An urgent appeal to our readers

Nixon's wars at home as well as abroad are nothing short of an attempt at preventive civil war. They are an attempt by Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell to crush the forces for freedom and silence the voices of revolt that have been raised across the land. The Administration's extreme move to the right demands intense, total opposition and activity on the part of everyone--especially the Marxist-Humanist Left.

Our unique combination of worker and intellectual is attempting to work out a new relationship of theory to practice, which is urgent for the new stage of the anti-war movement that is not only against capitalism, but for a new world.

This special 12-page issue of NEWS & LETTERS—the 3rd in a 1-year history—was demanded by the times. It will cost us over $650 for printing alone. It is a publication, it is true, that we do not have the funds to pay for it, because we are certain that our readers will help us raise the needed funds. They know that it will put the voices of labor, blacks, women and youth are heard not separated from a philosophy of freedom.

This new war against the American people, the question the American movement must face is not just “solidarity” with blacks, intellectuals, and students—but a broad campaign against racism, sexism, and the demagogy of teen-age politics, which is the black masses as touchstone of history. We print an excerpt on page 6.

We hope your response to this urgent Appeal for financial help will not only:

1—help us pay for this special issue, but:

2—enable us to print an expanded version of our pamphlet on Women's Liberation, the table of contents of which appears on page 10, and

3—reprint our out-of-print pamphlet, American Civilization on Trial, which remains the only work anywhere that tells the true history of black and white America: the black masses as touchstone of history.

Please give as generously as you can!

NEWS & LETTERS
415 Brailard St., Detroit Mich. 48201

I enclose ___________ as my contribution to help N&L

Name __________________________

Address _________________________

City ____________________________

State ___________ Zip ___________

An urgent appeal to our readers

An urgent appeal to our readers

An urgent appeal to our readers

(Continued on page 11)
Students answer appeal of Teamsters Union workers in Los Angeles and join them in picketing.

**Wildcapping L.A. teamsters out six weeks**

Los Angeles, Cal.—The idea of students on our picket lines is not new. That is the only time we got publicity and I think shook up the company. Unfortunately we didn't get the students four weeks when we were stronger.

We began our strike over the failure to include sick leave in the contract. I don't think the company was so worried about the issue as they could have taken it out of the cost of living. It is that they wanted to break the local. They had a lot of help. Help from the government, help from the NLRB, help from the employment office, the police department, rent-a-cops, scalps and even a few judges.

About 400 work in this barn (Western Carloading). All of us went out. After six weeks maybe about 20 went back in. Three to six weeks. At the most they were moving 20 per cent off the docks. We walked out for sick leave. We were all fired, and the strike became for amnesty. I know of one guy who got on the school board, and the company is not trying so much to break the union as to lay the groundwork to try and build it back up.

COMPANY POSITION

The students were absolutely great. You see they (the company) don't want the students around here. I think that is why they began to give guys papers with their seniority back. Before, they insisted that to come back you would have to first sign as a rehire. This was after they had offered amnesty.

The next step was a couple of days ago, after the students had been down and after we had gone up and shut down S.F. The company would now hire with full seniority, but they didn't care. You would have to first sign as a rehire. This was after they had offered amnesty.

The students were wrong. It would have meant loss of seniority. They were not interested in what was going on over there. The company was offering them a chance to work for nothing. They were interested in what was going on over there. The company was offering them a chance to work for nothing.

We had a lot of help. Help from the government, help from the NLRB, help from the employment office, the police department, rent-a-cops, scalps and even a few judges.

After that, the workers and about 3,500 student supporters began marching with the students, and the students, and the students, and the students, and the students, and the students, and the students, and the students, and the students, and the students, and the students.

**STRIKERS RANKS GROW**

That night 80 of us held a meeting, endorsed the three national demands (making clear we spoke only for the students, not for the faculty, and that we were not necessarily backing the others if they walked out). We then marched to the cafeteria to talk to those workers who had all the bigwigs out early in the morning. The next day, the library was shut, except for supervisors, and in the computer center the operators (men) got their own computer programers and told their bosses that they were "talking the next three days off as a Moratorium on work and to discuss occupation both at home and abroad."

The next day, Thursday, while the students were having a big rally, the workers were demanding that their president (Local 241) demand a Moratorium too. He staked them for an hour by threatening to be on the phone, then told them if they walked out they would be on wildcat. Fifty to 75 of them gave him their answer by walking out of the meeting. The students were then able to get back on the line.

The next day, Monday, the whole cafeteria walked out.

We don't exactly know what's going to happen on Monday and after that, but we do know that if so many students, faculty and workers came out on strike for the war— including cafeteria workers who won a union after 30 years of struggle and Buildings and Grounds workers in a com­ munity which has always been against the war— including cafeteria workers who won a union after 30 years of struggle and Buildings workers in a com­ munity which has always been against the war— including cafeteria workers who won a union after 30 years of struggle and Buildings workers in a com­ munity which has always been against the war— including cafeteria workers who won a union after 30 years of struggle and Buildings workers in a com­ munity which has always been against the war— including cafeteria workers who won a union after 30 years of struggle and Buildings workers in a com­ munity which has always been against the war— including cafeteria workers who won a union after 30 years of struggle and Buildings workers in a com­ munity which has always been against the war— including cafeteria workers who won a union after 30 years of struggle and Buildings workers in a com­ munity which has always been against the war.

**TEAMSTEER LEAFLET APPEALS FOR STUDENT PICKET HELP**

ATTENTION ALL STUDENTS!!!

We are inviting any and all college students, who wish to help support our cause for striking. As you know, this is an unauthorized wildcat strike. We are fighting for our jobs and our livelihood. Our families are suffering under the circumstances. Many of us are asking sick leave and amnesty for our Drivers and Dock Workers who, because of this strike, are not getting back in. The company was trying to cut us and choose who they wanted back in. Say they took 80 per cent, but they could not build the team.

Six weeks is really long, especially with no strike pay. A lot of guys were having financial problems and some began to go in now that the company was offering some guys return slips with seniority, but others weren't.

We have approximately fifty students helping us, but we need more! As many more as we could get. We now have approximately fifty students helping us, but we need more! As many more as we could get.

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**Wildcats shut auto plants for Reuther funeral**

Detroit, Mich.—As soon as the company announced that Reuther had died, there were wildcat strikes and production line slowdowns in the auto plants. Some 4,000 workers walked off the production lines for three minutes the day Reuther's funeral, many of the workers at our plant got angry. They felt that if half of the things they were saying about Reuther were true, the company ought to show more respect for him than a few minutes. Many workers began to talk about shutting down the whole day. When Emil Massey went on TV the day before the funeral pleading with workers to stay on their jobs because Reuther wouldn't want us to stop producing, they got even angrier. The guys were all talking about walking out at 9:30.

**KEY DEPARTMENT GOES**

The other thing that really surprised me was how the union and company have been cracking down on workers for wildcatting over the last few years. But the biggest surprise of all is that the key production department, is mostly young black workers. This is also true of the company's secretaries. The other area of the company that had people not leaving the streets was the old men's club. This is a real walk-out time.

After all, 9 of one, the workers yelled out, "That's it." And that was the last job they did. Almost the whole plant walked out. Other plants shut down completely. All, several of the places didn't go in at all.

**TALK-A-BACK PRACTICE**

During the following week, many of the workers discussed Reuther's death. One production worker said that anybody with human feelings regrets the death of someone you know, especially somebody who has gotten some concerns in for the working class, about much in public. Only among workers in the shops.

**Chrysler Mack**

Detroit, Mich.—At Mack they have huge freight trains that come right inside the plant. You load the frames. They have a tractor that brings the racks out to the doors. The doors are open and the secretary got out all the first car hacking in, and he was looking forward, giving the directions to the engineer.

They have some switches there that I'm absolutely positive haven't worked this year. But when a train comes in, a light's supposed to flash. It didn't.

There was one train from Illinois loaded at the time the train was hacking in. The train was pulling out three cars. There was a light about the way the workers on that job have been treated. The company switched to dry sand just so they could save money on rubber gloves, boots and the like.

The dry sand job is still pretty dirty. But now Ford has taken away the 18 minutes prep time (clean-up) that they had before the switch. Now they get no clean time at all.

One of the workers put in a grievance on the loss of the prep time. But the union refuses to fight the grievance. At a union meeting, O. C. Elston told the workers that they had better not push the grievance because the company could cut their wages 10c an hour. Isn't this intimidation, just like the company?

**Production worker**

**Fleetwood**

Detroit, Mich.—Fleetwood is going to be down from July 7 to 9. They are shutting down for a weekend. Everyone has been closed in the foremen and said: Tell every worker to keep his mouth shut. The railroad officials knew the switch wasn't there and they stayed there for an hour and a half before they got him out.

He was crushed from the waist down—

Everybody ran to help. My foreman came over and told me to go back to work. He said, "We've got to stop the line just because one guy got hurt." These were his words and it made me so sick I wanted to leave the plant.

After they got the man out, and took him to the hospital, he died. And it was the first time, the guy who was looking pretty good, normal, but after a half an hour, he turned blue, like all the blood stopped circulating. It took them that whole half an hour just to get a doctor to him. And Chrysler talks about safety!

Then the Education Committee got a collection in the shop to buy the buttons on their own. They bought 1000 buttons and asked the local to pay half the cost. This is $100.

**Ford Rouge**

Detroit, Mich.—Many of us in the Dearborn Assembly Plant, on the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th of this month, on the question of "30 and Out." Some workers went to Hoot, the building chairman, and asked for leaflets and buttons on "30 and Out" to show Ford that we were united on this. He said no.

Finally a little after 9, one of the workers yelled out, "That's it." And that was the last job they did.

At the membership meeting Hoot got up and agreed to look into it and make up 2500 buttons. But he still refused to pay the $15. He would not even make any thing if the workers hadn't gone and made the buttons themselves.

**Black D.A.P. worker**

**Chrysler truckers wildcat against time-study tyranny**

Detroit, Mich.—"It got so that we couldn't stop for a cup of coffee without getting a foreman's report with time of it," said one of the 500 truckers who staged a 3-day wildcat strike that crippled production at many Chrysler plants.

The strike brought out the union reps, trying to talk the picketers into returning to work, but the picketers weren't talking to anybody. Many grievances had been turned in and ignored by the union. The ones the Union did take up couldn't win. The workers decided they had had enough talk.

The trouble started when Meyers, the assistant head of transportation, and his time study engineers started putting everyone to a specific number of minutes, "It's gotten so that you can't even go to the john because you have only 18 minutes to make double dues for three months to build a strike fund big enough to strike any of the Big Three auto companies. It is like taxes. Once on, you go through hell trying to get them off. So it will be with the new tempor ary dues structure for strike action.

**By John Allison**

Over a 24 year period, all UAW members had learn to love the "30 and Out" Wildcat. That was the relationship the membership had with Walter. Now has come the painful experience of getting rid of the "30 and Out" Wildcat. Leonard Woodcock is now the leader of the whole UAW. This writer has talked to many members about the question of a new leader for the union. Workers have been saying that there was really no choice involved, that seniority worked for Woodcock. The UAW general membership will be voting on this question in the near future.
National guard bullets at Kent State University in Ohio killed four and wounded 11 students. Command-in-Chief came through as the National Guardsmen (who had heard about the Commander-in-Chief’s reference in the American youth as “bums”) felt free to almost one breath. So totally isolated is the White House tower from the American people that Nixon still had the gall, 24 hours later, to talk out, not against the trigger-happy National Guardsmen who shot down the four youth, but against student “violence” (AN AGE OF ANARCHY—NIXON’S). The shot-damaged national outcry at Nixon’s calling students “bums” and meant working through the summer. We knew we (Continued from page 1) stressed the other inseparable aspect of the war speech—the need for dialogue. Nixon himself admitted the dissenting students as “bums.” The students at Kent showed their intense opposition by burning down the ROTC building. The third act of the confrontation began with Governor Rhodes’ declaration of martial law—of which the students showed their disdain by gathering for an anti-war rally at the football stadium surrounded by National Guardsmen. It was then that the full faculty of the University, the Commander-in-Chief came through as the National Guardsmen who had heard about the Commander-in-Chief’s reference in the American youth as “bums” felt free to almost one breath. So totally isolated is the White House tower from the American people that Nixon still had the gall, 24 hours later, to talk out, not against the trigger-happy National Guardsmen who shot down the four youth, but against student “violence” (AN AGE OF ANARCHY—NIXON’S). The shot-damaged national outcry at Nixon’s calling students “bums” and meant working through the summer. We knew we...
first find no jobs waiting for them, and long before the labor contracts will expire this year of recession.

Whether it is warmongering National Guardsmen, or reactionaries who shoot, bayonet and beat at youth to death, the point is: who is inciting these "law and order" people to commit such wild and murderous acts? Who inspired the New York police to look the other way as some racist construction workers attacked the anti-war demonstrators? So does part of the student body.

If we look at the students to help them in their wild-cats against the teachers to the welfare workers — from the postal workers to the teamsters and the construction workers, along with some longshoremen under Mafia control, are outright reactionaries who must be fought. These two movements must be joined, rather than kept poles apart from, the anti-war struggles.

At the same time, it is clear that the struggle against the war must deepen to the point where it concerns itself with the war against the whole system which produces war — capitalism.

This stage of heightened labor struggles comes at a time when even the administration cannot hide either the fact of rising unemployment, or that the inflation continues despite the planned unemployment. The economic crisis in the country is inseparable from the growing black unrest. These two movements must be joined with, rather than kept poles apart from, the anti-war struggles. Where do we go from here? Is it possible to conclude anything from these gory events than the fact that the President and his alter-ego have, from the moment they took the White House, been preparing for the undeclared war abroad to be extended into a civil war at home?

**Labor, Recession and War**

Now that Nixon has shown that his wars abroad are but extensions of his wars at home, it becomes imperative for the New Left, the anti-war movement, the black liberation movement and women's liberation movement to take a second look at themselves, at their theoretical as well as practical activities, for there are danger signals here too. Not only is there an attempt to divert the anti-war movement into the political field — to vote for "doves" — there are also elitist opponents of labor who play up the fact that some construction workers beat up anti-war youth during demonstrations.

There is no doubt that the building workers' racist union, along with some longshoremen under Mafia control, who seek to play the role of agents of the student body. Of course, there are some sectors, like the construction workers, who are involved. So do the "Young Americans for Freedom." Neither facts can possibly be taken away from the full truth and that is that a whole generation of new opponents of war games, the capitalist planned recessions and the racist fabric of American life.

More characteristic of the present stage of intensified strike and anti-war struggles are the two Los Angeles Teamster locals who distributed leaflets in opposition to the construction workers and, at the same time, asked the students to help them in their wild-cats against both management and the labor bureaucracy (see p. 3).

At Oxford to protest the shootings at a Jackson college.

The pragmatism that permeates the "unideological" Left, who consider any unity of anti-war forces to be above an underground philosophy of liberation, cannot for long shut out concern for the international ramifications of the latest stage in the Indo-Chinese war as well as, and above all, for the objective revolutionary forces and their search for a totally new way of life.

**Marxist-Humanists know that the class enemy is at home. But they also know that just as no country can be seen outside of a word context, so none can be separated from the underlying philosophy which will give the spontaneous actions of the masses their direction. In a word, the freedom struggles cannot be separated from the philosophy of freedom alone only as they are united can the creation of the new go hand in hand with the overthrow of the old instead of, once again, having the revolution go near the day after the couquest of power.**

**To fill the theoretic void in the anti-war movement has become a matter of life and death as we fight the repressive forces unleashed by the Nixon Administration against not only its open opponents, but against the masses who, in order to live at all, must fight racism and reaction.**

**From his White House in the background, Pres. Nixon saw and heard the more than 150,000 who massed on May 9 to oppose his war-spending policies in Indo-China.**

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WORKERS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES ON THE WAR

The auto workers at Mahwah, New Jersey do not all take the anti-war demonstrations. But just because some are opposed to the students doesn't mean that they are for the war.

One worker told me that he was very much against the war, but he could not march behind a Vietcong flag. He did not think that when China or Russia or Cambodia is wrong, we should support them. From the things he said, I think he is not more about war and capitalism than that. But he is one of those who think the Vietcong flags to every demonstration.

Marcher
New Jersey

The then at the mill is disregarded with those who are pretending they represent the majority of all Americans, who are opposed to the war. We just gave Jacob Potofsky, next year. They won't be waving the Vietcong flags to every demonstration, but just wait to see what will happen if they don't get the kind of contract they want next year. They won't be waving the flag then, you can be sure.

Black Steelworker
Pittsburgh

I think it isn't only Nixon, but also Meany and those construction workers of America, a standing ovation for the president of our 417,000-member union, who has met his Waterloo on Cambodia. We just gave Jacob Potofsky, next year. They won't be waving the Vietcong flags to every demonstration, but just wait to see what will happen if they don't get the kind of contract they want next year. They won't be waving the flag then, you can be sure.

Garment Worker
New York

From 'American Civilization on Trial'

(Below is an excerpt from our pamphlet, American Civilization on Trial, now out of print. We hope, with your support, to be able to reprint it in the near future. See Appeal, page 1.)

Negro Slave Revolts had reached a certain stage with Denmark Vesey in 1822, which led to a new approach to the attempts to gain freedom. An Underground Railway, which was under disarray even in a small nation, was organized to conduct runaway slaves to freedom in the North and in Canada. The following year the free Negroes organized the Massachusetts Colored People's Association. Its paper, appropriately called Freedom's Journal, appeared, with a woodcut editorial announcing, "Too long have others spoken for us."

The vanguard role of the Negro in the struggle for freedom helped bring onto the historic stage the most extraordinary of all phenomena of American Civilization: New England Abolitionism. The year 1831, when William Lloyd Garrison founded the Liberator, was the year also of the last and greatest of the Negro slave revolts-Nat Turner's "rebellion."

The movement renounced all traditional politics, considering all political parties of the day as "corrupt." They were therefore turned in a new direction. They preached and practiced Negro equality. They were, as usual, as well as the Abolitionists, fighting for equality for the Negro, but they were also fighting for the rights and equality for the Negro woman. They were also fighting for the education and the right to vote for the Negro. They were also fighting for the Negro's right to live in the South and not be scared of the Southern slave system. They were also fighting for the Negro's right to own land and live in freedom on earth. That is something the white man had better learn soon.

Frederick Douglass

Nothing has happened to evert worker with white intellectual with the Negro mass with the same intensity in a period of 10 years. They have been heard, and yet they have never been heard. The white man is not having things his way any longer. And there will be wars until we all live and live in freedom on earth. That is something the white man had better learn soon.

Ethel Dunbar

"Can you say Nixon didn't do what he should have done? He got the boys out of Vietnam—and sent them right to Cambodia."

Ethel Dunbar

The students, are right about the war. It is good, I know because I was in Korea—the first "dirty war" that nobody remembers. That is crazy if he really believes he can end one war by starting another.

But, as much as I hate war, I love my country; and those demonstrators who marched on Wall St. had better learn about America when they criticize Nixon's policies. I was standing as the major of the construction sites. The workers there were wrong to throw down stuff. But I also saw kids split at workers.

Douglas is doing this and they are about four months behind in their payments at this time.

The charge against the union leaders is for fraud in not telling the members the truth on Feb. 22 at the Union Hall, about the possibility of the company paying for the legal defense. The case is for providing an illegal ballot, because we had only one place to mark yes on and we were voting on two things—ELIB and dental plan.

A further charge is for not providing for our workers the voting of the ballots as provided in Union By Laws.

The help of our union brothers is needed more now than ever. Please ask your readers to enlist its support of the Retail Clerks and the Meat Cutters Union to report on the labels at their place of employment. The Union's fight for the labeling of grape growers: David Freedman Co., Charlie Freedman, Wonder Palms Co., and Alcoa both gat honors for their big checker boards. The Union Label will be provided an illegal ballot, because we have always been sympathetic.) The last time we had such a big sale, for example, was last October, when we sold papers at the gate of the Moratorium. Committee Member
Detroit

The shock of the four murders at Kent State put my blood-pressure sky high. I recalled the three years I spent in the Illinois State Guard in the early 40's. I saw then that the black workers have always been sympathetic.) The last time we had such a big sale, for example, was last October, when we sold papers at the gate of the Moratorium.

Black Steelworker
Pittsburgh

What will Americans gain in all the wars to take over other countries, when the N&L workers are being shot and losing their souls? They will never come back to enjoy life here.

White Hospital Worker
Michigan

The old rulers seem to think that the young people of America should do as they did in other wars, when they came back they could still say, "This is the greatest country in the world." Who could say that today?

The young people are not listening to the old rulers today. The black people are not satisfied with the checks they used to be taken as fools. And now there are also a good many white women who are saying that white men will have to listen to their old ideas that they are the greatest and meant to be the boss over every- one. They all want to know why black people and women should be made to do all the work.

The white man is not having things go his way any longer. And there will be wars until we all live and live in freedom on earth. That is something the white man had better learn soon.

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Ethel Dunbar

TEACHER'S STRIKE

I'm a reluctant radical, but I've learned a lot from our strike here.

We've experienced pure hatred from some of the local parents. The PTA is run by the people who live in $30 to $40 thousand split-level homes. Most of the students are bussed in. We've sent a letter to the 10 percent of the people who live in the canyons, most of whom are poor. The key is to get community support.

We succeeded in closing the school for one day because the principal is on our side. Most of the faculty is on strike, and we are in touch with the teachers.

The students are right about the war. It is good, I know because I was in Korea—the first "dirty war" that nobody remembers. That is crazy if he really believes he can end one war by starting another.

But, as much as I hate war, I love my country; and those demonstrators who marched on Wall St. had better learn about America when they criticize Nixon's policies. I was standing as the major of the construction sites. The workers there were wrong to throw down stuff. But I also saw kids split at workers.

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The charge against the union leaders is for fraud in not telling the members the truth on Feb. 22 at the Union Hall, about the possibility of the company paying for the legal defense. The case is for providing an illegal ballot, because we had only one place to mark yes on and we were voting on two things—ELIB and dental plan.

A further charge is for not providing for our workers the voting of the ballots as provided in Union By Laws.

The help of our union brothers is needed more now than ever. Please ask your readers to enlist its support of the Retail Clerks and the Meat Cutters Union to report on the labels at their place of employment. The Union's fight for the labeling of grape growers: David Freedman Co., Charlie Freedman, Wonder Palms Co., and Alcoa both gat honors for their big checker boards. The Union Label will be provided an illegal ballot, because we have always been sympathetic.) The last time we had such a big sale, for example, was last October, when we sold papers at the gate of the Moratorium.

Black Steelworker
Pittsburgh

What will Americans gain in all the wars to take over other countries, when the N&L workers are being shot and losing their souls? They will never come back to enjoy life here.

White Hospital Worker
Michigan

The old rulers seem to think that the young people of America should do as they did in other wars, when they came back they could still say, "This is the greatest country in the world." Who could say that today?

The young people are not listening to the old rulers today. The black people are not satisfied with the checks they used to be taken as fools. And now there are also a good many white women who are saying that white men will have to listen to their old ideas that they are the greatest and meant to be the boss over every- one. They all want to know why black people and women should be made to do all the work.

The white man is not having things go his way any longer. And there will be wars until we all live and live in freedom on earth. That is something the white man had better learn soon.
WHAT IS NEWS & LETTERS? A unique combination of workers and intellectuals.

ORGANIZATION—We are part of a movement of Marxist-Humanists—blacks and whites who are seeking to change our conditions of life in the shops, the schools, the society as a whole. To do this we feel that all of us—workers in the factories, students in the universities, black and white—must stand together and talk about how we can end the war, speed up and racism in the plants, misuse, education in the school; how we can build different human relations, by absorbing the division between mental and manual labor.

PAPER—This is the only paper of its kind, anywhere, edited by a black worker, and it is distributed by people willing to work by people, workers, youth and black people fighting for freedom, in the U.S.A. and in other countries.

We invite you to write for the paper, and to join our organization.

James Green, the 17-year-old youth who was shot down at Jackson, Miss., had been working for several years from 4 p.m. to 10 p.m. weekdays, and began work at 9 a.m. on Saturdays. Saturday afternoon, a Democratic mayoral candidate was assassinated near Jackson State. He gave his mother most of the $212 a week and tips he earned. He was on his way from home when he was shot.

What "violence" invited this tragedy, Mr. President—except the violence of being born black and for a black man in Mississippi.

ECONOMICS AND WAR

Mr. Nixon remarked recently, "If I had any money, I would invest it in the stock market." If Mr. Nixon had invested $45,000 (25% of his campaign funds) he would have been a loser by $9,000 less than 10 days after his investment.

The faith of "investors" in capitalism is not to be questioned. The system is enormous. Their faith leads them to believe that the continued growth in population, the ever-expanding demand, greater production and ever greater profits. Their disappointment in the government's performance in the stock market should teach them a lesson.

PROTESTERS REPORT FROM M.I.T., WASHINGTON, COLUMBIA U., PHILADELPHIA, RUTGERS.

The situation here at MIT is very strange. The administration is spending thousands of dollars to research going on at this campus. The Administration has tried to "outsmart" the student movement by converting it all into protest against Cambodia, and then against the Kent State killings. (They don't worry about Augusta, Georgia or Jackson, Miss., or Kent, Ohio killings—that it makes headlines. Big goes on is every single black community all over this country.

The cops in this country are on a rampage. Everywhere. You never hear about it unless it is so big that it makes headlines. But goes on is every single black community all over this country.

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The only way to get rid of Harvey Lewis was just shot and killed here. Nobody was arrested, and the black community is paying the price of the cops who do nothing. There is an army of hundreds black gathered — and were accused of "harassing" (the cops, of course). How many more will be mur­dered until we put an end to it?

It was absolutely fantastically that on the first day of the Washington demonstration, to dedicate a huge monument to the Confederacy.

Nixon doesn't give a damn what people think. The administration is just trying hard to make clearouts before what the students are doing against the war, and what the blacks are doing and what labor is doing.

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But three important things have happened since the march to Harvard Stadium we got sympathetic support from many workers along the way — including a construction worker who waved us on from the top of a building.

Second, the truck drivers have all honored the student picket lines. And lots of workers have been talking to us. There is a very militant demonstration.

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There were lots of signs—handleted ones for the most part. And lots of papers and leaflets being distributed. Most of the crowd was young—seemed as though thousands of Phila­delphians who weren't there were thinking of the southern black student and the campus murders that day.

On my way home from the rally, a person on the bus told me that after about 50 years old, came over to sit next to me on the subway and talk with me about the situation in the country. I can never remember anything like that happening to me in Philadelphia before.

There was a very militant demonstra­tion (which had been called in advance of Kent State) at Rutgers Stadium to protest Military Field Day. The demonstrators were set upon by both the police and the American Legion and they got hurt pretty badly, so much so that the university is suing them. We were hit by the police. The University is suing mainly because a Dean was also attacked by the police for merely asking a question.

This police brutality plus the contin­ued hostility of the FBI against demonstra­tion tests has caused the administration at Rutgers to try to co-opt the movement and take it back into the Republican - Democratic politics. Presi­dent Mason Gross, who realizes that he needs the students' political power to stay in power himself, came out in favor of the Strike.

Rutgers

There were close to 25,000 people jammed into the Mall at Independence Hall to protest the Cambodian invasion and the Kent State murder. We came from schools all over the Delaware Valley—youth of this country—black and white—were there. Most of the cops had already completed the semester but hundreds of black students and the colleges that were represented nevertheless. There were lots of signs—handleted ones for the most part. And lots of papers and leaflets being distributed. Most of the crowd was young—seemed as though thousands of Phila­delphians who weren't there were thinking of the southern black student and the campus murders that day. The rally started to shrink as the end of the lunch period approached. Then the police provided an incident.

James Green, the 17-year-old youth who was shot down at Jackson, Miss., had been working for several years from 4 p.m. to 10 p.m. weekdays, and began work at 9 a.m. on Saturdays. Saturday afternoon, a Democratic mayoral candidate was assassinated near Jackson State. He gave his mother most of the $212 a week and tips he earned. He was on his way from home when he was shot.

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S.F. area rocked by anti-war actions

Berkeley, Cal.—The greatest and most spontaneous mass movement in this country took place yesterday in the voluntary dissolution of the national anti-war Moratorium Committee. In the greater San Francisco-Bay Area, actions of far greater proportion took place.

Mass demonstrations forced the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to adopt, by a 6 to 4 vote, a resolution similar to the McGovern-Hatfield bill: no funds for the war in Indo-China, with a statement of opposition to any war not approved by Congress. (The two women and one man on the board all voted for it.)

Several hundred San Franciscans sat through the two long meetings, and cheered wildly at their final success despite the intimidating presence of the hated Tac Squad, who at the first meeting brutally assailed as many people as they could reach.

COLLEGES ARE ANTI-WAR CENTERS

The University of California campus at Berkeley (and elsewhere) defeated Governor Reagan’s demand that the University be closed down, and instead took it over. A meeting of close to 10,000 students voted to keep it open and “demilitarize” it as a center for anti-war actions and to protest against oppression at home.

Bailies, street theatre, demonstrations, picket lines, calls for unity with the working class, support of strike activities both at school and on the job, petitions and letters to the administration, speeches calling for humanitarian solutions, all this and more.

The Department of Zoology called for “changing the directions of this country, its values and priorities, to direct our people to the problems of this world: the cities, the suburbs, the jobs and decent housing for all, and first of all the stop the war right now! (For the first time in over 30 years the famous San Francisco Chronicle was the scene of a political demonstration, with over 500 Third World and Asian students marching to protest the war, confronting the powerful “G. O. M. S.” with instant leaflets for each new complex with 50,000 members, are running on platforms calling for a program of war participation to demands for the establishment of a socialist society.

A philosophical understanding has permeated the young. Life is new—a new energy is liberated—a new world will be born.

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DOING AND THINKING

Chicano h.s. students battle school system

L.A., Calif.—Training for Roosevelt begins before you even enter. In the ninth grade just before you graduate to Roosevelt, the counselor comes and asks the kids what things they would like. He asks, well do you like wood and kids say yes; and do you like electricity, drafting? Again, yes; well I think you ought to take a shop major.

They never give you a math major or a science major, but they can give you anything you ask for. Even exceptional do you get this type of major. There are a lot of smart kids that went in for the arts, majors and stuff like that. From the beginning they tell you you are not going to college anyway. So you are prepared into thinking that you are not going to college.

To those who run Roosevelt we are dumb. But to us many of the teachers don’t know what they are doing. I visited a class called Algebra S. The kids are smart, but they are stuck in Algebra S which means slow learners. Most of the kids were in third or fourth grade. The kinder-garten. “This is a new word. The lowest common fac­tor.” Stuff like that. Talking to the kids like they were third graders. They even had to read aloud. There are a lot of teachers like that. We don’t have too many Chicano teachers because the Chicano teachers are white.

SCHOOL LIKE PRISON

The school in many ways is like a prison. It is about 80 percent Chicano. They have “sweeps” at Roosevelt. Yes, they have two two foot tall steel belts they lock the doors and if you are in between that has a lot of glass in there. Then shut the door. Then other teachers will be patrolling the halls. They will make you get out in the hall go to the class­room. They will make you do this over and over. Then you go back to class, but by that time fifteen minutes of your time is over. Then they get you. Then they get you. Then you get warned. The third time they call in your parents and have a conference. The fourth time they suspend you. In the Chicano high school, liberty is very, very distorted. We had a California history class which should have began with the Indian’s history; then the Chicano’s history; and so on. But they started with Indians in the beginning, then told about the Spaniards and the Catholic Church. That was wrong. They started with the Spaniards except for a short thing at the end of one chapter where they said Mexican-Americans are living in LA and said that the whites came for farm labor, etc. Out of the whole book there were about two pages on this. All the rest is history.

ROOSEVELT MOVEMENT

In response to these conditions there is a movement at Roosevelt which has been putting forward a number of demands. One thing we don’t want is cops on campus. They patrol the campus especially during lunch time, when they are at the gates. They do school-wide teaching. They don’t like the fact that a lot of students speak Spanish. They say you are in America and you should speak English. They say that Mexican-Americans are living in LA and that the whites came for farm labor, etc. Out of the whole book there were about two pages on this. All the rest is history.

We are trying to get Chicano students on campus. Right now there aren’t a lot of Chicano students on the whole campus. You have to ask for it.

FREEDOM SCHOOL

The Chicano freedom school in response to the cops and administration busting our demonstration and arresting people. There was a need for the school when the students were demonstrating and had to have a place to go. They are going to have a lot of Chicano studies and help Chicano’s not so much to get into college, but to have a chance to go to college if they want to.

I am for freedom, for stopping the suppression of every person who is not a white middle class or upper class. As I grew up I went only to the schools here in the Chicano areas, and then I went to a white school for a year. I always had the Chicanothropists teach­ing and facilities. I don’t consider their teaching better. In terms of their view of teaching it is better. But in terms of any kind of education I think the whole system is all messed up.

The whole government is running the system. You can see that when they force the pledge of allegiance. They have a bunch of numbers and laws, but we have contact with people.

Chicano student
Teachers union settlement sells out students

Los Angeles, Cal. — Striking Los Angeles teachers returned to their classrooms but not to their students. Many young persons remained out of those reproach boxes which contained them during the strike period. One result was the apparent agreement of the union and administrators to continue to do so. Although the United Teachers of Los Angeles (ULTA) leadership claimed that the win was a victory for the teachers and the success of the strike, most students do not agree that the strike was a victory for them.

Lack of confidence

They may operate which yielded a new vehicle of power for teachers but not for students, who don't believe in a strike and want to get on with their studies. A new sense of organization and the realization of possible organizational rights. Professional improvements for teachers do not mean amelioration of student learning conditions. Democratic grievance procedures for teachers do not bring the endeavors of such policies as suspensions and layoffs, which are instrumental in suppressing student dissent and rebellion against an impersonal educational bureaucracy.

Class and counter-class

It is ironic that teachers walked out in behalf of students and returned in behalf of themselves. Virtually every student-oriented program including the arts, sports, and student government was shut down in order to accommodate the Board of Education. No doubt out of a feeling of guilt, the teachers offered to exchange part of their demands for a larger part of those of other groups. The teachers will be kept on the job because of the new contract in their local schools. These teachers experienced a camaraderie with their fellow teachers during the strike period. Teachers will meet in small groups and parties provided teachers with the rare opportunity to present their professional mask. Out of this closeness has emerged a renewed sense of purpose and a commitment to action. However, this does mean that teachers must be willing to involve students in a real way and regard teachers must reject professionalism in the true oppressed sector of the educational scene, the students.

UCLA campus transformed into an anti-war center

Los Angeles, Cal. — When Nixon invaded Cambodia and the National Guard killed four at Kent State, UCLA students, like those in many other campuses, went out on strike. At the same time Governor Ronald Reagan closed all the California State Universities for one day.

Los Angeles, St. — Today the students at UCLA are reestablishing their campus as an anti-war center. The students have organized a mass canvassing of the entire campus area, distributing leaflets in homes, churches, labor unions, etc. They are even preparing to work in their own communities.

Normalcy impossible

But now most of the troops have disappeared. It is unknown by most if they are still on campus at all. The National Guard has been called back, the News & Letters office was opened, the strike has been winding down.

Crisis in the strike

The big crisis in the strike came over the question of how to present the Bobby Seale—political repression issue to the community. Many white students either didn't know about it or were afraid of "turning off" the community by talking it up, and wanted to soft-pedal it. Others tried to show oppression abroad and repression at home as two sides of the same problem.

Meanwhile, the black students, who had been hesitant from the first about joining, began to doubt the seriousness of the majority of the whites. The crisis was over in the middle of June when a meeting of the students at the town meeting and spoke out about the history of racism and police terror in this city and how we were all potential "political prisoners" under Nixon's terror. A new stage of political consciousness was reached and the students were in agreement with each other on this campus that 20 percent black.

Mass canvassing of town meetings

For the first time, local groups joined together to form operational vigilante groups. They were armed, though with baseball bats, hunting rifles, and cherry bombs. It is held as belief by some, that police broadcast the vigilantes was little more than fain-their.

Guards occupy Madison as students take action

Madison, Wis.—The addition of the University of Wisconsin to the ranks of schools striking throughout the nation, also led to the occupation of another campus by police and national guards.

Pattern arises

The appearance soon after of close to 2,000 national guardsmen on actions such as these next to impossible; this, in turn, led to street actions of guerrilla nature by small cadres. For over a week thereafter, a given pattern arose: a rally, lead, gathering to disperse the group, cadre actions such as fire bombings and barraging police cars with rocks, more mass and individual actions.

For the first time, local groups joined together to form operational vigilante groups. They were armed, though with baseball bats, hunting rifles, and cherry bombs. It is held as belief by some, that police broadcast the vigilantes was little more than fain-their.

Guards disrupts campus

The official University policy was much more than fain-their. The University called for greater cooperation to protect the rights of the majority of students who desired to attend class, and the national guardsmen called to take the students out of the university. The guards responded by making the entire campus an occupation.

They were positioned with weapons at nearly every entrance to a liberal arts building, administration build­ings, and any structure; security posts were also placed atop buildings throughout the campus for over an hour a wide variety of people spoke out for over an hour a wide variety of people spoke out. Discussions, meetings, committees, leaflets, began to be organized.

Student town meetings

Middletown, Conn. — When the news of Nixon's Cambodia attack on June 7, nearly 200 students and faculty managed to gather in the Chapel to organize a strike in support of the three demands put forth by the students. Another rally was held on Sunday. The official University policy was much more than fain-their. The University called for greater cooperation to protect the rights of the majority of students who desired to attend class, and the national guardsmen called to take the students out of the university. The guards responded by making the entire campus an occupation.

They were positioned with weapons at nearly every entrance to a liberal arts building, administration build­ings, and any structure; security posts were also placed atop buildings throughout the campus for over an hour a wide variety of people spoke out. Discussions, meetings, committees, leaflets, began to be organized.

The freeing of discussion away from academic topics saw its beauty in the strike was not numbers staying away from classes but as the complete change of atmosphere on the campus. There were discussion groups spread on lawn upon lawn all over the campus. Proceedings were taking place in buildings and by 3:00 p.m. some 700 people (about half the student body) had gathered in the Chapel to organize a strike.

Lack of confidence

Many students from their students. It is ironic that teachers walked out in behalf of students and returned in behalf of themselves. Virtually every student-oriented program including the arts, sports, and student government was shut down in order to accommodate the Board of Education. No doubt out of a feeling of guilt, the teachers offered to exchange part of their demands for a larger part of those of other groups. The teachers will be kept on the job because of the new contract in their local schools. These teachers experienced a camaraderie with their fellow teachers during the strike period. Teachers will meet in small groups and parties provided teachers with the rare opportunity to present their professional mask. Out of this closeness has emerged a renewed sense of purpose and a commitment to action. However, this does mean that teachers must be willing to involve students in a real way and regard teachers must reject professionalism in the true oppressed sector of the educational scene, the students.

The hopeful sign on the horizon is the existence of a small but committed core of teachers on every faculty who will take part in the new contract in their local schools. These teachers experienced a camaraderie with their fellow teachers during the strike period. Teachers will meet in small groups and parties provided teachers with the rare opportunity to present their professional mask. Out of this closeness has emerged a renewed sense of purpose and a commitment to action. However, this does mean that teachers must be willing to involve students in a real way and regard teachers must reject professionalism in the true oppressed sector of the educational scene, the students.

PACE 9
Dissent Article: "Leninism and social-democratic reformism"

(Editors’ Note: The following letter was received from France, as presenting "the point of view of communist groups," and as a part of the Monthly Review Forum, after a conference in Marseille. We print it as dissent from our own point of view.)

In France (as elsewhere) today, the consequences of the year 1968 are twofold: on the one hand, there is the appearance of a radical minority within the working class, and, on the other, a concern for theory and organization. Thus, our analysis could be summed up as follows.

Broadly speaking, one could say that the historic period which goes from the Russian Revolution to our day and, with it the ideas which have been developed, is beginning to be shaken up. The history of the workers’ movement since 1914 is characterized both by the persistent reformism of the working classes within the advanced countries, and by the appearances, from the Russian Revolution to the present day, of a minority which expresses the conditions for the existence of a workers’ movement which is occasionally powerful ("the unions and parties") but which is incapable of making revolution.

Precisely because it is a real movement, the workers’ movement exists and expresses for the women the way they do for the men. They say the contract “seems to get worse every time one is negotiated.”

EVERY CONTRACT WORSE

Women have been truck drivers here for at least 15 years. This year when the contract came up, it said that the truckdrivers had to change their trucks. There is no service station which has always done this before. The girls who bid the service job went in one morning and found a flat on the truck. There were plenty of other trucks available, but they was told she’d have to take the one with the flat tire—her truck—but she changed the flat anyway, just to show them she could.

Notes On Women’s Liberation

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One of the older women who has top seniority, and has been a fighter for years, had been helping some of the cases. She was an sick lad before a 1970 accident, which put her in the contract that if you’re out on leave over two years, you’re put on layoff. Everyone believes it was done as retaliation.

The women are still fighting. They have now filed harassment and retaliation charges, and women from the Women’s Liberation Coalition are now going through with them in a demonstration at the CRC.

The Theoretical Challenge of Women’s Liberation—We Speak in Many Voices.

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"True rebirth" or wholesale revision of Marxism?

By Rayn Dunayevskaya
Author of Marxism and Freedom

Part II

(Continued from last issue)

Ernest Mandel* did finally call attention to the fact that Russian economists had "for a long time" debated the question of "state-capitalism from original sources of the Five Year Plans . . . two works by revolutionary Marxists, sandwiched in a book by a social democrat—The Real Soviet Russia, by D. Dallinger.

The most telling consequence of the revisions of the Marxian law of value, insofar as Mandel's work is concerned, can be seen in his theory of crises under private capitalism.

CRISES

The one hand, Mandel goes to great lengths to expand Marx's central point about crises—the decline in the rate of profit. He illustrates well the question that "unemployment is an insufficient produce surplus value" (p. 589) to the theory of crises. That is to say, it is OK for wages to be poor, poorer even, because the productivity of labor is growing. Nothing about the conditions of labor, not even the existence of the "system of forced labor camps" (p. 597) seems to disturb Mandel's deviation from the theory of crises. As we see, Mandel's silence on the matter of the theoretical revisions wasn't a more question of theory. It was a question of failing to recognize the counterrevolution in crisis theory, the point of surplus value production that came to full theoretical bloom in the revision of Marx's greatest work, Capital.

The most telling consequence of the revisions of the Marxian law of value, insofar as Mandel's work is concerned, can be seen in his theory of crises under private capitalism.

The many countering tendencies—the growth of the mass of profits, the increasing productivity of labor, the ability of state capitalism to luxuriate in the mass of profits, unmade- and made-for crises in the decline in the rate of profit, the overridingly contradictory fact of capitalist production doesn't "go away." The cyclical crises keep reappearing and they prove to us no cases from the ultimate reckoning of capitalist production as a production of values and surplus values, accumulation and expansion of surplus value, without which capitalist production stops.

On the other hand, as we've indicated previously, Mandel says, at the same time, not only an "automatically effective demand" which is the cause of crises. He also holds the view that organized labor is able to gain a substantial increase in real wages at the expense of capital's extraction of surplus value; that is to say, even when there is no rise in the production of value, there is a rise in the demand for value. Whether one accepts Mandel's principle that "the diminution of unpaid labor capital is never a social fact since the state maintains the system itself . . . Accumulation is the independent, not the dependent, variable." (6)

DEVIATIONS

This does not end Mandel's deviation from Marx's theory of crises. He fails to see the contradiction of the age of capital decline (a) the Contradiction of ever-capitalization" (p. 521), as if this failure to invest is not a question of the impossibility of the point of production, but to the lack of markets. So elaborated in Marx's hypothesis is the theory of the state-capitalist production relations, or the political economy in capitalist market mechanisms that he falls prey even to the spurious "multiplicities" and "accordance in private capitalism".

Obviously, he has read altogether too many books by bourgeois economists on the market phenomena of crises. Contrary to bourgeois economists, Mandel has a guilty conscience about remaining so long with the epiphenomena. He epiphanizes them for ignoring the law of uneven development which, to him, is not only "a universal law of human history" (p. 91), but only a "law of private capitalism."

There is one thing he has failed to note. This "law," of expressing the disproportionality between the two main departments of production and means of consumption—is the very law which he himself has ignored in his "controversial consideration." This was not, because Marx didn't know it as a fact of production, but because it isn't the key to the issue. Mandel makes the mistake of forgetting the supreme reason for capitalistic crises—the inability to express the logic of the intrinsically contradictory nature of the political economy of the machine. That is to say, the problem of labor at value (the minimum it takes to maintain the worker) and profit is the problem of the maximum of unpaid hours of labor through the ever greater expansion of machinery and ever decreasing use, relatively, of labor hours.

No wonder that the bourgeois reviewers were so pleased with Mandel's view of the market mechanisms acting as "stabilizers." Mandel wanted to synthesize the overproduction, underconsumption disproportionality of crises with the "deterministic" machine orientation to the law of value and surplus value. But as Marx said of Procedure, "His wishes to be a synthesis, he is nothing more than a series of "wishes.""

Footnotes to part I and part II

(1) The article from Post Konferenzen Marxismus (Under the leadership of prof. R. Debray) was published in English in the American Economic Review, No. 3, 1964.

(2) See my articles in New Left Review, No. 10 (October 1967), and in The Sociological Review, No. 1, 1968.


(4) See my article in Marxism and Freedom, p. 131.

(5) Mandel's "war of the words" with the Mafia-controlled, racist white construction workers who killed—and most of them by an armed force that has been sent from ten thousand miles away? The worker himself who happened to have been the first to expound the theory of state-capitalism from original sources of the Five Year Plans . . . two works by revolutionary Marxists, sandwiched in a book by a social democrat—The Real Soviet Russia, by D. Dallinger.

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By Eugene Walker

**Czechoslovakian people lose freedom under Russian domination**

I received the following letter from a Czechoslovak freedom fighter in Prague:

The sovietization of Czechoslovakia seems nearly complete. An official confirmation can be seen in Bratislava and Kosice leading the Soviet delegation in Prague, ready to sign a new treaty on friendship and cooperation.

The sovietization has both external and internal aspects. Externally, the incessant stress put on anything Soviet is America's "new friend," Soviet friendliness, Soviet liberation in 1945, etc., etc.—is being overplayed and is annoying to a great part of the population. Mass media pound daily with a deadening weight of propaganda on a public still deeply relying on what they regard as Russian. The ruling group would like to make believe that it has not the people who saw the Russians coming as enemies of their freedom and aspirations in August, 1968, but only a small segment of "rightists" and "enemies of socialism.

**CUBAN THREAT IS TOTAL**

However, it is the other, "internal" aspect which is more dangerous to the freedom of the Czech and Slovak peoples. The CP displays very harsh forms of its rule, far harsher than those used during the last days of Novothy before January, 1968. Censorship is extremely severe, and the attacks from newspapers and other private mail with foreign countries (illegal under the present constitutes) to the mass media, where its total. It includes banning dissenting artists from appearing on TV, prohibiting exhibitions, preventing books from being published.

All those who had been prominent in the progressive movement during 1968 and 1969 are harassed by every means possible either to diminish their prestige or to enter. Foreign newspapers—exemplified by the Sverdlovsk newspaper—contain any single note adverse to the Soviets or the Czechoslovak regime or any other of the "brother" Communist countries. In Cuba, the situation in the Warsaw (including Yugoslavia) have been reduced more than was the case in Cuba.

Trying to discount rumors about political trials, Husak has proclaimed there are 5,000 unoccupied places in Czechoslovak jails. But he was careful enough not to tell any figure regarding political prisoners. Indeed, with all the measures quoted above and many more to be realized or in preparation, Czechoslovakia is becoming more and more a vast prison for a whole people.

**WAR IS NOT WORSENR**

With no other freedom than to say yes to Party policies, working conditions for the working class are also bad. At the time the 63rd week introduced in 1968 is being extended again under the pretext of economic "consolidations" and "bad labor morale." Wage increase has to be kept at no more than 1.5 per cent annually—the smallest increase of the last twenty years. Change of work...

**Freedom Notes**

SAIGON—Schools in Saigon were ordered closed because of unrest among students... Saigon solids hurl bricks at the students and opened fire on about 600 monks, nuns and students who were occupying the building. Between three and ten mili.

HOLANDIA—It appears that the Gulf Oil Co. which was nationalised in Sept. 1969 may get into Bolivia by the back door and thus get full compensation for its Bolivian holdings. The Bolivian government, announced an agreement between itself and the Spanish oil company Hispanoil granting the Spanish company competing rights to former Gulf Oil controlled deposits.

Hispanoil is a semi-public company controlled by the state-run National Industrial Institute (INI) and a private consortium of which Gulf is a member. INI apparently has in the Hispanoil negotiations the relationship between INI and Gulf Oil is so close that IN1 could just as well be described as a mere move feed by the state-run INI to Bolivia to Gulf's refineries in Los Angeles. U.S. bookkeeping will manipulate revenue figures for the sale of Bolivian crude oil so as to provide Gulf with more compensation for the takeover of its Bolivian holdings.

UPPER VOLTA—Five years after the military ousted the government in Upper Volta there appears to be no movement towards return of civilian rule. A proposed new constitution specifies that the President of the Republic must be a member of the military chosen by the officers, and that the army must be guaranteed representation in the country's political life.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—Jacquin Balaguer was reelected for a second four-year term as President of the Dominican Republic. He did so with the help of a police and army regime of terror in the final weeks of the campaign. Nearly 100 people, mostly of the black population, were killed by extreme right-wing paramilitary groups linked with the army and the government. The left parties called the election a "shameful farce" and the percent of eligible voters stayed away from the polls despite direct and indirect pressure to vote.

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**Black-Red Discussion: Bay Area black students link issues of war and racism**

By JOHN ALAN

(Because of the crisis in America, I am deferring the publishing of my previous article on Cruse and Cleaver, begun in last month's News & Letters, to next issue.—J.A.)

The events of the past few weeks have been both exciting and revolutionary. On the brilliant side, in the interest of humanity, a considerable section of the American people, led and inspired by the stirring anti-war protests of students across the country to the spread of the war into Cambodia, have shown that they can deflect the war out of the major irresponsibly government in Washington.

Nixon, struggling with his "conscience," over the weighty decisions he must make, is laughable, and his newfound willingness to "listen" to war protesters is no doubt a "calculated political risk."—fradulous to the war activity of black and white youth can no longer core. But, it does indicate that the deep persistent anti-

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