

**Small farmers
organize
against Butz**

By Charles Denby, Editor

Inflation and depression at the very same time in this country has caused many people to change their thinking. Many of those that a few years back said the system is OK and will remain OK from now until the end of time are now saying the opposite, that the system is nearing its end.

It should be replaced by a new system that will serve the needs and interests of all Americans on the same basis. Not just the big corporations and the big rich capitalists, which the Government is clearly demonstrating are its only interests. The Government is not interested in working people, nor the poor, and surely not the Blacks.

After the miserable depression of the '30s, the system brainwashed many people into believing that there could never be another depression in this country again. There would never be mass unemployment again. Even now, the unemployment rate is much higher than Government statistics we read.

FARMERS ANGRY

I was in rural Alabama during the Christmas holidays. Many of the small farmers there, those who raise hogs and cattle, were yelling about the squeeze they are caught in by the Government. Some are yelling, some have lost all faith in the system. They are yelling in the same way the large cattle ranchers were yelling out West when they resorted to slaughtering some of their young cattle.

Some farmers are saying they are bankrupt, and will have to go out of business. One hog raiser was saying he refused to sell his hogs after the price fell so low, and was thinking it would go up sometime later. Instead, the price of feed doubled and tripled. The price of hogs and cattle went down at the point of the farmers, and at the same time it went up for the middle-man and the market price. He said at the prices he paid for feeding and keeping his hogs on hand, he would lose money if he was paid triple the price that the market pays today.

Another said, "How in the hell can this Government set a fixed price on the farmers' livestock, and at the same time let the middleman raise his prices so high that he gets as much for a leg of our animal at the market as he pays us for the livestock?"

In Alabama, Tennessee, and throughout the South, the farmers are beginning to sell their livestock to individuals and small merchants. They are saying they can at least get from \$30 to \$50 more a head than they would by carrying them to a stock market.

ATTACKED BY LAW

The Government is threatening these small farmers with some law to stop them. Some are saying that may be the beginning of a bloodbath or a revolution. The Government is saying that any livestock must be inspected and processed through a Government agency where the meat can be graded.

One farmer pointed out the fact that some of the big
(Continued on Page 2)

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NEWS

LETTERS

Human Power is its own end

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Editorial article

Deep U.S. recession and the myriad global crises

by Raya Dunayevskaya,
Chairwoman, News and Letters Committees

The new year has brought the world face to face with outright famine in Asia and Africa, recessions circling the globe, the sixth and deepest of the post-war recessions being right here, in the mightiest and richest of all ruling powers, the U.S.A.

The newly-created Middle East Gold Circle, far from being free of crises, including class struggles that undermine the whole structure, is exactly where war threatens to break out. Moreover, on the horizon hovers not only still another Arab-Israeli war, nor only sawdust Caesars like the Shah of Iran, strutting about with the grand illusion of restoring the old Persian empire, and globally at that. Gunboat diplomacy exudes especially from the real world Goliath, U.S. capitalism, nuclearly armed to overkill.

It would be fatal to reduce these threats to "mere contingency" views for only the worst imaginable of situations—"strangulation of industrialized democracies." A Third World War could only be nuclear, would be truly final, the end of civilization as we've known it. No matter how insane, therefore, talk of "contingencies" sounds, we must coldly and deeply and with utmost urgency examine "contingencies" as capitalistic realities.

Let's look not alone at the intra-imperialistic rivalries, nor, no matter how glittering the gold, at the global posturings of the Middle East Gold Circle, nor at the divisions within the ruling classes within each country. Instead, let's begin where the deepest contradictions are, where everything begins and ends—production.

Capitalism, private and state, never could solve basic contradictions, knowing only how to go from crises to wars and back again.

Unemployment and Political Shenanigans

There are starving masses not only in the poor, technologically underdeveloped lands, beset by natural calamities, but also in the richest, super-industrialized country in the world, U.S.A., and that right after the GNP hit the trillion-dollar mark. All too obviously, GNP is not national wealth. Built-in "stabilizers" like unemployment insurance and Social Security may have unconvincing the learned economists that a deep recession is not as bad as a depression. But, as witness the dissatisfaction and restlessness in any unemployed line, the Black marches, and the UAW demonstration planned Feb. 5 for Washington, the unemployed will not forever allow the capitalists to let the whole weight of their chaotic, exploitative system fall on their backs.

At this moment, when even the Herbert Hoover mentality of President Ford has had to give way to the reality that not inflation but unemployment is Enemy No. 1, here is where lies the truth: the "average" unemployment is 7.1 percent, which means nearly seven million people out of work. Every industrial city, moreover, knows
(Continued on Page 11)



DIPLOMACY—FORD-KISSINGER STYLE

AN URGENT APPEAL TO OUR READERS

Today, when the recession has struck a blow at all of us—and among Blacks, unemployment has reached the Depression level of 30 percent—it is time to act, not by waiting for the band-aid palliatives the government is offering here at the same time it increases its gunboat diplomacy around the world, but by opening the fight on all fronts. With this in mind, News & Letters, whose very existence is threatened, has increased this issue to 12 pages. The first necessity is to expand a forum for the voices from below.

- N&L was the very first to carry a special issue on the brand new farmworkers' huelga in California ten years ago, and has been active in these struggles ever since. But only now have we been able to devote a regular and full page to cover the Latino struggles that are going on everywhere at the very time that the Administration continues to play with military interventions in Latin America. (See Lead article.) We must never permit another imperialistic Bay of Pigs invasion.

- To expand the struggles of the unemployed, instead of retreating in the face of the economic crisis, News and Letters Committees on the East Coast, the West Coast and in the Midwest have begun issuing a new newsletter, *Unemployment Lines*. It is free. We urge you to send for a copy and to contribute your own stories.

- To assure the continued expansion of the voices of all the forces of revolution, the workers, the unemployed, the Blacks, Women's Liberation, the Youth—not separated from a philosophy of freedom—we would like to move to a 12 page paper regularly, if we could. But, meanwhile, just to survive as an eight page paper we must have your help.

We exist entirely on the sales of our literature and the donations of our friends and readers, and unemploy-

ment has cut deeply into these contributions. We cannot cut our budget for the simple reason that no one, from editor to typist, gets paid. All our labor is voluntary. At the same time, galloping inflation has raised every basic necessity, from postage to printing and from rent to paper supplies, sky high. We cannot survive without your help.

News & Letters was born 20 years ago, at the height of McCarthyism, when a small group of workers and intellectuals decided to fight against that reaction by revealing the real American forces to overcome the tide and move on to the active 1960s. It is clear from the recent exposures of the CIA, that the reaction has not diminished. It is also clear from the '60s that there must be a unifying of the forces of revolution with a philosophy of revolution that is not tied to any state power, be it U.S., Russia, or China.

- Nowhere will you find that but in N&L.
 - Nowhere else will you find a Black production worker as editor, and a white production worker as co-editor.
 - Nowhere else will you find such a unique combination of worker and intellectual — in each page of N&L, and in every activity of our committees.
- TO KEEP US GOING, TO HELP US EXPAND OUR WORK, PLEASE—GIVE AS GENEROUSLY AS YOU CAN!

NEWS & LETTERS
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Teachers fight union-busting in Detroit suburb



—News & Letters photo
Mass picket line and police harassment of pickets.

Dearborn Heights, Mich. — The Crestwood District teachers, members of the Michigan Education Association (MEA), have been working without a contract since February 1973. After a month's strike this past September, they went the complete route of mediation, fact-finding and arbitration before deciding to strike again on Dec. 4.

After three weeks of the strike, the Crestwood Board of Education fired the 186 striking teachers and hired scabs. This led to bitter confrontations between scabs and strikers on the picket lines at Crestwood High School and has made Crestwood a statewide battle ground for union vs. anti-union forces.

A teacher who came 90 miles from Saginaw to picket in support summed up the feelings of all the

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

markets have lowered their prices on meat since they started to sell to individuals. For some years and better, he has been carrying his livestock to market, and not once have they refused to buy the animal, or said they had thrown it away, because it did not meet Government or state standards.

This farmer said if a Government inspector wants to come out on their farms and inspect their animals they can. But he was damn sure that no one was going to force him to buy feed at the high price it is at today, then force him to sell his livestock at the low price they are offering.

ROAD TO DICTATORSHIP

He said, "Hell, man, that is what they do in those countries where they live under a dictator. If Nixon had remained in office, and had gotten away with that Watergate mess, we were on the road to a dictatorial regime. That Ford that replaced him seems to be trying to complete Nixon's course of intention."

This Secretary of Agriculture Butz, Nixon put in. Every time he opens his mouth he tells the American people that food prices are going up higher before they get lower. Greenspan and Simon are the same, Nixon hand-picked, and they never have a good word to say, or news that is comforting for the working and poor people. Even they do not say now that we should have faith in this system.

The small farmers in Tennessee have organized to the point of advertising their livestock sales to individuals. People are coming there from all over the country to buy meat from them, completely eliminating the middleman. If it takes the same form throughout other Southern states, the farmers feel it is a way to fight inflation and the Government at the same time.

FORD HAS NO ANSWERS

It appears that the Government is stuck in quicksand. The more it moves to get out of it, the deeper it goes down. None of the stop-gap measures that President Ford is proposing is the answer. Tax rebates sure is not, extension of unemployment compensation is not, and raising gasoline prices through more taxes is not.

Nothing short of a total reorganization of this system, by replacing it with a new society, will begin to answer the needs of the people in this country. What people forget is that a new society is the human endeavor or it is nothing. The working people will build it or it will not be built. Today there is a crying need for a new unity of theory and practice, beginning with where the working people are, their thoughts, their struggles, their aspirations.

teachers on the line when he said, "Our contract is not up for negotiation yet, but I feel it is being decided here and now!"

SCABS CROSS LINE

On Monday, Jan. 6, the schools were supposed to open again with scab teachers. Those that did show up had to drive through a picket line of about 200 teachers, many from neighboring districts, and some 100 supporters from local union and radical groups.

While Dearborn Heights police and Wayne County sheriff's officers arrested 15 pickets and escorted many of the scabs into the school, enough were kept away so that parents were needed in the classrooms to keep the school open.

Expressing anger that other teachers would strike-break, a young teacher on the line related the strike to the whole economic situation: "The Boards of Education are well organized and are taking advantage of the recession to destroy the MEA.

"These scabs tell stories of desperation and the media run them, but nobody tells our story. We don't even have a pension or unemployment compensation. I've been teaching six years, five in this district, and I still make only \$9,500 a year."

A bitter division has resulted from both parents' and students' groups coming out strongly against the strikers (See article, p. 9). A young woman teacher said, "Some of us have been visiting parents every day to gain support. Those who support us are afraid to speak out for fear of reprisals. It has really become nasty because many parents feel we are being 'unprofessional' to strike and picket and try to keep scabs out. Well, if we are 'professional,' we need to be paid for it."

DEARBORN HEIGHTS AND BOSTON

The attempts to break the union at Crestwood can't be separated from the attacks, begun by Nixon and continued by Ford, on education gains that the student movement of the '60s won. Federal funds have been massively reduced, and very little is left of the control won by student, teacher, and community groups over what the content of education is to be.

Yet so total is the crisis today that social and economic issues can't be separated. They are boiling over, not only in Boston, but in Henry Ford's backyard.

NY welfare groups form new Council for Human Rights

New York, N.Y. — A group of mothers decided to reorganize in New York because of the harassment we have to go through with welfare. The Council for Human Rights has met for the last few months. It grew out of an attempt a year ago to coordinate welfare groups city-wide.

We have to work with recipients at the welfare centers and with the unemployed, many of whom are ex-recipients and were just getting on their feet when they got laid off. Also, we are finding some who stuck their noses up at Welfare Rights are now on the bread lines.

The Council for Human Rights is both men and women. One of our interests is to help the vets; after they fought for the country, it doesn't want to take care of them. An organization of high school dropouts is also working with us.

One of our plans is to lobby Congress and the New York State legislature to get some jobs. A bus of women went to Albany from various groups, including the Household Workers, CLUW, and the Women's Political Caucus, to lobby for laws to aid women.

Delegates will be going to Washington. For one thing, food stamps jumped from \$41.50 to \$47.50 last year and are supposed to go up again in March. We are lobbying to get them to go down instead of up.

We are not going to let the politicians keep sitting on their behinds, crying that there is a depression and we won't get out of it except by a war. We are going to get some money for jobs. The struggle for money and jobs is greater now than ever, because it is not only the poor who are feeling the pinch. It has finally reached the middle class, who thought they were safe.

I don't believe this country is broke — not as long

For International Women's Year

News & Letters has recognized women as both force and revolutionary Reason since our founding in 1955. We believe that Women's Liberation means taking back our heads and thinking for ourselves. Our ideas and those of others who have worked with us are available in:

- Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak in Many Voices \$1
 - Rosa Luxemburg: Revolutionary Theoretician, plus State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism (with an analysis of Luxemburg's Accumulation of Capital, by Raya Dunayevskaya) 50 cents
 - Black, Brown and Red (available in libraries; hopefully to be reprinted soon) 75 cents
 - Philosophy and Revolution, (particularly Ch. 9, "New Passions and New Forces") by Raya Dunayevskaya, paperback \$2.95
- Order from: News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Michigan 48207

International Women's Year

Detroit, Mich.—The fact that the United Nations has declared 1975 to be International Women's Year shows only that not even they can escape what is new in women's fight for freedom — and that is its global character.

The UN, President Ford and Ms. magazine are all making excited plans for what can only be a sham celebration in this year of global crisis with the collapsing of the world's economy, mass unemployment in the U.S., Asia and Europe and the starvation of one-third of the world's population. It is only women themselves, along with others struggling for liberation, who have the creativity, the force and revolutionary reason to change this reality.



While Ms. magazine becomes fat on culture, it is those who cannot afford their \$12 a year price tag who want revolution and a society where freedom is measured in the lives of every woman, child and man. As Ms. magazine whines about the UN's discriminating against women in their hiring practices and complains about too few female diplomats, in every country in the world the struggle for bread is inseparable from the struggle for freedom, and that is what will make 1975 truly International Women's Year.

In 1974 it was the forces from below — the women in India who forced merchants to lower food prices and now lead a growing peasant movement; nurses in Britain fighting for a living wage; the women who fought Farah, who fight the grape and lettuce growers, who occupied Wounded Knee, who helped the Brookside miners win their strike; and Black women whose fight for freedom has never stopped since the first slave was forcibly brought to America — that pushed the UN into its empty resolution.

In 1975 the deepening crisis the world over will generate more forms and forces of revolt and it is only this subject, this self-development, that can make the year of women's internationalization worth celebrating.

—Terry Moon

as Ford and Congress are getting their paychecks, and the military budget is still being spent for all sorts of foolishness. Foolishness includes that conference on hunger in Italy. We don't need to go to Italy to find hunger; all we need to do is look around us. There are thousands of children going hungry here in America. With the high cost of living and inflation, that's what the military budget should be spent on.

We hope we'll be able to find a way of working together, because no one organization can accomplish the goal alone. It will need all groups that are working for the same issues pulling together. Until that happens this country can't accomplish anything except the kind of leadership Nixon gave us.

In order to help us get things moving, contributions can be sent to: Council for Human Rights, c/o Kennedy-King Welfare Rights Center, Box 1094, Manhattanville Station, New York, N.Y. 10027.

Support probation for Inez Garcia

Salinas, Cal. — A prison psychiatrist and superintendent urged the court to release Inez Garcia, who is serving a sentence of five years to life, for shooting the man who held her down while another one raped her. The court had previously denied bail for her, pending an appeal, on the grounds she "is dangerous."

The 18-page report, filed in Monterey County Superior Court by Dr. Beatrice Franklin, a psychiatrist, and Mary Grace Dick, assistant superintendent of the prison, said: "Further institutional incarceration is not deemed necessary as there is minimal indication that she is violence-prone . . . it is respectfully recommended that according to the study made on Inez Garcia, she be given probation."

Deputy District Attorney Brauderick, the prosecutor, said his office opposes the release of Mrs. Garcia.

The Garcia Defense Committee is asking everyone to write to Attorney General Evelle Younger and Governor Edmund Brown, Jr. of California, supporting the recommendation for probation.

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

SAN FRANCISCO: PO Box 77303, Station E, San Francisco, Cal. 94107

CONNECTICUT: PO Box 291, Hartford, Conn. 06101

LOS ANGELES: PO Box 24371, Los Angeles, Calif. 90024

DETROIT: 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit 48207 (961-1010)

NEW YORK: PO, Box 5463, Grand Central Sta. New York, N.Y. 10017

Master Charge workers act to organize union

San Francisco, Cal. — We are in the process of organizing a union here at the clearing house for the banks that use Master Charge. The majority of the workers are women and there are many minority workers. If you are male and white you get the choice positions.

Some of the women workers have trained white men who then became supervisors over them. The company pulls women off of jobs to give them to whites. There is no chance of advancement for minorities.

Some of us began talking about how to get some control over management. It was spontaneous at first and then became more solid. I think that the unions are necessary, but they need to have some type of control by the workers. For this reason we wanted to have a semi-autonomous group associated with the union.

We went to an office workers' union and they said they agreed with us, but we found out that they weren't really willing to work with us. We wanted to write our own leaflets, but the union said they had their own experienced people and they would do the writing. They were even going to pass out leaflets and cards without checking with the workers' organizing committee. When we challenged them on this, they pulled out.

REAL UNION IS PEOPLE

The only way to organize is around people. Either people decide what they want or there is no real union. It is just a dues collection agency. A union is supposed to be a unity or it is nothing. We finally signed up to work with Service Employees Union Local 250, which allowed us autonomy to run our own drive. In just a few weeks of work we obtained a high enough percentage to file for an election.

At the beginning of our organizing drive, it usually

ended up that only one person was writing the leaflets. But this meant that we didn't have a complete view so we spent a lot of time trying to get a group of workers together to write leaflets so that they would really reflect more peoples' ideas. Sometimes one person will write a draft, but the committee as a whole discusses it and changes parts.

The relationship with the union has to be on a professional basis. The union has to treat us as adults. Negotiations should have a majority of workers, not union reps. The union representative should explain legal terms and our rights. The contract should be on the level of people, not legal talk. We know how to think for ourselves.

WOMEN'S PROBLEMS

There are a number of women's problems at work, but so far they haven't been brought up strongly. This is because everyone is treated bad because we are minorities. Even within the organizing committee we have the problem of men having their own discussions and women being off on the side.

One thing I have discovered is that many of the workers are more aware than the organizing committee of what they want and where they are coming from. You could see this when the Teamsters tried to come in and capitalize on our organizing effort.

We had a really great spirit inside the building. Leaflets appeared on walls and on the floor. Workers typed their own statements against the Teamsters trying to muscle in. I don't know who put them up—it was workers from different areas.

Our NLRB hearing is going to be later this month. But it will be March before we can vote. Meanwhile we have to be aware of what we want, be aware of our strength in unity.

—Woman worker, Master Charge

WAY OF THE WORLD

Ford wakes up to recession

By Ethel Dunbar

As I listened to the President's State of the Union message, when he said this country is in a bad way, and is in a deep recession, I wondered when he had awakened to that fact. Several months ago this same man was saying there was no recession and he was going to turn the country around before we got into a Depression.

Now he is quoting what President Roosevelt said and did just after the country entered World War II—We did it then and we can do it now. One thing Roosevelt did not have to worry over was inflation. He didn't hesitate to put price controls on all commodities—something Nixon and Ford both refused to do.

Instead, Ford has taken money from all social programs that affect the poor and working people. At the same time he is spending millions on the war in Southeast Asia for the sole purpose of killing and destroying human lives. His speech seems to conclude in that same direction today. After saying his intention was not to let Social Security rise above five percent, he then said how many billions would be needed for defense programs to keep "peace" around this world, and keep the American people "safe" here at home.

Some of the news commentators afterwards were saying that the President did not know how or whether his proposal would work. He was making those proposals hoping some would catch on and would be tried.

What I wanted to hear most from Ford was what his plans were on dealing with high food prices. That is the concern of many housewives, but nothing was said about that. One of the newscasters said he had been told that food prices would begin to come down in 1978.

He also said that all of Ford's proposals would have to be approved by Congress, and he did not believe that they would go along with most of what he had said. That was more encouraging to me than any of what the President had said.

NLRB blocks union drive

New York, N.Y.—In October 1974, the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU) Local 153 took an unfair labor practice charge to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) when 180 employees were fired in two days at Macmillan Publishing Company. The union charged that the sudden firings were an attempt to bust their union organizing drive at this New York company.

Last week the NLRB stated that there were no grounds for issuing a complaint; their investigation showed that only economic troubles were the reason for the firings. But the firings came just two days after the union petitioned for an election at Macmillan.

The investigating officer at the NLRB was optimistic that a complaint would be coming out so we were shocked when it didn't. It is obvious to some of us that the decision to put an obstacle to white collar organizing came from Washington, in complete disregard of the situation.

OPEIU has two publishing elections this month. Victories will show Washington that we're not going to sit on our asses and wear WIN buttons—we're going to fight for decent working wages.

—A publishing employee

Earring House

Women fight unfair practices

San Francisco, Cal. — The warehousewomen at Earring House Imports were locked out of work on Aug. 8 for union organizing (See N&L, October, 1974). Ever since, they have been picketing the company's warehouse and 14 retail stores, protesting unfair labor practices.

Now, five months later, the company refuses to comply with the remedial administrative order from the National Labor Relations Board. The NLRB found the employers guilty of multiple unfair labor practices: denying the worker's legal right to organize and to give testimony against the employer. By getting rid of the employees in the bargaining unit, the company also refused to recognize and bargain with the union.

Because the company fails to comply with the law, the NLRB has scheduled a court hearing for Feb. 6, 1975 (10 a.m., Federal Bldg., 450 Golden Gate Ave.). Both sides will be subpoenaed to appear and give testimony before the NLRB's Administrative Law Judge.

Despite the victory, the women must continue walking the picket line. They are confident, however, that the NLRB decision for rehire, backpay and an order to bargain will be enforced following the court hearing.

NEW YORK-AREA READERS:

News and Letters Women's Liberation is meeting again in New York! We are reading Marx and writing of the WL movement; we are participating in labor and welfare mothers' organizing.

All those who want to work out philosophy for the movement are welcome to join us. Please write to News & Letters, P. O. Box 5463, Grand Central Sta., New York, N. Y. 10017.

Maria Joffe: revolutionary

Like a ghost come from the grave came the news that Maria Joffe has survived 26 years in forced labor camps in Stalin's Russia. What hit me as being almost as hard to hear is that the references to her, outside of the mere announcement of her survival and leaving Russia for Israel, are to her husband, the great revolutionary, Adolf Joffe, who committed suicide when Trotsky was expelled from Russia.

Here is a woman who was a revolutionary from her youth, who participated in the Great Russian Revolution of 1917, though only a teenager. By the time her husband, who was a member of the Central Committee and was with Trotsky in the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, took his life, Maria was sent off to a forced labor camp for continued opposition activity. And now, at the age of 75, having survived in prison camps from 1929 to 1956, she still struggles to leave that prison society that is the original workers' state transformed into a state-capitalist society, and yet is still anointed as "Communist" by many in the new generation, including Angela Davis.

Why does no one ask her thoughts and experiences and views of the future? Why does no one see that she wasn't just wife to a great leader, but herself an activist, a heroine in survival? What was her life as a woman revolutionary, as a prison inmate, as a thinker?

It was great, though, to hear of her; we hope we will hear from her from Israel, and on those experiences begin to build a new, fully free world.

WL NOTES

More than 2,500 angry women, protesting inflation, demonstrated in Port Moresby, New Guinea at the government buildings. A hundred broke through the police and stormed the building looking for the Chief Minister to demand lower prices, higher wages, a pay cut and curb on the special privileges of politicians.

A feminist organization called "Working Organization for Women" (WOW) has been formed in Barbados "to promote unity among Caribbean women by seeking to eliminate such barriers as may exist in relation to color, class or creed." They will be involved in education, human rights, communication and community affairs.

In northern California 70,000 cannery workers, most of whom are minority women, have established a loose network to fight against 80 canneries who practice racism and sexism in hiring, promotion and pay, and have unsafe working conditions. They are also fighting the Teamsters Union's exclusion of rank-and-file participation.

Nigerian women are fleeing from northern areas to escape marriages forced on them by religious leaders claiming that the drought is due to the immorality of single women. Single women have been attacked by mobs, thrown out of their apartments and in some places given a week to marry or leave the town.

Saying that American men are "slaves", Saudi Arabia's UN delegate says that "My government will not contribute a cent to the International Women's Year conference." In oil-rich Saudi Arabia women are still chattel property with virtually no rights—including the right to vote, marry for love, or drop the veil.

Worldwide sexism confirmed



Women handwash laundry in Ecuador hospital.

Detroit, Mich. — The International Labor Organization (ILO), as its contribution to International Women's Year, has prepared a report on the 562 million women workers around the world. The available statistics confirm women's low status in the labor market in each nation, whether the country calls itself capitalist or socialist. Women earn 50 to 80 percent less than men for the same work time, are primarily confined to low-pay, low-skill jobs, and are seen in times of high unemployment as "intruders in a male domain."

Married women now comprise more than 50 percent of the female labor force, and in the U.S., the proportion of working mothers has increased more than eightfold since 1940. The report doesn't draw the conclusion that the Women's Liberation Movement should be able to: these working women, being oppressed on the job as well as having the primary responsibility for the home and children, really have the deepest understanding of what new relationships in society could mean.

The ILO report condemns the division of labor into men's and women's work and even cautions that increased technology perpetuates this problem. Once again, the women's movement must draw the conclusion that technology, instead of freeing people in this society, enslaves and dehumanizes women and men when the machine rules the worker. A few more women getting promotions to "responsible" positions, as suggested by the report, is no solution at all. Working women want a total change in their lives, in their relationships on the job as well as in the home, so that they are treated as total human beings with minds as well as bodies.

While the ILO report recognizes that women's rights in the world of work are dependent on the economy, it doesn't conclude that there must be a total change of the world's social system by having workers' control at the point of production. In fact, the ILO report concludes that "there is evidence of the stubborn persistence of the subtler types of discrimination which are hard to grasp, hard to fight and hard to eliminate."

The authors of the report may think it's hard to fight, but working women aren't accepting the premise that those who run the world will continue to do so forever. Most working women are waging the constant battle for greater control of their own lives and they know discrimination can be eliminated and productive work can be available to all when there's a social revolution based on the freedom of every man, woman, and child.

—Marie Dignan

KQED workers strike against oilevision



KQED pickets were joined by many community residents in support of their struggles against oilevision.

San Francisco, Cal. — After 19 weeks of a bitter strike, the 80 employees of the prestigious educational television station, KQED, voted to return to work with an agreement to submit all unresolved issues to mediation-arbitration, so long as certain pre-conditions were upheld.

Management immediately violated the agreement by refusing to rehire one of the Black workers who had honored the picket line, but was forced to back down and rehire him.

STRIKE OVER BASIC PRINCIPLES

This strike was not over wages but for principles, against the demands of the recently appointed station manager, William Osterhaus. Recruited by the board of directors from the Westinghouse commercial TV station, at a salary of \$52,000 (the former manager got \$25,000), Osterhaus was told to "get the community-owned public TV station 'out of the red'." His first act was to hire his former co-worker, Art Porter, as his assistant at \$32,000 — although many employees were making less than \$6,000, "because the station had no funds."

This summer when the union contracts for eight different locals were up for renewal, the new managers demanded the contracts include their right to hire and fire, anyone, at any time, for any reason, claiming as justification, "artistic needs, unique to television"! The workers struck!

The strikers included "Newsroom" (the most highly-rated program in California) reporters, film makers, sound persons, production assistants, engineers (threatened with a cut-back from 26 to 13 men) and mail clerks. Joining them in solidarity were the non-union clerical, maintenance men, artists, technicians and the affiliated radio station employees.

WIDE COMMUNITY SUPPORT

The picket line, with hundreds of union and com-

munity supporters, walked 18 hours daily. Station appeals for phone-in pledges were stymied when strike sympathizers jammed the lines. Rallies, parties, a daily bulletin and "Newsroom of the streets" kept the public informed to offset the silence of the daily media. Letters to management insisted, "Settle the strike in favor of the union or no funds from us."

All live programming was halted as the participants refused to cross the line, and stars like Joan Baez and Jean Marsh publicly supported the strikers.

Osterhaus, with off-again on-again negotiations, was not bothered by the strikers activities. With the backing of the majority of the board—the majority corporation directors, and lawyers—he intended to achieve his real objective, concealed from the public, which was to get really big funds from Exxon, Mobil, etc., and the super-banks, like Bank of America.

OILEVISION POINT OF VIEW

In exchange, they could get long films, with their point of view on ecology, drilling, economics shown over the chain of 200 educational TV stations under the guise of "public service" and tax-deductible, for a tiny fraction of the cost of commercial television. To do this, Osterhaus would really need crews "whose artistic talents" would be entirely in conformity with the oilevision point of view.

The strikers, a veritable rainbow of races, organized their own slate for the board of directors, and in January elected three pro-union members. With the minority members of the board who favored the Third World forces on strike, they can pressure the balance of power.

Now Osterhaus is listening carefully, for the board hired him, and they can fire him, and the word is out—"Settle the strike!" Meanwhile the union members are putting out a progress bulletin, and a very alert public is carefully watching to see what happens to their station.

St. Louis strike of 1877 shows American roots of Marxism

Reign of the Rabble: The St. Louis General Strike of 1877 by David T. Burbank, Augustus M. Kelley, New York, 1966, \$7.50.

David Burbank's *Reign of the Rabble* brings this forgotten page in American history to light with meticulous attention to concrete events and their historic framework.

The title itself comes from a headline in the daily press which, because it was so thoroughly surprised, was unusually candid in blatantly projecting its fear and disdain for the activity of the new proletarian masses who were showing through their activity just how concrete self-government can be.

The general strike in St. Louis took place against a background of severe depression and was an extension of the spontaneous national strike against the railroads, an industry which, like most of newly industrialized America, had experienced very little trade unionism. The historic link with past freedom movements was diverse.

The German influence took the form of both the militant German immigrant veterans of the 1848 near-revolution, and the successor to Marx's First International in America, the Workingman's Party. Indeed, one of the founding members of the First International, James Cope, was elected to the Executive Committee of the St. Louis strike.

The press' continuous obsession with attacking the Paris Commune during the strike reflected how deep and fresh this form of freely associated labor was in the minds of everyone. The St. Louis strikers were thinking French, calling for "liberty, equality, and fraternity" and marching to the Marseillaise.

MASS SELF-ACTIVITY

The Workingman's Party was instrumental in calling a mass meeting, giving what Burbank calls "the slightest jar" that precipitated the movement. But from the beginning, the momentum of the masses themselves was a force independent of the leadership, and expanded the strike to a complete shut down, with Black workers often being out in front.

Because of the role of central leadership at a certain point, Burbank insists on characterizing the strike as non-spontaneous. On the contrary, the Committee's oppo-

sition to the initiative of the masses shows that they were as surprised as anyone at the spontaneous directions taken by the strikers.

The Committee showed its fear of the self-improvement of the masses by echoing the false statements in the press about the "violent mob", issuing their own racist epithets, and refusing to call any more mass meetings, although the strikers held their own. It was precisely at this dimension of American "Marxists" that Marx aimed his disavowal, "If they are Marxists, then I am not a Marxist." More important than the fear of revolution in the Workingman's Party, however, was the new human intelligence in the form of activity that showed the depth of its opposition to capitalism.

BOOST TO LABOR

As a result of the strikes in 1877, American workers got a new perception of themselves and their own creativity and ability to challenge and go beyond the horrors of capitalism. It was the reason, immanent in the movement of the masses, that caused the labor movement to flourish in the wake of the strike. Though the class energy overflowed into forms like the integrated Knights of Labor, the Greenback Party, or the solidarity among the German workers in St. Louis who elected their own socialist candidates, labor never lost sight of its own all important self-activity.

What happened in 1877 brings into focus recurring threads that have run throughout American history, whether it is the impact of Black and white together and its opposite, the racism that has boosted into power the most reactionary elements, or the total incapacity of capitalism to in any way prevent crises that are inherent to its development.

The discontinuity, however, between 1877 and today is also very great. The underlying drive for freedom that has characterized the self-activity of workers since the birth of capitalism has itself gone through many stages of development, and today the crisis is truly global. The kind of basic philosophic questions the mass movements are bringing forth today attest to the maturity of the age far beyond 1877 and demand a philosophic basis that is one with the movement for freedom.

—Ron Brokmeyer

'Work out our own answers'

By Felix Martin

I am an auto worker who has spent most of 1974 and all of 1975 in the unemployment lines. I was reminded of growing up during the Great Depression, when people lost everything they owned.

Standing in the unemployment line recently, I was talking with some workers about the mess we are facing. One worker was saying, "Here we stand, waiting for a few crumbs that we have already produced with our labor to live on until they need us to produce more. What the hell do we workers get from this system but to be its slaves?"

Another worker joined in, "People tell us we owe this or that to our country. What does the capitalist owe to this country? What have they ever done for the country except steal everything that working people produce?" Several other workers said there was no way they were going to starve. "Rockefeller's refrigerator can become our supermarket."

BUSINESS GETS RELIEF

Today, the system is giving us depression and, at the same time, inflation. Ford and the government bureaucrats can't make up their minds on which one to fight. President Ford's proposed \$12 billion tax cut — only temporary at that — is nothing but the smokescreen to hide the new five percent corporate investment credit which will be added onto the seven percent tax credit they already have.

This is nothing but another way of the government taxing the workers and giving it to the rich. The original seven percent credit amounts over a five-year period to some \$90 billion. The additional five percent credit will be \$4 billion which business will not have to pay and the working people will have to make up in the end.

What good will a refund on income taxes do for a man who paid little or none because he has been in the unemployment line? The average working person will be paying more in new gas taxes than he will get in tax rebates.

Millions of workers are losing their jobs. The prices are skyhigh. How can people make payments on their homes and feed their family too? This capitalist system has long outlived its usefulness. Labor has produced everything in this country, but what do the working people own except the national debt?

IT'S UP TO US

All this system has to offer working people is either a depression or war. We are the ones who suffer both. If we aren't killed in the capitalist war, we can be their slave. Is that what we are going to accept?

It is time for us to get together and begin working out our own answers, with people that are ready to support — not exploit — and where all are equal. Let's get together and change this system to a system where we are all free. All work to produce the needs for all — all in on all of the discussion of what we are to do.

N.Y. taxi conditions worsen

New York, N.Y.—One sign that we're getting into a depression is that even taxi driving jobs are hard to find. The shape-ups get longer and longer. The condition of the cabs on the streets get worse and worse.

Things happen almost daily in every garage, like front wheels locking on the highway, brakes failing, drive shafts falling out. The Taxi and Limousine Commission is supposed to inspect the cabs but their inspectors spend most of their time catching drivers going off the meter.

Most people realize our job is dangerous as far as robberies. But you never see the newspapers talk about how we risk our lives to drive these pieces of junk, or how the pollution is so bad that hospitals won't accept old-timers to donate blood. Most old-timers will advise a young driver to find something else as soon as possible. The problem is that there are no other jobs out there.

Like anything else in this rotten society, the job itself has its problems, but most of the problems are caused by the owners cutting corners to save a dollar with no regard for human life.

—Taxi driver

1930s: keeping self respect

Detroit, Mich.—Many young people out of work now just can't believe what is happening to them. When they get down to the last dollar they borrowed from friends or relatives, they learn that dollars are the only thing that connects them to the world. It's at this point they must build self-respect.

Men and women who lived through the Great Depression of the '30s should tell others how it was. I was flat broke, so I went to live with my cousin and her husband. The backyard of the house had a gradual slope, but at the far end there was a very steep slope. I thought, my cousin's boy might fall off that cliff. So I built a wall.

There were many broken rocks at the bottom. All I had to do was lug them to the top. I used tremendous quantities of cement. One night they told me, no more cement, it was too expensive. At first I was mad, but I convinced myself: no more cement. I decided that from then on it would be two rows in thickness, and that each row should slope inward.

I finished the wall. I had built up my self-respect. A month after that I got a job, but that is another story.

True, young people should be building a revolution. But even that includes a lot of time when you are just sitting around wondering what happens next.

Cal. housing worker harassed for demanding higher pay

Oakland, Cal. — (Editor's Note: Below we print excerpts from a leaflet being passed out among Oakland Housing Authority Workers.)

On Friday, Dec. 13, Brother Ardis Pearson was framed by Oakland Housing Authority officials. Here are the FACTS:

About 12:45, foreman Bob Kelly came to the stove shop and requested that Ardis report to supervisor Marvin Edwards' office at 1 p.m. Once inside Marvin's office, Mr. Pearson was accused of being absent from the job and of poor workmanship. Edwards threatened to replace Mr. Pearson and contract out the work . . .

Suddenly two policemen knocked on the door and came in . . . They grasped Mr. Pearson out of his chair, pushed him around, searched him, stuck a flashlight beam into his eyes, pulled up his sleeves to check his arms.

When Mr. Pearson asked what was up, he was told in a rough manner that the police had a report he was a drug user. No drugs were found. No evidence of drug use was found. When the police found they could not arrest Mr. Pearson on drugs, they called downtown and found out he had two outstanding traffic tickets. They put his hands behind his back and handcuffed him, and took him to the police car and the station, where he had to sit for six hours before even being charged. Later that evening he got out.

WHY WAS THIS FRAME-UP DONE?

Ardis and other workers who work as skilled stove technicians, repairing stoves, have been requesting higher wages for their work. Currently they are being paid as groundsmen — OHA's lowest pay scale. The Housing Authority has repeatedly stalled on giving higher wages saying they are "studying" the matter. They have made verbal commitments to considerably higher wages, but have not made any written commitments. Two days before officials in OHA had Ardis arrested, they had begun sending out some stoves to an outside agency to clean, and they had threatened to close the stove shop . . .

Mr. Pearson commented about the Oakland Housing Authority: "The upgrading is really poor. You seem to always remain a groundsman. Every six months you get

evaluated but it really doesn't mean anything. And when you complain to the union about a job situation, you get no response. It seems that the union officials and the people who negotiate for the company are real good friends.

"Negotiations for a new contract are handled in the same way. They come down with a ruling that no groundsmen would be in on negotiations. One of our negotiators became a foreman right after the contract was signed.

"I hope to be able to get some justice as far as this arrest thing. They docked my pay for the time I was arrested. And so far the union hasn't done a thing. You can't even get hold of them when you want."

Dockers go steady, help boss

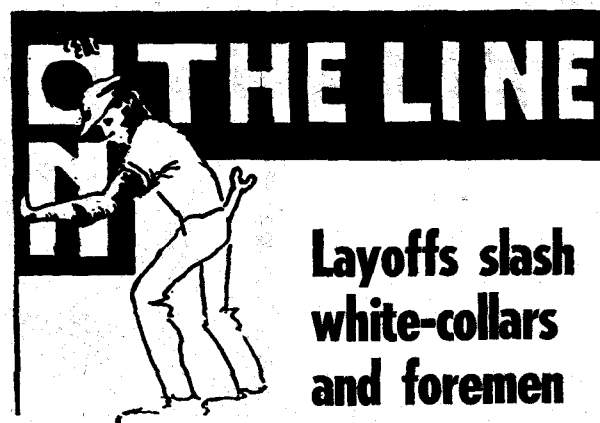
San Francisco, Cal. — There seems to be a great exodus of longshoremen going to work steady for the stevedoring companies these days. I am told that there is a price of about \$18,000 guaranteed if they accept steady employment.

This steady employment means they will have to do anything that they are told to do and be available for work anytime they are called. This means they give up all privileges of any decent working man in this industry — the choice of saying when they want to work, and in most cases, where they want to work. This might seem strange to many that read this article, but it is one of the privileges of this industry.

The companies are saying their need for steady men is because they produce and are especially trained for production. This isn't true, because the steady men were once men from the hiring hall doing the same work, though some did receive training on some of the special equipment.

The whole issue of the company wanting steady men is to break up the union and the hiring hall. The best way to break up this business of steady men is to have a very broad training program; that is, to train everyone to operate all of the equipment properly, and when someone is needed to operate the equipment, call the hall and place the order and get the men.

—Black longshoreman



Layoffs slash white-collars and foremen

by John Allison

The day of the industrial leader who looks at the future and says that the way to meet it is to lay off or fire everyone in sight is all but over. Capitalist and labor leader alike must be reminded that the possibility of revolution lurks in the mind of every worker waiting in long lines at the unemployment office.

Always before, when we went on strike or had a recession, supervisors and office workers stayed on while we suffered. Now they are being laid off and realize for the first time that they are workers too. First management made the non-union office workers take early vacation when the squeeze began to pinch profits. Then they cut the office workers benefits—and then they cut off the office workers.

OFFICE JOBS NOT 'SAFE'

Unlike the union office workers who get Supplemental Unemployment Benefits plus unemployment compensation because they have a contract, the non-union office workers have to get along on unemployment compensation alone. This is making them think about things they never thought of before. That's what happens to you when you're laid off—and a lot of workers are thinking like they never thought before.

Now the once "safe" group is calling for revolution because they can feel the iron heel of capitalist management on their neck. You don't hear much about it, but there have been very big cuts in the engineering staffs. There were thousands working on emission controls and other projects the law spelled out, but once there came the let up on these fronts, you had wholesale layoffs.

FOREMEN OUT IN COLD

In the plants, they're producing now according to orders, so when the orders are filled, workers go home. As for bosses, most of the little line foremen are all gone. Those who saw the handwriting on the wall, and who had come up from the ranks, turned in their foreman badges and went back to their jobs on the line—to get their unemployment compensation and SUB.

The young foremen who had no job to turn to in the shops were left out in the cold—with only unemployment compensation. Maybe they can learn something about how management operates out of all this—the workers have known all along.

Every worker knows that if production ever goes back to what it was before these layoffs, without any changes, that it will be back to the sweat-shop conditions of old. All we can see is trouble ahead.

The union is able to keep people on staff because it is still collecting the \$5 dues out of the workers' SUB checks. And now it is trying to hold hands with the office workers in hopes of organizing them when they return to work. They're all playing the same old ball game, but all of the rules have been changed, and they don't even know it. That's how far away the union leaders are from rank-and-file, and it's the rank-and-file that is beginning to shape the future.

Detroit job hearings packed

Detroit, Mich.—I went to the public hearings on unemployment, called by the City Council on Jan. 17. The city bureaucrats seemed interested in the money available under the CETA program—Congress' only solution to unemployment. The money is enough to hire 3,500 people in Detroit when there are more than 150,000 persons without jobs in this city alone!

None of the unemployed in the audience, which was at least 600 people, took the CETA program seriously, and chants of "We want jobs" periodically filled the packed auditorium.

The loudest cheers were given speakers who echoed the theme of "jobs and peace, not jobs and war," and those who spoke of the common plight of people laid-off, people on welfare, and people left in the plants.

The audience quickly demonstrated that the hearings were, in fact, going to be public when they overruled the City Councilman chairing the session and insisted that people speaking of workers' concerns be permitted enough time to complete the presentation of their ideas.

There was supposedly a two-minute time limit on speakers and the audience enforced it when elitist leftists got up to preach and lecture about what the workers needed to do.

A white intellectual charged that the hearings were called to cool off the anger of the unemployed, and he seemed to actually believe that it would work. The audience quickly let him know that they were not cooled off and intended to continue organizing themselves.

—Participant



Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—After the big lay-off at the Mack Stamping Plant, they recalled a skeleton crew of workers on Jan. 6. We ran into all kinds of new problems. Black skilled trades workers were told we would have to complete a course on a book the company had given us before we could attain journeyman status. It would take five years to complete the course.

At the same time they hired a few white journeymen off the street. They do not have to take the course, but get journeyman's pay. We do not, and most of us have worked in the trade six years. The company, with the agreement of our union leaders, never put the new white journeymen on the tedious jobs we have to do.

Our white vice-president Joe Zapper, who came from skilled trades, and who many of us know is a racist, has worked out all those agreements with the company. At any skilled trades meeting, our Black president, who came out of production, is practically never there. The few meetings he has attended, he has not said a word.

If those few white journeymen can get in 90 days, we will be laid off before they will, because they are journeymen and we are not. After our return to work, all Black skilled tradesmen were called in to sign papers that meant giving up all of our production seniority. So if we are laid off, we cannot bump back into production.

When Blacks first fought to get into skilled trades some 15 years ago, they had to sign similar papers. Several did, and were the first to be laid off. They lost their jobs, their homes and everything they had. This was to discourage Blacks. But there was such a commotion in the plant the union eliminated that from the contract.

Now they have some supplementary agreement that reinstates the same thing. Three Black workers refused to sign. One had six years in skilled trades. Now they are supposed to be back in production, but I have not seen them since Jan. 6.

In production, the company and the union say there are no new speed-ups, but the presses and lines are not slowed down a fraction. Where a welder did a seven-inch weld, and the worker next to him did the same, one welder now does a 14-inch weld.

They are transferring many laid-off workers from other Chrysler plants into Mack and vice-versa. The company and the union are telling these new workers that there has been no change in the man or womanpower that worked those operations before—and if they can't do it, there are plenty of workers out on the street who will. They sang the same song during the depression years of the '30s, but workers did not have a union then.

—Black skilled tradesman

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—With no change in the line speed, the company took away the extra team from seat belts that did every fifth job. It means that what ten workers did at 71 jobs an hour last year, six do now at 69 jobs an hour. They were supposed to take away the extra relief, but the word was they kept it on a little longer to try to keep our mouths shut.

The committeemen wrote up books of grievances that first night. The company took two workers away, but they had five helping out and the repair hole was still full all night long. Foremen stood around saying, "hey, cooperate," but it was just too difficult to keep up with that pace.

The rumor is that GMAD is there behind this change. The excuse for it was eliminating the interlock, but that only involves one sensor wire for the seat belt jobs. It had nothing to do with most jobs, and more work than that has been added on anyway. The rear bolts people had no sensor wire, and now have to install the carpet retainer.

The worst is yet to come. Supervision will be using their terrorist tactics, standing over workers at that killing pace, using insulting language. We expect they will start giving time off, to add to the pressure.

—Second shift worker, Dept. 11

Detroit, Mich.—The main feeling at Fleetwood is rumors, rumors, rumors. We are about the only plant in Detroit that hasn't had a big layoff yet. In fact, until Christmas we worked overtime every week. It was ridiculous to be putting in nine or nine and a half hours while your neighbors were on lay-off. They are still working overtime in Dept. 21 now.

The rumors even disagree with each other. One says that on Feb. 3 they will cut the line to 52 jobs an hour and lay-off 1,100 people, and then introduce the mini-Cadillac. The other is that there won't be any cutbacks at all, except maybe a week to get ready for the mini-Cadillac.

Maybe we will get laid-off and maybe we won't. But GM is not going to be selling a lot of mini-Cadillacs at the price we hear they are going to charge—\$11,000!

One thing is not a rumor. The company has already cut some foremen and some of the white-collar people in the office. Some other office people have been demoted. Now you can see all the foremen talking to each other and worrying about whether they will end up on Fort St. Some of them are so worried about their own jobs that they aren't harassing us as much as usual.

—Fleetwood worker

STATE OF THE UNION: RECESSION, INFLATION, WAR

On Jan. 17, 600 angry citizens, mostly Black, laughed bitterly during the Detroit City Council hearing on unemployment when told that Detroit's \$50-million CETA manpower program would create only a measly 5,000 jobs. They compelled the instant removal of fascist-racist Donald Lobsinger, and stood to applaud speakers like Hank Wilson, President of UAW Local 600 who demanded expansion of CETA from the military budget, no cutbacks in the foods stamp program, and stated, "we will not tolerate a military solution to THIS Depression."

Dozens of organizations were present with leaflets. While most of them exposed the radicals as reformers (none of the demands for jobs seemed to question the nature of labor, its conditions, or spoke up for workers — not an elite —controlling production itself), the very existence of so many unemployment councils present, showed people are determined to develop new organizations to combat this depression.

**Marxist-Humanist
Detroit**

People here are horrified at the news of the auto layoffs. Unemployment here is also high and rising. At the very same time, many people, like my husband, have to put in 50 to 60 to 70 hours a week just to keep their jobs. Nobody seems to be talking about things "getting back to normal". I've never heard so many people convinced that the whole system is falling apart.

**Hospital Worker
Bay Area, Cal.**

In the first year of the so-called "cease-fire," in Indochina, over 80,000 Vietnamese were killed in the war — more than the total Americans killed in a decade of combat. The war continues because the U.S. continues to fund 85 percent of the costs of the Thieu and Lon Nol regimes. But none of Ford's "economic experts" ever mentions this wasteful spending — of money and human lives.

**Still a War-Resister
California**

One of my aunts, who is 73 years old, has just made the jump from bourgeois political parties to genuinely revolutionary outlook. She and her husband are both retired and face the harsh reality of trying to survive on an ever-shrinking fixed-income due to inflation. They have

decided to fight rather than eat dog food, as so many older people do.

**Student
Pennsylvania**

I was talking to a lady who works in a laundry with me about workers and how terrible the lay-offs are. She said, "My job will be the last job they'll consider shutting down. I just don't make enough money to live off." Most of the people working are underpaid just like we are.

Taxes have been taken off of food here in Michigan, but most stores have raised their prices to make up for it. If this continues and Ford and his staff don't do anything about inflation and high prices, it is going to get worse. It will affect a lot more people no matter what kind of jobs they have.

**Laundry Worker
Detroit**

These days all the politicians are yelling against the "illegal aliens." The New York Times ran three long articles saying they are taking away American jobs and aren't badly paid at all.

Well, Hitler found it convenient to blame the Jews for the economic crisis of capitalism. The truth is, the garment and farm business industries want and even import "illegals" as a source of cheap labor with no rights.

And if these economic refugees have to come here, it is because U.S. big business has taken away any way for them to make a half-decent living in their homelands. One Colombian I work with told me, if you're lucky enough to get a factory job there, you make about 40 pesos a week—with 27 or so pesos to the U.S. dollar. And here? When you're not laid-off in garment you take home maybe \$75 a week.

**Garment Worker
New York City**

The local papers reported that Britain has a new national hero — a hod carrier who earns ten times the average worker's wage by running all day long without breaks, carrying an over-size hod. He appears on TV and in the papers, and shows the rewards of his piece-wage, including a \$117,000 house in a neighborhood with lords. He is being called the model for the man Britain needs to pull it out of a recession by hard work.

This sounds like Stakhanovism all over again. Stalin in the '30s gave the same "media blitz" to his labor heroes in the

campaign to replace fixed wage rates with piece-rate, and increase production out of each worker.

I have been hearing radio spots where celebrities speaking for the President's Council on Productivity urge people to put in a hard day's work. Millions are losing their jobs, and the President, like rulers world-wide, puts pressure on the workers that are left to produce for the unemployed too.

**Still Working
Detroit**

Ford seems out to increase the price of gas beyond our ability to pay for it at all. But I want to tell him that the day I have to walk to the unemployment office, he is going to be walking, too.

All my working life, which started when I was 14, my bosses have been telling me that if I worked hard I would get ahead. Well, I've been working hard all my life, and now I'm unemployed and my family is going to go hungry.

It seems to me that all they are trying to do is to lower our living standards down to the levels of the Chinese and Russian laborers.

**Unemployed Auto Worker
Los Angeles**

THE MIDDLE EAST

The subtitle of your pamphlet on the Middle-East recently came back to me: "Anti-Semitism, Anti-revolution, Anti-philosophy." It suddenly seemed clear that these positions, even when combined with "anti-U.S. imperialism," wind up a "no-exit" sign for the people in the underdeveloped lands as well as people in the industrially developed world. Where those content to be merely "anti-U.S. imperialism" go along blindly ignoring the Sino-Soviet split, or considering these countries somehow "socialist," the Chinese and Russians seem to understand each other, and know their dispute as the capitalist power politics it really is. That's why each seeks its own way to cozy up to the U.S.

**Ex-Teacher
Berkeley**

When Time Magazine made King Faisal the "Man of the Year," I could think of only one thing. What year—1374? Not Laughing Detroit

The whole concept of the "Third World" has now collapsed. The real underdeveloped countries are not benefiting but hurting the most from the new Arab oil wealth. It just re-emphasizes the point N&L is always making that there are not three worlds, but only two — the two worlds within each country.

**Black Activist
Bay Area**

WIN? OR LOSE?

No immediate miracles. While Jerry was giving us the rundown on how to wear the WIN button, many workers were losing their jobs. While Jerry was riding over an ocean to visit his buddies in the big red USSR, Congress was busy over-riding his vetoes on social reform bills. While he was getting his big hat from Lennie, Rocky was passing the hat to get votes to office. While Jerry was telling everyone in America to save gas and electricity, the gas-guzzling limo was waiting to take him home to the White House, all lit up like a Christmas tree.

Mr. President, if you think this is the way to WIN over inflation, WIN the respect of foreign peoples, and WIN the hearts and votes of the American people — then, Gerald Ford, you lose. High School Citizen Detroit

Reader

'NEGATIVE DIALECTICS'

I found the section of *Two Worlds* last issue on the Frankfurt school very interesting. The bankruptcy of Adorno's "Negative Dialectics" as opposed to absolute negativity can be seen most concretely in Adorno's total isolation from the student movement shortly before he died. When the movement was at its peak he retreated to his ivory tower and even went so far as to call the cops on the students who were "acting out his (Adorno's) philosophy with Molotov cocktails." Raya Dunayevskaya's critique of Adorno was very good, though I think more should have been made of Adorno's "armchair philosophy" as one of the major causes of his isolation and of his inability to understand any movement from practice as it developed.

**Student
Penn State**



**UNITED
FARM
WORKERS**

Recently there were quite a few "obituaries" published here and there to mark the death of the United Farm Workers. As Cesar Chavez put it recently, paraphrasing Mark Twain, "the reports of our death have been greatly exaggerated." The Teamsters have announced they are cutting back the operations of their farm workers' local, and a spokesman for the lettuce growers openly conceded, for the first time, that the boycott has hurt them.

The message for the New Year seems clear to us . . . the people in this country who believe in freedom are still willing to support our boycott, and we will not give up until we really and truly have overcome.

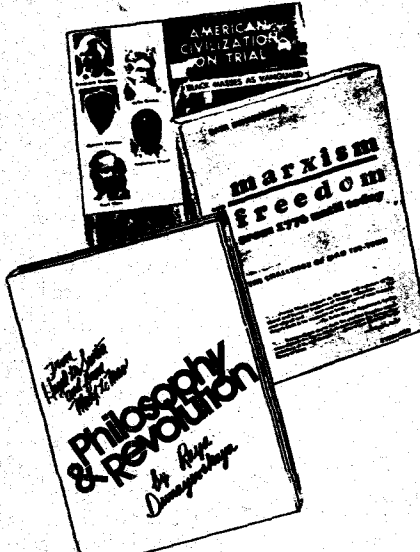
**UFW Supporter
California**

One of the UFW farmworkers I've met here was describing the work in the fields. You work so hard that by the end of the day you go home drenched in grape juice, eat a little and go to sleep until it is time to go to work again. You go to bed tired and wake up tired, and by the end of your first week your hands are swollen and fingertips raw, and you have no fingernails left. Another worker described what it is like to pick asparagus—stoop labor all day.

But they said that if the conditions in the fields were such that they could work as human beings, they would love it. You work with people all around, and if you could just talk to each other it would be great. They are not allowed to talk, or even to listen to a radio.

The first worker said at one point he decided to leave the fields and "make his fortune in the big city." He wound up working in a Ford's auto shop in California — and he said he thought he'd die.

**UFW Supporter
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Views

THE WAR GOES ON

Estimates of the size of the American draft resisters community in Canada, alone, range from 40,000 to 100,000, more young Americans than were killed in the longest and most criminal of American capitalism's wars. President Ford's offer of "conditional amnesty" for the exiles is hypocritical and a contradiction in terms.

Amnesty, coming from the same root as amnesia, means a forgetting, saying the slate is wiped clean. There is no conditional amnesty. Amnesty would be an admission by the government that it was wrong to ask its youth to kill to keep a corrupt dictatorship in power. No government is going to do that. Therefore, the more exiles who refuse the government's sentence upon them for their principled action, by remaining in exile, the more glaring will the light shine upon the hypocrites. I wish that all the exiles would refuse such miserable terms.

Enraged
Santa Cruz, Cal.

I've just heard through my lawyers that the government broke all sorts of rules in refusing my CO application and appeal. But even if the Justice Department does drop my indictment, there will still be great numbers of Americans needing a universal and unlimited amnesty. I expect that N&L will be in the forefront of Americans demanding a single-type discharge for victims of military "justice." We have to do all we can to keep people aware that the war is still being fought at home and abroad.

Ford, the man who brought you Amnesty 1974, is now bringing you Depression 1975. Nixon is gone, but nothing has changed.

War Resister
Quebec

Forty people, members and supporters of the Milwaukee chapter of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization, recently picketed and held a rally at the Woods Wisconsin VA Hospital. They demanded an end to the recent cutbacks in VA staff, the proposed taxes on vets' pensions, an inadequate GI bill, a lack of jobs, and no benefits for thousands of vets with bad discharges.

Attempts were made by police to separate demonstrators from their growing numbers of supporters — patients, hospital employees and workers. Inside the hospital, vet patients who wanted to join the rally were threatened by guards. Eleven people were arrested. The rally was part of a growing national vets movement, "War on the VA".

VVAW/WSO
Milwaukee, Wisc.

EXPLAINING THE CRISIS

What N&L must do is explain, demonstrate again and again, the superiority of Marxism as a method with which one can understand social and economic phenomenon. Why housing grows scarcer (Engels holds up); why inflation; why racism. Not high-pitched propaganda, but analysis which exposes the inner contradictions of capitalism and the necessity for revolution. Humanism, yes, but do not ignore that which is the basis for that humanism and demonstrates its necessity — concretely.

Capitalism has reached the point where production for production's sake, the bourgeois mode, is also collapsing. The giant oligopolies are quite willing to raise prices and limit production. The market place and all the bourgeois crap of supply and demand is finished forever. The society has grown so bureaucratically top-heavy, such vast proportion of the employed are involved in socially useless labor, that inflation is only a reflection of an invested pyramid ready to fall. The police force in the streets and in the factories grows larger and larger (supervisors, computer-feeders, order-takers,

accountants, advertising, merchandising — on and on without limit) in relation to people doing socially useful labor, so that real labor is supporting such a huge structure that the "cost" of the necessities of life has outstripped "real" productivity.

In the old days of capitalism, inflation existed after wars and crop failures resulted in scarcity. Isn't this inflation "new"? Does it reveal a more fundamental crisis within the old society? Shouldn't N&L explain that? Just look at the bureaucracy within unions. Twenty years ago a local union of 15,000 had one paid functionary and two office girls. What does it have now? In factories, the ratio of overhead and "indirect labor" to "direct labor" keeps climbing despite the efforts of the managers. Have we already reached the pay-off of the computer-aged automation?

Old Politico
New York

THE BLACK REVOLT

Black People, Black People, wake up. The time has come to raise up our heads and be counted as men and women. If we were united there's no telling what we couldn't do. Yes, we have problems because we still have stereotyped people.

Black Brothers and Sisters, we need one another. Let's get our heads together and debate with one another. The time has come for a better tomorrow. Segregation is an issue all Black people should be concerned with, because it will let us know what's in the future for the younger generation.

Black People wake up. We have been intimidated by Blacks as well as whites. The problem is grim but we must face it. For White America knows we aren't united.

Segregation should be an event of the past, but it is a long way from being so.

Black Auto Worker
Detroit



WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The only good thing about the three-hour spread on TV the other night on "Woman and Man" was that it was shown in prime time, proving that WL is, indeed, an "idea whose time has come." Even the bourgeoisie now knows they can make money off of it. Naturally, they were too cowardly to have the whole three hours just on women. And of course the vital dimensions of Black and proletarian were almost completely ignored. And who could expect them to have any philosophy at all?

Feminist
Michigan

An article on the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in a major newspaper here showed how the labor bureaucrats heading it have perverted the spirit of the founding conference.

Not only was CLUW incorrectly referred to as the Coalition of Labor Union Workers throughout the article, but the three top bureaucrats quoted reduced its purpose to one of getting more women into the union hierarchy.

Addie Wyatt told how to deal with union men who were afraid CLUW would be divisive: "We just have to explain . . . that we're after the same things they are — more of the pie." Her "pie" doesn't include such important ingredients — especially in today's economy — as more jobs, better pay, improved working conditions and child care for women workers, none of which were mentioned.

Citing the "fact" that so many women think they're in the work force only temporarily ("Their big goal is to get married."), Myra Wolfgang said that "The first thing we need to do is look

WHAT IS NEWS & LETTERS?

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

for women who are single . . . free to travel and who can give the time."

The statements sounded so much like the traditional managerial attitude toward women workers, that it's clear who the heads of CLUW have been listening to. And they themselves are the best examples that getting more women into the labor bureaucracy will not bring the fundamental changes that rank and file women workers have been pressing for — so far only to be totally misrepresented and stifled within CLUW.

Angry Feminist
Detroit

THE LEFT IN DISARRAY

The politics of the majority of the U.S. Left today is "anti" politics. They let you know what they are against, but not what they are really for. The problem is that "anti" politics leaves the Left with no politics at all once one of these "anti" enemies has been defeated or is no longer a pressing issue. Anti-imperialism, anti-racism, anti-sexism, anti-Zionism, etc. are not in themselves enough. We have to go beyond that if we are ever to build a successful revolutionary movement in the U.S.

Student
Pennsylvania

I was very impressed by the report from a traveler in Czechoslovakia in the December issue of N&L. It is amazing how that land has been forgotten among supposed revolutionaries. Often in discussions with '60s radicals, you hear them talk of 1968 as if it were only France that was involved. The fact that there was an affinity of ideas between Paris and Prague never crosses their minds. Such a narrow and blunted vision of freedom is not only sad for its lack of solidarity with the Czech struggle, but because it stands in the way of much needed revolution right here.

Marxist-Humanist
Detroit

I read a lot of different papers put out by the so-called Left. And I must say it was sure a welcome change to read your article on the coal miners' strike. Everybody else just cranked out the same old stuff about how awful the labor bureaucracy is and how "Miller sold out". Nobody else seemed aware that the real question wasn't some "sell-out", but the fact that so long as we have capitalism nobody could win from the companies what the miners want most of all — the right to enforce safety in the mines!

Most of all, nobody but you people put it all in its historic context.

Activist
New York

Over 1,500 people came to Pauley Ballroom on U.C. Campus in Berkeley, to protest repression and torture of political prisoners in Iran, and found themselves involved in a near riot. The meeting, held under the auspices of CAIFI (Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran) featured a panel with Daniel Ellsberg, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Kay Boyle, and Dr. Reza Baraheni — an Iranian poet and professor, who had been arrested on the charge that "his poetry was radicalizing Iranian students." World wide pressure freed him from the Shah's torture chambers and he's on tour to raise funds and publicize the censored horrors within Iran.

Several hundred members of the pro-Maoist Iranian Students Association created a prolonged disruption. After their

representative was given the right to speak all other speakers were interrupted, booed, and shouted down. Many on the Iranian students voiced regrets and felt they too had been victimized by these actions. It seems that the I.S.A. wants to repress intellectual freedom in Berkeley, a la the Shah!

"Not Intimidated"
Berkeley

It is a sad note on the state of the so-called Left when you see their philosophy lead them to a shockingly racist position. I marched in Boston on Dec. 14 and found the Revolutionary Union, a white Maoist group, there only to use the march as a platform for their anti-busing views.

Their abstract idea of revolution tells them Black people don't know better, after over 300 years of bitter experience, what is in the interest of their own survival, and that Black children haven't always fared worse when their fate was separated from that of even poor white children. The RU would stand back and call for "quality education for all"—and then I guess the powers would hand it over, separate but equal! How racist can you get?

R. Marcot
New York City

FROM THE PEN OF KARL MARX



When in Dec. 1867, a misplaced Irish bomb killed an innocent person, Karl Marx wrote, "This last escapade of the Fenians is very stupid. It is not to be expected that the mass of Londoners, who have shown much sympathy with Ireland, will allow themselves to be blown up for the greater glory and honor of the emissaries of the Fenians." Could anyone put it better today?

Irishman
Michigan

The New York Times had a feature article on the recession in Detroit. They wound it up by saying that "it is suggested that a revolutionary atmosphere might develop if the recession is too severe and too long," because the workers have tasted the good life, have the legacy of the student and Black rebellions of the '60s, and are less docile than they were during the Depression.

I like the way Marx put it better: "Along with the constantly diminishing number of magnates of capital grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working-class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production . . . centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The expropriators are expropriated."

It's long past time!

Old Politico
Detroit

Chilean junta suppresses trade union rights

(Ed. Note: The following are excerpts from an underground document written inside Chile after the military coup d'etat by the C.U.T. (Unified Workers' Federation of Chile). The C.U.T. was the most important labor organization in Chile and encompassed 90 percent of the working population that had been unionized. It was dissolved after the coup.)

Since coming to power on September 11, 1973, the Military Junta has ignored the most elementary human rights and civilian freedom, while it has also suppressed the socio-economic rights and freedoms of the Chilean workers.

When the general policy of the Junta began to be put into effect, a new form of unionism took shape. It was tied and committed to the capitalist class that rules through the military. It is the so-called "yellow labor unionism," that is still in its first stages of development.

IN CHILE there is no freedom of association. The free operation of labor unions and the fulfillment of the tasks that are inherent to them are not possible. These involve the writing of their statutes, organizing their administration, formulating their programs of action and freely electing their boards. Ban #28 of December 17, 1973 prohibits all kinds of elections, be they for labor unions, political or student organizations or any other type of group. It also indefinitely prolongs the terms of trade union leaders now in office.

Labor unions and federations with a legal character have been dissolved through other military bans. There were certain moments when the Junta daily considered the total dissolution of labor unions. Preventive arrests and transfers of labor union leaders are presently being carried out.

THE RIGHT to work has been taken away through repressive measures—dismissals, suspensions, re-hirings:

Dismissals: Beginning September 12, 1973, all personnel of services, institutions and State enterprises were employed "ad interim." Officials were fired, accused of "political activity in carrying out their tasks, excess of personnel, lack of fitness for posts" and "lack of trust for confidential posts." In private enterprise, businessmen were authorized to act in the same manner against workers. The mere groundless accusations of "extremists" or "agitators" is enough for the bosses to throw workers and employees out on the street.

Suspensions: Suspensions have been established in the public sector as well as in the private sector (workers, especially leaders, are indefinitely separated from their jobs). Usually when workers return from the suspension, they are fired.

Re-hirings: Groups of workers are fired and then hired again with wages lower than what they had.

UFW boycott gains in Bay Area

San Francisco, Cal.—People doing their Christmas shopping in downtown San Francisco Friday night, Dec. 20, saw close to 500 people marching, singing, and carrying candles through the streets as the United Farm Workers Union gathered supporters for a candlelight march to demonstrate the plight of farmworkers and spread the consumer boycott of scab products.

Chanting "Boycott Gallo wines, Boycott Grapes," and singing labor and civil rights songs, the farmworkers and supporters gathered in Union Square for an ecumenical service.

The march climaxed a two-month-long house-to-house campaign in the Bay Area where boycott workers went to 220,000 houses, told people about the grape and Gallo boycotts and handed out posters for people to put in their window. The union considers the campaign to be successful since while not many people would put up the poster saying "We boycott grapes and Gallo wine," the message was gotten to every household.

Now the campaign is heavy against Gallo wines. Gallo sales were hurt very badly last year due to the boycott. Estimates are that sales were down ten percent, and there's a good chance that they'll sign this year.

With the Teamster organization in the fields breaking up, the union is renewing the hard drive against Gallo in the cities, going to liquor stores and supermarkets asking them to take the Gallo off their shelves, and setting up informational picket lines in front of those that don't.

One of the features of that drive in the Bay Area will be a march from San Francisco to Modesto, Gallo's headquarters, on Feb. 22 and arriving in Modesto March 1. The union also will be pressuring the new legislature in Sacramento, which is more liberal than the last, to pass AB 1, the Farm Labor Elections bill, supported by the UFW, and to get Governor Brown to sign it. It looks like a busy winter for the union and its supporters.



Mass demonstration by Chilean workers before the military junta's suppression.

With the suppression of the previous rights and the general repressive situation, the right to strike established as such has been suppressed. Law #32 of September 21 abolishes the right to strike in the following way: "To have directed or to direct illegal paralyzations of activities, total or partial, in enterprises or services, or acts of violence in enterprises or places of work, or the undue holding of persons or goods, are cause for the cessation of work contracts."

Out of 130 federations and confederations registered at the Department of Organization and Statistics of the C.U.T., only 25 percent continue operation with the indicated limitations. The majority have disappeared.

Need language plus culture to teach Chicano students

Berkeley, Cal.—One of the major problems that the Chicano community faces in the schools is that bilingual education is talked about, but the bicultural aspect of it is forgotten.

In response to pressure from the Chicano community, the government says, look what we are doing, we have bilingual education. They call an education bilingual when they translate from English into Spanish. But it is translating the same things they have always said. The material is written by Anglos and translated into Spanish.

What we are saying is that it has to be bicultural: that it is high time for Chicanos to be able to make their own destiny. We are saying we have Chicano authors, Chicano teachers. We have our own people who can present a good education. Our philosophy for the schools is that it is not only basic skills that are taught, but the culture has to be there, as well as our commitment to the Chicano movement.

In trying to create an alternative school which centered on Chicano culture with the concept of La Familia—Casa de la Raza—we tried to have different ways of functioning. For instance, when we were looking for staff, one of the procedures was to have the parents, students and teachers interview other teachers to decide the ones who were committed to the students, the Chicano movement, and who had strength in teaching basic school subjects.

I really got involved because my children went to this school. They had been labeled "problem children." My oldest son could speak Spanish, but they refused to accept him in some schools until he could learn English. I felt our language should not be a handicap. Casa de la Raza gave my children a freedom to be able to express themselves and to find dignity and identity in themselves as Chicanos and part of the present struggle.

—Chicano worker-educator

'After the Battle of Ayacucho: a mother's testimony'

Some soldiers who were drinking brandy have told me that now this country is ours.

They also said

I shouldn't wait for my sons.

So I must

exchange the wooden chairs for a little oil & some bread.

The land is black as dead ants, the soldiers said it was ours.

But when the rains begin

I'll have to sell

the shoes & ponchos

of my dead sons.

Some day I'll buy a longhaired mule

& go down to my fields

of black earth

to reap the fruit

of these broad dark lands.

Antonio Cisneros, young Peruvian poet

Jamaican student finds neo-colonialism at home

New York, N.Y. — The Caribbean Student Organization at Pace University is conducting various social events and meetings in an effort to bring together the Puerto Rican, Chinese, Black American, Caribbean, African and White students. On March 21 we are holding a conference on socialism and the Third World.

The Caribbean Student Organization is made up of people who came here with a capitalist orientation, expecting to return home and take the places of our colonial masters. But many of us have undergone changes in theory, going from nationalism to regionalism and now internationalism, and from a color to a class analysis.

I spent the summer in my home town in Jamaica. It hasn't changed much. The same man who dug a pit 10 years ago is still doing it. The only people who are progressing are those who already have money. It is a self-perpetuating system.

The poor know what they want, but they feel powerless. While I was home there were several cases of hepatitis. I went to the local health authorities and said I thought the water was contaminated, but they wouldn't do anything until it became a scandal in the newspapers.

The school in my town has a capacity of 450 students but an enrollment of 1100. It is not preparing kids for the technical skills that are needed in the job market, and there is no secondary school.

The Citizen's Association made up of the townspeople decided we needed a basic school (for the three to five year olds) in a central location. The owner of the estate where all our families worked for generations, owns the land where we wanted the school.

I went and asked him to give five acres for the school. He said he couldn't cut up his estate, but it's so big he had to get out a map to look up what I asked for. The Citizens Association said they still want it, even if they must use force. The man promised to talk to us again.

The community is also demanding new busses, not just the dilapidated ones for public transportation, and that the new water main which was going through town to the tourist spot also service the town. People are learning that they deserve these things even if they are poor.

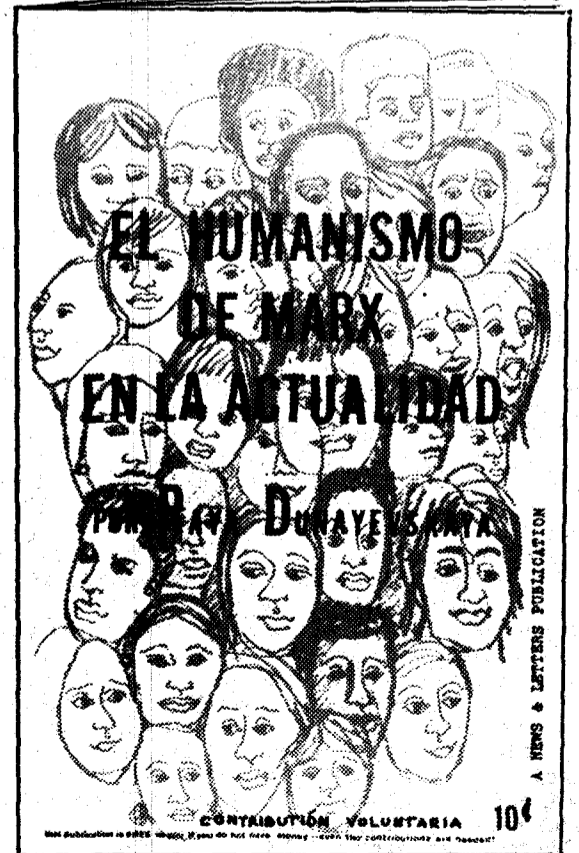
We have caused so much trouble there that a Member of Parliament has not only promised us a new health clinic, but said he will come and ask the people where they want it located!

Prime Minister Manley has proclaimed himself a socialist, thinking he can fool the people by pouring old wine in a new bottle. It's sickening to go back there and see people in the same situation as colonial days. Half the population is now under 25, and there is much unemployment, crime and violence. The government has brought in the gun court—institutionalized terror—to deter crime. Only when the people learn their own strength will things really change.

—Pace University student

MARX'S HUMANISM TODAY

by Raya Dunayevskaya



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Two views

20,000 in Boston demand end to school racism

Boston, Mass. — A crowd of over 20,000 turned out on a cold, rainy Dec. 14 to oppose the racist violence of the anti-busing forces, which had gone all the way to stoning buses carrying Black children.

This largest East Coast demonstration since Nixon's inauguration, called by the National Ad Hoc Committee Against Racism, was different from any witnessed in the past several years. It drew from old and young and seemed to be largely independent protestors from throughout the Northeast and Midwest, as well as Boston. Most important, fully one-fourth were Black.

It isn't clear how many marchers were from Boston, but it was more than the press reported. We saw several onlookers join the march which had swelled considerably by the time we reached Boston Common and the rally.

Where the street becomes a shopping area, the marchers met a solid wall of riot police, horses, and bumper-to-bumper police trucks. Here some of the "leaders" showed their true colors as politicians out to build their image at any cost. Senator-elect William Owens, from the safety of a high point, called, "We will go down Boylston St. at any cost!" and then pleaded with police to arrest him. The front line of marchers then tried to walk past police only to be brutally charged and beaten. The march quickly regrouped and continued down Commonwealth Ave., without further incident.

There was a feeling of seriousness at the rally, and despite the cold many stayed to hear all the speakers. The most important of these were two South Boston high school students—one Black, the other white—who showed great courage in speaking.

The Black student said a little about what it's like being bused — the fear but also why it's so important to her. The white student told how she crossed the picket line, with people calling her a "nigger-lover" on her way home from school, but she didn't care.

She said the kids don't have such a hard time getting along together and just wish all this fighting against busing would end so they could get on with their education.

It isn't certain that the march had any immediate effect on the situation in Boston, but it did show the bigots that their sick, racist attacks will not go unchallenged, and that they and their President Ford do not speak for most Americans. It should be noted that a pro-segregation rally the very next day drew a crowd less than one-fourth the size of this one.

—Marchers, N.Y. City

Boston, Mass. — Since the start of the court-ordered busing plan for Boston in September, racist attacks on Black school children have continued. The liberal establishment that ordered the busing has done little to protect the children involved. In response, a National Mobilization Against Racism was called by Black politicians and civil rights leaders.

The leadership tried to control the political content of the march even to the extent of using a line of marshals to prevent people from getting to the Greater Boston Tenants and Workers Against Racism contingent.

This contingent, at least several thousand marchers, was the most significant attempt to show that the issue was not "good against bad" or even "freedom" in the abstract, but one of racism being used to set working people at each other's throats and hence help reactionary politicians on up to President Ford.

Unlike the leadership, many of the marchers had great doubts about the present busing plan. It was point-

Work in silk-screen sweatshop

Hartford, Conn. — I work at Mark-It, Inc. a silk-screen printing shop. We're almost all young, and two-thirds here are women. We get \$2 an hour to start, with "periodic" increases. This means you might eventually get \$2.50 for full-time work.

There are no benefits at all — no sick days, no vacation pay, no medical coverage, and until recently, the owner did not pay time-and-a-half for overtime, even though that is illegal. Free coffee is our only fringe benefit.

The conditions are terrible. All you do all day is smell paint fumes. The different paint thinners and removers are even worse. Most of the people in the shop refuse to clean screens anymore because they get physically ill from the smell. And the boss won't let you open the windows, because fresh air dries up the ink.

The shop is also a real fire trap, with all the flammable liquids and paper stock. Someone in the shop called the city fire marshal to get the place cleaned up, but eventually the owner found out who called, and he fired the worker. Then he threatened to sue the worker for harassment!

We try to get back in a lot of ways. Screens "accidentally" get holes in them, and it has gotten to the point where some refuse outright to do certain jobs. People always talk about how much better it would be if we could get rid of the owner and run the shop ourselves. This is really the natural way to work.

—Young worker



Marchers unite to protest Boston school racism.

ed out that the state plan just shared out the deteriorating schools in one of the worst school systems in the nation. In an already crowded situation, Judge Garrity's plan had closed 16 schools.

One of the most disappointing aspects of the march was the relative sparsity of Black people participating. While the reasons for this are unclear, it is possible that the Black politicians don't really represent the community and, hence, can't mobilize it very easily.

Despite these shortcomings, the march was a significant step forward in organizing support against racism. Hopefully, some of the energy will be carried back to local organizing projects such as workplace organizing committees, tenant unions, and other attempts to unite the working class against its common enemies in the capitalists, landlords, and politicians of both reactionary and liberal stripes.

—S.S., Boston reader

100,000 join in Quebec massive student strikes

Montreal, Quebec — Since the '60s, education has been the financial priority of the Quebec government. This was to respond first of all to the needs of the giant multinational corporations, to permit them to find, within our country, the competent technicians and personnel necessary to the smooth functioning of their business. Secondly, there was a lot of preaching about the right of all to an education (a lovely Liberal political balloon).

Post-secondary education wasn't free then and still isn't. Students, on top of having to work during the summer (those who aren't Daddy's boys), always have to borrow to continue their studies, a loan which can be gotten from our dearly beloved government by the good graces of the loan-scholarship system ("study now, pay later").

Now, the priorities of the capitalist bosses are no longer to get technicians and personnel, and so they have been pressuring the government to cut down on spending for education in order to invest that money elsewhere (Olympic Games, the James Bay project, etc.). With the start of the new school year in September, the government set up a new system of loans and scholarships. The responses to our applications were unusually late, and finally, around October, a great many were turned down. Many students were obliged to abandon their studies because of the lack of government "aid".

Faced with this situation, students in many CEGEPs (colleges) formed committees to study it and work out some solutions. The students opted for strikes, mainly in more than 30 colleges out in the province. These were hit harder than those in Montreal, since the students live far from home and have to pay for housing too.

During the weeks of December, more than 100,000 students held out against Education Minister Francois Cloutier, by permanent strikes, rotating strikes, and even school occupations.

When Cloutier threatened a lock-out, the students answered him by extending the strike and the support movement to Montreal. A huge demonstration was organized with over 6,000 students participating.

What's really new and unusual, is that the English-speaking students at Dawson College joined in the struggle with the French-speaking majority — a break in the traditional linguistic barrier.

Nothing seemed to be moving on the government side until the Minister gave in on one of the most important student demands: to abolish the practice of using the parents' tax returns in calculating loans and scholarships for post-secondary students. This way a lot more students will be able to continue their studies.

This is a second victory for us, since in October, the CEGEP students forced the government to abolish entrance exams for admission to the universities. There are still many problems to be worked out in the student movement here, but these did not prevent us from fighting for our rights together and it won't in the future either.

—Etudiante

Teen backs striking teachers

Detroit, Mich. — As a student at Cass Tech High School, I can vouch for the fact that we all suffered from the long, long, long teachers' strike here last year. But, unlike Crestwood, the people in Detroit were basically behind the teachers, and recognized that the Board of Education was trying to break their union.

The Board didn't dare hire scabs to replace the striking teachers here. If they had, they would have had a riot on their hands. What I don't understand is how anyone in his right mind could fire 180 teachers, as they did in Crestwood, hire scabs, and expect that to take care of anything?

Some students at Cass have asked to debate with the suburban Crestwood students who are behind the scabs. I have heard of no responses from them, so far. I think part of the reason the Crestwood Board got scabs so easily is because unemployment in Michigan is so bad. People are desperate for jobs—which is still no excuse to cross a picket line.

Most of the students at our school are hoping the Board doesn't get away with their rotten deal. Breaking the Crestwood union would just be the first step. Pretty soon the union in Detroit would go, and who knows where it would end.

—High school student

CUNY students protest cuts

New York, N.Y. — Over 6,000 City University of New York (CUNY) faculty and students demonstrated at City Hall to protest massive cutbacks in funding. If the cutbacks go through, part-time faculty will be fired, courses dropped and all student aides fired.

The CUNY faculty union, the Professional Staff Congress, worked with several student governments in building the rally. Additional actions are planned when the cutbacks go into effect. The cuts were announced after Mayor Abe Beame found a \$330 million gap in the city budget.

In addition to slashing CUNY, Beame has already fired hundreds of city workers and is planning cutbacks in sanitation, police, and fire department budgets.

Both students and faculty at the City Hall rally expressed their support for a city-wide worker-student alliance to combat the impending cuts. The cutbacks will particularly hurt CUNY's Community Colleges, already suffering from serious financial problems because the state has refused to fund them at its required level. In addition, the federal government recently slashed the CUNY work-study programs for low-income students by 20 percent.

—CUNY student

Youth rejects 'brainwashing'

Los Angeles, Cal.—The alarm goes off. I wake up at a designated time. I get dressed. I walk to a designated place where I board a designated bus, which takes me to a designated building complex called school.

I talk with my friends a designated amount of time. The first bell rings. I go to my designated locker to pick up my designated books. I then walk to my designated classroom where the designated teacher sits with the rest of the designated class for a designated amount of time.

Another bell sounds. I go from class to class by the sound of a bell. When the final bell rings we are allowed to leave, unless we ride a bus, then we must proceed to our designated area where we wait for our designated transportation to take us home.

OBJECT NOT SUBJECT

Five days a week we go through this. Why? Because this is our (?) "preparation for society." So we are told. And it's true. But who needs preparation when we live it 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 52 weeks a year.

We don't want to wait until we are 21 to become full-fledged human beings. Day after day we are being conditioned for THEIR society. The most notorious way is through a prison-like atmosphere called school. We are looked upon as objects not subjects.

School should be a place where human beings go to get educated. Instead we are miseducated in almost every facet of education. The textbooks are garbage. The absurdities which are printed are unbelievable. They are racist, sexist objects in book form. Absolutely nobody should be required to read such trash. But we are.

'WE SHOULD GET PAID FOR THIS!'

The statement "we should get paid for this" is often used by students. It isn't as ridiculous as it may sound if you think of it. We are in school for one purpose and one purpose only: to be molded into society's role for us. We aren't in there to develop to our full potential, only to the extent they would like. There are those who refuse to accept this situation and end up striking back in one form or another. They are then discarded — "what do they know" (too much!). Students who are in opposition are not considered.

They had better start to listen, listen and conceive what we say. Those who won't hear us out will go down with the rest of this exploitative system, when the revolution comes.

—James Copeland

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

CIA admits secret spy network operating in U.S.

The revelation that the CIA has been engaged in spying on a list of over 10,000 American citizens, alleged leftists, anti-war demonstrators and Black militants set off a shock wave that demanded response from President Ford. He set up a committee to investigate the charges, headed by Nelson Rockefeller and staffed by staunch Republican cronies of whom at least two, if not more, have had the confidence of the CIA over the past decade. Lane Kirkland, Secretary Treasurer of the AFL, was thrown in as a labor sop. It is a foregone conclusion that they will provide the required whitewash.

It was under Richard Helms, a professional spy since before WW II, that domestic spying took place. He has admitted that it started back in the Johnson Administration. Helms rose to head the CIA, appointed by Johnson in 1966. During 1966, then President Johnson had both Helms and the notorious Sen. Joe McCarthy as his overnight house guests

at the LBJ ranch. What they talked about we may never know, but we do know that the views of Helms and McCarthy were quite similar when it came to dissidents.

Ever since the end of WW II, the CIA has operated as a super-secret intelligence-gathering organization. In recent years it has become known that it funneled millions from its almost unlimited funds into such ventures as the overthrow of the Allende regime in Chile, Mossadegh in Iran, and the Bay of Pigs.

It also provided funds, washed through such organizations as the Rockefeller Foundation, to student groups, trade unions, business organizations and who knows what else. The extent of this activity, insofar as it affected American citizens in the U.S., may never be known when you consider that Rockefeller was a participant and now is the chief investigator of the crime.

The Watergate tapes have a revealing remark by Nixon, "Well, we protected Helms from one hell of a lot of things." What the "things" were have yet to be explained.

The real point of the investigation of the CIA should be: is it an intelligence-gathering organization of foreign enemies, or is it a supra-military force, beyond the control of Congress, much less the people, as in any police state? Can they, as they have done in the Far East, set up their own mercenary forces, a paid private army, establish private air lines to circumnavigate established law, operate outside the laws and regulations of the U.S., hire assassins and become a law unto themselves—all in the name of military security? Can they, at will, spy upon, open private mail and otherwise harass the people of the U.S. in a manner which is specifically forbidden by the Congressional acts which created this uncontrollable monster?

French Guiana

While Jerry Ford and Giscard d'Estaing of France were cavorting in the French colony of Martinique and whipping up common oil policy and an agreement to let France re-value its gold hoard for its own profit, a reign of terror was taking place in the South American French colony of Guiana.

Eight opposition leaders were rounded up, stuffed on a plane and shoved into the dungeon at Sante Prison in Paris. A thousand French Foreign Legionnaires patrolled the streets of Cayenne, the capital, searched private homes, banned gatherings of more than five persons and instituted military rule with the help of riot police imported from Guadeloupe.

French Guiana, which is rich in natural resources, is famous for little but its Devil's Island Prison, but its 52,000 inhabitants have long suffered neglect under French colonial rule. Recently a number of new political groups and publications have sprung up demanding local government, better utilization of the area for growing food, lower prices and an end of white French rule and exploitation.

French colonial prisoners also held at Sante Prison from Tahiti, Guadeloupe and Martinique staged a hunger strike at Christmas demanding status as political prisoners.

Southern Africa

The overthrow of the Portuguese dictatorship has set the stage for a complete political re-alignment of the governments in southern Africa. The Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique are now on the road to freedom and since Mozambique controls rail, shipping, power sources and labor supply, a Black government there has Rhodesia worried.

The white government of South Africa, which has been supporting Ian Smith in Rhodesia, finally began to realize the potential danger to itself. It has, through its Prime Minister B. Vorster, been conducting a series of secret negotiations with the Black leaders of the surrounding countries and Ian Smith on the question of war in Rhodesia. That most reactionary government has thus given way to Black pressure in order to try to secure its labor supply and electric power from Mozambique. The Black pressure was so massive that even Ian Smith promised to free leaders he has in prison and to agree "to future" Black rule in Rhodesia. The talks fell through when the Black leaders refused to wait five years for changes to take place.

Mr. James Callaghan, British Foreign Secretary, has just completed a tour of the African nations surrounding Rhodesia to try setting up a constitutional conference but Ian Smith refused so much as to see him or to allow Rhodesian Black leaders out of the country to meet with him in Zambia.

In the Union of South Africa some small concessions are being made to soften segregationist rule, but none that indicate any fundamental change.

Whether or not the constitutional conference takes place, the Blacks have made it clear majority rule will win.

Egypt

On Jan. 1, 1975 the Egyptian riot police used tear gas against thousands of protesting workers in Cairo who were demonstrating against the high cost of living, an inflation rate of 50 percent and a steady deterioration of the transportation system. The workers were from the industrial suburb of Helwan. Unlike the student demonstrations of Jan. 1972, which were for a resumption of the war with Israel, the workers were protesting their miserable conditions that have improved very little since the days of King Farouk.

The workers see around them the increased prosperity in which Arab and other foreign capitalists are living, building apartment houses, hotels and profitable business ventures while the Sadat government funds go into arms deals and ventures which do not improve the lot of the masses.

There has been worker discontent in Alexandria, Port Said and the working class district of Chubra in Cairo. These are the true revolutionaries—not the Arafats or the Sadats.



THE OWL OF MINERVA

Quarterly publication of the
HEGEL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao, by Raya Dunayevskaya. Delacorte Press \$8.95 (h.b.) \$2.95 (p.b.) 372 plus xix pages.

This engrossing book by a prominent and doughty Marxist humanist falls into three distinct parts. The first deals with Hegel and an exposition and estimate of his influence upon both Marx and Lenin; the second part deals with the thought of Trotsky, Mao and Sartre; finally there is a discussion of various revolutionary movements within modern society, from Black power to Women's Liberation. It is Dunayevskaya's thesis that since the death of Lenin there has been a theoretical void at the centre of left wing liberation movements. Where theories have been propounded people have been lured by the seductive but deadly siren voices of Maoism and Existentialism. This theoretical void may be overcome, Dunayevskaya argues, by a reappropriation of the Hegelian dimensions of Marxism.

Of course the committed revolutionary, beset by the practical and urgent problems of politics and organization, may well dismiss such a proposal as useless and pedantic. Can't we make up the theory as we go along? It is central to the argument of the book that such a view is profoundly mistaken. To those who revel in the image of the practical revolutionary despising the vice of excessive theoretical deliberation, Dunayevskaya points to the figure of Lenin, shattered by the betrayal of social democracy during the first World War, sitting in Bern library avidly studying Hegel's *Science of Logic*—in the middle of the war!—a study which led to a revision of his epistemology and his views on the relationship between the party and the proletariat. Practice and theory are central; the former without the latter is likely to be both futile and dangerous.

NOT UNNATURALLY Dunayevskaya stresses Hegel's account of alienation and the Unhappy Consciousness preparatory to her study of Marx and Lenin's relationship to Hegel. She stresses not just Hegel's particular discussion of the Unhappy Consciousness in *The Phenomenology* but also recounts the fertility of this typology of social experience for thinkers as diverse as Royce and Marcuse. The tendency to read Hegel as

Hegelian journal reviews *Philosophy & Revolution*

providing a reconciliation to a brute and given reality, by showing that what is is as it ought to be, is resisted. Reconciliation is central to Hegel's philosophy but a reconciliation to a transformed reality: the breakthrough in the transformation of the world being the French Revolution, itself the culmination of a process of gradual self-emancipation, religious, economic and moral, achieved by Western Man since the time of the Greeks. Freedom, emancipation, transformation, all achieved by human activity lie at the heart of Hegel's philosophy in Dunayevskaya's view. . .

Our contemporaries are, of course, more concerned with the self-determination of nations than of the Idea but the goal—Freedom and self construction by which to achieve it, is not far removed from the self-determination of the Idea.

The reference to Hegel's Absolute Idea is important here because there is no really serious discussion of the ontological status of the Idea or its relation to the finite minds of individuals. Dunayevskaya wishes to minimize the metaphysical/transcendental dimension of the Absolute and certainly if one shares her ideological, humanistic position one may wish to demythologise Hegel in this way. However, one may remain concerned as to whether this is an authentic delineation of the historical Hegel. . .

DUNAYEVSKAYA does pay attention to the question of whether Hegel's own explanation of the structure of human experience and history and the natural world is to be taken as fixed and final—the celebrated problem of the 'end of history'. She argues against this. . .

Hegel's ideas are seen as central and incremental to the later development of Marxism and Historical materialism. This influence is traced in Marx through the Paris manuscripts of 1844 and through the *Grundrisse* to *Capital*. Dunayevskaya takes decisive issue with those who, like Althusser and Balibar, wish to minimize the importance of Hegelian ideas within the development of the Marxist tradition. Of course such a thesis is now commonplace although still controversial. She does not really take into account the figure of Engels, whose work is the most difficult problem to reconcile with an attempt to see Marx in terms of his Hegelian dimension. Too often those who stress the centrality of Hegel's ideas to Marx commit themselves to the view that Engels was some kind of

idiot positivist who for decades failed to understand a central point of the theoretical basis of his friend and collaborator's ideas. It is a gap in her book that Dunayevskaya does not sufficiently take account of this problem.

THE INFLUENCE of Hegel on Lenin has not been at the center of recent concern, and it is perhaps in this section that Dunayevskaya's book is most interesting. Lenin's reading of Hegel's *Logic* is regarded as having a major effect on Lenin's subsequent thought leading him to largely break with his rather passive epistemology of 1908, substituting instead the idea that mind and intention have a role in shaping the world through human praxis. Nor is this a merely epistemological change. Miss Dunayevskaya tries to show that this more active account of mind led him to abandon the views on revolution put forward in 1903 in *What Is To Be Done* which stressed the way in which the proletariat needed to be led to socialist consciousness by the vanguard party. In place of this view it is argued that Lenin put the idea of the transformation of society by the proletariat as subject and she interprets several of Lenin's moves in this light (p. 147). In the same way as the Hegelian-humanist reading of Marx raises the problem of Engels as intimated earlier, a similar stress on Hegel's influence on Lenin raises the problem of the views of Rosa Luxemburg and Trotsky. Rosa Luxemburg would, I think, have been surprised by Dunayevskaya's reading of Lenin. She maintained her thesis about the necessity of the proletariat's transformation of society being spontaneous and not organized by a vanguard party from 1903-4 in her articles critical of Lenin in *Neue Zeit* until her death in 1919 (i.e. after Lenin's supposed transformation). Trotsky was also critical of Lenin's idea of the vanguard party because he thought it elitist: much more legitimate in his view would be the possibility of the proletariat developing from below a centralized party which because it would have its roots in the working class, would be more sensitive to proletarian aspirations. Trotsky later modified his view after the revolution and he thought that subsequently they came nearer to those of Lenin; but by this time, according to Dunayevskaya, Lenin had largely abandoned his earlier views under the influence of Hegel's less passive epistemology/ontology. . .

Raymond Plant
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DEEP U.S. RECESSION AND THE MYRIAD GLOBAL CRISES

(Continued from Page 1)

how farcical is this average. Detroit, for example, has a 12.4 percent rate of unemployment. This too belies the real depth of recession, since in the "inner city," that is to say, among Blacks, unemployment is at the abysmal depth of depression—30 percent!

This startling truth has hardly penetrated the thick skulls either of the Democrats who hurried to try to upstage the President by revealing their "program" Jan. 13, or the Republican President who upstaged himself by "going public" that same evening.

Finally, on Jan. 15, came the formal State of the Union address to Congress. From the mountain of publicity and months of work, trying to get a "consensus" among his battling experts, came forth a little mouse—a 12 percent rebate on taxes paid in 1974, that awful year in which no doubt everyone has already chalked up at least that much in debts.

The Decrepit State of the Union

The pie in the sky about "putting all our people to work" rests on (1) the extension of a lush investment tax credit of 12 percent for two years to Big Business, and (2) taxes on oil and home heating fuel which is supposed to cede government \$30 billion and will supposedly get fed into expanded production. In fact, it only shows, on the one hand, the total unconcern for the people from whom it will take back in higher prices a great deal more than it "gave" in the tax rebate. The only time the cool Mr. Ford's voice rose to a crescendo was when he ordered Congress not to raise federal expenditures by more than five percent for any social legislation, promising to veto all such enactments.

On the other hand, Ford's program, all too obviously, will neither assure "conservation of energy," nor create jobs. What Ford knew before he spoke, but we didn't learn until the following day, was that production (which includes, of course, the closing down of refineries) in the last quarter of 1974 showed the steepest drop in 30 years. This 9.1 percent drop in production, together with the biggest rise in inflation—12.2 percent—brings us back to the bleak days as World War II ended, 1945.

The depth of the economic crisis, which increased the president's desire to get away from it all without any concern for the American people, sent him back to attacking the Arab Middle East, this time, in "subtle terms," that is to say, neither disclosing his gunboat diplomacy nor specifying it is the Middle East he was talking about. This hardly hid the fact that he was blaming the quadrupled oil prices for nothing short of putting world trade itself and the whole monetary structure "in jeopardy." Further: "At stake is the future of industrialized democracy."

The New Gold Circle

Everyone who needs a gallon of gas (as well as that gunboat diplomat, Henry Kissinger, whose preoccupation is playing the global political power game) is well aware of the new Gold Circle of oil powers. The Arab use of oil as a political weapon to force "everyone" to be pro-Arab and anti-Israel in the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war soon gave way, however, to creation of a new Gold Circle in global wealth as quadrupled oil prices replaced the oil embargo. At the same time also began the dream that this dramatic shift in wealth would also mean a shift in political power by no means limited to the Arab-Israeli syndrome.

Although this oligopolistic shift in wealth was not rooted in expanded production of oil, much less of industry; although it was not nuclearly armed as were the two superpowers—U.S. and Russia—out for world domination; and although it had nowhere near the population that entitled a China of 800 million souls to try to make it a tri-polar rather than bi-polar world militarily, the game of power politics was unleashed.

Let's take another look at the Shah of Iran, who now has the biggest hovercraft navy in the world, the largest naval base in the Persian Gulf, the most sophisticated missile system in the Third World. Isn't the attraction Syria exercises on the Shah the fact that Russia armed it with SCUDS? Isn't that fact why the Persian emperor has suddenly "become" an Arab, and from the land of the pyramids, on Jan. 11 in a joint communique with Sadat, called for "total" Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab land and affirmed "the right of the Palestinian people to their homeland and the Arab character of Jerusalem."

At the same time, he remains the best customer of the American merchants of death who have just sold 60 F-5 jet fighters for \$750 million to Saudi Arabia. Iran has purchased \$6 billion worth over the past several years. And this hasn't stopped, now that he's buying so many arms from France and pre-paying with a cool billion. On the contrary, he is busy building the biggest airbase in the Middle East to accommodate an air force that by the end of the 1970s will have more fighter-bombers than any member of NATO except the U. S.

The Gold Circle and National Chauvinism

The Shah by now has moved ahead not only of Israel, Canada, Australia and West Germany by ordering 80 of Grumman's F14 Tomcats at \$20 million each, but assured himself of quicker delivery than the U.S. Navy! This leaves out the hardly inconsequential AH-1J attack helicopter which will soon be acquired, or the \$36 billion

budget for the new Iran year, beginning in March, that allocates a staggering \$10 billion for defense alone. At the same time, all this hardware includes not only training by, but actual employing of, American personnel.

Thus, 1,000 Americans, mostly Vietnam veterans, are conducting the world's largest helicopter school to teach Iranians how to fly their fleet of more than 640 helicopters. (Last year, Iran ordered more than \$3.5 billion worth of planes, helicopters and hardware from the U.S.). All this leaves out the fact that Iran has already purchased French and German nuclear reactors. Now that India has shown how easily national chauvinism tolerates the co-existence of famine alongside nuclear bombs, there is no need to emphasize that what is bought for "peaceful" purposes is made into a nuclear weapon.

The International Institute for Strategic Studies has estimated that by 1980 the oil-producing countries will have a liquid surplus of \$400 billion! Add to this Arab potentates at Rabat raising Arafat to state status, followed by the UN welcome for him, and we can easily get sucked into the global myth of the Gold Circle. Thereby we forget the objective realities of capitalist global power, on the one hand, and the real forces of revolution within each country, on the other hand.

What does need serious examination is the pull this Gold Circle has had in bringing about a division within U.S. capitalism.

The Split Within

The deep division within the industrial-military complex between those who opt for Ford-Kissinger foreign policy in the Middle East, and those who hold we can do business with OPEC, no matter how high the oil prices, has reached a new stage. No longer is this opposition to the Administration policy limited to the American oil barons who always preferred to do business because their profits were so high, their exploitation of the oil resource so total, and their anti-Semitism so deep. And, while, as General Brown's anti-Semitic remarks showed openly enough, anti-Semitism is present in the upper military echelons, too, there is a radical sound among the capitalist opponents of gunboat diplomacy which nevertheless "does not exclude" military intervention if new conditions "strangulate" the industrialized world. (1)

Thus, the editor of Business Week sounded very nearly like Stokely Carmichael's revolutionary anti-Vietnam War slogan "Hell, no, we won't go!" when he

(1) See Kissinger's "Exclusive Interview" with Business Week, 1/23/75.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Lines of unemployed workers wait in the pre-dawn cold, winding around a city block, hoping they will get accepted for an application for one of the miserly number of federally-financed jobs. This is the new look of photographs being featured on the front pages of Northern California newspapers.

For those of us who experienced unemployment during the bleak depression '30s, the photos conjure up an old nightmare: interminable lines of unemployed who

Menominees claim monastery

As we go to press, American Indians, members of the Menominee Warrior Society, are still holding their ground in a long-abandoned monastery near Gresham, Wis., which they have occupied since New Year's Day.

The Warrior Society claims the land under USC 25 Sec. 180, which returns land given to tax-exempt religious groups to the original Indian owners if it is not used. Surrounded by National Guard troops, the Indians are continuing their negotiations with the Alexian Brothers who also claim the land. A Chippewa woman tells what this struggle means to her:

Detroit, Mich. — The Menominee people needed a building to operate a medical center and alcoholic program. Knowing this place wasn't being used anymore they decided to use it. Now they are negotiating with the Alexian Brothers, the people from Chicago who abandoned it. This is just my feeling. They are a Catholic order. They are the richest ones in the country next to the auto companies. They have never done anything for the Indian people.

That land and those buildings—if they're not using them, I don't see why they don't help the Indians and let them use the building for a good purpose, and this is a good purpose. I have been thinking ever since this happened, what is the reason that will prevent them from using this place since no one else is going to use it?

The land was leased; that's my understanding. Apparently, the lease is up with a lot of other land in different parts of the country, too. After hundreds of years, now the Indians are starting to renew their leases.

—Chippewa activist, Detroit

wrote an open letter that he will not send his son "to die for oil."

An "intellectual" campaign with an air of great "objectivity" has been launched. Publicity in the daily press has been given to the main article in the January issue of Foreign Affairs, "How Can the World Afford OPEC Oil?"

The prestigious quarterly lists five authors for the article representing an intellectual community veritably circling the globe, from Iran to West Germany, and from the U.S. to Japan, not to mention "many individuals from other OPEC and OECD countries who were consulted." It turns out to expound the Iranian view, as is natural for the chairman of the Industrial Development Bank of Iran, Khodadad Farmanfarman, who is its chief author. Nevertheless, its importance lies in the fact that it is not only the view of OPEC in general and Iran in particular, but also of international capital that wants to do business with the oil blackmailers. Moreover, these are not limited to the types who had held out for "doing business with Hitler" by letting him rule Europe.

The Ford Administration and its intra-capitalist opponents do not disagree on the overriding class necessity to do anything, anything at all, to stop proletarian revolution that they all call assuring "world stability." The disagreement, and the falling apart, is over how to assure that it is the U. S. that will do the ordering about; the assurance that civil wars will be put down; the global dimensions of any single crisis when there are myriad of them as things begin to fall apart when, as President Ford told Congress, the "future" can be assured only if there is created "a new energy stability for the world."

Obviously, Ford-Kissinger still believe in Pax Americana, and think that this is "the American century!"

Pax Americana and Western Europe

Just how the Ford Administration means to assure "a new energy stability in the world" is by no means exhausted by gunboat diplomacy directed alone to the Middle East. From a secret(2) report being prepared for the Administration for summer, we can see what it sees for the rest of the world—"not excluding" military interventions, most probably Latin America and nothing short of "the collapse of Indian democracy."

For reasons best known to itself, the imperial global "hypotheses" of the draft report is called "The Future (Continued on Page 12)

(2) Jack Anderson has gotten hold of a summation, and published it on Jan. 9, 1975.

Jobless lines look like '30s

haunted the industrial cities of this country. Now, the generation is different, but the faces are the same — mostly Black youth, and middle-aged workers; the first ones to be cast out as surplus when capitalism plans production cutbacks.

In San Francisco, the number of allotted public service jobs was 765. The number of applicants was over 1,200. Not counted were the hundreds who saw the line and simply went home.

For large numbers of young and Black workers, unemployment and underemployment were a way of life long before the Ford administration conceded that the nation was in the grip of an economic recession. And yet at this point, the only tangible response to this recession has been the meager few public service jobs which are supposed to ease the growing unemployment in the big cities.

However, the grand plan of the Ford-Rockefeller set to "fight recession and unemployment" is to institute a tax cut, coupled with an increase in investment tax credits to go as high as 12 percent.

The tax cut allegedly would put money into the pockets of workers to buy the surplus commodities glutting the market — in this instance the unsold cars produced in Detroit. The increase in investment credits would allow industry to automate and to expand plants to achieve greater and more efficient production.

These contradictory solutions to the present capitalist economic crisis were analyzed by Karl Marx long ago. He pointed out that unemployment may appear as the "inability to sell" because of overproduction, when in reality it is caused by the constant improvement in production methods (automation), and the constant expansion of constant capital (the means of production) which demands an ever expanding market. But this market is always limited by the fact "that labor creates a greater value than itself."

As Raya Dunayevskaya points out in Marxism and Freedom, "That is the fatal defect of capitalist production, on the one hand the capitalist must increase his market, on the other hand it cannot be larger."

Ford's proposal is to carry water on both shoulders — attempt to clean up the market glut and encourage greater production, at the same time—such a scheme will only lead to greater economic crisis and unemployment, because any modernization in plants and production will obviously need less workers.

DEEP U.S. RECESSION AND THE MYRIAD GLOBAL CRISES

(Continued from Page 11)

World Environment." It projects the dollar's re-establishment as "the world's major reserve and trading currency" and toys with changes in global power not only in India, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, nor only with "enemies" like Russia and China, but dares speak of "gradually re-establishing control over Europe . . . until Europe becomes more a peninsula than a power."

What is important in the critical period since the October, 1973, Middle East war, is how, at one and the same time, the allies move further apart and closer together as the crisis in each land brings it face to face with sharp class struggles and a tottering economy.

I do not mean that the French ruling class didn't disclose some Vichy leftovers when they so easily capitulated to the Arab wielders, first of the oil embargo, and then of oligopolistic setting of oil prices. When even so nationalist a Frenchman as Andre Malraux sees in this Europe's "disappearance," the disintegration of Western Europe, especially France, is by no means either just rhetoric or only an American imperial dream. Quite the contrary.

But it is the U.S.A. that is playing the other game as well. In the Martinique meeting with d'Estaing on Jan. 9, in order to get agreement that "oil consumers" (industrialized West) meet before they confront "oil producers" (OPEC), President Ford agreed to let France quadruple its wealth by mere declaration that it was "revaluing" its gold stock of \$4.4 billion and it (France) therefore now is worth \$17 billion.

The "American century" is most threatening to the American people. What these rulers are now foisting on us can be seen in its full dehumanized form from Defense Secretary Schlesinger's projection of the insane contingency of "surviving" a "limited" nuclear war.

As if we needed further proof of how dehumanized capitalism is, an absolutely lunatic scheme of Nazi-dimension genocide is presently being discussed seriously. One lunatic by the name of Forrester, under the euphemism (medically and in the French language) of "triage," has proposed that as the "answer" to famine and population growth. The fantastic and deliberate obfuscation of the fact of genocide by the use of a word meaning "sorting out" tells a great deal about the "inventor."

Back to World Hunger—and the Need for Social Revolution

What Forrester is actually and openly talking about is the deliberate, actual murder of millions who are presently starving and whom "society" does not feed. Who will decide those "fit" to survive? That "inventor" who is for zero population "growth"? The Western globalists? The Persian Shah? The Indian Maharaja, or "Indian Democracy" that allowed the Green Revolution once again to revert to the rich while the poor not only get poorer, but starve to death three full decades after achieving national independence!

The truth is that it is not lack of ability to produce sufficient food. Rather, it is the imperialistic structure of the U.S. which pays some not to produce; the capitalistic law of value which allows for no production unless surplus value can be produced for it. This maldistribution of wealth is not only a question of "distribution." Rather, it comes from the very innards of production, surplus value production.

Unfortunately, the "Third World," at the World Food Conference in November in Rome, was so busy concentrating on its opposition to U.S. imperialism's refusal to specify what its "increased" aid would be, that it itself did nothing.

While it is true that it's not only a question of the three or four million tons of food needed today, but the 25-million-ton deficit that will grow to no less than 80 million tons in less than a decade, that hardly excuses trillion-dollar-rich America not increasing its miserly contribution to try to control the world famine.

The tragedy was expressed in precise terms only by the Transnational Institute which wrote: "Hunger is caused by plunder, not by scarcity."⁽³⁾

There is no way to stop such madmen except through social revolution, uprooting the whole system. Therein is the positive, the creative force arising from such disintegration in the system and intra-imperialist, intra-capitalist rivalries, provided revolutionaries do not fall into the trap of "taking sides" like "the lesser evil" or "the other land," and provided the theoretic void gets filled.

The Left — Still the Need for Revolution

The Shah can hardly pass for a revolutionary any more than the multi-national oil cartel can pass for a "trade union" just because the new oil barons claim it is "just that." The Shah's first counter-revolution, engi-

⁽³⁾ Transnational Institute, 1520 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., whose pamphlet, *World Hunger: Causes and Remedies*, is free.

neered for him by the CIA and for that reason successful, was in 1951. Though he had lost the throne because the people had put the Tudeh Party in power and the Prime Minister Mossadegh had nationalized oil, he is now using this same fact to try to restore the old Persian empire.

Since then, since the overthrow of Mossadegh and driving to an underground existence of the Tudeh where they could withstand the torturous, murderous secret police, SAVAK, Iran has become a totalitarian police state. As for the new high oil billions, the income of two-thirds of all people in Teheran—and the countryside is much worse off than the capital—is less than \$200 per person a year.

In face of all these well-known facts, how could the Shah suddenly blossom forth abroad as a "supporter of the people?" Moreover, it is not alone Arab rulers and OPEC countries as well as PLO leaders but the so-called Left of the West that conspires in this image. Nowadays it appears sufficient to be "anti-American-imperialist" and "anti-Zionist" to be considered "Progressive," even "Left," without any question either about international or proletarian solidarity. Quite the contrary. Admirers of this type of "anti-Americanism" go out of their way to repeat the Shah's half-truths as the whole truth.

Thus, the *New York Review of Books* quotes approvingly the Shah's statement that "22 years of cheap fuel made Europe what it is and Japan what it is," not to mention, of course, U.S.A.⁽⁴⁾

And what has happened to the simple truth that labor produces all wealth? Not just its own wages, not just all the products in the market, but all the profits coming from the unpaid hours of labor? Isn't it still a fact that surplus value is derived from labor, be the rulers private capitalists, feudal kingdoms, or the state-capitalists calling themselves Communists ruling Russia and China?

⁽⁴⁾ *New York Review of Books*, 1/23/75, which titles Geoffrey Barraclough's review, "The Great World Crisis, I," as *THE WORLD CRASH*.

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Why is the myth of gold being separated from production? Why is the oligopolistic quadrupling of prices of oil excused on the ground that that is exactly what the U.S. oil monopolists did with pricing? And how can that turn upside down all relations at point of production?

So retrogressive are some on the "Left," so perverted their internationalism which is narrowed to one or the other in the Sino-Soviet sphere, that the only "unifying slogan" is anti-Zionism.

Thus, in one of the demonstrations against Dayan at American University in Washington, D.C., one of the slogans shouted with much fervor was "Zionism, out of Iran." Is Zionism, rather than the Shah, keeping the masses half-starved? Is Zionism, rather than the Shah keeping all dissidents in jail? Is Zionism, rather than the Shah, reviving the spirit of the old Persian empire, extended militarily and geographically?

If American Maoists manage to act dumb, not to know that by Zionism in Iran Mao actually means Russia on its borders, Russia being the common enemy of Mao and the Shah, then the Trotskyists, for whom Russia, "though degenerate," remains a workers' state, cannot play the dumb game. The Trotskyist epigones are too opportunistic, too anxious to be "for" "the new Left's" anti-Zionism to separate themselves from the demonstrators, even when anti-Semitism finds in anti-Zionism a useful cover.

The Maoists and Trotskyists are not, of course, alone in this. Open anti-Semitism like that of the Greek Bishop who precedes every reference to Kissinger as "the German Jewish Secretary of State" is tolerated by the Socialist Andreas Papandreou who, along with Dr. Vasso Lysarides of Cyprus, go all-out for any actions of the PLO as if indeed only terrorists can rightfully represent the Palestinians and their struggle for freedom and self-determination.

This is not to say that there is anything progressive about Zionism, especially as it is practiced in Israel. Nor is it to deny that, consistently, Israel has confined to second-class citizenship even those Palestinians who accepted Israeli citizenship, much less recognized refugees as Palestinians; their rights to self-determination must be fought for. But to forget the PLO terrorism and massacres at Kiryat Shmona, Ma'alot, Shamir, Noharija, Bett She'an plus the Circassian village of Rihnyez, and then whitewash the highly religious Arafat's sudden calls for a "secular state" as if that were "socialist," is to defile national liberation.

Israel has a right to exist, though it is state-capitalist as is our whole age, which needs to be torn up, root and branch. But this uprooting can only be done by social revolution, and that begins in class struggles within the country, as much of the genuine Left in Israel is doing right now in its opposition to its own rulers, in its class struggles and opposition to the austerity program on their backs.

There has been recognition of just how counter-revolutionary is the claim to "revolutionary Third World" on the part of the "new UN majority, Arab led." Thus the recent action of the UNESCO in excluding Israel from "regional" actions in Paris has brought widespread opposition from committed intellectuals who have fought the fight of Palestinian freedom.

Jean-Paul Sartre (and many others signed the statement) wrote: "If Israel has been placed neither in Asia (as was Australia), nor in Europe (as was Canada), this means she belongs nowhere: namely, Israel doesn't exist" just because the so-called Third World "had decided that Israel does not have a right to exist . . . it's the extermination process perfected by the totalitarian systems of the 20th century." This, it should be added, cannot lead to anything but Hitler's "Final Solution."

Whether or not an Arab-Israeli war breaks out in Spring; whether or not the PLO becomes the only symbol of Palestinian resistance; whether or not a world holocaust continues to threaten not alone in that area, but in the struggle between the super-powers, China included—where the struggles cannot end is within each country, where the masses in action will be the only ones capable of staying the hands of nuclear madmen.

It is here then where the deepest recession eats away at our vitals, where the Black Revolution reminds us every day that it will start anew, where the new forces of revolution—women and youth and unemployed as well as labor and Black—are girding for the battle with capital, and arming themselves with Reason as well as force—where the struggles will develop.

Let's begin by regaining our heads as well as our class solidarity instead of tailending any state power, be it U.S., Russia or China, much less the Gold Circle suddenly anointed as Third World. And in every activity, be it at the point of production, the unemployment-lines, Women's Liberation struggles, or staying the hand of the gunboat diplomacy of Ford-Kissinger, let's not separate the struggles for freedom from the philosophy of liberation. Philosophy and revolution are inseparable if we are not once again to end with aborted spontaneous mass revolts.