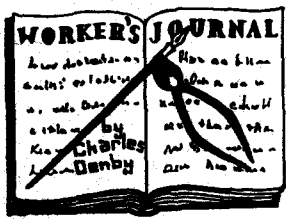


## ON THE INSIDE

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## Bureaucrats back company, stop wildcat

by Charles Denby, Editor

There was a strike recently at the Chrysler Jefferson plant in Detroit over production standards. The walkout began after some workers were fired because they objected to the continuous speed-up of the production line.

"The fact of the matter is," as one of the strikers said, "this is about the third wildcat strike this year at this plant—all over working conditions. The previous ones just lasted a day."

"See, we have a new plant manager over production and he seems determined to show the company that he can get higher production than the previous plant manager. Our damn no-good union representatives seem to be more in support of the company's speed-up than they are in fighting the company along with us. This is why the strike has been going on for a week, and we mean to stay out until every fired worker is back."

In the old days of wildcat strikes, very seldom did one last over a week. Those were the days when the local union would support workers' strikes. When they did not support them, they still would not be on the side of management. Wildcat strikes would close down all other plants of the company in other states, and on the whole they were settled to the satisfaction of the strikers.

Today it is just the opposite. The union bureaucrats tell striking workers that the company will not sit down and bargain until the strikers are back on the job.

The strike at Jefferson started Wednesday on the afternoon shift, and the next day the day shift walked out in support. By Friday, the pressure from the company on the union began to mount. They threatened the union with an injunction if they could not get workers back on the job.

### 'WHY WE STRIKE'

On Monday morning, the bureaucrats were out in force, pleading to and threatening the day-shift workers. The workers would not budge, and they refused to go in. The bureaucrats passed out a leaflet they called "Important Notice." It stated: "Your officers and shop committee have been very dilligently meeting with top management, trying to resolve this total problem. As a result of this suspension, several people in Dept. 9171 walked out of the plant, which caused the entire plant to close down. It is unfortunate that management has the right to refuse to bargain on workers' problems until the plant resumes normal operations."

One worker yelled, "Management has the same right not to bargain while we are working. That is why we are striking."

The workers' leaflet read in part: "Jefferson Assembly is a hell-hole to work in. The line speed has increased some 20 per cent in the last six months and our working conditions get worse and worse. Harassment has in-

(Continued on Page 7)

## Indian activist tells meaning of Wounded Knee

The following article is part of a speech given by a young Indian woman who is a member of the Associated Indians of Detroit (AID) to a meeting of the Michigan-Lowndes Co. Alabama group. We think it is a unique and important view of the Indian struggle.—Editor.

The situation at Wounded Knee began when the American Indian Movement (AIM) was invited to the Pine Ridge Reservation and Wounded Knee by three members of the 12-man tribal council. The three councilmen had sought to impeach their tribal chairman. They had gone to the local Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) agent, but he had thrown them out and would not listen to their grievances. So they invited AIM to come and show support for their demands. AIM is not going to leave there until they set the wheels in motion to have their demands aired and met.

### TRIBAL COUNCIL CORRUPT

The tribal council is a U.S. government institution imposed on American Indians. They're supposed to represent the reservation people. But the tribal chairman runs the whole show. If he does what the government wants, his family will have nice cars and big houses while the rest of the reservation remains hungry and uneducated.

The newspapers don't say that Wounded Knee is on the Oglala Sioux reservation, and that the presence of Federal Marshals there is a direct violation of Indian rights. One person, the tribal chairman, asked them to come. It was not the consensus of the tribal council. The take-over of the BIA in Washington last Novem-

# 10¢ NEWS LETTERS

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## Two Worlds

# Mao & Nixon move closer together

by Raya Dunayevskaya,

National Chairwoman, News & Letters Committees

On March 15 Nixon announced that on May 1 a "liaison mission" would be opened in Peking and would be headed by David Bruce. If the euphemism of "liaison officer" could possibly have fooled anyone, Mr. Bruce's super-ambassadorial past put an end to such delusions.

Ever since Nixon made his trip to China, a year ago, every writer has been stressing the somersaults executed by Nixon, the China Lobby man, the anti-Communist, the war hawk. But in truth, the greater transformation into opposite was Mao's embrace of "Enemy Number One" in the specific person of what Mao's China used to call "that ugly imperialist chieftain."

Thus, nothing either of the internal crisis — which brought about nothing short of the death (execution?) of Mao's "closest comrade-in-arms and successor," Marshal Lin Biao — or the external condition that there is but one China, not the "two" Nixon sponsored in the UN and still recognizes as "China," i.e., Taiwan, was permitted to slow the speed-up of closer relations with the U. S.

Thus, the joint communique had originally stated that the U. S. would "progressively reduce its forces and military installation on Taiwan as the tension in the area (Vietnam) diminishes." Nothing of the sort was done. For that matter, hardly anyone believes that peace has come to Vietnam. China's anxiety to move ever closer to the U. S., however, is so great that no imperialist action by the U. S. against others can stop it.

No wonder that Nixon in the very same news conference in which he made his announcement of new relations with China, used his most authoritarian voice to warn North Vietnam that if the cease-fire "violations" continue, he would not hesitate to bludgeon it back to acquiesce to Pax Americana.

### MAO AND KISSINGER

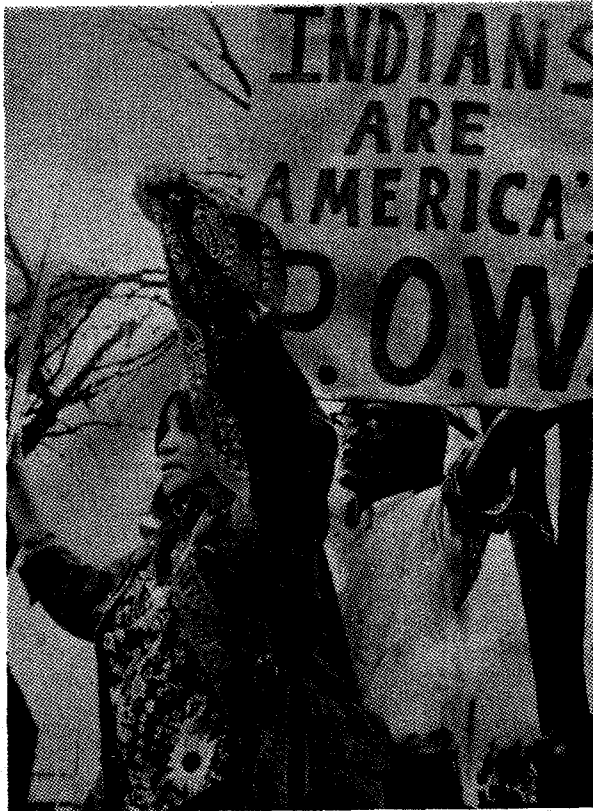
Splashed over the front pages of all three major publications in China — The People's Daily, The Red Flag, and The Liberation Army Daily — were pictures of Henry Kissinger with Mao Tse-tung. Day in and day out, during the four days Kissinger spent in Peking, the Chinese press followed up the picture display of Mao and Kissinger with commentary that stressed to the Chinese masses that Mao was talking to a very good friend: They had talked for over two hours. That was twice as much as with Nixon. He was telling his very good friend to be sure to greet another and greater friend, the President.

Promptly the Western "specialists" began writing, "this aside was almost as significant as the meeting itself . . . It set the stage for further development of Chinese-American relations" (David Bonavia, Times, London, Feb. 18, 1973). And so it did.

No wonder that Kissinger's smile upon his return looked like that of the cat who just swallowed the canary. This "canary" was no less than the chieftain of the vast expanse of China where one quarter of mankind live. The delusions that float in the brain of Dr. Strangelove Kissinger might well rival Mao's famous "great leap forward." By now, however, Mao is girding for a global leap that he expects will put Russia in the shade!

If this is not obvious from the single statement that the official China News Agency issued, that Mao and Kissinger "had a frank and wide-ranging conversation in an unconstrained atmosphere," it is nevertheless this, precisely this "unconstrained atmosphere" which worries Russia. She is sure that secret agreements, directed

(Continued on Page 5)



—LNS photo  
Gallup, N.M. Indians picket to support Wounded Knee.

ber was only the beginning. The Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan was formed to go every place a treaty was broken—that means, every inch of the U.S.A. The newspapers also neglected to mention the number of elderly people, young parents and their small children that travel with the Caravan—it is by no means "a bunch of young male hoodlums."

You know I work with Associated Indians of Detroit (AID) which operates a small Indian center in the inner city. We provide a gathering place for American Indians, cultural classes, and a G. E. D. program. AID is affiliated with AIM, a national organization with chapters in mainly urban areas of the U.S.A. and just lately in Canada. (American Indian people do not identify with the border.) AIM was the first national organization to define the reasons for our problem, to define who the enemies were—first, Christianity; second, the BIA.

We say Christianity because it was Christian missionaries that came to the Indian people and converted them by fire and sword. But we believe that Christian concepts are very beautiful valid standards if Christian people would live up to them. We have seen Christianity turning into "Churchianity." Until American Indians see Christians living what they preach, we cannot believe them.

### MISSIONARIES AND THE BIA

We have seen priests and missionaries, by their very presence, divide families. We have seen structures built—churches that cost millions, and yet people are hungry and children die of malnutrition.

(Continued on Page 6)

## WL needs new theoretic beginning

Two of the best articles I have read from the women's liberation movement are by Adrienne Rich ("The Anti-Feminist Woman," NY Review of Books, Nov. 30, 1972) and Branka Magas ("Sex Politics: Class Politics," New Left Review, March-April, 1971). Instead of dwelling on a single issue within the movement, they have attempted to take an overall view.

### ADRIENNE RICH

Rich does not take M. Decter's attack on the women's movement (The New Chastity) as her ground. Her point of departure is, instead, a "feminism that must imply an imaginative identification with all women (and the ghostly woman in all men) and that the feminist must, because she can, extend this act . . . as far as possible." She isn't saying 'all women are my sisters'; rather, all women are subjected to some form of male oppression and are therefore "potentially the deepest of all questioners of the social order created by men, and the most genuinely radical of thinkers."

Rich's emphasis is on the newness and richness of thought in the women's movement. But, perhaps because she is a professor and a poet, she concentrates on professional women, and is not explicit in spelling out where we have gotten to now.

Rich is concerned with the women who do not "identify" with the movement; she wants to overcome this separation among women and ideas, but she remains abstract on whose thought she is building. She does mention Black and working women, but only as those who do not see the women's movement bearing any relationship to their own lives—not where they would give a totally different orientation and point of departure to the movement.

### BRANKA MAGAS

Branka Magas is openly a Marxist and understands the need for an independent women's movement; she's also aware of the danger of single issues and reformism disorienting the movement. Magas points out how the suffragette movement, precisely because it was centered only on the vote, reduced its vision so totally that it ended up collaborating with white supremacists to win support.

Magas emphasizes how necessary theory is to the women's movement and how it hasn't yet arrived at that recognition. But she herself has created no new ground. It seems to me this comes from her thinking being tied too closely to structuralism, which sees history as chronological epochs and not the movement of people for freedom. For example, she correctly criticizes the women who want to throw out Freud entirely for his sexism without seeing that in his historical period, it was revolutionary to talk about sex. But Magas' ambivalence emerges when

all that she can offer are Louis Althusser's male chauvinist formulations on psychoanalysis—the exact opposite from the direction in which women are moving on this question.

I welcome this appreciation of the need for theory in the women's movement. But unless we begin with the new, both in the actual movement and in theory, there will be no new jumping-off point. The only woman theoretician who has established a new foundation is Raya Dunayevskaya. In her article in Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak In Many Voices she has expressed not only the validity of today's independent women's movement, but also women as Reason as well as revolutionary force. What is crucial is that we continue on this ground; if we don't begin here, we will end up tailoring reformism, or worse.

—Mary Holmes

## Abortion law: vigilance is still needed



The Jan. 22 Supreme Court rulings on abortion were a happy shock to the women's movement. Nixon's own Court invalidated the laws which severely restrict abortions in almost every state.

The Court based its decision on the constitutional right of privacy. It has long been obvious to women that their "liberty" must include the right to control their own bodies; but we also know that the Supreme Court interprets the same Constitution very differently at different times in history.

But, it is also true that there could not have been such a far-reaching decision at this time without the Women's Liberation movement, whose ideas have permeated the society far beyond its active membership.

At the same moment that we applaud this victory, however, we must immediately look to its enforcement. So far, the states have done little or nothing to make their laws conform. In some areas, doctors are threatened with arrest under the old laws, or medical societies expel those who perform abortions. Undoubtedly, it will still be years before abortions can be easily obtained everywhere.

And, even that eventuality is threatened by the proposed constitutional amendment to outlaw abortion. In today's political climate, it would be passed quickly if women let down their guard.

The decision itself, like every victory, can be used for reactionary purposes. It is still a long way from the radical position in WL of "free abortion and contraceptives on demand." Abortions may be artificially priced out of the reach of poor women. The concept of free choice which the decision now represents could be perverted by attempts to force women to have abortions or lose welfare.

The dangers of mis-using the decision are already visible in New York, which already had legal abortion. The NYC Dept. of Health, which was always lax about properly enforcing regulations as to the cleanliness, safety, etc., of clinics, is seizing on the Court decision to be more lax, as if it meant that there can be no regulation of the physical conditions for the safety of the women involved.

Unfortunately, certain factions in the women's movement are also demanding no health regulations at all, not realizing that this could mean cut-rate butcher shops for poor women all over again. While it is true that the states will try to place limitations on the right to have an abortion under the guise of safety regulations, we must be careful that what we support cannot be used to exploit a certain group of women in the way that the equal employment laws are now being used to deprive working women of protective legislation.

—Molly Jackson

## Lebanon: 'Right to kill'

Beirut, Lebanon—A group of lawyers headed by Ms. Lohr Moghaizel has organized to have Article 562—based on the concept of women as property—eliminated from the penal code. This law upholds the custom whereby a man may kill a female relative who "dishonors the family," even though such conduct may be no more than an affectionate gesture. A father or brother who kills must be given a lenient sentence, often as little as two years hard labor.

All questions of marital relations and parental rights are presently under religious jurisdiction. The lawyers are working to have the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies—99 men—move this into the civil sphere. They want to have murder treated as such by the courts—not as a special right to kill.

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 3.

## Women fight work reports

Hartford, Conn. — Pressure, petty harassment and racism in my office reached their height last week for five women workers. The immediate issues were a new policy of individual work reports on how much time each of us spends working, and the racist attempts to fire the only Black woman in the department for "talking too much." The Black sister said "Slavery was abolished in the nineteenth century, and I'm not going to work as a slave for slave labor wages."

We went to Personnel and they sent us to the senior vice president of the department—a man. We laid it on the line to him that we planned to quit if the reports were demanded and if the pressure continued. For 40 minutes we described the buildup of tension and pressure on our Black co-worker, initiated by two low-level supervisors. He contacted the top boss of our department.

Returning to the office, we vowed to stick together in refusing to discuss the matter individually but only as a group. Our solidarity and anger bore its fruit in the withdrawal of the work reports and a promise to put an end to the petty harassment against us, especially the Black sister. We shall have to wait and see if the promises were serious or only appeasement. None of us will wait very long.

—Hartford Insurance Worker

Just out

### Rosa Luxemburg: Revolutionary Theoretician

By Lee Tracey

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## WAY OF THE WORLD

### Nixon's reign means soaring food prices

by Ethel Dunbar

All over this country, people are yelling about the skyrocketing food prices, and there seems to be no end in sight. Ever since Nixon got back into office, prices have had a continuous forward jump every week, from three cents to ten and fifteen cents. In the inner cities, it is even higher. Some Black women who are day workers in the suburbs say they always buy their groceries where they work, because most food items are much cheaper out there, among those that can afford to pay it.

So much pressure has been put on Nixon to do something about the price of food, but he has said, leave it to the American housewives: when they get ready, they will do something. They organized and began to picket some food stores in Washington, D.C. The next day Nixon said he was opposed to this business of picketing by housewives. To me, it is the most effective way to fight those high prices.

Nixon is not against food companies getting high prices, but he was quick to put a wage freeze on workers some two years ago. He has no thoughts about how workers should live, or concerning the millions of unemployed and the millions that are living on Social Security and other fixed incomes. As a factory worker said, we often discuss how it is possible for people that are not working to live. We read in the papers that some families are buying dog food, because that's all they can afford.

Now that people are buying and living on cheaper foods like peanut butter and sardines, scientists are saying that foods that do not have enough zinc in them are harmful to depend on. In order for the body to keep substantially strong, one must have meat which carries the necessary zinc. I wonder why the scientists just made their discovery after people stopped, or at least slowed down, buying meat.

Many people are saying that something is desperately wrong in this society and something must be done to make it more responsible to all citizens, not just the rich, as Nixon is doing. But all poor and working people I talk with do not believe this society can continue in the direction it's going forever, and that these unreasonably high prices for food can be the beginning that tears this society up by its roots.

## L. A. rent strikers sold out

Twenty-eight families at the William Mead city housing project in Los Angeles have been on a rent strike for six months and have formed themselves into the William Mead Community Action Council. Below is their answer to a letter received from the Housing Authority and the Housing Authority Resident Advisory Committee (HARAC), which is an organization that is supposed to represent the tenants of the housing project—Ed.

Los Angeles, Cal.—In February, the residents of William Mead received a letter from Housing Authority Chairman Ishihara and Executive Director Salzman which resulted from a special meeting of HARAC with the Housing Authority Board of Commissioners to discuss the problems at the William Mead Housing Development.

Why weren't the tenants of William Mead informed of the fact that there was to be a discussion of their housing project? The only people from William Mead present were the manager, Mrs. Sandoval and Mrs. Escobosa who, besides being HARAC representative from Mead, is employed by the Housing Authority.

At the meeting, HARAC representatives concluded that a letter would be sent to all residents telling them that the Housing Authority backed the housing project manager. Who does HARAC represent—the tenants or the Housing Authority?

Instead of backing the Housing Authority in its policy of making decisions without consulting tenants, we feel HARAC should move to see that the demands of the tenants of William Mead are carried out promptly: 1) Mrs. Sandoval's removal from the project; 2) adequate heaters in all the units, and 3) the renovation of the community center and play area.

Instead of trying to figure out how to "immediately remove those residents at William Mead who are causing 'trouble,'" HARAC should be fighting to see that the voice of these tenants is listened to by the Housing Authority. The point is not whether HARAC, whose members do not live in William Mead, back Mrs. Sandoval. The point is whether the residents of William Mead back Mrs. Sandoval. And they have spoken out loudly that they do not back her.

The people on rent strike are only a small portion of the opposition. We represent the hopes of many, many tenants. The people on rent strike are fighting for everyone's rights. It is not us, but the Housing Authority who is putting fear into the tenants, as well as causing trouble by not fixing the Community Center and playground; by not giving us proper heaters, and by keeping a manager who does not care about the residents of the project. We want to know, HARAC, are you for us or against us?

—William Mead Community Action Council

# S.F. Pier 96 dockers say, 'job action only way'

San Francisco, Calif.—Bridges' attempts to merge the ILWU with the ILA and then with the Teamsters are often interpreted as attempts to solve the union's problems with the employers.

In my opinion this view is way off the beam—he is firmly in the employer camp where productivity is concerned. He has long accepted mechanization and containerization as progress, rather than seeing it as an employer assault on conditions and jobs of workers in this industry in order to increase profits.

While the news is of merger, working longshoremen have continued the process of getting control of their own job situation. Recently we were ordered from the hiring hall to Pier 96, a huge new pier for container-barge and mainly-container vessels, for 6:00 p.m. on the night shift. The companies are allowed six-o'clock gangs if there are 3:00 a.m. gangs to follow us — otherwise our turn-to time is 7:00 or 8:00 p.m.

When we learned there were no 3:00 a.m. gangs, we decided not to go to work at six. A union business agent was called, who then left with a company representative to arbitrate the dispute by phone.

The business agent came back about seven and reported that the arbitrator had ruled that the gangs should have turned to. He had left the question of pay from six to seven open, something to be decided at another time. The union representative recommended nothing, leaving it up to the workers to decide what to do.

Some immediately headed for the bus out, while the others stood around considering what to do. One young Black brother said, speaking to all, "If we let them get away with this they'll just do it again next time — job action is the only way." Some minutes later the rest of the longshoremen boarded the bus and left the job.

The employers are attempting to blame the above-mentioned business agent. They have demanded his de-registration, exclusion from the industry. But the longshoremen are giving him full support and will continue their attempts to control their own job situation.

Bridges' merger talks indicate that he no longer controls the top structure of the ILWU. The working longshoremen have been disenchanted for a long time. The people at the top let him waste time on the merger

gambits because they knew he would get nowhere with the membership, and this would stall an out-front tangle with him.

At this time discussions are taking place among the longshoremen and ship clerks about joint action with the seamen and other longshoremen in the country — the working Teamsters aren't being left out either. Also, as pointed out above, the process of getting control goes on and on here!

—San Francisco Docker



## Canadian farmers ask U.S. boycott of Kraft products

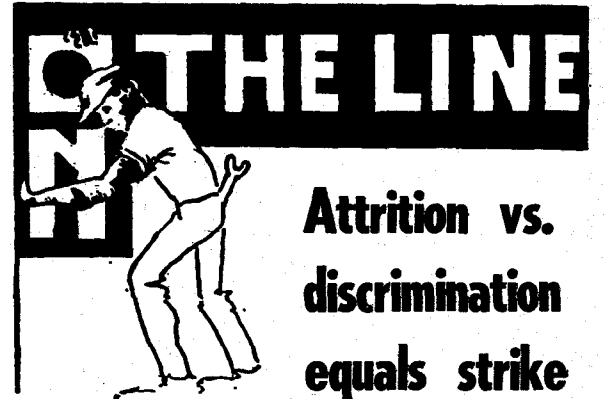
Kingston, Ontario—The Kraftco Corporation is extremely difficult to deal with since it produces such a large variety of products. This giant U.S. company has the Canadian farmer in a stranglehold. Kraft controls not only the milk industry in Canada (80 per cent) but is the dominant force in the food industry as well.

Here in S.E. Ontario, Kraft and its allies in Canadian government are directly responsible for the rapid decline in family farms. In 1967 there were over 22,000 individual farms in Ontario, but by 1972 over 8,000 had disappeared. Now in 1973 they're going under at the rate of 36 a day due to crop failures last year. In Canada as a whole, according to federal government statistics, for the last two years farmers have been going under at the rate of just over 1,000 per month.

Perhaps you begin to see our problem. The boycott is going well here in Canada. Our picketing actions have met with great success in a good response from the public. However, since Kraftco is a multi-national corporation and Canada makes up less than 10 per cent of its market, we'll have to seek and get support in other countries. It would be nice to hear a loud, long squawk from the giant in his own backyard.

\*\*\*

*EDITOR'S NOTE: For further information, readers can contact NATIONAL FARMERS UNION, 250 C 2nd Ave., S., Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. An information package is available for \$1 which includes a three month sub to the newsletter, several pamphlets and a Boycott button from Kingston Boycott Kraft, c/o P.O. Box 701, Kingston, Ontario.*



By John Allison

Workers at the Chrysler Jefferson plant in Detroit went on strike because of discrimination—the kind of discrimination that makes for production speed-up. This is the way the UAW let Chrysler run the game over the workers:

When an old-timer retires, he or she is not replaced by another worker. The work is divided between the employees who are left. Young workers have got the message loud and clear.

### ELIMINATE JOBS

There are a lot of ways this deal cuts. By the time some workers are at retirement age, some are on jobs that don't kill you. Through seniority, they get some of the better jobs, as they should. So when they retire or quit or die, and their job just disappears by being spread out among other workers, it blocks another worker from getting that better job.

When the Highland Park Chrysler plant closed down, they had an attrition pool that eased some of the burden in other plants of the corporation. When a worker retired, died or quit, there was someone from the pool who replaced the worker going out. Now there is no pool to help, and so production goes up and up, and workers get madder and madder . . . until you have a strike.

Then management threatens the UAW, goes into the courts to get an injunction to make the workers return to work. Management, the UAW and the courts seem to be kissing cousins.

But while that romance is going on, the rank-and-file workers are catching hell on the production line, and those kissing cousins don't know a thing about what kind of hell that is. All they point to is that strike explosion with all that fire and brimstone, not what caused it.

### ONLY RANK-AND-FILE CAN CHANGE IT

They all know what caused it. But the company never cuts down on production, it always speeds it up. The UAW isn't going to do anything about it, because it means reorganizing production from top to bottom. And Woodcock and his gang aren't about to take on that job. We know the courts always back management, so there's no use looking there.

The only ones left are the rank-and-file workers, and they're something else again. They do want to change their working conditions from top to bottom. By now, it's pretty clear that they're the only ones who can do it. There just is no other way.

## Cops and court abuse worker

Hartford, Conn.—An elderly Polish worker was falsely arrested and brutalized by Hartford police in January. He is now getting a bad deal in court.

A court-watcher came upon him waiting for his hearing, without a lawyer or any idea of where he was supposed to be. He told her his story. His neighbors had been having a violent fight, as often happened. As he feared they would injure themselves, he called the police.

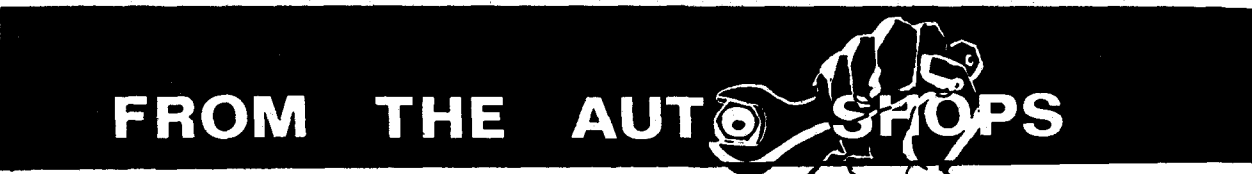
The police came, charged into his apartment, grabbed him, knocked him around and threw him down the stairs. They then brought him down to the police station. He was booked, and told to go home — on a cold winter night, in his undershirt and slippers.

When he went to court, no one bothered to tell him his case had been postponed until the next week, so he waited in court all day for nothing. He did talk to a public defender, who listened to his story for a few minutes and told him that his best chance was to plead guilty. The fact that this man was innocent and a victim of false arrest didn't seem to concern him. He was just there to crank cases through as quickly as possible.

—Tom Dunn

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**READERS:**  
DO YOU HAVE A STORY TO TELL? SEND IT IN!



## GM South Gate

Los Angeles, Calif.—This year is an important one for GM workers—important because a new contract between the corporation and the union comes up for negotiations. Because of the possibility of the new contract becoming a mere renewal of the old, let's examine two articles from the present national contract agreement to see how severe such an occurrence could be.

"The right to . . . discharge or discipline for cause; and to maintain discipline and efficiency of employees, is the sole responsibility of the corporation . . . In addition . . . the schedules of production, the methods, processes, and means of manufacturing are solely and exclusively the responsibility of the corporation."

The above is an excerpt of Article 8 of the agreement between GM and the UAW. Now read the entire article carefully if you think they forgot anything: "The schedules of production," regardless of how burdensome on the line worker, "the methods, processes, and means of manufacturing," regardless of how unsafe or unhealthy, "are solely and exclusively the responsibility of the corporation."

The article says nothing about who makes conditions unsafe, unhealthy, or unduly burdensome. It is worded so that GM has absolute authority in these matters. It is also disturbing to see that the corporation has the "right" and "sole responsibility" in matters of discharge, discipline, and efficiency of employees. With this in mind, what real purpose does our union serve?

" . . . the Union will not cause or permit its members to cause, nor will any member of the Union take part in any sit-down, stay-in, or slow-down, in any plants of the Corporation . . . The Union will not cause or permit its members to cause nor will any member of the Union take part in any strike or stoppage of any of the Corporation's operations or picket any of the Corporation's plants or premises until all the bargaining

procedures as outlined in this Agreement has been exhausted . . . "

The above are excerpts from Article 117. Looking at this, we can see the purpose behind GM's Labor Relations and why all of our grievances must be "settled" even if it requires the use of the trash can. This article explains the incestuous relationship between our Shop Committee and Labor Relations, which results in selling out workers who have legitimate grievances. It also warns us that if we, the workers, try to solve our problems by the use of more positive means (strikes, picketing, etc.) we have virtually no protection guaranteed by the union.

One question remains, brothers and sisters: Do we want these provisions in the new contract?  
 —South Gate GM Worker

## Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—We have been boycotting the cafeteria for a week now at Fleetwood. The protest is just about 100% effective. Only four or five workers have gone into the cafeteria any day this week.

It started when a group of workers up on the sixth floor put out a leaflet and called the boycott over high prices for poor food. The prices have been going up and up. The cheapest meal is \$1.15—and it's nothing. A quarter-pound hamburger is \$1.50.

When the boycott started, the union put out a leaflet saying that the boycott was not authorized by the union. They didn't oppose it, they just stood off to the side. They said they would talk to the company that owns the cafeteria, Profit Foods. It is a concession contractor with GM.

Profit Foods (the name makes sense) says that if they have to lower their prices, they will move out. Everyone I know says, "Good, let them move!" GM says it's not their business, but GM's foremen and general foremen eat in a separate dining room where we can't go. I don't know what the prices are there, but I'll bet the food is better.  
 —Fleetwood Worker



# Readers' Views

## STATE CAPITALISM

Nixon's brand of State-Capitalism sounds more and more like the Russian brand every day. I'm referring to the Nixon "Doctrine" on combatting sky-high food prices: "It's patriotic to eat fish." Or, Schultz saying "Substitute cheese for meat." And, Brennan telling us to "Plant Victory Gardens."

Who are they kidding when they say they are against price controls on meat and other agricultural products because it will lead to "Black Markets," rationing, and (sic) "bread lines" as in Russia. What are Food Stamp lines anyway, if not sophisticated bread lines?

I wouldn't be surprised if, in the interest of national security and "world peace," we are soon told to eat egg rolls and Peking duck.

Young Cynic  
Detroit

\*\*\*

I was disappointed in "Russia as State-Capitalist Society" in two respects:— 1) It discusses the Russia of 30 years ago. I'm much more interested in the Russia of today. 2) The booklet is too highly technical (in the economic sense). If we had to wait for the socialist revolution until the number of people required to consummate that revolution understood your booklet without reservations, we'd have to wait several millennia.

A Friend  
New York

\*\*\*

I just finished reading Raya Dunayevskaya's original historical analysis of "Russia as a State Capitalist Society." I was amazed it was written 30 years ago, it seems so relevant for America today — with Nixon's stages and phases allowing him to put his fingers into everything that happens in the economy.

Nixon's "game plan" is only a euphemism for a "five year plan." His instant global realignment — abandoning his own "sacred" principles of anti-communism and "free" enterprise and opening the door to Russian and Chinese trade while opening new antagonisms among our old "free" world allies in Europe and Japan — shows that the state-capitalism which Ms. Dunayevskaya caught in her early studies of Russia is the all-pervasive form in the world today.

Med Student  
Detroit

\*\*\*

All I have to say about the bill that would give the government a say in the content of radio and T.V. broadcasting is, that this country is getting more like Russia every day.

Grocer  
Connecticut

\*\*\*

General Mobutu, the dictator of the former Belgian Congo who was responsible for the murder of Patrice Lumumba, was the latest in a long list of VIP guests in "Communist" China. He arrived in Peking surrounded by Belgian advisors. Evidently the Chinese govern-

ment, which once tried to win the minds of Blacks and Africans with a claim to speak for the Third World, now prefers to deal with the puppets of the Belgians, just as the U. S. prefers to deal with puppets like Ky and Thieu in Vietnam.

D. G.  
Connecticut

\*\*\*

It was very exciting to read Raya Dunayevskaya's article on George Lukacs because it showed how much ideas live. The thought that Lukacs' essays had an "underground life," as she called it, for all those years, in a totalitarian country made me realize the importance of that little letter from "Reader, East Europe," where they are reading N&L. It suddenly conjured up all kinds of things to me — people reading, people meeting, people living, ideas living.

Angela Terrano  
New York

## WOUNDED KNEE

There is an alternative to Wounded Knee — to the original one, to the many that preceded and those that followed it.

Through the years, every time we try to take some recourse from the government on our treaties, the government sends task forces (BIA non-Indian workers) to investigate. They write volumes about it, return to their bureau where the data gathers dust and everything is kept quiet or forgotten.

We want our culture back. It seems every time someone wants to "help the poor Indian" I get calls that say "I have gathered some used clothing." That is not the way to help.

Full-blood Lenni Lanape  
of the Delaware Nation

\*\*\*

Nobody ever thought the Indians would one day revolt. I sometimes think that the Indians and the Jews have been the most oppressed people in this world. Nobody ever went to their rescue. But the Indians are saying they are just not going to take it any more. They have seen what the Black people in this country have been doing, and they have a chance to learn from the mistakes others have made.

Black Mother  
Detroit

\*\*\*

Wounded Knee isn't over with, it is just beginning. Nixon doesn't want to get involved with it right now. He is worried about the discontent over rising prices and the labor contracts coming up. Something like Wounded Knee could set the whole thing off before he is ready. The government is really getting ready to come down on the people of this country.

White Worker  
Los Angeles

\*\*\*

The average American does not hear about the murders of Indians in his own country. The average American does not hear how their murderers escape or evade justice. Pima County Sheriffs officers have killed a 19 year old Indian youth in Ajo. In Tucson only recently, there have been several cases of police beating Indian youths.

We are asking everyone to immediately raise funds for legal defense in both Tucson and South Dakota. Both situations are critical. In South Dakota, 36 Indians are facing up to 30 years in prison for protesting the slaying of an Indian by a white man. In Tucson, funds are needed to combat juvenile delinquency through youth centers, and funds are needed for test cases against police brutality.

Donations may be sent to:

Papago Cultural Research and  
Halfway House  
P. O. Box 7672  
Tucson, Arizona 85725

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION

A thousand women demonstrated at the Federal Building in New York recently to protest the upcoming changes in federal aid to child-care facilities. They called the demonstration "pre-registration for welfare," because the effect of the new HEW regulations will be to force working women with children on welfare.

The government is ending child-care subsidies for women who earn over \$4,500 a year. That means they will have to pay the full cost of \$60 per week per child or quit their jobs to qualify for the subsidy.

I believe Nixon is doing this purposely so that women will be forced out of half-way decent paying jobs, go on welfare, and then be required by welfare to take the same jobs in return for their meager welfare checks.

Reader  
New York

\*\*\*

The article on your WL page on "Feminism vs. Marxism" had some loose phrases that bothered me, because I think they could cut off many women. Instead of talking about women being "chained to family or low-skilled jobs," I felt you really meant that women are chained to the family structure of capitalism.

And instead of low-skilled jobs, I feel you should have said "low-paying jobs." I don't think being a doctor or lawyer is better than being a wire-solderer. Marx talked about "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" — and though we can't achieve that under capitalism, I don't think he considered professionals better than workers.

Former Electrical Worker  
New York

## RACISM

When all those whites voted for Rizzo for mayor, they thought that the police would be used against the Blacks. Now they have found that the police can be used against labor. At least the teachers in Philadelphia can now understand the relationship between race and class in this country.

Politico Philadelphia

\*\*\*

I'm a Black student at Long Beach State and I noticed the lack of activities and speakers on campus during Black History week. Although I would like to see special programs on campus concerning Black people, I think it is more important to develop some type of active Black student organization. We don't need anyone to tell us when to celebrate our heritage and there's no reason to limit ourselves to one week.

Black Student  
California

\*\*\*

The article by John Alan on Seaman Essex and the spectacle in New Orleans was very moving. If you watched that TV orgy of police shooting themselves and Essex and talking about conspiracies, and contrasted that to the Black community Essex came from, you saw two different worlds. It almost seemed that every Black person in this country must have identified with Essex, his frustrations, his life. Just look at the 30 cars of mourners at his funeral in a town where the whites kept insisting everything was "racially harmonious."

White Mother  
New York

\*\*\*

Dr. R. Wiley Brownlee, the white high school principal who was tarred and feathered here about a year ago, because he tried to improve race relations at his school, has just been fired by the Willow Run school board — even though students from his school were present with a petition supporting him.

Five members of the Michigan KKK

had been charged with the tarring and feathering incident, though they have yet to come to trial. Apparently, the KKK runs more than just their own little clavern in this neck of the woods.

Disgusted  
Ypsilanti, Michigan

## MIDDLE-EAST TURMOIL

The fact that those assassinations took place in Sudan doesn't seem an accident. It was Sudan which has recently had an attempted coup by the Communists who were then crushed. Recently the Sudan has been moving closer to the U. S.

Committee Member  
Los Angeles

\*\*\*

A march and rally was held in Detroit on March 3 in protest of the shooting down of a Libyan airliner by U. S.-built war planes over the Sinai desert. 106 of the 111 people on board were killed. The rally was also to protest the invasion of Palestinian refugee camps in northern Lebanon by Israeli commandos. 31 Arab civilians were murdered in that attack.

200 people participated in the march condemning Israel and the U. S. for the atrocities committed against the Arab people in the Middle East. The rally ended with the reading of a poem written by a Palestinian refugee.

Arab Youth  
Detroit

\*\*\*

Recently 10,000 ultra-orthodox Israelis demonstrated in Jerusalem, over an interpretation of religious law. No recourse was taken against them. The government has long forbidden demonstrations and any Left demonstration is broken up and the participants jailed. However, a religious demonstration is "safe." It will not upset the status quo. It does not threaten the government's policies. It does not represent the forces which will change the existing society into a more human one.

Visitor  
Israel

## "THE MOVEMENT"

I was attracted to a leaflet of the National Caucus of Labor Committees announcing a course in Marxism here, because they criticized the New Left for thinking that workers and campuses are "quiescent."

So who do they invite to their course? "Socialist revolutionaries," not workers and welfare recipients. They are going to learn how to become the personnel managers of the revolution. "The course will present the theoretical, intellectual correlates of competent socialist organizing..."

What's so radical about somebody running our lives? The capitalists do it 365 days a year.

Marxist-Humanist  
Ann Arbor

\*\*\*

The UFW rally in N. Y. for Cesar Chavez was a great antidote to the meetings of various Leftists I've been unfortunate enough to attend recently. Chavez was completely the opposite of all those ego-tripping organizers and elitists. Throughout his entire speech, he stressed the role and force of the people in bringing about the successes and gains of the union.

Supporter  
Connecticut

\*\*\*

We're deep into the Seventies. Our ideas have been high, our sacrifices seem great, and yet there's no significant change. The rich are richer, the poor poorer, the rich more frightened, the poor more angry. Somehow it seems we've missed the point.

Peace is not just the absence of murder, for death is as cruel if it arrives slowly by starvation and disease as by a hydrogen bomb...

Peoples' Voices  
Costa Rica

## News & Letters

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**TWO WORLDS**

**New links move Mao and Nixon closer together**

(Continued from Page 1)

against her, are in the offing. What is of more immediate and painful consequence of the new global game between China and the U. S. — and in this Russia is equally guilty — is the sell-out of North Vietnam.

It is necessary to take a second look at the war that is now called "peace with honor."

**VIETNAM, AGAIN AND AGAIN**

Nothing so tells the might of U. S. imperialism than the fact that first they got Russia and China to work with them to bring North Vietnam to sign a Nixon-style "peace with honor," which meant that Vietnam was giving up its main demand for an agreement that would not separate politics from the military. Once Nixon's number one priority in Vietnam — keeping Thieu in power — was agreed to and the POW's were released, Nixon was free to test many other avenues of global realignment.

For that purpose, this time as enemies and always as Big Powers, China and Russia are lining up. In 1954, when they were "one," Russia and China worked in concert to compel North Vietnam to give up its victory against the French for "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism. In 1973, when they themselves are engaged in a life-and-death game, they still work equally hard to make North Vietnam the sacrificial lamb.

As the arrogant Dr. Strangelove Kissinger put it to Marvin Kalb of CBS: Vietnam took on "a different perspective" the minute it was recognized as only "an appendage to the land mass of Asia." Put into human language, it means that the Vietnam war, "localized," can continue on endlessly and not a single one of the three big super powers will give a hoot. No matter what, Vietnam will now be kept on the back burner, will not be permitted to influence global realignment, much less the timing or the plans for world holocaust.

Nothing demonstrates more clearly in our nuclear age not only that small countries count for nothing, but that there are Three (and only three, not five) Super Powers, than the disdain with which the international conference was held in Paris. First, it was clear that the international "peace" conference had been convened merely to sign what had already been worked out by the U.S. and agreed to, not so much with Vietnam, North or South, but with Russia and China.

Secondly, everything ground to a halt the moment Nixon announced he was dissatisfied with the delay in the release of the POW's and ordered Secretary Rogers to get North Vietnam moving faster and faster.

Thirdly, even while it was in farcical session, what really counted was Roger's meeting with China's ambassador on the matter of the \$250 million of private American claims against China, and the \$78 million that the U.S. had impounded of Chinese money. The fact that this too was agreed to so speedily shows that everything, absolutely everything, was subordinated to Mao's pre-occupation with getting Nixon to see Russia as "Enemy Number One."

**THE SOMERSAULTS OF THE MASS MEDIA**

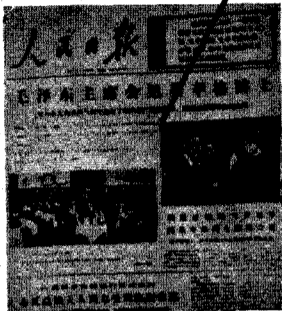
The daily press, the mass media, the "academic community" have, in concert, projected the counterpart to Nixon's political somersaults that rival brainwashings in totalitarian lands; moreover, they are self-inflicted.

So great is the totality of the crisis in the country; so total is the fear of something worse even than the Vietnam nightmare, as "peace with honor" is shown to be a continuation of the war with slightly modified means that might end in a global holocaust; so absolute is the frustration at everything turning into its opposite right before their eyes while butting their heads against the stone wall of Nixon's retrogressions on the home front that, at one and the same time, an unparalleled cynicism pervades the land, and, with it, ironically enough, the compulsion to compensate for the old capitulation to the China Lobby during the McCarthy period.

One famous columnist, Joseph Alsop, let one cat out of the bag. That super hawk anti-Communist has been writing like any true "Maoist" on all the super-achievements of Mao's China, especially so in the transformation of man himself—700 million souls at that. In summing up his great adventure of the month (NY Times Magazine, Mar. 11 and 18, 1973) he has admitted that the reason for his invitation to visit China evidently



Pictures of Henry Kissinger and Mao Tse-tung were given front page coverage in all major Peking newspapers.



was that he had been writing, exposing Russia's military buildup in Russia on territory facing China.

And, in truth, no sooner did he step off the plane in Peking than he was met by Chinese officials—first with the Foreign Ministry Information Department; then with editors of the People's Daily and the China News Agency; then the "brilliant Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chiao Kuan-hua"; and finally, "the climactic talk with Chou." All the conversations "were unquestionably planned as a unitary process," all revolving around and against Russia, all on the single topic of an alleged "preventive war" Russia is planning against China. Chou, Alsop reports, spoke grimly of Russians "seeking to organize support for just such an attack among other Western Communist countries."

No wonder that, rather than facing such a horror, every one from hawk to the true Maoist is ready to back up the vast expense China has been putting into building underground air shelters. Thereby they hope to create a besieged atmosphere to get their masses to work endlessly. All the while, the leadership is preoccupied with nothing short of an alliance with "the devil himself" — Nixon of the USA!

**WILL MAO AND NIXON MOVE INTO AN ALLIANCE AGAINST RUSSIA?**

Alsop also called attention to the fact that the British and Italian foreign secretaries — Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Giuseppe Medici — reported that this was "all but the exclusive subject" that Chou had with them. In a word, what is involved in the whole move towards relations with the U.S. is a feeler towards an alliance against Russia.

The collaboration with the USA is nowhere near such a fantastic stage. Cultural exchanges are hardly the equivalent of MIRV knowhow. Nor are the somewhat more important economic relations — be it China's \$150 million purchase of Boeing's airplanes, or the \$250 million of American business interests' claims against China and, in turn, the \$78 million America impounded that belong to China.

What is important is (1) the speed with which all this was initiated, and (2) that the international conference to co-sign the Vietnam "peace" was subordinated to the meetings that Secretary of State Rogers was having with China's Foreign Minister, Chi Peng-fei on these claims and counter-claims — outstanding for over two decades but resolved in two days. The door is opened to closer relations — but that is all.

Nixon is also keeping an even wider door open to Russia. And he is trying to mend the fences he broke down with allies — Western Europe and Japan — when he moved unilaterally against both as he faced money crisis and overtures to China. Nixon, the total retrogressionist on the home front against Blacks, against labor, against youth, moving simultaneously, both for and against state intervention in the economy, has not changed an iota his reactionary views of Pax Americana the world over.

Nixon's spectacular journey to Peking was to open doors and give himself, and himself alone—i.e., U.S. imperialism—new options for global realignment. This didn't mean only an opening toward China. As his "follow-up" journey to Russia showed, he wasn't closing that door.

Since then, the journeys by Kissinger and Spiro Agnew to Southeast and East Asia were to assure everyone from Japan to Thailand of U.S. imperialism's "continued presence." The intellectual Kissinger may grab more headlines, but Spiro Agnew's studiously quieter journeys prove, to all the reactionaries in Asia, Nixon's abhorrence of "political vacuums," his clout to see no such vacuum exists, and his assurance to one and all that he is no "isolationist" and means to stand up to U.S. "global responsibility."

At the same time, the Nixon journeys got both of the contending "Communist" super-powers to collaborate with him even as he was bombing North Vietnam. They forced North Vietnam to the signature table and gave Nixon his "peace with honor" by not demanding the removal of his puppet Thieu. As for the journalists, they do Nixon one better by writing as if China can prove her allegations about Russia's "threat of a preventive war" and as if they have proof that the Sino-Soviet Conflict reached its high point only after Russia invaded Czechoslovakia. The facts speak differently.

**SINO-SOVIET RIVALRY**

There is no doubt about two of Russia's imperialist acts: one, the invasion of Czechoslovakia; and the other, the build-up of the northern frontiers facing China. Another truth, however, is that Mao's China took the

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# — YOUTH —

## German youth revolt stuns Brandt

West Germany's Young Socialists (JUSOS) held their annual congress on March 10 and came out strongly against the politics of Chancellor Willy Brandt, leader of the ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD). These Young Socialists, representing 250,000 members of the SPD, openly reject the capitalism of their "parent" party. Instead, they want to promote a "renaissance of Marxism" in Western Europe.

The JUSOS Congress adopted resolutions calling for the withdrawal of American troops from Europe, condemning Israel's occupation of Arab territory, and criticizing their government's refusal to oppose American policy in Vietnam. They helped organize a demonstration last week in which about 2,000 Germans marched near the Erlensee U.S. Army base protesting the continued presence of the 200,000 U.S. troops in their country.

These actions shocked the SPD and the Brandt Government so greatly that Brandt has publicly denounced

the JUSOS "Yankee-go-home" policy and even threatened to resign as Chancellor if this policy is adopted by the SPD as a whole.

The philosophical differences between the Young Socialists and the SPD leaders were revealed at the youth congress when Wolfgang Roth, JUSOS Chairman, accused Mr. Brandt of coddling capitalists and ignoring West Germany's workers. On the other hand, Holger Boerner, Brandt's representative at the congress, reminded the delegates that the SPD had officially rejected Marxism in 1959 in favor of a program of evolutionary social reform. Mr. Boerner was booed.

The JUSOS program consists of a double strategy of working within the SPD and mobilizing workers and youth outside the party. This strategy is opposed by the other left groups who call it a sell-out to State Monopoly Capitalism.

Whether or not the strategy of the Young Socialists is a "sell-out" remains to be seen, but the JUSOS resolutions and the anti-U.S. demonstration have forced Chancellor Brandt to run to Nixon to apologize and, so to speak, "forgive the rebelliousness of youth." The swiftness of Brandt's reaction to the youth reveals not only that the battle over Europe is a battle between the big, state-capitalist powers; but also that any revival of the youth revolts that swept West Germany and the rest of the world in the 60's can shake governments big and small to their foundations.

—W. Thayer

## Wounded Knee

(Continued from Page 1)

We are only now, in the last 10-15 years, finding out that the reservations the BIA created were an attempt at total genocide. They are made up of the poorest lands. The family was torn apart as children were forced into mission schools 300-400 miles away, to become like white people.

American Indian people living in urban areas identify very strongly with what is happening with Black Mesa in the Southwest. The Black Mesa is on a Navajo reservation. About 20 years ago land was leased to a small mining company. At that time an agreement was made that they were to stay there only so long and use only a small amount of land in their mining. Now they won't leave, and the small mining company has become so powerful no one can get them off. They are killing all plant life. Sheep and cattle can't live there.

Now there is talk of constructing industrial plants there. White scientists have shown with their computers that one of these plants they are going to build will emit as much smog in one day as Los Angeles does in one year. And they are talking of building seven!

Natural resources are a very big thing to Indian people. To construct these plants shows the misplaced values in the general society today. Love your brother, but step on him when it's convenient to get what you want. The white companies go in there and Indian people just have to get out of the way, even if they have no place to go.

We want to run our own education, which would be very different from the public schools. We want to teach our youth their own history and religion, and why it is not a bad thing to be an American Indian person. There are not enough of us to become a separatist people, but we have to recognize each other as one Red race of people. We can exist in general society, if we know who we are, because we become secure in that knowledge.

### ANOTHER WAY THAN TO ASSIMILATE

Although we have assimilated to a degree, we are still considered second or third class citizens. The papers tried to discredit the leaders of AIM by calling them "ex-cons." This is true of many; it's why they are doing what they are doing today, so their younger brothers and sisters won't have to go through that. They are showing them another way besides street life, drunkenness; another way to be happy than to assimilate.

The Blockade at Wounded Knee is still going on, but some food is getting through. I believe this is due to pressure from Indian and non-Indian peoples. But people should understand the urgency of the situation. "Peace" negotiations cannot go on while a bunch of well-armed white men stand around pointing guns at you. It is time that non-Indians know that American Indian people are very much a part of the life of the United States.

If you would like to help the struggle at Wounded Knee, please send your contributions to:

AIM, c/o Mother Butler Indian Center  
211 West Blvd. North  
Rapid City, S. D. 57701

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## Athens students strike

Athens, Greece — Students in Athens have been on strike for more than a month over demands for greater academic freedom in a country controlled by a military junta. The strike has developed from the stage of grievances to the school authorities to mass confrontations with the police and the occupation of the Athens University law school. The military government has been trying every means short of mass murder to crush the uprising, including threatening striking students with losing their draft deferments.

The movement, however, far from subsiding, seems to be spreading to other sectors of the society. The Greek press, which has been under tight government censorship since 1967, has been reporting all the student developments, and is pushing the limits of government control to see how much freedom they can get away with. Already, one editor has been sentenced to three years in prison for "anti-government" statements. So far, no one seems to be intimidated by the obvious repressive measures, and the students are continuing their new activities.

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## At Boston U.

### Students stop Marines

Boston, Mass.—On Thursday, March 1, several hundred Boston University students massed to protest the presence of a Marine recruiter on campus. In spite of several anti-military referendums by both students and faculty, B.U. President John Silber had invited the Marines on campus to interview "a few good men" (the fewer the better) for the Corps.

The students were well-organized and calm, but determined to inhibit the recruitment drive. One group of students signed up for all the interview spots for that day, filling the recruiter's schedule, and then did not go to the interviews. About 500 other students blockaded the entry to the building from 8:30 in the morning until 5 in the afternoon. There were also two attempts, led by women, to break through the police lines.

By the end of the day no one had gotten in to see the recruiter because of the human blockade. When the recruiter finally left, he had to run a 50-foot gauntlet of jeering students and an arch of "Hitler" salutes.

Hopefully, this action may signify a return of much of the spirit and courage which evaporated from the student movement after the massacres at Jackson and Kent State.

—B.U. Student

## Quebec student strike faced brutal attacks

Montreal, Quebec—On Sunday, March 4th, after six bitter weeks of striking, the students of the University of Quebec at Montreal (UQAM) voted in general assembly to return to their classes and to continue the struggle there. The administration has been unusually brutal in trying to suppress the strike movement and to break the solid alliance of students, maintenance employees, and professors by police attacks, expulsions, outright seizures of scholarships and bursaries, arrests, firings of non-union employees, and injunctions.

The students felt that if they did not return the university would be closed altogether and everyone would be thrown out on the street. They voted to devote class time to political discussion and to "exposing the exploitative nature of the education system."

The issue at stake in the strike is the payment of tuition fees which the students want to see abolished altogether, as tuition makes this so-called "public" university very selective by excluding working-class youth. Secondly the administration is more interested in training servants for the system and is in no way interested in real education in which students could learn for themselves.

In answer to typical administration charges, one student said "We are not so stupid that we could be dragged around by some supposed group of 'agitators'—we are full human beings capable of thinking for ourselves. They don't seem able to believe that."

Numerous students talked about the hope of creating a coherent student movement, and a deeper one than in 1968, and had the hope that COPE (the strike committee) might be a start in that direction. This is the first time that students, maintenance employees, and professors have worked together so closely, and the first time that various unions have given more than "moral" support to a student movement.

Students are back in class now, but the story isn't over. Now the maintenance workers are out on strike . . .

—R. Lafleche

## Guyanese fight for land

Georgetown, Republic of Guyana — The present squatting phase of the land movement has now ended. Following a government announcement on Jan. 22, squatters were given 48 hours to clear the land. Then police were moved in to wreck the temporary structures.

The African and East Indian squatters and landless have created the People's Committees and the Council of Landless Peoples. These are the only interracial organizations in the country representative of the people that are making any real progress in solving the contradictions between the country's two major races.

ASCRIA, an African group, initiated the call for the seizure of land from feudal capitalists "without money, without price, and at no cost." Since then, it was announced that all unused sugar land is being taken over by the government for development and distribution for agricultural and housing purposes.

It is the initiative of ASCRIA and primarily the peasant revolt and its method of fighting that have forced both the government and Booker's, a British sugar firm, into these changes. The campaign "not a cent for sugar lands" is now accepted as government policy, where before the government was merely talking about "cheaper" prices for sugar lands.

The movement continues. On Feb. 17, a massive gathering of people met at Bachelor's Village to demand return of a 6-mile stretch of land "stolen" from the village by sugar interests, and that all increases in cane farming be given to cane farmers and not sugar companies.

—Reader, Guyana, South America

## BLACK-RED VIEW

### New Bobby Seale: old mentality

by John Alan

Regardless of the results of the April 17 election in Oakland, Cal., I am going to express my observations and opinions beforehand, because of the "paradoxes" presented by the election, plus the fact that Bobby Seale, co-leader and founder of the Black Panther Party and ex-"insurrectionary," has hit the campaign trail in earnest as a major contender in the race for the Mayor of Oakland. This can either leave you tongue-tied or send you running for an answer immediately!

In case you don't know, Seale is running for the Mayor of Oakland as a registered Democrat. He has exchanged his beret and black leather coat for an expensive business suit, lowered his voice to a polite discussion tone, and has won recognition by the media and political opponents as a "New Bobby Seale", eager to work within the system of bourgeois politics by abiding by its rule. This is not a mere tactical posture, because by all evidence the immersion is complete.

#### FROM GUERRILLA WAR TO BOURGEOIS POLITICS

Seale is now setting out to accomplish, via the machinery of bourgeois politics, what the rhetoric or urban-guerrilla warfare failed to do—the directing of Federal Revenue-Sharing Funds toward social programs that will aid the poor, youth, aged, and minorities. And, where these funds are deficient, he proposes to slap various taxes on large corporate income.

During his pristine days of revolutionary fervor, Seale would have shunned any largesse from the state or federal governments because this would have been a cunning attempt on the part of the colonizers to bribe and brain-wash the people of the Colonial Ghettos. But now his whole political program is geared to the meager funds Nixon is allocating to the cities.

The question, however, is not Seale's obvious inconsistencies, because both his "revolutionary militancy" of the past, and his new brand of Populism, stem from the same philosophical roots: that a truly human society can be built by elitists, within the existing forms of capitalist society, by changing a law here and there, and placing the "right" people in office.

#### FIGHT IT, NOT JOIN IT

In today's society, where the interests of government and the giant corporate conglomerates are indistinguishable, one does not fight to join that exploitative club, even in the low capacity as the Mayor of Oakland, but opposes it from the outside.

There is nothing in Seale's 14 Point Program which could not be endorsed by any liberal Democrat—or even George Meany. In fact, it is nothing more than an attempt to realize the "Great Society" that the Nixon administration is dismantling daily.

In the city of Oakland, which is 60 per cent Black, the "experts" are predicting that Seale will garner about 20 per cent of the votes, forcing a run-off election of the top two, and eliminating all the other candidates, more than half of whom are Black—and leave the white incumbent, Redding, the winner again.

Only Black people in motion en masse can, in conjunction with the working class, become the opposition to stop this trend toward the great State Capitalist Society which Nixon is fashioning in Washington, at the expense of Blacks, poor, aged, women, and all other oppressed minorities.

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

creased and there has been a crackdown in discipline. We are penalized for the most minor alleged infraction of company rules.

"John Miller was fired, and twelve others were disciplined after Dept. 9171 first walked out. When the company stated it would not re-hire Miller, we just walked out and shut the damn plant down.

"Management has already sent out notices firing eight to 16 or more workers. These people have not necessarily played any role whatsoever in the events of the past few days; but Chrysler Management, with the complicity of our local union leadership, is using this as an excuse to get rid of people they don't want around."

Monday evening, after the day shift workers had refused to work, the union leaders were desperate. They got every bureaucrat that had ever worked in the local, and every International rep, to be at the plant gates one hour before the workers.

#### BUREAUCRATS' ROLE

They were all walking around with loudspeakers in their hands, and would rush up to every carload of workers driving into the parking lot. These bureaucrats would say, "Please go in to work, or the company is going

## AS OTHERS SEE US

### Three French reviews of *Marxism and Freedom*

Excerpts from reviews in three French journals of the French edition of *MARXISME ET LIBERTE* by Raya Dunayevskaya.

\* \* \*

From "La Revolution Proletarienne," Jan., 1973  
(Revue syndicaliste revolutionnaire)

Here is a work which brings a bit of clarity and fresh air to the confusing debates which have unfolded around Marxism for a century. Former secretary of Trotsky in Mexico in 1937 and 1938, the author was a militant before becoming an author. Her style and her direct approach are an agreeable change from the pedantic criticism of the professional Marxologists who want to convince you that their teaching is more revolutionary and more creative than the practice of the class struggle in the factories, the offices, and the shops.

The principal question that *Marxism and Freedom* poses concerns philosophy and reality, theory and practice.

MARXOLOGISTS like Louis Althusser, conveniently set up in cushy jobs, deplore that the young philosophers of their generation "are using themselves up in political tasks while losing time for scientific work." (For Marx, p. 17). Raya Dunayevskaya vigorously replies to the intellectuals and to the Marxist theoreticians that they must occasionally leave their ivory towers if they want to regain the liberating sense of the dynamism of Marxism.

In fact, the idea of the necessity of a vanguard party to lead prevents them from seeing that which the masses themselves see perfectly: all are ready to lead, no one is ready to listen. (p. 28). But, progress, its future undetermined, is not evolved in the isolated office of the philosopher but at first in the daily practice of the class struggle, of the struggle for the collective appropriation of the means of production and exchange. The practice of the workers is always infinitely more creative than the most ingenious speculations of the philosophers. That is not to say that they do not have a role to play and an important role. By devoting themselves to serious theoretical work, the intellectuals can

contribute to extending the sporadic outbursts of revolt of the exploited classes. This role is not only to draw out the lessons of the workers' practice, but also to reveal the principles which will elaborate the science of change—social, political, economic, and psychic—permitting man to take control of his existence and his destiny.

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA studies the vicissitudes of this tentative, always renescent course through the history of the workers' movement from 1776 until today in Europe, in Russia, in America, and, finally, in China. Marx, in the French edition of *Capital*, propounded the theory of such an endeavor by taking account of the lessons of the Paris Commune.

A book to read with the buddies of "the R.P.", a book to have on the shelf of the militant to be able to consult it each time he risks losing the real meaning of Marxism as "a thoroughgoing naturalism or humanism," according to Marx's own words . . . an incomparable instrument to make easier an understanding of the struggles of the present. —Pierre Aubery

From "Les Livres," Feb. 1972

(Journal of the Ministry of National Education)

Raya Dunayevskaya's work is an ambitious one, since it attempts to explain the birth and development of Marxism, to follow its later vicissitudes through the Second International, the First World War, the Russian Revolution and to trace its further adventures up to the Moscow-Peking rift. The work is based less on historical analysis than on critical passion. Certainly the author has read a great deal, but the real evolution of Marxism is still full of dark spots and unknowns which make it impossible to completely accept an explanation based on the play of ideology and which occasionally establishes a correlation between proletarian struggles and those of colored peoples.

— F. Boudot

From "Projet," Dec., 1971

(a Catholic journal)

Written by the woman who was Trotsky's secretary in 1937 and 1938, this work constitutes a broad mural of Marxist theory and practice, starting from an analysis of Karl Marx's works and ending with the Chinese "cultural revolution."

As for all studies of this kind, there is a big danger of sharp abridgments, simplifications, even errors. This one is no exception. The warp and woof of the whole work is that the humanist concepts outlined by Marx in his early works are the essence of his theory, so that there is a close unity between his most technical economic analyses and his philosophy. R. Dunayevskaya tries to show this in the first part of her work.

The following chapters are mainly devoted to a critique, based on the theses developed in the first part, of the Soviet and Maoist systems, which she calls State Capitalism. Between these two critiques we find, curiously enough, a chapter about the United States. Many of the comments and criticisms made by the author throughout the work are debatable and expressed in a polemical style which makes them hard to believe, despite the truth contained in them.

— Henri Chambre

### Miners force UMW reform

by Felix Martin

Los Angeles, Calif.—The recent election in the United Mine Workers points out the necessity of change in organized working people in this country and all international unions. All of these unions have become big business themselves.

I go along with the idea of UMW President Miller in cutting back bureaucrats' wages, but I believe that real cutting would mean all the way back to what he made in the mines. His cut still gives the president at least three times as much as a miner makes.

We must rid ourselves of all the opportunists that are in the ranks of the international staff. Having the salaries kept the same as they were making before elections is the only way to have union people who would be working for the good of all. They would only have the same benefits as the workers they represent.

There has always been a conservative element and a militant rank-and-file element in the ranks of the unions. The conservative group becomes the company finks, the boot-lickers and are always recruited by the managers to be their foremen, supervisors, etc., over the workers.

The ones not recruited to management have worked themselves into local unions and worked their way up into high places in the international unions. They are still company men whether foremen or union representatives.

When the miners first organized in this country they did it alone, without outside union support. They were treated like dogs. But they fought and won. Then they gave money and support to help organize the auto workers into the CIO. They were real pioneers in the labor movement. Today the miners have a chance to be pioneers in a new movement of labor — that of trying to get control of the unions back into the hands of the workers.

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to sue the local. We are going to get those workers their job back as soon as production starts to run again."

One bureaucrat in a car was yelling, "We are your legally elected representatives talking to you. You are only hurting yourselves and your family by staying out of the plant. Remember, you want to have a pay check coming this week, and no worker can get by these days without a pay check. You are not hurting the company as much as you are hurting yourselves."

Some young radicals had come to help the workers pass out leaflets, and handed some out to the bureaucrats before workers got there. The bureaucrats used this by saying that "People are telling you to stay out that do not and never did work here." Some of us knew the union and company would eventually apply enough pressure to force some workers back in, but those young radicals' mistake gave leverage to the union leaders.

The union leaders were clapping and yelling, although some of those going in were calling them some of the most vicious names you ever heard. The last worker came up and said, "It is not settled. It is the beginning of a bigger and longer strike. Nobody can take that inhuman speed-up, and we sure are not. Something has to give until it breaks."



## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory

### France

The government of Georges Pompidou will remain in power as a result of the recent French elections, but his party, the Union for the Defense of the Republic which he inherited from Charles De Gaulle, suffered the greatest defeat of any French political party. It dropped from 293 seats to 181 and lost two cabinet ministers to the Communist-Socialist Alliance.

Pompidou will remain in power only because of his alliance with other parties on the right and center which gives them a majority of 274 seats to 181 for the Communist-Socialist Alliance. The centrist Reform Movement has 28 and the extreme right, 3 seats.

The Pompidou regime depends on the shopkeepers and conservative middle class for its support and has been plagued with scandals in its leadership, economic problems and great discontent with its nationalistic politics.

As the result of the intensive campaign waged by the Communist-Socialist Alliance, reforms which might be expected are: a minimum \$220-monthly salary, sex education in the schools, a more liberal abortion law, and votes for 19-year-olds.

The final run-off election which occurred on March 11, involved over 188 seats which were closely contested and which were bargained for by Pompidou, horsetrading with the Reformers, who withdrew their candidates.

The Communists won 73 seats against 34 in 1968 and the Socialists moved up from 57 to 89 seats, with the leaders of both parties winning seats.

### Iraqi Anti-Semitism

In 1948 there were more than 200,000 Jews living in Iraq. Today about 400 Jews remain in Baghdad. There exists a reign of terror, aimed at eliminating the Jewish population and seizing their property, on a par with Nazi Germany in its heyday.

Prominent Jews are seized off the streets, executed in jails and their property confiscated by officials of the "socialist" B'aath Party and the government which Russia and China are playing up as part of "the socialist third order." It is forbidden for any Jews to leave the country with more than 100 dinars. Real estate cannot be sold.

A prominent and wealthy lawyer, Yaacov Abdul Axiz, was arrested by the police. A week later they

came to his house and seized everything, claiming he had "left the country." Abraham el-Sayegh, one of the wealthiest Jews in Baghdad, was beaten to death with an iron bar and a few days later all his holdings were seized and a B'aath Party official was seen riding around in his car.

The fact that rich Jews are getting it now is not a class question either in the sense that poor Iraqi are getting the goods, or poor Jews are not oppressed.

### Vatican

The wealth of the Vatican has been caught speculating in the stock of the California firm of Vetco Industries, in which it invested over \$35 million at a profit of 50 per cent.

A California ex-lawyer salesman, Irving Eisenberger, who handles Vatican investments with broad discretionary powers, is being urged to surrender the profits made by speculation in the family-built concern through the Securities and Exchange Commission by Carl F. Huntsinger, president of the company, who discovered it was the Vatican that was manipulating the stock of his company.

Eisenberger has been barred by the SEC from dealing in the stock.

### England

The Trades Unions Congress, representing over 10 million workers, has voted to conduct a one-day general strike against the government policy of curbing wages. The date will be announced later.

The militants at the Congress overrode the moderate leadership and called for drastic action.

The economic situation in England is similar to that in the U.S., with food prices out of control and wages frozen. Hundreds of protest strikes have taken place, but Prime Minister Heath shows no indication of improving the situation.

### Back, back, back

In a move back to the dark ages and in line with his general philosophy, President Nixon has announced that he will seek legislation to restore the death penalty for some federal crimes.

The death penalty has been declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court and outlawed in many states since 1850.

### Argentina

The forces of Juan Peron, through his stooge, Hector J. Campora, have won 48.7 per cent of the popular vote in the March 11 elections and will gain power in the run-off election within the month.

The candidate, Campora, ran with the slogan, "Campora to government, Peron to power."

The present military dictator, General Lanusse, is retiring from both the government and the army, but the high-ranking army officials who have run the country for the past seven years have little regard for popular elections and will not relinquish power without a struggle.

### Black Lung

The victims of the coal miners' dreaded disease, black lung, are entitled to collect \$81 a week for life after their claims have been approved by the federal government. A new state law in Kentucky will take over these claims after July 1, 1973.

The victims of coal mine conditions are now being victimized even further by the lawyers who press their claims. State Senator Kelsey Friend, a lawyer who is representing some of the victims, collected \$1,088,950 last year in fees for his services. The fees are deducted from the victims' awards and are paid by the federal government. In most cases, the fee for the lawyer is 20 per cent, running from \$6,000 to \$21,000 for one case.

Robert D. Hawkins, chief counsel for the Labor Department Special Fund, stated, "It should be reasonable to assume that an attorney who made a million last year from black lung cases will make two million dollars next year." Friend is not an isolated case. Eleven other lawyers sucked fees of \$125,000 to \$810,000 out of coal mine victims.

The Kentucky lawyers conduct an assembly line operation. They have branch offices throughout the state, hire young lawyers to do the work, send the clients to doctors who are in on the racket and keep their waiting rooms full of the victims. One lawyer will interview, another write claim briefs, another takes dispositions, and the big shot is the one who appears in court. It took only 255 cases for Friend to earn his \$1 million last year. He can handle 15 to 20 cases a day before a judge. Being a state senator as a side line, he never lost a case.

For the victim, his \$81 a week drops to \$60 a week, not enough to live on, but enough to continue his dying.

## TWO WORLDS

## New links move Mao and Nixon closer together

(Continued from Page 5)

initiative against Russia long, long before the latter's invasion of Czechoslovakia. No sooner had Stalin died than Mao wanted to abrogate, not so much the Tzarist treaties, as the one he made with Stalin in 1950.

Whatever shock Khrushchev may have gotten from Mao's request that Mongolia be returned to China and whatever he put in the back of his head to be sure to remember if they came to blows later, it did not at once become the basis for their relations. On the contrary, what help China did get from Russia — and it was a great deal more than she ever got from Stalin — was during the Khrushchev period. The disagreements that came to a boil in 1960 were, again, due to Mao's initiative.

You may call them theoretical if you wish. You may call them revolutionary if you dare. The point is that by the mid-1960's, when U.S. imperialism rained bombs on Vietnam, Mao refused a united front with Russia to help Vietnam. He still kept up the claim that, not so much Vietnam as China was the besieged fortress. Nothing, not even his own Political Committee, could make him modify his line to boldly and sufficiently aid Vietnam. On the contrary. It is then, precisely then, he unleashed the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and even allowed that to stop some of Russia's shipments to Vietnam.

This doesn't mean Russia gave all it could to Vietnam. But to write as if it never dawned upon China to fight a war against a "co-Communist" until that state invaded another "socialist land" is to participate in one vast whitewash. Indeed, Mao has gone so far into playing global politics not only in Asia but in West Europe as to practically "approve" NATO, i.e., not to oppose U.S. presence in West Europe — anything, anything at all that might be used against Russia. The fact that Russia plays the same global game proves that neither is a "socialist land." Both are state-capitalist countries.

It isn't that Russia differs from China; it, too, pursues its own national interests which in our nuclear age includes Big Power imperialism. It, too, considers China "the enemy," as the military build-up and frontier "incidents" in 1969-70 show; and it, too, flirts with both Japan and the U.S. Above everything else Russia, like China, is in a big enough crisis at home to need everything from economic "aid" from the U.S. to possible collusion in any realignment of global powers. Nothing

has yet been decided. Everything is up, if not for grabs, then to be gotten at a very high price.

The worst thing possible would be for the New Left to take sides instead of striking out on an independent road.

### THE ANTI-VIETNAM WAR MOVEMENT, WHERE TO?

Two equally wrong tendencies vie with each other within the "New Left." One sees the "revolutionary nature" of any (especially the Chinese) attack on "Russian revisionism." The other concentrates on one thing and one thing only—to aid in the reconstruction of Vietnam—even if this means working somewhere within the establishment.

As if there hasn't been enough disorientation with

"single-issue" preoccupation in the anti-Vietnam war movement, I. F. Stone (New York Review of Books, March 8, 1973) now writes, "the peace movement has no more important task than to focus attention on the Church-Case and Bingham bills" to tie Nixon's hands against renewed intervention. It would also tie the New Left's hands to a section of the bourgeoisie.

The only thing that will get us out of the mess of tailing any state power, least of all U.S. imperialism in its Nixonite era, is to recognize that, just as the enemy is always at home and so is the revolution, in that same integrated whole there is no way to separate philosophy from revolution without assuring the road, not to revolution, but to retrogression. It is high time to strike out on an independent road to total freedom.



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"The odd mixture of Mao's opportunism and adventurism, the ordinary imperialist power struggle (both within the Communist world and outside, as in the conquest of Tibet, incursions into Indian territory, and covetous glances cast from Burma to Vietnam, and from Nepal to Laos) cannot be separated from the struggle for the minds of men. It is here that the irresponsible abuse of Marxist language—on the question of "revolutions without pause" proceeding in a straight line from State Plans to "Communism"—makes it imperative to show the blind alley into which the dialectic of Mao's thought has led and from which it may catapult the world into a nuclear holocaust . . ."

—from *Marxism and Freedom*, Chapter 17,  
"The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung"