the foundation for the articulation of the unity of philosophy and revolution. *Philosophy and Revolution*, in articulating the integrity of philosophy and revolution as the characteristic of the age, and tracing it through historically, caught the link of continuity with the Humanism of Marx, that philosophy of liberation which merges the dialectics of elemental revolt and its Reason. The new historic passions and forces set in motion in the 1950s gave birth to a new generation of revolutionaries in the 1960s, and in the 1970s have put a mark of urgency on the need of integrity also of philosophy and organization. As against 'the party to lead' concept, such integrity of dialectics and organization reflects the revolutionary maturity of the age and its passion for a philosophy of liberation."

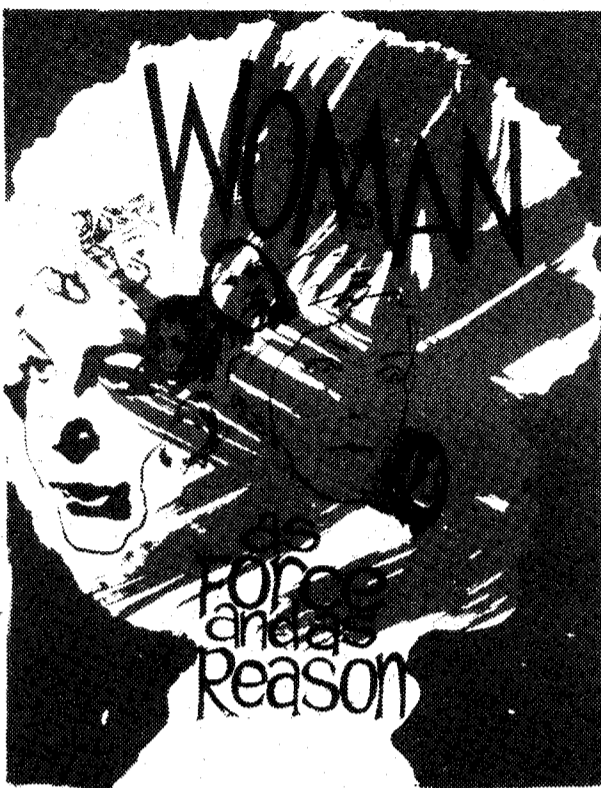
"*Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution* are our theoretical foundations. However, they are not a 'program.' They are a contribution to the theoretical preparation for revolution without which no revolutionary organization or grouping can match the challenge of our era."

### FORCES OF REVOLUTION

From our birth in 1955, the ground of our existence was the unity of a workers' paper—News & Letters, edited by a production worker—and the theoretical expression of Marxism for our day—Marxist-Humanism. The very first issue of News & Letters was published in honor of the second anniversary of the East German revolt of June 17, 1953. What was new by 1973 was that the movement from practice had itself become a form of theory; and that "the new passions and forces" which had been named in the 1956 constitution had been made concrete by the workers, the Black dimension, the youth, and women. Representatives of all these forces were present at the convention in person, and discussed all questions — from sexism to sensitivity to language — with great feeling.

The youth who had been biting referred to by others as the "beat generation" during the McCarthyite '50s, had nevertheless been singled out in the N&L constitution: "We recognize that even though the youth are not directly involved in production, they are the ones whose idealism in the finest sense of the word combines with opposition to existing adult society in so unique a way that it literally brings them alongside the workers as builders of the new society." That paragraph was given life by the youth who poured into the civil rights movement of the '60s, the FSM, and the anti-war movement.

The 1956 constitution had similarly singled out



"WOMAN AS FORCE AND AS REASON" — silk screen poster in black, brown, purple and white created for News & Letters by P. Tamura, and displayed at the convention Oct. 20-21. Copies are available from News & Letters for \$5, postage free. Dimensions, 22 by 28 inches.

women — when no women's movement appeared anywhere on the scene — among those forces searching "for totally new relations and for a fundamentally new way of life." It was one of the purposes of this special convention to add to the constitution a paragraph to record the reality of this idea whose time had come: "The rise of Women's Liberation, as a movement, is proof both of the correctness of our having singled out in 1955, women as a revolutionary new force, and of the inseparability of women's liberation as Reason as well as force."

Above all, the Black movement had been singled out in 1956 as a touchstone of American civilization: "We feel that the Negro people occupy a place of special significance in American life. Their struggle for equality and justice, which is taking place every day in every city of the country and increases in tempo and effectiveness, stands in the forefront of the struggle of all oppressed people for full freedom."

Though we had been scoffed at in 1956 for placing the Montgomery Bus boycott against the "American way of life" on the same level as the Hungarian Revolution against Communist totalitarianism, the 1960s had placed the Black Revolution center on the historic stage throughout the world. It was, nevertheless, this very paragraph that brought forth some of the most passionate discussion and controversy at the convention in 1973 — not over its content and direction, but over the use of the word "Negro" as against the present preference for the word, "Black."

The question of language became a discussion of the whole 1960s and reached back to the struggle of the early 20th century to capitalize the word Negro. The dialogue, especially among the Black members and friends, dealt with the question of how you can hold onto the historic roots of the movement and yet bring forth all the new. It was a jamming together of historic continuity with the new passions and forces.

### BLACK DIALOGUE

A WELFARE RIGHTS ACTIVIST from L.A. said: "Back in '56 we were known as Negroes, but we were also Black. When you deal with the word Negro you're dealing with the word Black, so why should it make such a difference if you change the word? It isn't going to change me; it isn't going to change my thoughts. We may be Afro tomorrow. Everytime we decide we want to call ourselves something you can't change the constitution. This is history. I'm new but I feel as much a part of this organization as anyone, and I'm for letting the word Negro stay right where it is."

A WELFARE ACTIVIST from Detroit said: "Ever since 1776 during the American Revolution, the Negro has been discussed in white folks' constitutions. This is the first organization I have joined that the Negro has been allowed to be in the constitution-making. They discussed us from 1860, 1950, 1954, 1968 and here it is

'73 and they're still discussing us. If they had been discussing something else, they would have known that Nixon had the power to fire Archibald Cox last night."

A BLACK STUDENT from Lansing, Mich., spoke about the battle that had been waged to finally get the word Negro capitalized in 1925, but said that since then there have been "monumental struggles made by Black students, Black women, Black men, in order to get not only linguistic recognition but recognition as human beings. We have fought for the past ten years to get that kind of self-recognition and identity. Substituting Black is not catering to a cultural fad, but stresses that Black people do have a right to self-determination."

A BLACK ACTIVIST from Detroit, said he couldn't understand why something so simple to him could seem so difficult to others. The question of whether he was called Black meant a great deal to him. He said: "For the greater part of my life Black has been something that has been crushed. If I live another thousand years I don't think I'll ever overcome it. I can't argue with your historical perspectives. I think they're right. But I try to deal with the here and now, and in the '70s, if you want to attract people like myself, you can't let something inconsequential, that isn't inconsequential, interfere. I'm Black and for a long time was debased by it. Now I'm Black and proud of it. I am not Negro and I don't care historically what it's been before."

A YOUNG BLACK WORKER from New York proposed a change in wording that would keep the historical context of our Constitution by keeping the first sentence of the paragraph that dealt with Negro as force of revolution, and thereafter using the word Black, and supported an earlier suggestion of the Black student to specify that we mean both Black men and women because there is also an important Black Women's liberation struggle.

CHARLES DENBY, the Black worker—editor of News & Letters, recalled that in 1948 when he had first met Raya Dunayevskaya, she had asked him whether he preferred to be called Black or Negro. He was amazed because it was the first time anybody had ever thought to ask him that question, and nobody but the Black nationalists used the word Black. He recalled that the majority at that time preferred to be called Negro, and that light-skinned Blacks would get the hell knocked out of them for calling dark-skinned Negroes "Blacks".

Denby then told of the early struggles in the union to open up restaurants around the shop to Blacks, and contrasted the Southern white worker who had fought side by side with them, though he had been heard to use the word "nigger", to a union official who had never used a word like that in his life, but never did a thing to help the Blacks in their everyday struggles.

But Denby emphasized the importance of being sensitive to those like the Black activist who felt so strongly about using "Black."

### PRACTICING DIALECTICS

The proof that the Convention had, indeed, been "practicing dialectics" was seen in the fact that by the time the discussions had ended, all of the questions were resolved in such a way as to both preserve historic continuity and reflect the reality of today. Proof that it was not merely a "change of words" that was involved, was clear from the fact that the sentence that was added not only introduced the present Black reality into the constitution, but brought in the reality of the American revolution for which the Black masses are the vanguard.

The convention decision was to leave the original paragraph (quoted above) stand exactly as written in 1956, and to add in italics (as all the 1973 amendments were added, to set them off from the original text) the following sentence: "Since the 1960s the Black Revolution is one more proof that Black masses are vanguard in the American revolution." The word Black was then used consistently throughout the rest of the constitution.

Copies of the amended constitution are being run off. Copies of the Perspectives Report, which was given the first day by Raya Dunayevskaya, are already available. (See ad, p. 5)

Local News & Letters Committees can be contacted directly in the following areas:

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## GM South Gate—noise, air, foreman pollution

By Felix Martin

Los Angeles, Cal.—The noise pollution in the plant begins when the whistle blows. All hell breaks loose. The line starts moving, the door bangers begin knocking the doors in, the welding starts the sparks flying, the metal finishers are banging on the side knocking dings out with their hammers, and soon the whole body shop is a roar.

It is all combined, and for the full four hours before lunch, it keeps on in your head. It can drive you nuts. By the time you get used to it, if you ever get used to it, it has destroyed your hearing. I think that is where nature comes in to save you from either going crazy or dying.

### FILTHY AIR IN PLANT

Air pollution comes from grinding, from the smoke of welding and from soldering operations. The solder plating, repair soldering and grinding of solder outside the grind booth all add up. During the day when the sun shines through you can look down through the plant and really see all the filth in the air. Within 24 hours of clean-up, there is a thick layer that settles out.

All this hard work you are doing through line speed-up and the physical effort of the job means that you are breathing more than you would if you were just standing. You can imagine how much of this stuff is going down a person's lungs.

Then there is foreman pollution. In Section 19 there is Zeller. You can call him a racist, an SOB—anything you can call him will cover him. This is the kind of man that each section has, or aims at having. The training comes down from the superintendent to the general foreman to the foreman. That is how all these people have moved up—they have created people like Zeller. These are the only kind of people that can hold that type of job.

### EVERY FOREMAN A ZELLER

Color doesn't matter. We used to think that it would be a good deal when they would have to hire Black foremen. They might be more human. But quick as they get a Black foreman in, they dehumanize him and he becomes a man with Black skin but with what some of the Black workers call a white soul. He is nothing but a Zeller.

Zeller represents every foreman in the plant. You are working on a speeded-up line and you are trying to get your job done, because if you don't, this foreman pollution will come down on you. Here you are breathing all this stuff, you are choking to death, and the foreman comes down on you. This makes you mad and tears you up inside and makes you breathe more.

You get a reprimand, you call your committeeman,

and you are shook up for the rest of the shift. If you are really sick, and everybody gets sick in that plant, you miss a day to kind of keep from dying or going crazy. But if you don't go to a doctor to get a slip, they won't take your word, even though you always have to take their word. This is part of foreman or management pollution. Coupled with the other pollution, it really makes the working conditions inhuman.

## S. F. Sears workers, allies fight to preserve union

San Francisco, Cal.—Despite a pouring rain, 500 trade unionists and community people rallied in support of striking clerks and machinists at Sears in San Francisco. The 400 workers, women and men members of the Department Store Union, Local 1100 and Machinists Union Local 1327, have been on strike since mid-August. They walked off after some 13 months without a contract.

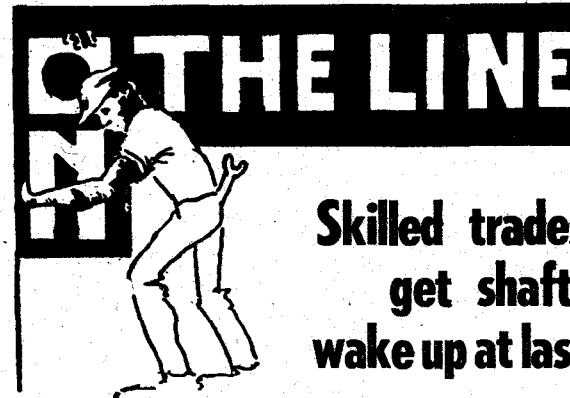
The issues, besides pay, are increased health care including dental, eye and visits to the doctor's office. Sears has refused to negotiate and says the workers must continue with Sears' national group medical which is only hospitalization. Already the Teamsters and the Electrical Workers have settled without the improved medical. But other department store workers in San Francisco, who are unionized, have these benefits.

Workers on the line felt Sears, which is almost completely non-union, is trying to break the gains the union has made in the two San Francisco stores. The union has been at Sears in San Francisco for a long period, but it is an open shop and across the bay Sears is non-union.

One picket noted, "Sears is so big you can't hurt them enough at a couple of stores. They will just write off the losses. What has to be done is change the whole public image of Sears nationwide. They are moving against us because they feel the climate is right. But we are fighting back."

Business may be down as much as 50 percent and few trucks are crossing the lines with goods. Previous to the solidarity demonstration at the Sears store, there was a demonstration at the National Labor Relations Board which has not pushed Sears to negotiate in good faith. "They didn't do anything, but they are Nixon appointments", commented one striker.

—Strike picket



Skilled trades  
get shaft,  
wake up at last

By John Allison

The "capitalists" of the working class, the skilled trades, refused to ratify the national agreement that Woodcock and Bammon negotiated at Ford. They are madder than hell at the union leaders. For years and years, the UAW and the companies have always given the skilled trades more wages and special benefits in the contract than they gave to production workers. This made a great division between the skilled and production workers. Now the skilled trades are on the short end of the contract and they are saying what we have always said.

The skilled trades have always felt that production workers were a drag on them. They always wanted to be separate from us, or even to have their own union. Back in 1966, when the UAW convention was held out in California, they made a lot of talk about joining this International Society of Skilled Trades. So to keep them in the UAW, the leadership gave them practically a veto power over the contract.

Now in the 1973 contract, they got the same wage increase as production, instead of the \$1.00 more they used to get. In the foundry, the production workers get "25 and out," but the skilled trades in the foundry get "30 and out." And they also found this memorandum in the contract that if they refuse overtime on the weekend, the company can bring in production workers to do their job.

The truth is that now the skilled trades are getting messed over the way we have always gotten it. So they are saying, "Together we are strong, separate the company uses one against the other and puts the shaft to both." This is what we have always said, but back then the skilled trades weren't listening to us.

There is so much internal strife in the UAW today, and it is all because of the policies of the leadership. None of them cares anything for what the workingman is saying. It will lead them to their downfall no matter what they say on the TV about how all the problems are resolved.

## Dockers vs. 'walking bosses'

San Francisco, Calif. — There are no favorite stevedoring companies in the eyes of longshoremen; some are just more rotten than others! One of these is Crescent, where we recently had a small example of how these companies earned their reputation.

It was a rainy night at Pier 50D and the ship was docked in such a way that a few of its hatches were adjacent to the protective cargo shed and the rest were beyond it. A dock jitney driver noticed this before we went to work and decided to put together a little protective structure for himself and the hook-on men. He feared that they were going to be assigned to a hatch on the open section of the dock in the rain.

### FOREMAN TOLD OFF

So he asked the Walking Boss (a foreman who is in a separate small union local) what hatch the gang was going to work. This turned out to be "top-secret" information which the Walker said would only be told to the man in charge of the gang.

The docker contemptuously told off the Walker; but the main feature of this little story is the extent these "consenting adults" will go to on their dehumanized course once they become company men with union books. This particular Walker had his tires slashed some time ago but a more likely fate for him is that which befell many of his type in the aftermath of the 1934 strike—they were run off the waterfront and/or simply disappeared.

### BOSSSES NEVER CHANGE

Later that night we talked about the incident. One brother explained away these guys by the big money they make. But another said he had seen the same kind of people in the Depression transient camps of the 1930s where, in return for slave labor, the ordinary worker got only barracks and mess with \$1.00 a week and two sacks of rolling tobacco on Saturdays. On the other hand, the camp administration would suck in a small upper stratum of men to be used against the others by giving them their own table in the mess, a separate barracks, and a pack of ready-made cigarettes a week.

The thinking and exchanging of ideas that takes place on the job are an essential part of the struggle right now, the big fight to come, and contribute to how far we'll go next time in the achievement of genuine human freedom.

—San Francisco Docker

## FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — They have been settling some of the "78s" (speed-up grievances), but for every one they settle there are a lot more that nothing at all is ever done about. Even when they do settle one, they never get the job back like it was. I heard that the company is trying to cut some teams off the cotan top job up on the sixth floor. They should know not to mess with the cotan workers.

The company has put more men in the warehouse since that day when they had to stop production because so many drivers were out sick. So now warehouse workers aren't kept working after the line stops like they were before. But the company has given most of the men who were sick that day time off, some as much as 30 days. These men all had their doctor's slips. The company just worked them until they were too sick to work at all.

Where is the union at Fleetwood? When are they going to settle all the outstanding "78s"? What are they going to do to protect the cotan workers? And, most of all, what are they going to do about getting the suspended warehouse workers their pay for all that time off that GM had no right giving them in the first place?

— Fleetwood Worker

### GM South Gate

Los Angeles, Calif. — On the Sunday before the Monday GM strike deadline, South Gate UAW local 216 leadership ran a union meeting together with the international eps to try and sell us the idea of the mini-strike as the way to fight GM. Over twelve hundred who jammed the meeting hall listened to the sales pitch and then spoke their minds:

Black member, 19 years seniority — "How is it when the cars are selling, GM speeding up the line, creating inhuman working conditions, the international cops nowhere to be found? Then as quick as the sales slow down, creating a stock pile of automobiles for GM, here comes the International calling for a strike. Now they're calling for a two or three day strike. How can this help us? The way I see it GM is the one it will help.

"Whose side is the International on now? The time to

strike GM and Nixon was Sept. 14. If we mean business the Big Three should have been shut down. Now here you are two months later wanting a mini-strike of a day or two against GM. Go back to Detroit and tell Woodcock to close down the Big Three until Nixon closes down his wage board. Then we can deal with the automobile industry.

Woman worker, one year seniority — "I am for a strike when it will benefit workers, but I am against a strike when it will benefit GM at the expense of the workers. Tell Woodcock when he is ready to represent labor we will back him."

Throughout these talks and many others the members were clapping and yelling their support. The leadership tried to answer but had none. Then the leadership rammed through a motion to adjourn without even a vote.

Now we will face another union meeting to sell the contract. But the mini-strike meeting showed how clear is the division between ranks and leaders. The only question is how will the ranks find a way of expressing their opposition to the selling of this new contract.

— South Gate Worker

### Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich. — A Black woman worker was telling me a story she heard from a general foreman about big layoffs coming soon at Mack Avenue. He said it will be the biggest cutback that ever occurred in the plant, and that production will be much higher for those "fortunate" enough to escape the ax.

When she told him she only had five years seniority, he interrupted and said, "Well, I think you will stay. Just try to keep up your work. The first to go will be those trouble-makers and absentees — those who don't report to work every day." Then, he walked away.

She said, "Who does he think I am, expecting me to swallow that crap? Does he want me to run and try to kill myself making his production? When it gets down to getting laid off, I'll be out with the rest of those trouble-makers and absentees he's talking about."

"The company prides itself on dividing workers and using their thoughts and actions against other workers. He sure won't use me to set standards against those who are left in this plant."

— Mack Worker

# Readers' Views

## ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

I am not a Zionist, and I know that Israel is far from being a socialist country. I call Israel a little USA and Golda Meir a hawk. But I am repelled by the various articles some of the so-called "socialist" press carries on the Arab-Israeli conflict. The worst of the lot is the Trotskyist Militant. You cannot escape feeling they would like to organize the Arabs into a fascist mass to destroy Israel in a Hitlerite blood bath. Those articles resemble the writings of Stalin and Hitler, not Marx or Lenin. And not Trotsky's, either.

Ex-Militant-Reader  
Detroit

The U. S. alert has had an effect here because of the readiness of Heath and Douglas-Home to acquiesce in the decision of Nixon. What has been surprising is the apathy shown by the Communist Party, since they know that Britain would be in the war because of the bases here. The Communists and the Tories, while on different sides, don't seem to give a damn about the fate of human beings.

Harry McShane  
Glasgow, Scotland

The overwhelming grimness of the world situation forces refuge in humor. Who ever predicted we'd see a day when an old Jewish babushka would visit Egypt and tell her troops her regret that pressure from the U. S. forced a cease-fire before the enemy army could be annihilated? The word "chutzpah" will have to be scrapped and a new one found that's equal to the enormity of the era.

Reader  
California

One thousand Arab auto workers from Chrysler and Ford plants picketed outside Cobo Hall last month to protest the B'nai Brith award of "Humanitarian of the Year" to UAW President Leonard Woodcock. The demonstration was sponsored by the newly formed Arab Workers Caucus.

The Arab groups at the demonstration stated that their one aim was to publicize the fact that the UAW had recently purchased \$750,000 worth of Israel bonds and that the money had come in part from the pockets of Arab workers. Signs centered on unity with Palestinians, solidarity with Black Liberation struggles in South Africa and of Black workers here in Detroit.

Observer  
Detroit

Many of the signs at the Arab protest of the UAW disturbed me, but the one which had a swastika was frightening! Genocide is no answer. When will we see the day that Arab workers call for unity with oppressed Israeli workers, and vice versa?

Concerned  
Detroit

Could you send me some background material on your position on Israel? I gather that you consider Israel an imperialist country. I am very confused over present events in the Middle East. I notice that the profits of the oil companies are going up, and the U. S. has refused to take any action against the Arab states because of the oil boycott. Besides being cynical about Nixon's nuclear alert, the question remains of the role of the U. S. government and the oil companies in the boycott. Is this the way to curb international trade competition from Europe and Japan, increase profits on oil, and curb all those environmental groups and laws that are trying to limit the options of the companies to pollute?

Concerned  
Connecticut

**Editor's Note:** We are preparing a new pamphlet which will include Raya Dunayevskaya's articles in this and last month's N&L, as well as two Political Letters written in June 1967, and in Feb. 1969 on "Anti-Semitism, Anti-Revolution, Anti-Philosophy." Copies will be 50c.

## BLACK REVOLT

Supporters of Black workers at the P. Lorillard Tobacco Co. in Louisville, Kentucky, have called for a boycott of the company's cigarettes and tobacco. They are demanding the rehiring of seven workers fired last August after a sit-down strike against discrimination in hiring and upgrading. The protest came after both company and union refused to talk with the workers about their grievances. The racial discrimination is tied in with automation — which hit the Black workers first. They are appealing to white workers to see that it will soon affect them, too.

P. Lorillard Company is owned by Loew's Theater Corporation. Lorillard products include Kent, Old Gold, True Green, True Blue, Spring and Newport cigarettes, Beechnut and Big Red Tobacco, and Omega Slims. BTA and ERIC cigars. For more information on the boycott, write:

Concerned Citizens  
651 S. 17th St.  
Louisville, Ky.

It was encouraging to see many of the "Law and Order" candidates defeated in the recent elections. I suppose when you see the nation's number one law 'n order supporter plead guilty to a felony it becomes harder to swallow.

Another encouraging sign was the continued success of Black mayoralty candidates. I can't get carried away by that, however, when I know that Blacks still make up only one percent of the U.S. Senate, three percent of the Congress, two percent of the judges, and less than one-half of one percent of all elected officials in the country. We may have come a long way from just ten years ago when Blacks weren't allowed to vote at all in some parts of the country. But we sure still have a long way to go!

Black Voter  
Georgia

## FAST FOR ATTICA

Last year a group of prisoners at Walpole State Prison in Massachusetts organized a fast of the Christmas dinner as a protest against poverty in America. Over a thousand inmates participated. This year, the inmate union at Walpole has called for a nationwide prisoners' boycott of the Christmas meal in support of the indicted Attica Brothers. They are asking for support in spreading their call:

Two years ago, 1,200 men risked whatever they had and revolted. Their list of 28 grievances has been echoed in every prison and city uprising from Walpole and Wounded Knee to San Quentin and Newark . . . demands for those human and civil rights that have been denied to people held under the iron heel of the

system, whether we be in ghettos or reservations, sweatshops or mindless schools, or in prison. All the resources of the state of N. Y. have been geared to convict the 60 defendants. Their lawyers are all volunteering their services, but defense expenses will cost over \$500,000. We are calling on people who are not in prison to buy one less gift for each other and donate the price to:

Attica Brothers Defense Fund,  
c/o National Lawyers Guild  
23 Cornelia St.  
N. Y., N. Y. 10014

## NON-VIOLENCE & PHILOSOPHY

I should like to take issue with Charles Denby's article on "non-violence." SCLC was founded as a broad coalition on a minimal programme: to bring the conditions of the Negroes in the South up to that of the Negroes elsewhere in the USA, as the precondition of both national integration and national working class unity. Plainly it would have been inappropriate (and undialectical) to have demanded for all members of such a coalition that they accept the same philosophic premises as would be suitable to an organization in differing conditions.

One has only to read *Stride Towards Freedom* to see that Denby does very little justice to Martin Luther King's philosophy of freedom. This is not to say that he had nothing more to learn from Marx — though he and Muste before him had both learned from Marxism. Not that his philosophy was complete and suitable for all time, with nothing more to learn. No one's is.

But to say that King made a fetish of non-violence and that "because they were mass actions . . . surely contradicted his principles of non-violence" can only show that either you've not bothered to read his arguments, or that you yourselves make a fetish of rejecting non-violence.

Laurens Otter  
England

I heard that some of the International Socialists were escorted (non-violently) out of the UFW convention in Fresno when they leafletted against putting non-violence in the Farmworkers constitution. I am certainly not for non-violence as a principle, either, but the arrogance of those vanguardists is beyond belief.

I couldn't help thinking about the sensitive column Charles Denby wrote in your August-September issue, about the impasse in the Civil Rights movement, which he traced to the lack of a unifying philosophy. His pointing out that, though Rev. King "raised non-violence to a fetish," so long as he held tight to a "philosophy of human relations" it did not stop the march to freedom, was really it. And the tragedy was, as Denby pointed out, that King's assassination left the problem — the contradiction between tactic and vision — unresolved. Denby gave the whole movement much to think about.

White Mother  
New York

## ENERGY CRISIS

I believe there is going to be a link-up of this oil and energy crisis and the new contracts calling for a 60 hour week in auto that are being signed.

The Middle East oil crisis, coupled with the contract, will give the corporations the excuse of saving power by laying off half the people, eliminating a shift, but working the other half 60 hours a week for 30 years. In the new contract, we have a good retirement after 20 years. That is what is selling the contract. But the companies will be making damn sure that none of us lives that long.

Felix Martin  
Auto Worker  
Los Angeles

Nobody is going to convince me that this energy crisis wasn't planned by Nixon and his fellow bandits to scare the hell out of people, get Congress to pass laws like the Alaska pipeline, and give him power enough to become the absolute dictator he has been aiming for all along. We have just finished consuming enormous quantities of fuel for ten full years in order to slaughter hundreds of thousands of Asians. How could anyone believe we should give that murderer more power over our lives?

Reader  
Santa Rosa, Cal.

## GREEK COUP

If the U. S. 6th Fleet had not been in the Mediterranean, we would have seen many things in Greece. With their bare hands the people would have torn down that tyranny. It is the U. S. military that forced the Greek soldiers to fire on their brothers for the U. S. cannot afford that the people should take power in Greece.

Greek Student  
New York

## PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

You hear talk about a March on Washington to force Nixon to resign. And there is no doubt a lot of people feel a need to go back into the streets to get something done — but the question is what street do you go down to really get somewhere new? The '60s were full of people in the streets, but all that activity didn't hook up with the kind of "unifying philosophy" you are always talking about. We need a lot more thinking with our activity this decade.

Graduate of the '60s  
Detroit

I really enjoyed Raya Dunayevskaya's analysis of Nicolaus' introduction to the *Grundrisse*. My professors are all tripping over each other in their praise of Nicolaus, whom they call the "young genius of the New Left." Well, so much for them! It is refreshing, and downright liberating, to read your kind of analyses when you are immersed in an environment of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" and all their Out to Lunch Brigades on campus.

Student  
Binghamton, N.Y.

## OUR "AFFLUENT" SOCIETY

The 6 percent that Nixon's Cost of Living Council granted the members of Local 1199 who were striking the voluntary hospitals in New York really is disgusting. They were striking for a 7.5 percent wage hike, a raise that would not even cover the inflation that eats away so fast at everyone's pay check. The government claimed that the 7.5 percent was inflationary, and yet in the same week it granted the New York Telephone Co. a whopping 15.4 percent rate and we learned that milk prices are going up 4c a quart.

Disgusted  
New York

The majority in this country are suffering a decreasing standard of living, but for those on welfare it is so bad you cannot believe it. People just do not have enough to live on. Everybody I know is on some sort of "personal boycott" of something. Mine is meat. I just refuse to pay those prices. I keep thinking of the days before the French Revolution erupted and of the "Let them eat cake" mentality of the rulers then.

Social Worker  
Detroit

## TO OUR READERS

With our next issue, we will change the sequence of our two bi-monthly issues. N&L will still come out ten times a year, monthly except for January-February, and August-September. Our next issue will be mailed in mid-January.

## News & Letters

Vol. 18, No. 10 December, 1973

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# The U. S., global politics and the Mideast War

(Continued from Page 1)

laterally to the Middle East." As the China News Agency put it, it was only because Russia understood "that the U.S. 'really meant business' that it backed down."

China has but one preoccupation—its own national interests which hold that Russia is "Enemy No. One." Because that is so, it quickly forgot that it was "totally" for the Arab side, up to and including "driving Israel into the sea." No sooner did the Middle East war look as if it might become a Russia-U.S. confrontation than Chou moved for a global position for itself WITH the U.S. This, too, was not the first time China moved for a rapprochement with the U.S. on a great deal more critical issue than trade and "cultural relations."

First, it helped take the U.S. off the hotseat in Indochina. Then, during the SALT talks (which it ridiculed), it nevertheless began egging West Europe not to oppose a "U.S. presence." In the Mideast it was even more intensely interested in preferring a "U.S. presence." China all too well understands the titan nuclear power that the U.S. is.

The only one who didn't understand what was involved in the Mideast eruption as it edged toward an "East-West" confrontation—or didn't care to face its global implications—was West Europe. It was neither willing to sacrifice its immediate, national interests as they were bound to Arab oil, nor was it willing, as the West European press put it, to risk "nuclear annihilation without representation." And it was a great deal angrier at the U.S. than at Russia.

## THE YEAR OF EUROPE THAT WASN'T

Not only did Nixon-Kissinger's "Year of Europe" never come to be. But the intra-imperialist rivalry between West Europe and the U.S. split open at all seams, and not only over the Middle East war which brought it all to a climax. Rather, it began to question also the "philosophic underpinnings" of globalism.

During the critical two weeks, between the U.S. world alert on Oct. 25 and Nov. 8 (when Kissinger departed for the Mideast tour), the statements from the State and Defense Departments, and the White House itself, were endless. At first, Nixon tried reducing the new tensions to an economic level: "Europe which gets 80 percent of its oil from the Mideast would have frozen to death unless there had been a settlement—and Japan, too."

Then Kissinger, the "architect" of the "Year of Europe" exploded: "What concerns us is that for two weeks, while the U.S. had to make significant decisions, the Europeans acted as though NATO did not exist. The Europeans seemed more interested in gaining marginal advantages. I don't care what happens to NATO I'm so disgusted."

The Europeans, angered both at Nixon's material vulgarity and the Defense and State Departments' arrogance of nuclear alerting without consultation, let it be known\* that European and U.S. interests are NOT the same in the Middle East: "It's Dullesian hypocrisy on the part of Dr. Kissinger to pretend that they are."

West Europe, at one and the same time, tried narrowing the disagreement to the Mideast which "was never a part of NATO's origin or purpose," and expanding the Mideast stance to an anti-U.S. one, holding that Washington was tottering on the edge of hysteria because of "a Zionist lobby."

## NIXON-KISSINGER'S VISION: Pax Americana

But their anti-U.S. unity did not succeed in forging a common stand as to itself. They were united in taking a pro-Arab position but not a pro-Europe stand. They rejected, for example, the Dutch motion that they "share oil within the Common Market community."

Dr. Strangelove Kissinger did expound one "truth." As against those West European rulers who, since they have no place to go, do not know how to get there,

\*Le Monde's editor-in-chief, Andre Fontaine, didn't satisfy himself only with calling for the return of all 1967 Arab territories, but also employed the euphemism used by Arabs when they mean it as a time-bomb planted for extermination of Israel: "the legitimate rights of the Palestinians." Andre Fontaine concluded thunderously: "It is unthinkable that Europe say amen to all American initiatives. Europe must forge its own unity if it is to make its weight felt."

A more moderate British publication—the London Sunday Times—likewise rushed to an anti-U.S. stand. "It has never been a term of NATO membership that European governments should support the Zionist imperatives weighing upon American presidents."

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

Nixon-Kissinger have a "vision": Pax Americana. Hence, they keep referring to the need, first of all, for a "conceptual basis." More realistically put, Nixon-Kissinger are accusing West Europe of failing to see that "if" the U.S. was "on the edge of hysteria", it was not over Israel or the "Zionist lobby"—surely not when no election is at hand—but over a possible nuclear confrontation with the other nuclear titan, Russia, over who shall rule the world.

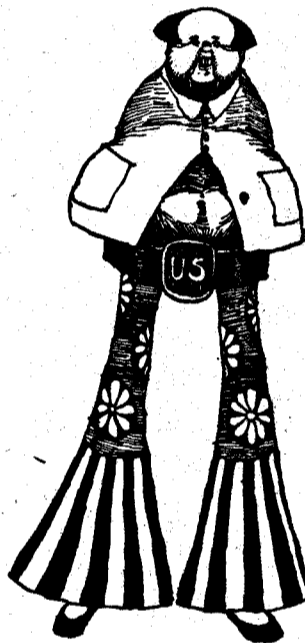
Not only is "the Year of Europe" the year that wasn't. But "the new Atlantic charter" that is evolving is the absolute opposite of what Nixon-Kissinger called for.

Even when tempers had cooled considerably, Le Monde declared that "U.S. authorities, brazenly calling their allies to order for their 'lack of cooperation' during the Mideast crisis," were in truth showing that it was not for European defense that "it is absolutely necessary to keep U.S. troops in Europe" but "for America's own security."

In a word, the single Kissinger truth is that, far from the Zionist lobby or Arab oil being the mainspring of the present confrontation, it is "U.S. presence" versus Russian that is pivotal, that overrides all other questions, that has won China, half neutralized the Arab world, gotten concessions from Israel, and is the question that has put a question mark over the very existence of NATO.

Of course, it isn't only West Europe that "doesn't understand." Neither does Kissinger's own assistant, the specialist on the Mideast in the State Department—

Nguyen Hai Chi, a 29-year-old Vietnamese political cartoonist renders the powerful as grotesque. Here, his sketch of the newly Americanized Mao caricatures the Nixon-Mao "love affair" which guaranteed continued war in Vietnam under the name of "world peace."



Sisco. So happy was he over Kissinger's 48-hour miracle of getting Sadat to sign the six-point "peace plan" that he declared that he was "convinced that Congress, despite the Zionist lobby, is now beginning to see the situation much more clearly. The mood is changing in the U.S. in favor of the Arabs." The reason? "Oil and our strategic interests." But those two areas of interest are not similar and Sisco is no "expert" in global strategy a la Kissinger, his boss.

## THE NEW ROLE OF SADAT'S EGYPT AND THE LEFT

There is no doubt that there has been a shift on the Middle East. Kissinger is ready enough to force concessions from Israel and therefore can appear to have a more "even-handed" policy. But what is of far greater importance—indeed, is the overriding aim of Nixon-Kissinger—is to keep Russia out of the Middle East.

That was the trump card he used to get the Arabs to be for the "peace plan." With it, he hoped not only to get Sadat's signature but to neutralize Faisal. Though the Saudi Arabian monarch is still using oil as the political weapon both to exact high prices AND to separate West Europe from the U.S., he himself fears "radicals" sufficiently to back Egypt to the hilt, including possible "peace" in Geneva.

At the same time, Nixon took steps to appease Europe, to play down any craveness and play up "interests of the alliance as a whole": "if the U.S.S.R. learns that it can exploit the Middle East to separate the U.S. from its European alliance, this could be very disastrous for Europe and the world." That "48 hour miracle"—U.S. as "peacemaker"—is the imperial counterpoint to Europe's "new unity." What hangs in the balance everywhere, however, are the crises at home. And since much of this is related to using oil as political weapon, all eyes are on the new role of Sadat's Egypt.

On the one hand, there were some demonstrations in Europe against their own rulers buckling so easily to the demands of oil for anti-Israel stance—"Are we going to witness another Munich?" On the other, and more massive hand, however, the Left, in its correct stand against Israel's occupation of all the Arab lands and total disregard of the Palestinian refugees, is acting as if Arab oil equals "revolution."

The truth is that the reason Sadat's Egypt achieved "Arab unity" in the use of oil as political weapon is not due to his being a revolutionary. Quite the contrary. Nasser's Egypt never could get the oil kingdoms to use their resource as a political weapon against "the West" (which suddenly now includes Japan!), because they feared him as a revolutionary nationalist who also stepped outside Egypt's borders. As against that, the oil kingdoms have total confidence in Sadat who will not only do nothing "to interfere in internal affairs" but will also do all in his power to discourage revolutionary movements against any exploitative, reactionary feudal regimes.

## MIDDLE EAST AS KEY

What the Left refuses to face in this Egyptian victory is that, far from it being what Western imperialism calls "colonialism in reverse"—the masses in the underdeveloped countries really hitting out against imperialism, the simple truth is that neither "the West" nor the oil kingdoms fear Sadat. What Sadat did achieve, in addition to Arab oil being used as a political weapon, is to let Nixon and Brezhnev know they cannot put the Mideast on the back burner forever.

As against not only Israel but also U.S.-Russia, Sadat's Egypt took the initiative in making secret plans for the attack, in choice of date, Yom Kippur and Ramadan, for that surprise attack. The success of the crossing of Suez into Sinai was in no small part due to the fact that it was a surprise. In any case, politically it was a total success and Brezhnev and Nixon rushed to the alert, not necessarily on the same side even where detente demanded it.

The new, the global new in all this is that, instead of the "Balkanization" which Kissinger, the Euro-centered intellectual, thinks it is, the Middle East showed it can become the key to the world situation, as Germany was in World Wars I and II. So the whole "conceptual basis" of "Atlantic Alliance" better look at itself first, and perhaps for the last time.

The Left must not forget that its "conceptual basis" is the simple truth that the enemy is always at home, with its class rulers. In Israel, too, unfortunately, much of the Left, and not only the moderate doves, is tailoring the hawks. It cannot be otherwise so long as its perspectives are not totally revolutionary, not nationalistic, and truly independent of the U.S., Russia, China, or any other state power.

## BACK HOME

Where Nixon thought the Middle East War would get him off the Watergate hot seat and show him as the world statesman in full command of the global crisis, the masses are so disgusted with all the lies pouring out of the White House that they even thought the world alert but one more prop of Tricky Dicky.

Whatever the worries—and they are many, beginning with the tightening of their belts that are tight enough already—there is everywhere a new search for something to replace Nixon-Kissinger's "conceptual basis" and "philosophic underpinnings" of Pax Americana. In the ghettos a passion for philosophy is no academic question. Rather, the search for a new relationship of thought to action that underlies the tense quietude is that of the eve of many storms, none of whose direction is known, so that all are preparing for the worst. This does not mean that they will submit to the worst, but that they are working out new forms of opposition.

Report to the Convention of  
News & Letters Committees  
**PERSPECTIVES 1973-74**  
By Raya Dunayevskaya

### I WAR AND PRACTICING WAR BY OTHER MEANS

The Secretary of State with the Mailed Fist: While Watergate, on the one hand, and spontaneous revolts on the other, did more than undermine Nixon-Kissinger's "Year of Europe," the counter-revolution in Chile and the war in the Middle East disclosed new forms of reaction.

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# NYC: impeachment drive grows

New York, N.Y. — The move for the impeachment of Nixon is gathering steam here. The blossoming activity of community meetings, demonstrations, and petition-gatherings culminated in a city-wide demonstration Nov. 10 of 1000 people. The comparatively small turnout was no indication of the true feeling of New Yorkers as to impeaching Nixon.

Soon after the Cox & Co. massacre Oct. 20, various groups started drawing up petitions to Congress, organizing demonstrations, and in other ways agitating for Nixon's overthrow. There have been many small community demonstrations in the past few weeks. One I went to in Brooklyn started out with a guy getting up on top of a card table during lunch hour in the business district, and starting to yell about impeachment. In less than a minute there was a crowd of 250-300 people standing around cheering.

Another indication of the depth of feeling against Nixon was the enthusiasm of the people signing the petitions I took around. As soon as they heard "Impeach Nixon" people would wait in line to sign them, cussing him out as they waited. One woman said "They should have done this long ago. I don't care how they get him out, I just want him out!" A Black worker said, "That s.o.b. has been messing up this country long enough. If this impeachment don't work, I'm going in there and pull him out myself." A group of Black youths said as they were signing "While we're at it, why don't we impeach the rest of the government, too?"

The only ones who don't seem enthusiastic about a mass impeachment movement are the traditional radicals. Seems strange that when more than half the American public wants Nixon out of office and over three-quarters have no confidence in the government, the so-called "radicals" are unwilling to call demonstrations against an unpopular president.

— Chris Norwell



—LNS photo

White House pickets demand Nixon's impeachment

## VVAW aids Ala. clinic

Browns, Ala. — At the request of the community of Bogue Chitto, Ala., members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) have been working with them since Nov. 1972 on the development of the proposed Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Clinic.

The project comes under VVAW's Operation County Fair (County Fair is the military term used in Vietnam for the limited medical aid programs conducted by U.S. pacification units.)

Bogue Chitto is a poor, Black community 16 miles west of Selma with a population just over 300. Health problems in the community are serious. One out of fifteen babies die at or shortly after birth. Many diseases go undetected and untreated because of lack of education, lack of money and, most importantly, racism, especially among the medical community. Medical facilities are still segregated and in many cases the doctor will not even touch a Black patient.

Plans have been drawn up for the actual clinic building and a medical staff of three has begun screening and health training. An interim clinic has been built but funding and supplies are greatly needed. All labor on the clinic will be provided by members of the community and members of VVAW/WSO.

Donations or supplies can be sent to: Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Clinic, c/o Linda Regnier, R.N.; Route #1 — Box 83; Browns, Ala. (For security reasons please do not identify mail as VVAW/WSO or any other radical group).

—from Operation County Fair Newsletter

## Mackenzie walkout

Detroit, Mich. — We had a big demonstration at Mackenzie H.S. on Nov. 8 because of the poor conditions that we have in the school. When we came back to school after the strike, they started cutting down the number of teachers. We lost seven teachers four weeks after classes began.

At least 1,000 of the students had their schedules changed. Many students were forced to change to other courses they didn't want and are unrelated to their curriculum. For many students, the first four weeks of school were wasted. We have been manipulated like numbers instead of like human beings with different goals, needs, and interests. Is this because the students are Black?

Some of the classes at Mackenzie went up to 53 students after the seven teachers were taken away. Three Spanish classes were dropped and the Latin course was ended, even though there were 16 students in it. These are some of the reasons why we walked out.

About 1,000 students marched to the Region 3 office and met with the Superintendent in the parking lot. Then we marched back to the school and went into the auditorium. The principal, Harry Goldstein, came to talk to us. He ran a lot of nonsense and double-talk.

On the way back to class, we were orderly and peaceful, but there was a lot of confusion about which class to go to. Two of the girls in the demonstration got into an argument with a teacher who wouldn't let them into the lunch room. There was a fight, and now they have been arrested and suspended from school. Nothing was done to the teacher. I feel there is a long way to go before things are right at Mackenzie H.S.

—Mackenzie H.S. Student

## Detroit Readers Hear Charles Denby

on  
'Blacks in Auto'

Labor History Series Thurs., Jan. 10, 7:30 p.m.  
University of Detroit Old Science Bldg.

## Book review:

### 'Towards a New Marxism'

Bart Grahl and Paul Piccone, eds. Telos Press \$4.50

Reviewed by Michael Connolly

A collection of most of the papers given at the First International Telos Conference in 1970, *Towards a New Marxism*, is "an attempt to salvage valuable theoretical indications from the forgotten western Marxist tradition." This 1970 Telos Conference, held five months after massive protests against the Nixon invasion of Cambodia, was aimed at rescuing the movement from "spontaneity (that) had degenerated into chaos."

Let us for a moment disregard the fact that whereas the youth of the 1960s had no theoretical background, it isn't true that there was a theoretic void, much less chaos. Let us also disregard that *Marxism and Freedom*, by Raya Dunayevskaya, filled the theoretic void in 1958 by showing that revolutionary elements emerged in the 1950s that we in the 1960s thought were totally new to our generation. It would still be true that what the Telos Conference was doing was not to pick up historic continuity, but to pretend to start everything anew with the 1960s.

#### WIDE-RANGING DEBATE

The papers included in *Towards a New Marxism* cover a wide range of subjects. Central to the debate in which this reviewer participated are papers by Paul Piccone on "Phenomenological Marxism," Paul Buhle on "Marxism in the United States," and Raya Dunayevskaya on "Hegelian Leninism."

Piccone's paper, recognizing the complete perversion of Marxism by "official" Stalinist Communism, asserts that "only a genuine revolutionary treatment — not a reformist substitute, will save Marxism . . ." The argument returns to Marx, only to reach the conclusion that class is not determined by relationship to the means of production, but "to the quality of life that results from that relationship."

He goes on to reject the working class as Subject — as the class with not only the power to end capitalist dehumanization, but the Reason to create a new world. You cannot do this without first rejecting the method of Marx. And that is what Piccone does when he says that "Marxism can provide an analysis today only if it is cleansed of naturalism and objectivism." So essential was "naturalism" to Marx that he called his philosophy "a thoroughgoing Naturalism or Humanism."

So far removed from the American roots of Marxism and from the actual class struggles of the day is the one article that is specifically on "Marxism in the United States" — the piece by Paul Buhle — that at no time throughout the years covered do we see a live worker, a live class struggle, much less any thought that emerges from them. All this, despite the fact that Marx restructured Capital under the impact of the American movement for the eight hour day and the Black dimension. Marx put directly into Capital: "Labor in the white skin cannot be free as long as labor in the black skin is branded."

#### 'HEGELIAN LENINISM'

The real value of the conference was that it did bear witness to the interest by many new revolutionaries in re-interpreting Marxism for our age. The one report raising a new banner to this end is Raya Dunayevskaya's "Hegelian Leninism." In it, she picks up the link to Marxism that Lenin established with his return to Hegel. Examining the "rich, profound, concrete" *Philosophic Notebooks*, which Lenin wrote then and which even independent Marxists have avoided ever since, Dunayevskaya traces Lenin's break with his philosophic past as he progresses through the *Science of Logic*. Dunayevskaya shows that the method of the *Philosophic Notebooks* is the method he utilized for the rest of his life, both in his writings and his actions.

Where others use dialectics as a cliché or a synonym for dynamism, Lenin recognized that the self-movement of both masses in action and of ideas develops through transformation into opposite. By singling out that part of negativity for his age, he was able to show that not only had capitalism become imperialism, but that it had transformed part of labor into an aristocracy of labor and, most tragic of all, revealed counter-revolution within the revolution.

This so permeated his thought that he didn't stop at the betrayal of the Second International. He warned on his deathbed that if the Bolsheviks saw the proletariat as Object instead of as Subject, they would be finished. Making this central to everything is what Dunayevskaya's essay does do, and in so doing offers a truly "new Marxism" that is a re-creation of Marx for today.

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**Marxist-Humanism**

**A philosophy to give WL action its direction**

By Mary Holmes

The final chapter of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* (see ad on page 1)—"New Passions and New Forces"—deals with the movements of the 1960s and 1970s: the Black Dimension, anti-war youth, rank-and-file labor, and the Women's Liberation movement. Yet the result of all this tremendous self-activity was aborted revolutions. Against the sweep of 200 years of development of revolutionary thought, Ms. Dunayevskaya analyzes not only the failure to realize revolution in the 1960s, but also provides new beginnings for the 1970s.

We in the Women's Liberation movement have to begin by recognizing the need for a total philosophy of liberation. As Ms. Dunayevskaya points out, it was great that the women's movement first arose in the left itself; there was no questioning that the women were revolutionaries. They stood up to the male chauvinism and the division of mental and manual labor in the movement that was supposed to be opposing just such divisions in society.



However, after the high-point reached in 1968, when there followed counter-revolutions and the fragmentation of the left, Ms. Dunayevskaya relates what happened in groups like SDS, where the women who had just begun their own movement, ended up "following their men" in all the splits and factions." (See Ms. Dunayevskaya's "Two Worlds," *News & Letters*, Aug.-Sept. 1973).

But it was "worse" than just following their men: "They voted for the same resolutions the men did because that is what they really believed." Thus occurred the plunge into "mindless activism" on the part of many women. They totally disregarded the "patience" and "labor" necessary to any serious attempt to work out theory anew, and disregarded also the new voices which many women were beginning to raise.

**HUNGER FOR NEW RELATIONSHIPS**

As Ms. Dunayevskaya writes in Chapter 9, women who had never joined anything before became "activists" and thinkers in the Women's Liberation movement. And the many different voices expressing the ideas of Women's Liberation were not the result of women reading Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics*. Rather, it was the result of the hunger for new roles in society and new relationships for them here and now.

The small groups that sprang up everywhere were an effort to find a form that would allow for the self-development of the individual woman. These groups were not just concerned with middle-class professional women. Rather, they sought to release all women—Black, working class, Chicana, Indian. But because the women's movement lacked a total philosophy rooted in the ideas and actions of these so-called "apolitical" women, we reached an impasse after the great mass demonstrations of August, 1970.

Today there are some women who dismiss any or-

If you have a story, or want to contact **News & Letters Women's Liberation Committees** in San Francisco, Connecticut, Detroit, Los Angeles or New York, write to the addresses in the box page 2.

**Toronto woodworker's strike**

Toronto, Ontario — Most of the workers on strike at Artistic Woodwork here are recent immigrants to Canada, of Greek, Italian or Latin American origin. They are members of the Canadian Textile and Chemical Union (CTCU), certified last April, and after months of negotiation they agreed to a wage offer of 65 cents over two years. The strike, which began Aug. 21 and affected 120 workers in two separate plants, was not over money.

The company is demanding that the workers accept contract clauses which deny them the elementary right to grieve against arbitrary or unfair treatment. The company also insists on a seniority clause wherein they are the sole judge of skill, ability, knowledge, physical fitness, etc. in cases of lay-off and recall.

As picketing continued at Artistic Woodwork, police harassment picked up. Police were there in force to protect the scabs coming through picket lines and to protect the company's "private property." More than 60 picketers have been arrested. Police attempts to intimidate the supporters have resulted in a constantly growing line.

The strike is developing into a real battle. Picketers now number between 300 and 400 on a daily basis. It seems that the entire Toronto left has come out to help, as well as students, teachers, aldermen, and other unions.

Money is greatly needed to support strikers due to the limited resources of a small local. Contributions may be sent to: **Canadian Textile and Chemical Union, 1203A St. Clair Ave. W., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.**

—Strike Supporter

ganization or philosophy that calls itself Marxist, "just because Marx was a man," and who claim that all groups in the left are dominated by men. They disregard the pages and pages in Capital, Marx's greatest theoretical work, on the destruction of whole families at a time in his day — women, children and men — by the factories and mines of capitalism. It was also Marx who stated that the first division in society was between man and woman, and that in any society at any time, you only have to look at this relationship to see the degree of exploitation of all.

**'NEW PASSIONS AND NEW FORCES'**

It is Marx's Humanist vision and philosophy that Ms. Dunayevskaya has developed for our day. Women are a very important part of the "new passions and new forces" for revolution. She stresses that it is crucial to see that women, as part of the dialectics of liberation, are both reason and revolutionary force.

The "passions" — what Marx meant as a "striving after" — of those women everywhere who are the real forces to tear down this sexist, racist, class-ridden society and create a totally new one, are where any serious theory for the Women's Liberation movement begins. *Philosophy and Revolution* provides this new beginning to give our actions their direction.

**Women spell out UFW gains**



—El Melerriado Photo

The following was excerpted from stories told by two women members of the United Farm Workers (UFW) at a meeting of N.Y. *News & Letters Women's Liberation Committee*—Ed.

New York, N.Y. — My father joined with Cesar Chavez before there was even a union and we became members in 1963. We fought from 1965 to 1970 when we won our first contract.

When we got the contracts we noticed a lot of difference by having the union in the fields. The foremen have to respect the union. If they want to lay off some person now they have to tell the union officer the reason. Before they would just say, "No more work for you."

Before the union the pay was \$1.05 an hour. With the union it is \$2 an hour, but still with only one working we could not make it.

When we didn't have a union, even the kids had to work in the fields. At five years old they were in the field already. The union (UFW) has a regulation now that says they have to be 16 and over to work in the fields. Now there are children again working in the scab fields.

The scab people working with the Teamsters union are going to be the same as before the UFW. They do not get paid what they are supposed to get. Those Teamsters don't care about those people. They only cared about them when we were on the picket line. That's when they protected the people. They told us not to talk to them.

When we were working by contractors—men who get contracts from people to work in the field—if they liked one of the women, they went after her. The women had no freedom. If a contractor liked a woman and she didn't listen to him, do what he wanted, he wouldn't give her any work.

There are no contractors with our union. There are going to be a lot of contractors back with the Teamsters. That is one reason we fight them.

Before the union we didn't have a rest room even in the fields. There was no water to drink. Now we have a restroom. They bring us water to drink, too. What we would really like is two bathrooms, one for the men and one for the women.

We have also fought for a hiring hall which handles our seniority and the number of hours we work. With the union we also have a clinic.

Farm workers have a hard time. We have to suffer during the rain, we have no protection, no unemployment, no welfare.

These are some of the reasons why the people out in California are fighting, and that is why we are here and in other cities—to stop the stores from buying the grapes and lettuce so we can get our contracts back. I hope everyone can help us with the boycott.

—Lupe and Maria

**WAY OF THE WORLD**

**Detroit's first Black mayor**

by Ethel Dunbar

One of the happiest moments in my life was when the final returns were in and counted for Detroit's recent elections for mayor and other offices. My real concern was the mayor's office, where a Black man was running against a white former police commissioner.

Many Blacks, as well as some whites, knew the commissioner was a racist. The polarization between the races was at such a high peak that I had my doubts that Coleman Young, the Black candidate, would be elected.

I was watching the returns on TV channel 2 in the beginning of vote counting. I always felt that this channel supported Commissioner Nichols. They reported that he was leading Young by a three-to-one margin. They then compared this to the last city election, when Richard Austin, a Black candidate, ran against Gribbs, a white, and Gribbs won by a small margin.

This TV channel was saying that Young was not doing nearly as well as Austin, who received some 18 percent of the white vote four years ago, and that Young would receive no more than eight percent of the white vote, if that many.

My husband worked for Young during the election and was at the polls from beginning to end. He said not many young Blacks came to the polls, but it appeared to him that every eligible older Black was out to vote. Since Young did win, it seems badly misleading to me to report that Young only received eight percent of the white vote.

Black people have always had the job of straightening out white folks' messes. This was true from the beginning. We started by cleaning and straightening out their messy homes in the South years ago. So I do believe that this Black mayor here might straighten out the mess the whites have made running Detroit.

**Quebec election setback**

Montreal, Que. — Quebec held provincial elections Oct. 29 and Premier Bourassa's "Liberal" government greatly enhanced its majority in the legislature. The Liberals won 102 out of 110 seats, entirely eliminated the largest opposition party (Union Nationale), smashed the ultra-right wing Creditiste Party, and limited the pro-independence Parti Quebecois to six seats. Most of the English-speaking press and business elite applauded the vote for "stability and progress" and predicted the death of "separatism."

Most people in Quebec don't agree. The collapse of the two rightist opposition parties meant that even though Parti Quebecois increased its popular vote by 30% over 1970, the Liberals were able to gain more seats than ever before. The Liberals are governing with 92% of the seats after winning only 55% of Quebec's vote, and this makes a farce of the entire electoral system. Less than half of the French-speaking population voted Liberal.

The years since the Liberals first came to power in April 1970 have been hell: police state terror during the Fall 1970 Crisis and continuing expanded police powers, brutal strike-breaking during the 1972 general strike, and vast resources and land areas given away, especially to ITT. Unemployment, already twice as high as in the rest of Canada, has gone up, and wages are miserable.

The Liberals ran on their record, and that rotten record was neither examined nor attacked by anyone. PQ leader Rene Levesque spent so much time being "reasonable and responsible" that he failed to tell anyone why they should vote for him — and he lost. The election result, then, is more a product of what the opposition parties did wrong than what the Liberals did right. They fought an election entirely around Federalism vs. Independence. This is the only issue in Quebec around which the English and immigrant populations can be reactionary along with the French-speaking businessmen. Workers haven't forgotten either that Levesque opposed the April 1972 general strike which shook Quebec to its foundations. The PQ talked about hypothetical budgets for the first year of an independent Quebec but said nothing about the very real immediate needs of the people.

Now that he has won, Mr. Bourassa will be free to keep giving Quebec away to foreign investors who never put anything back, and to step up his campaign to crush organized labor and to keep other workers unorganized.

— R.T. & P.G., Montreal

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## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

By Peter Mallory

# Greek students, workers murdered in anti-dictatorship protest

In the face of U.S.-supplied tanks, armored vehicles and helicopters manned by the Greek military dictatorship, the students and workers for several days demanded the end of the dictatorship and a return to democracy.

Five students were initially reported killed and over 200 hospitalized as the Army attacked Athens Polytechnic University where the students had set up their own radio station and called for the workers and the population to overthrow the government.

Throughout Athens crowds of up to 2,000 people gathered at various points to demonstrate their hatred of the dictatorship, were driven back by the

military, but then re-grouped for another demonstration.

Greek Dictator Papadopoulos re-imposed martial law, lifted only three months ago, that had been in effect since April 1967 when he seized power through force and violence.

A number of civilian leaders announced support for the students' demands. They include former Premier Canellopoulos and George Mavros, former Economics Minister who now leads the Center Union Party.

Scenes in Athens were reminiscent of the days of the Hungarian revolution. Groups of high school students taunted crews in the tanks with cries of

"shame-shame" and outstretched palms, the sign of a curse in Greece.

The military dictatorship is kept in power by the Nixon administration which maintains military naval bases in Greece and supplies the dictatorship with all the arms it requires to keep the people suppressed. By no accident whatever, still another coup has just (Nov. 25) taken place and Papadopoulos was overthrown for being too "soft" (sic!) on the students and workers who opposed the regime. The move further to the right says good-bye even to any promise of parliamentary elections. The noose around the Greek people has been tightened.

## European strikes

France has been hit by a wave of strikes all over the country. All civil servants walked out for one day and completely shut down the government. Shopkeepers closed the country down on another day. Successively, the railroads, post office, barge lines and factories have been struck.

In England the mineworkers are demanding wage increases far in excess of offers by the Heath government and are expected to strike if their demands are not met.

In Germany a wave of wildcat strikes has spread to the Saar valley steel complex. Average wage increases of 9.7 percent have been eaten up by a 7.1 percent increase in living costs.

The undercurrent of revolt throughout Europe is the unreported but ever present factor which is sure to erupt as the economic crisis, aggravated by the use of Arab oil as a political weapon, looms on the horizon. (See lead article.)

## South Korea

On Nov. 15, 2,000 students at Korea University held a four-hour long demonstration against the policies of President Park who has maintained martial law in the country since October, 1972. Their slogan, "No one can clamp down on the freedoms God gave us" was adopted at a university meeting and then taken to the streets where they were met by police and tear gas.

The students have been on a boycott strike against the administration for some time. They are protesting the presence of C.I.A. agents in their classrooms and in every phase of their lives.

The police are used to beating up students, but the new tactic of boycotting classes leaves them baffled. Over 70 students at one university and 20 at another are on a hunger strike. The women at the

leading women's university, Ewha, are wearing black ribbons to demonstrate their solidarity with the men.

Throughout the world, the example of the students in Thailand, who successfully overthrew their government, has inspired students living under similar dictatorships to follow their lead.

## Terror in Chile

The counter-revolution in Chile, which came to power in the bloody military coup of Sept. 11, is continuing to arrest, torture, and execute those who resist the reign of fascist terror. General Pinochet, president of the junta, vowed to "wipe Marxism from Chile."

The junta urged Chileans to assist in the "work of finding foreigners," and the most brutal treatment is given those Latin Americans who had sought political asylum in Chile from military dictatorships. Train loads of Bolivians have been returned to their native country where they are arrested and put in concentration camps. The Bordaberry dictatorship sent a police mission to identify their political opponents and return them to Uruguay.

At last report, 20 Brazilian experts in counter-insurgency were in Santiago interrogating the Brazilian detainees. Undergoing particularly violent tortures while being held in the Santiago stadium are Richard Torrini, a Valdivia University professor who has had half his tongue cut off, and Washington Alves da Silva, a shoemaker and union leader from Sao Paulo who was one of the Brazilian prisoners exchanged for the Swiss ambassador in 1970.

Hugo Blanco, the famous Peruvian peasant leader who was living in Chile, and other escaping refugees have told of the repression conducted against the industrial belts and the shanty towns. While the workers resisted the coup with home-made weapons, they were massacred by machine guns, bombs,

tanks, planes, and napalm. Slaughters have occurred in the squatters' settlements of Lo Hermita, La Legua, and Nueva Havana, and at the factories in the Vicuna Mackenna and the Cerillos industrial belts. Bulldozers were sent in to raze what remained of the houses and the factories.

It is no accident that the horrors of Vietnam are recalled. While the U.S. carried on a vicious economic boycott of Chile under Allende, Nixon-Kissinger arranged for huge increases in military aid which were used to train the officers and buy the weapons used by the junta.

## Guinea Bissau—a republic

Sept. 24, 1973 marked the proclamation of the new West African Republic of Guinea Bissau. Independence from Portuguese colonialism was proclaimed by the National Assembly which met at Madina de Boe — the site of the first Portuguese camp liberated ten years before by the P.A.I.G.C. (African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde).

The new Assembly adopted a Constitution, national anthem, and a flag and elected Luiz Cabral, brother of the martyred African revolutionary Amilcar Cabral, first President of the Republic.

The new Republic controls three-fourths of the territory of Guinea Bissau but the U.S. Government has not only refused to recognize it but has continued to bolster Portuguese rule by extending military and economic aid to a country using napalm terror-bombing tactics developed by the U.S. in Vietnam.

Independence for Guinea Bissau marks another high point in the continuing African revolutionary struggles which began in the 1950s. That independence was proclaimed less than a year after the assassination of Amilcar Cabral is another indication of the depth of the movement for African freedom.

## BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

*Philosophy and Revolution*, by Raya Dunayevskaya, was released this fall by Dell Publications. It is a unique book, both in its original scholarship and in the rare ability of the author to put the blood of humanity into what first appear to be the most "abstract projections" of Marx and Hegel.

In no other book on the same subject is the reader made so aware of the inseparability of theory and practice, or of the relationship between the force of the objective world, on one hand, and that of the subjective world of human passion and reason, on the other.

The space of this column precludes a full review of the book, but I would like to zero in on Chapter 7, "The African Revolutions And The World Economy." This chapter is brilliant in its delineation of the birth of the African Revolution and in its analysis of what went "wrong"—both in and outside of those revolutions which have so grievously denied the African people of their idea of freedom that they "propounded as an absolute."

### HUMANISM INSPIRED AFRICAN REVOLT

In the 1960s the African Revolutions sprang into being upon a world of ideological pessimism in retreat from the very possibility of revolution and totally dominated by cold war politics. At that time Africa boldly called for a new universal humanism, based upon solidarity and co-operation between peoples "without any racial or cultural antagonism, and without narrow egoism and privilege" — a concept so alien to the ideologists of the developed countries who were so mesmerized by the cold war, or so insulated by racial chauvinism, that they could not hear what was new and revolutionary in the African struggles against colonialism.

As the author of *Philosophy and Revolution* puts it: "The African Revolution opened a new page in the dialectic of thought as well as in world history . . . the truth is that while 'backward' Africa was charged with a dynamism of ideas that opened new paths to revolution and looked for new roads to development, the cold war was reigning in the 'advanced' United States, producing

## African revolutions and present realities

so pervasive a malaise among bourgeois intellectuals that they proclaimed, 'an end to ideology!'

The very opposite was taking place in Africa at that time, and was made historically possible due to the spontaneous mass actions of the African peoples in search for new Humanist beginnings which would unite a philosophy of revolution with the practice of revolution: this desire was not limited to the intellectuals, but was keenly felt and understood by the masses of the people.

The question is: with such a great beginning, what happened in less than a decade that caused the African Revolutions to turn into the very opposite of their original purpose? In exploring this phenomenon Ms. Dunayevskaya does not minimize the introduction of neo-colonialism into Africa — so tragically expressed by the United Nation's intervention in the Congo (Zaire) and the murder of Lumumba.

However, she considers the greatest tragedy to be the internal one, the separation of the leaders from the led. She points out that: "without masses as reason, as well as force, there is no way to escape being sucked into the world market dominated by advanced technologies, whether in production or in preparation for nuclear war."

Nkrumah and Ghana exemplify how easy it is for an "underdeveloped" nation and its leaders to slip into the grasp of neo-colonialism once the leaders abandon the masses, the reason and force of revolution, and turn to one of the two poles of capital, i.e.—U.S.A. or Russia — in hopes of achieving technological sufficiency.

### PHILOSOPHY, REVOLUTION ESSENTIAL

At this point, the aim of the Revolution shifted from its original Humanist purposes to one solely concerned with industrialization, and the leaders began to look upon the masses as mere labor power. As Ms. Dunayevskaya explains, to understand the internal cause for the retrogression of the African Revolutions, you have to see not only the contradictory economic relationships between

the developed and the underdeveloped nations, but also among the developed nations themselves.

The economic sources of neo-colonialism are examined by going to the heart of the internal crisis of world capitalism: The falling rate of profit, plus a decline in the rate of accumulation of capital in the West, makes any real industrialization of the underdeveloped countries an impossibility. "Neo-colonialism is not something invented by the Communists or the Africans, but is a fact of existing world capitalism."

However, Ms. Dunayevskaya does not end on this note. Totally aware of the "miracle" of the 1960s, when African mass actions achieved freedom from direct colonialism and thereby shook world imperialism to its foundation, she emphasizes that the goal of Africans to de-throne neo-colonialism will be achieved through a new reunification of philosophy and revolution.

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

by the International before a local can take any positive action. You yell to the International and they will not respond. After so much of this, workers resent and reject you, whether they are Black or white workers.

Local union presidents are just whipping boys for the International union. Take the incident of the Black unit president shooting a white skilled worker at a Ford local union hall who said he was not voting for the contract, and was urging others to vote it down.

This unit president is known as a hard guy. The only way he got to be president of the tough union was because he told workers he would use his temper against the company and the foremen. Many workers wanted to get the foremen off their backs any way they could.

But no one voted for him with the thought he would use a gun against a worker for being in opposition to that lousy contract. We are waiting to hear whether the International will take any action against him.