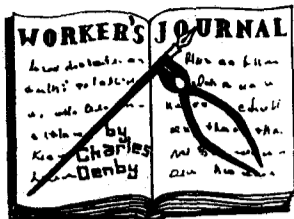


ON THE INSIDE

Marxism and the Black Dimension
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1776—first
unfinished
revolution

by Charles Denby, Editor

Ebony magazine had a special issue on the Bicentennial, asking various Black leaders whether or not Blacks should participate in it. Some say yes, some have taken a middle of the road position, and some gave a resounding no. To me that is the wrong question to ask because it would mean that we would participate on the administration's level.

With all the distortions of American history, particularly the role of labor and the role of Blacks, not to mention that of Indians and women, why should working people participate on that level instead of telling the true story of what was revolutionary in American history?

NEW PAMPHLET

What I am happy to report to our readers is that we in News and Letters Committees are preparing a special pamphlet: **America's First Unfinished Revolution** by M. Franki and T. Hillstrom. In this pamphlet by Marxist-Humanists, which will be off the press in January 1976, you will first see the real historic deeds that made America free from Britain, but still left it in slavery. There you will read the stories of the true engines of the revolution, the Committees of Correspondence.

Freedom, liberty and equality appear to have lost their meaning for many white Americans today. But for Black people those concepts still live and breathe, they still move us.

They cannot be taken for granted by a people who just got the right to fair housing several years ago, the right to vote some ten years ago, the right to integrated schools some 20 years ago. The very fact that these are rights still honored more in the breach than in the observance, make it all the more imperative for Black citizens to use the occasion of the Bicentennial to press for the completion of our revolution.

WOMEN IN THE REVOLUTION

On the question of women's liberation in revolutionary history, it was not just what Abigail Adams wrote to John Adams, which as great as it was, was only an individual letter that we didn't learn about until fairly recently. It was not just on the battle field where women accompanied their husbands and actually at times had to take over the fighting, or the fact that women historians brought out what male historians left out. It is not just a question of the role of women as women, but women as revolutionaries for the liberation of humanity.

Our pamphlet also points out:

"Out of the misnamed French and Indian War (1754-1763), which in fact was the French and British war over control of the land that belonged to the Indians, two revolutionary phenomena appeared 1) the recognition by the Indians that this land of theirs was being relentlessly expropriated, which erupted in revolts such as those led by Chief Pontiac from 1763-66; and 2) the lessons learned by the colonists on how to oppose British rule, from survival and collective appeals to guerrilla warfare and self-sufficiency."

In addition to these forces of resistance, there were slave revolts and all sorts of other pressures by Blacks.

(Continued on Page 7)

MARXISM AND FREEDOM from 1776 until today

by RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA
Author of *Philosophy and Revolution*
Preface by HERBERT MARCUSE

This new, seventh edition is the fourth English-language publication of a work that has already been translated into French, Italian and Japanese and will appear in Spanish in 1976. Chapters have been copied in *samisdat* and circulated throughout the Russian underground. The section on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung", a penetrating analysis of Chinese totalitarianism, has been translated into Chinese and smuggled into mainland China.

In addition to the original Preface by Herbert Marcuse, this new British edition also contains a Preface by the legendary labor leader in Great Britain, Harry McShane. Its appearance on the eve of 1976—the 200th anniversary of the birth both of the U.S. as a nation and of classical political economy, with Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*—underlines the importance of this fundamental work that takes up 200 years of our modern machine age. It firmly establishes both the American roots and the world Humanist roots of Marxism.

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NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

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DECEMBER, 1975

As Chinese and U.S. crises build

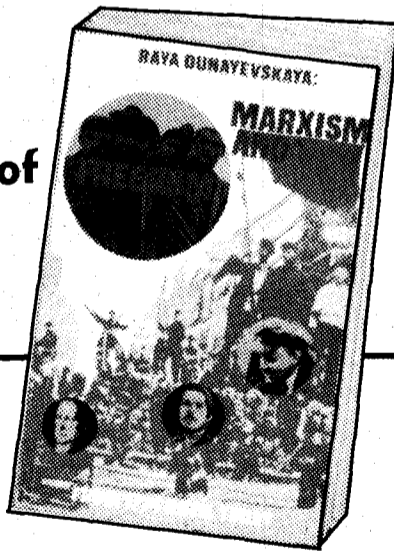
Ford, Brezhnev, Mao maneuver for total domination of world

by Peter Mallory

Eight days after President Ford summoned James Schlesinger to the White House and fired him as Secretary of Defense, HSINHAU, the official Chinese news agency, issued a 2,000 word statement which included quotes giving the views of others, the "others" being those whose views they themselves held. Among those quoted were Senator Henry M. Jackson, who represents Boeing Aircraft in the Senate, is opposed to detente with Russia and is a candidate for the presidency; and Barry Goldwater, quoted as saying, "The Soviets will look on this as quite a victory."

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This highly unusual reaction by alleged Chinese Communists to the removal of a high-ranking U.S. military imperialist demands a second look at the motivation of the Maoists.

WHY IS MAO FOR SCHLESINGER?

China is in crisis. It is confronted by leadership struggles for power (as Mao and Chou En-lai reach the end of their mortal span); by serious working class strikes for better conditions of labor; by youth dissent; and by military challenges from the late Lin Piao's army. Waiting in the wings for power to pass into their hands are not just the rehabilitated Teng as "economist," but also others who were with Lin Piao in opposing rolling out the red carpet for Nixon.

At the same time the industrialization of the vast land has received a new impetus from the discovery of vast deposits of oil and natural gas in China. This important discovery has sent hordes of Mao's emissaries to the West seeking technology and setting up trade deals: oil for arms, factories and oil field supplies.

Within the past 18 months France and West Germany have staged huge industrial exhibitions in Peking to display their latest technology. China has opened its own trade fair in Cologne, Germany and has sent thousands of its best engineers to Germany to learn the best that capitalism has to offer. The London *Financial Times* called China, "The next growth market." Teng Hsiao-Ping, Deputy Prime Minister, visited Paris and Brussels to make the Chinese point of view clear.

Mao is no novice when it comes to fighting imperialism, nor is he ignorant of the meaning of "growth market" in imperialist terms. Why then does he give so much space to the imperialist views of "others"? Can it be that he has subordinated everything — nationally, internationally, class struggle and self-determination — to a single national aim, Russia as "Enemy #1"?

Placing orders for French Mirage fighter planes and heavy helicopters, British aircraft and military engines, the Chinese have a potential of billions of dollars in purchases of military and industrial equipment ahead of them. Mao hopes to be able to tie political strings to the orders. His last meeting with Kissinger made that message clear: your enemy, too, is Russia, which wants to expand into western Europe.

Though China will sell its oil and gas at Arab prices, having a new source — and perhaps competition later — is attractive to western imperialism; they can sell arms and goods that their depression-prone economies are glutted with.

MILITARIZATION AND POLITICS

Ford's firing of Schlesinger was taken on the narrowest possible basis: Republican inter-capitalist political maneuvering of one reactionary to retain the Presidency as against another reactionary who wants, but needs not be "held down" by responsibility for, state power. Schlesinger represented an embarrassment to Ford's political campaign. Furthermore, he does not trust Schlesinger to be a Ford man when things get rough. Schlesinger's favoring Reagan means, to Ford, that Reagan may be privy to "state secrets." While the daily press played up the Schlesinger-Kissinger "feud" as the primary reason for his dismissal, Ford, in fact, wants to appear in the presidential campaign as being even more militaristic.

(Continued on Page 8)

NOW convention fails to meet race, class issues

The 8th-annual National Organization for Women (NOW) Convention was held Oct. 24-27 in Philadelphia, Pa. and was attended by some 5,000 women. The four days were characterized by the fancy expensive setting, continuous politicking for offices, and endless procedural hassles which disguised political disagreements. Many women had come, some a long distance, to discuss their activities and ideas about where the women's movement is going, only to find a political circus instead of a political forum.

The organization was nearly ripped in two by a right-wing that sought to exclude from NOW issues such as racism, poverty and unemployment, yet those are the very issues that brought many women to the convention, reflecting both a new kind of NOW membership and a broadening of interest of a segment of the predominantly white, middle class organization.

On the convention floor, the right wing first pretended not to be involved in the fights for national offices, using the incredible slogans, "militant neutrality" and "creative neutrality." They kept raising the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)—the threat that it will lose unless NOW concentrates its activities on the campaign for it — to try to impose a false unity and to oppose less "feminist" issues.

The NOW national offices were won by a slate whose rhetoric sounded relatively revolutionary, headed by Karen DeCrow.

Two weeks later, 13 NOW "leaders" of the right-wing met and founded a "network" called Women Surge "to either save NOW or move on." They want NOW to concentrate on things of "grass roots interest" that "are being totally ignored because they are not radical chic" — their thinly-disguised term for Black, poor and working women's issues they totally ignore.

Less than two weeks after the NOW convention, the ERA was defeated in the November state elections in New York and New Jersey.

This defeat of the ERA did not come from working women. Wherever their voices have been heard, they have opposed it because in states where similar legislation has been passed, it has stripped them of their daily on-the-job protection. But the defeat came squarely from the right.

'Alice doesn't' on West Coast

Oakland, Cal. — I work for Lucky Stores in California, which is typically male-dominated in its executive positions. I didn't decide to take off for "Alice Doesn't Day" until the day before the strike. I told my immediate supervisor, who didn't say anything at first, but seemed rather angry. Later he told me he thought it was wrong, but I took off anyway.

The next day when I returned to work, my supervisor called me up and said that a number of executives needed to have their plane reservations changed, and that I should do it.

This is not my normal job and I am sure this was his way of showing how he disapproved of what I did. My supervisor has now told me of more repercussions in the company. I and another woman had signed our time cards with "Alice Doesn't" and "Women's Strike" for the day we were off.

The person who handled the time cards called this to the attention of the president of Lucky Stores, who proceeded to order an investigation of how many women took off for "Alice Doesn't Day."

My supervisor said that the best count they got was possibly 12 people out of 40,000 employees. That isn't many, but the men must have been worried if they investigated the whole company.

—Lucky Stores worker

Los Angeles, Cal.—On "Alice Doesn't Day," Oct. 29, a group of women decided to get together to talk about some of the problems we are having at United Artists Recording Company.

A total of 35 women attended from the production, publicity, and artist development departments, and a few from the billing department. There were no women present from the legal department, and a group of women were threatened with losing their jobs if they attended any of the meetings. When this bit of information was passed on, the meeting continued regardless.

Equal pay, cost of living increases, equal job distribution and better working hours were discussed. Insurance became a weighty issue, because single women cannot receive pregnancy benefits and married women can.

The largest decision was made toward the conclusion of the meeting—to have a second meeting the following week, specifically for detailed problems that exist within each department.

The 35 women represent a movement that is definitely needed in this company. Whether or not this movement works out, there has still been a lot learned from this concept—women as a forceful unit for the betterment of people.

—Alake



News & Letters Photos
NOW convention drew 5,000 women.

The latest attack on the women's liberation movement—a renewal of the all-out assault on women's right to abortion, fueled by the most reactionary elements of the Catholic Church—shows that far from the gains of the past few years being permanent, they were first won by a mass movement, and their continuation depends on a deepening of that movement.

The challenge facing NOW and other organizations is not whether they can rise above factional politics in 1975 to re-unite women on issues like the right to abortion. The division in NOW is not between the liberals and the right wing, but the women there who were trying to raise questions of class and race (see letter from a working woman in Readers' Views), and demanding that this broadened perspective become at the same time deepened, in NOW's activities.

—N&L-WL Participants

WL NOTES

On Oct. 24, the women of Iceland struck, shutting down telephone communications, newspapers, theaters, schools, airlines, nursery schools and banks. This strike showed not only that "women are indispensable to the country's economic and national life," as a spokeswoman said, but also the anger and militancy of women themselves and their determination to do something to change the conditions of their lives.

In St. Louis, Mo. more than half the nurses at the city hospital called in sick. The group called Nurses for Better Health Care were protesting the unsafe and unsanitary conditions at the hospital and deplorable patient care.

Several women in Kentucky have filed grievances with the Kentucky Human Rights Commission to force several coal companies to hire women as miners. They were supported at the hearings by demonstrators from The Appalachian Women's Rights Organization, a multi-state women's liberation group that has been supporting women in their fight against the coal companies.

Japanese feminists stormed into one of the top manufacturing firms in Japan and demanded that a sexist TV commercial be taken off the air. In the ad for instant noodles, a lazy teenage man announces, "I'm the person who eats," while two teenage women scurry around getting noodles, proclaiming "We are the people who cook." After protests by the Association to Take Action in International Women's Year, the company dropped the ad. The women are now demanding an end to all sexist advertising.

Hospital workers in London have struck two wards in the Hammersmith Hospital, saying "We'd like to see spending on public health increased and the private sector dwindle away to nothing." They are protesting the increased number of private patients being cared for by the hospital.

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WAY OF THE WORLD

Hoover demanded Dr. King's life

by Ethel Dunbar

I was shocked when I heard the news about the FBI writing a letter to Rev. Martin Luther King, telling him that he was through, and had only 34 days to make up his mind to commit suicide. This letter and a set of tapes were sent to Dr. King shortly before he was to be given the Nobel Peace Prize, yet he never made it public. His closest aides knew about the letter and the tapes, but nobody said why they kept it a secret all this time.

What makes me mad is that the FBI and the CIA are supposed to be "protectors of the people," but they are the two biggest organizations opposed to peoples' rights.

Hoover was the God that sat on the throne of the FBI and no one was to criticize what he did, not even the President of the U.S. When a Black man criticized Hoover, it was the end for him. No one should be surprised that those killings of the late '60s were connected with the FBI or CIA.

I was listening to Congressman Andrew Young talking to a reporter. He said Rev. King met only once with Hoover, and Hoover was not sensitive to any problems facing Blacks. The committee for the Nobel Peace Prize had also talked about Hoover for the award, then later recommended Rev. King. Young thought that made Hoover mad.

Hoover got to be head of the FBI through the infamous Palmer raids against workers and Blacks in 1920. The "Reds" then were workers trying to organize their unions. There was no reporting of the facts—just that Hoover and his men were right. This is why he got so far—one-man control; nothing was ever said about how he operated.

No wonder the American people do not believe in their government, especially the Blacks. The government waited until after Hoover was dead to bring out the kind of game he was playing. They said that Robert Kennedy gave Hoover permission to do it to Rev. King. After King was killed, Kennedy went to the funeral and marched in the procession.

I can understand those who say we have nothing to celebrate when it comes to the Bicentennial, for when we have been right in this country, if it meant Civil Rights, we've been wrong.

Uniroyal's seniority set-up means women get lowest pay

Detroit, Mich.—Why is it that here at Uniroyal the women who are working on the dual drums, flat tables and the package unit receive 65 cents an hour less than their male partners? I work in a gang of three. It's two men and myself but I get paid 65 cents less than they do. And I do the same amount of work, if not more.

The women have always felt that if you're putting the stock into the machine for the man, you're doing just as much work as he is. You have to size it up. You have to get it in there right. You have to make just as many movements or operations as he does, but you're getting less than he does.

We all ask the question, "Why?" All the union men on every floor hold jobs that are called service jobs. These are more or less flunky jobs.

They receive their pay regardless of the production put out. Before, their pay was based on the floor average. This is something they negotiated with the company for themselves.

Why didn't they fight to get us wages the same as the men, but did fight to get their own wages at a steady level? Everyone else feels this pressure of making production every day, or else they lose a lot of money.

The company also got around to offering women jobs according to seniority. They offered me every male job in the department I was in, but I couldn't do any of those jobs. They ask you if you want to do a man's job in your department and if you say no, they make you sign a slip saying that you were not able to do a man's job.

But there are lots of jobs in other departments that I could do and where I have more seniority than the men. They keep the seniority departmental and not plant-wide, which they aren't supposed to do.

Now that they've started the recall and the work has started picking up, they don't call the women in by seniority and offer them these jobs. They're just calling the men back.

—Woman worker, Uniroyal

If you have a story, or want to contact News & Letters Women's Liberation Committees in San Francisco, Detroit, Los Angeles or New York, write to the addresses in the box on page 3.

Chrysler's international plan pits worker against worker

Glasgow, Scotland — In the fight for jobs, the American workers are in competition with the British workers. Chrysler Corporation has just announced they will stay in Britain if the Government underwrites their expected losses for the next four years, which could be more than \$250 million. This is the price of survival of 26,500 jobs at Linwood and Coventry.

Coventry, the most "prosperous" city in Britain, is becoming poorer. Only a week ago, even a reactionary shop steward there gave support on television for more "workers participation" and control. In Linwood, one of Scotland's new towns, the workers are threatening to occupy the factory, but only to prevent the removal of the machinery. Workers have been on strike, but even then they produced thousands of cars that cannot be sold.

Mr. Wilson says that the "Luddites" have been busy on both sides of industry. It is certain he intends to say more on the subject.

UNEMPLOYMENT NEARING TWO MILLION

Chrysler is about to open a new factory in Teheran —the new Mecca. The British factory at Coventry has been exporting components to Teheran. Labour power will be cheaper in Teheran and it is a promising market. The Japanese are showing an interest in the Chrysler factory in Linwood, Scotland.

The position is very serious here. The social services

Police arrest Norris strikers

Los Angeles, Cal.—On Nov. 2, the workers of UAW Local 509 voted to turn down the final proposal from Norris Industries and go out on strike. The week prior to this they held a strike meeting and the union leadership granted the company one week extension to complete their proposal.

At the end of the week the company had no new proposal. Meanwhile they had gotten their warehouse cleared out.

On the Friday prior to the strike there was a lot of tension in the plant over the company's tricking the union to get another week's work out of us. Absenteeism was up. A few people walked out and attempted to block the gates and put up a picket line. Some 28 people were fired and arrested by police for disturbing the peace. This is now another issue in the strike.

The final offer had some improved medical benefits and a new pension plan. But it had a 10-cent cap per year on the cost of living. This is the main issue of the strike. The union is asking for the \$1.80 lost over the last three years with no cap on the new contract.

—Striking Norris worker

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

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LOS ANGELES: PO Box 29194, Los Angeles, Calif. 90029

DETROIT: 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit 48207 (259-0404)

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

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — After the Saturday second shift on Oct. 18, I was coming out of the plant when a plant protection man pointed to a Black worker and said, "Sergeant, this is the one." Then the two of them slammed this worker up against the wall. He spun away from them, and then they called him into the office to talk. This guard said that two nights before, he thought he saw something in this worker's coat.

The worker tried to call his committeeman over this, but it was Saturday night and there was no committeeman available. The next Monday, when he went to report it, the company had already written up a report that said it was the worker who slammed the guard up against the wall and roughed up the sergeant.

Many people had seen what happened because we were all coming out of the plant, so about ten witnesses all stated the same facts against the company's report.

But the next day the company gave this worker 30 days off without pay. The union wasn't around when the incident happened, and the union couldn't get his worker back, even with all the support from those that saw what happened. I understand he had to see a doctor at his own expense about backaches after he got slammed against the wall. He finally had to sign away his rights to back pay in order to return to work after two weeks.

—Second shift worker, Dept 7

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — Where I work they drive the trucks off the line and the fumes come directly in your face. We get fumigated constantly while we work. When you complain to the foreman, he goes and turns this fan on. That fan doesn't do anything. Those trucks are coming constantly, and they're testing them by racing the motor.

Eventually it makes you sick, and they get down on you if you take a medical. Chrysler doesn't care anything about your health. The only thing they care about is that you do eight hours on that line. It gets so smoky in there my throat gets raw. When I talked to the Committeeman he said, "Well there's nothing you can do." But there will be something he can do if nobody comes in. The safety people are supposed to have blowers.

We had a fire the other night, and there's a gas tank right there where they pump gas in the trucks. That whole thing could have blown up and there wouldn't have been anything left. They moved the truck out right away so that it wouldn't blow up, but the people were just left standing around. Then the fire went up the pipe to the second floor in the paint booth.

There's too much dangerous stuff in there for anybody to be standing there when there is a fire. If a wire fell on you, that would be it. You're gone. We don't even have a safety man on afternoons.

—Second shift worker

'We're all in different jails'

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

We're getting ready to put another car on the assembly line. There are still lots of people laid off and I can't understand why they haven't been called back because those of us still working are working overtime.

Before the last layoff lots of workers were taking off on Friday because of the speed-up and overtime. They were just unable to hack it. Now people are working so hard they not only miss Friday, but sometimes can't even make it back on Monday.

But still the company isn't calling workers back. At the work center inside the plant, where the local union bureaucrats hang out in air-conditioned offices, laid off workers keep calling, wanting to know when they will be called back. But no answer is given.

On the inside of the plant we are dying from being worked to death and on the outside the brothers are dying trying to make ends meet when they should be inside with us, all sharing the work load. We all seem to be in just different types of jails and I see it not getting better, only worse.

I saw some additional machines, all this automation, piled up near me, getting ready to be used. I visualized these machines and dead people merging together. No, not dead people, really people not being born because of these machines. As each new machine comes in to replace workers, less workers are needed. People feel they should have fewer children now because they can't figure out where the jobs will be to feed their future generations.

What they can't see is that automation (machines replacing people) has caused this problem and that for each new machine less and less people are needed.

I think we, especially women, should be able to decide how many children to have. But I cannot see this capitalist system deciding for me or anyone else how many children to have by saying: We don't want you to reproduce yourselves anymore because we don't need you. Our machines and technology will be turning out the work force.

Even the big corporations can't see that by replacing workers with machines, sooner or later with less and less people working, there is going to be no one to buy their products. The machines don't need to consume what they produce. Only humans have uses for it. It's only a matter of time until the machines replace us all, unless we change this system.

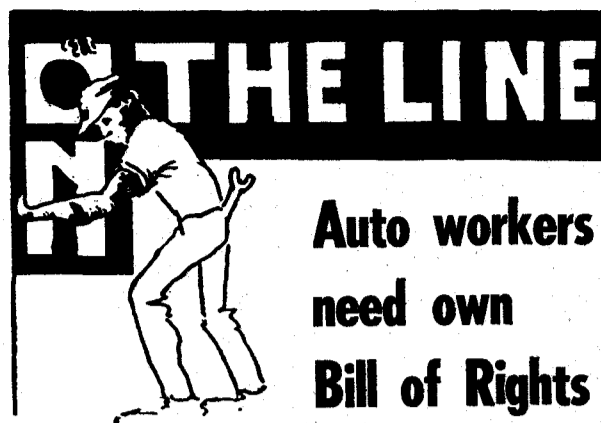
are in danger. The campaign by the government is meeting with a temporary success and we are about to be smothered by government propaganda. The figure of unemployment may reach two million next year.

CHAUVINISM A DIVERSION

The Scottish National Party are exploiting the situation without saying where they stand on what is the real issue. They are claiming North Sea oil, 150 miles out at sea, as Scottish oil. They are also calling for separation from England. They have no policy on anything else.

This chauvinism would separate the English workers from the Scottish workers. It is a diversion. We are about to get a Scottish Parliament. It does not mean much, but the Labour movement always wanted that. English chauvinism is being voiced but the workers, on both sides of the border, have other things on their minds.

—Harry McShane



Auto workers need own Bill of Rights

by John Allison

The auto workers need a bill of rights of their own in the contract to protect the benefits they're entitled to and have won from their struggles. Every contract the auto workers get, the newspapers always have big headlines reporting all of the "great" things that have been won.

What they don't report is all of the qualifications that the workers have to meet to get those benefits. The fact is that the UAW is guilty of writing labor contracts like the government writes laws for the big corporations: they are all in favor of the corporations.

This can be seen from what happened last year to Chrysler workers, who were the hardest hit, as well as thousands of other auto workers who were laid off in November. All of those workers lost ten days of pay that were supposed to be holiday benefits they were entitled to in the contract. Except for the qualification. And that qualification is that you have to work the day before and the day after any holiday period to get the benefit. And since those thousands of auto workers were laid off before the holiday period, they got nothing.

This point had been raised by the workers when the provision was negotiated, but the UAW said that the auto companies wouldn't treat their workers so unfairly. The trouble with the UAW officials is that they have no idea how unfairly the company treats the workers every day on the job. The workers know the company can't be trusted where it comes to the buck, and they are right again. The rumor is strong now that Ford is planning to take the holiday pay from workers by laying those off in December who are working on slow-selling models.

But GM is the master instructor for the rest of the auto industry. GM gave birth to the word "qualification" to receive unemployment compensation, sick pay, workmen's compensation, holiday pay, bereavement pay and vacation pay. The worker must qualify! This is the way the auto management subtracts from workers' take-home pay.

In fact, under the present contract, qualification means more than seniority. Everybody's talking about the year 1976 and how it goes back to 1776 and the first American Revolution against British oppression and exploitation. The auto workers don't have the British oppressing them, they've been replaced by the auto companies. I'd like to hear from every auto worker who reads this: WHAT DO YOU WANT IN YOUR BILL OF RIGHTS IN THE NEXT CONTRACT? Write me and let me know, and we'll print it.

N. Y. handbill job a rat race

New York, N.Y. — Up in the Bronx there is a place where they hire you by the day to pass out advertising door-to-door. Usually about 25 people show up. At 7 a.m. door shape up. The supervisor glances at you, gives a nod, and calls your name, (about 18 get the nod). Then you load up on a truck and they drive you to other neighborhoods. You only get paid from the time you get off the truck until the time, six hours later, that you're picked up.

At the neighborhoods, you fill up a canvas bag with supermarket or other store circulars, up to 600 to a bag. It weighs about 50 pounds, and you sling it over your shoulder. You can't walk comfortably with it until it's half empty. At the first building you drop the bag on the steps, chalk your initial, fold the papers quickly as you walk from one floor to the next — unless you're lucky and get an elevator building. One paper to each door.

In rain or hot sun, you work steadily with one ten-minute break and a half-hour lunch. The boss will follow you up to see if you're skipping any floors or throwing papers away.

After six hours you're dead tired and you're thankful for the truck that will shake you up like a vibrating machine as it drives you to the office. Then you get in line to get your pay, that is, half of it until Thursday of next week. By three o'clock you're finished. You've spent eight hours and got paid for six. You're lucky if you get three or four days work a week.

This job is usually performed by skid-row characters who need immediate cash, but lately, with growing unemployment, regular older workers and a few teenagers have been joining the ranks.

One week I worked a full week. On my pay I saw that money had been taken out for "union dues."

"This place has a union and they pay \$2.15 an hour?" I said to a friend.

"Yeah," he said. "The strongest union in the country — the Teamsters."

I worked there a few months in the summer. During that period two older men died of heart attacks.

EDITORIAL Ford's empty words can't solve permanent unemployment

An air of total unreality settled over the Château de Rambouillet—favorite "country house" of Marie Antoinette where for three days the leaders of the six biggest Western industrial powers had discussed their economic crises over fine wines and pheasant-under-glass—as President Ford jubilantly emerged to proclaim, "the people of our countries can look forward to more jobs, less inflation and a greater sense of economic security."

It is not that the leaders were unconcerned about the depth of the problems. Though their countries—the U.S., Britain, France, Germany, Japan and Italy—account for more than 80 percent of Western industrial production, "official" figures reveal a joint total of no less than 15 million unemployed. It is this grim fact which German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt delicately termed "a serious social problem," as he sought to persuade Ford to step up the U.S. economic growth rate.

UNEMPLOYMENT GIVES LIE TO PROMISES

Less than one week before the meeting opened, the U.S. Labor Department's October unemployment and inflation statistics had already given the lie to assurances of prosperity ahead. The figures showed that the unemployment rate had jumped back up to 8.6 percent, with fully eight million American workers out of jobs. Even these fantastic figures have lost all meaning, as it is readily admitted that the real total—including "discouraged workers"—is more like 11 million.

Even more revealing are the figures for Black unemployment—15 percent; Vietnam vets—20 percent; and teenagers—20 percent. And nearly two million workers have now been on the streets so long they have used up their unemployment insurance checks.

Nor were statistics on inflation any better. Wholesale prices rose in October at an annual rate of 21.6 percent. The graphic truth about the skyrocketing prices in this "affluent America" is that the average production worker is today earning \$91 for every \$100 in real wages he or she made in 1967, while in the retail and service sectors, the average worker—usually a "she"—has had that \$100 reduced to the nightmare figure of \$66.65 today!

It is no wonder that last month's Gallup Poll found

that the majority of American workers believe that the economy is going to get worse, not better; and that one out of five workers feels that they are likely facing unemployment themselves.

This crushing unemployment presses most destructively on poor whites and minority groups, with the result that in America today there is the incredible phenomenon of a third successive generation of families forced to live on welfare.

Far from any foreseeable improvement, the level of unemployment will continue to rise just as it has since the end of World War II. At that time, a two percent unemployment rate was considered "normal," and a law—the Full Employment Act of 1946—was passed committing the full resources of the nation to combat unemployment if it reached the crisis level of four percent.

PERMANENT UNEMPLOYMENT

Today the administration talks of seven percent unemployed as a "more realistic" level of "full" employment. That this figure consigns at least seven million workers to permanent unemployment, with no hope of ever finding jobs, shows how meaningless words have become in the hands of those economic prize fighters whose job it is to misrepresent the truth to the masses of people in America—that a permanent army of the unemployed cannot be avoided under capitalism.

Such a sick joke is Ford's re-shuffling of his cabinet that in putting in "his guys" he did not even bother to remove a single one of those lying economic prize fighters left over from the regime of Richard Nixon—Simon, Greenspan, Butz and Burns.

It is, however, not Ford's cabinet, but Ford himself whose attitude on the New York financial crisis has won him the title of the most provincial president America has ever had, and whose hands-off pronouncements on the subject are viewed with total disbelief in Europe. Whether New York is actually forced into default, or whether that status is "averted"—and called by another name—what has already been determined is that it is the workers and the poor of New York who will pay.

Already more than 25,000 city workers have been laid-off, with at least 10,000 more jobs slated to get cut this year. Although some of the workers have as much as

15 years seniority, they know they will never get back on. Piece by piece, the bankers and the politicians (Democrats as well as Republicans) are destroying every city service—day care and senior citizens centers, city hospitals and the City University.

It is no exaggeration to say that the "bombed-out" look of many New York neighborhoods today resembles not merely the "Shame of the Cities" of 75 years ago, but the housing conditions so terrifyingly described by Engels in 1844!

Less than ten years ago Black America rose up in ghetto rebellions from one end of this country to the other, demanding the abolition of the slums and a full employment that truly meant everyone. Yet, today the conditions in the cities of America are far worse than they were then. Whether the mass demonstrations by everyone—from students through senior citizens to city workers—will become a new beginning for the movement, only the months ahead will tell. But never have the contradictions of this society been so total and so terrible, and never has the need for its complete transformation been so urgent.

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
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THE WEALTH OF N.Y.

One of the saddest consequences of the economic crisis is the so-called "shopping bag ladies." These are mostly older women, who have no place to live and have all their belongings in five or six shopping bags. Many of them appear to be mentally ill and talk to themselves. As I drive through the Wall St. area, I always see several of these women in a little Park at the beginning of Trinity Place, right in the midst of the proud wealth of New York. What better proof is there of the barbarism of American civilization on the eve of our Bicentennial than the way this society treats older women who happen to be poor?

Taxi Driver
New York

Every morning we hear that default and catastrophe are imminent, and every afternoon we hear some different plan to save the City. It is hard to believe any of the reports after a while. The latest state plan is to save money by reducing Medicaid eligibility and cutting welfare benefits by ten percent. I don't know how the poor could survive. Senior citizens centers and child care centers have already been closed; everyone without political clout is being cut. Last month there was a demonstration at City Hall by tens of thousands of senior citizens.

The colleges have had continuous demonstrations against cuts, but are likely to have a lot more. On Nov. 18, hundreds of anti-poverty workers who will be laid off tied up traffic with demonstrations in different parts of the City. Libraries and museums have cut their hours—just the things that made New York great.

The questions about the future are not so simple as whether we get federal aid. Last I heard, the bill in Congress contains a clause permitting the City to abrogate its labor contracts, which means they will succeed in breaking the unions and lowering wages even if there is no default. Actually, our wages have already been lowered by a three-year wage freeze at a time of 12 percent annual inflation. Many city employees have also had raises "postponed," and future pensions have been cut.

The real estate industry is lobbying in Washington for the federal legislation to require the City to end all rent controls. That would surely mean only the rich, not even the middle class, could afford to live here. No one knows how the crisis will be resolved, but unless it's by the second American Revolution, the "cure" for being broke may be worse than the disease.

City Employee
New York City

ZIONISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

I don't understand what is going on with all the talk about Zionism being racism, but it seems to me it is one more way to mix people up about what racism really is. How can we fight it that way?

Black Worker
Detroit

The first article I read in the last issue was the one on Zionism and anti-Semitism, because I had seen a three minute debate on TV news between an Arab UN delegate and a Rabbi. The Arab "won" in the sense that he had dug up some horrible quotes from Israeli leaders that really were racist-type remarks, and the Rabbi didn't know how to answer him. But the Arab made it very clear that in his eyes Israel had no right to exist, and in those few minutes his anti-Semitism came out so sharply that all I could remember was the gas chambers of WWII. It was very frightening.

Non-Jew
New York

I was disturbed by your article on anti-Semitism in the last issue. I agree that a great deal of the so-called anti-Zionist movement in the UN and elsewhere is nothing more than a cover for anti-Semitism and various forms of imperialism. But it seemed to me you were putting forward an essentially pro-Zionist position. . . . I feel that while we should fully expose the so-called "anti-Zionist" movement in the UN, we must be careful not to align with the supporters of an Israeli state that has driven the Palestinians

from their homeland and exploits both the domestic Jewish population and especially the Arab minority living in Israel.

Student
Bloomington

You see all those countries passing resolutions equating Zionism and racism in the name of the Palestinian refugees and you know that none of them has helped those refugees for over 25 years. You see them calling for an end to Israel as a nation, and you know that every other nation was also set up by murder, stealing, pushing others off the land. How right you are that the UN, like the League of Nations, is nothing but a "thieves' kitchen," and certainly not a place where revolutions are created.

Working Woman
New York

I could hardly believe my eyes when I saw your headline about anti-Semitism being the new focus for the Communist, Fascist and Arab amalgam at the UN. Thank you! It is the first sane article on that subject I have seen in any of the so-called radical press.

New Reader
Ann Arbor

WORKERS AND UNIONS

"On the Line" in the last issue created quite a stir and discussion among the workers at our plant. Some were saying that the workers should march on Solidarity house in Detroit and hang the International Union. When a local union finds someone to represent them, the international steps in and takes over the workers' receivership. We all agreed that the International, government, and big business are all the same. Before workers can get any help in solving their problems the whole system will have to be abolished.

Felix Martin
Los Angeles

Reader

The union organizing campaigns in the book publishing industry got a recent boost from the National Labor Relations Board, which ruled that the firings at Putnam's last fall were unfair labor practices, and that the company has to bargain with the union now, because its illegal practices prevented a fair election from being held. Putnam's has offered their jobs and back pay to some of the fired workers, but is appealing the bargaining order.

The Board, however, has still not ruled in the Macmillan case, where the question is whether the employees should be in one bargaining unit or two. Macmillan workers have been waiting almost a year for a decision, so they can have an election. If the company succeeds in getting two separate units, it will be a set-back for all the organizing drives, and grounds to reverse the Putnam's bargaining order.

Meanwhile, the election at Simon and Schuster was lost badly. One of the problems in this industry is that there is so much turnover. Because they haven't been unionized before, the companies can engage in a lot of legal maneuvers to delay, and between the many firings for union activity and the high rate of turnover, a lot of the present employees don't even know about the organizing campaigns.

Ex-publishing Employee
New York

WALLACE AT THE WALL

I couldn't believe the news film I saw of George Wallace at the Berlin Wall. He was saying that he just "couldn't comprehend" a city divided by a wall, being from the U.S. where we have "free egress and ingress." What about the "ingress" of the Black students he kept out of schoolhouses by making a wall out of his own body in 1963? He must think people will forget his past but I don't think anyone will swallow his "new image."

Disgusted
Detroit

TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION**
and **Marxism and Freedom**

(EDITOR'S NOTE: A student who has been searching for a document noted as "missing" in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection at the Wayne State University Archives*, located the article, written in 1944 on "Marxism and the Negro," and wrote: "In light of both the Black Scholar debate between Marxists and Nationalists, and the new depths of racism appearing in the ranks of white labor from Louisville to Boston, I was struck with how much this article written 30 years ago illuminates for us today. Could you reprint it in N&L?" While too long to reprint in full, brief excerpts appear below. The complete article is being added to the collection on deposit at WSU.)

MARX, LENIN, ON NATIONAL QUESTION

Lenin's Theses on the National and Colonial Question, which was adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International was essentially a statement of principles. It singles out two nations as illustrative of the type of national oppression that evokes mass movements of resistance. These nations are Ireland and the Negroes in America . . .

In his very numerous polemics Lenin emphasized that concrete historic situations, not abstract considerations, formed the focal point of theory and action on the National Question. The decisive thing was that "All national oppression calls forth resistance of the broad masses of people." It is insufficient to state that revolutionists would support those movements. It is a question of the development of the national struggles

* The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection consists of 12 volumes dealing with the origin and development of Marxist-Humanism in America from 1941 to 1975 and is available on microfilm for \$30 from the Walter Reuther Library of Labor History Archives of Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich. 48202.

MARXISM AND THE BLACK DIMENSION

along lines of independent mass activity. As Marxists, we would, naturally, prefer—if we could indulge in such abstractions—that these movements would take a turn towards a shedding of what Trotsky calls the national shell and reveal clearly to the participants the social and class content therein contained. But history, as well as the analysis of the economic basis of what Marxists call the national question, has shown that these questions can be resolved and clarified only in the course of the struggle itself . . .

Marx said that as long as the bourgeoisie of one country holds domination over the other, the emancipation of the proletariat in the oppressing country is impossible. In his letter to Siegfried Meyer and Karl Vogt, Marx amplified on this idea thus:

"The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the ruling nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious, social and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude is much the same as that of the 'poor whites' to the 'niggers' in the former slave states of the USA . . . It (the antagonism) is the secret of the impotence of the English working class despite their organization." . . .

NATIONAL EGOISM AND NEGRO CULTURE

Some of the American Marxists are obsessed with the idea that, if the Negro be classed as part of the National Question, we will lose sight of the class struggle . . .

To say that labor is to fix it all is to say nothing. Labor has to "fix" all problems. The proletariat is the only cohesive revolutionary class in present-day society and no fundamental transformation of the social order can occur except under its leadership. But meanwhile,

the Negroes are in constant activity and organization (NAACP, Urban League, the Garvey movement) on the basis of the fact that they are a nationally oppressed minority. They work with labor sometimes, and against labor at other times. They cannot be told to wait for the day of the revolution.

The fact that the Negro masses could embrace so utopian a scheme as "Back to Africa"—a utopianism all the more suicidal since their customs, language, and

(Continued on page 7)

WHO WE ARE

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery, Ala. Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled new movements from practice, which were themselves forms of theory. News & Letters was created so that the voices from below could be heard, and the unity of worker and intellectual, philosophy and revolution, could be worked out for our age. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, is the editor.

The paper is the monthly publication of News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists that stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private form as in the U.S., or in its state form calling itself Communist, as in Russia and China. The National Chairwoman, Raya Dunayevskaya, is the author of **Philosophy and Revolution and Marxism and Freedom** which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism for our age internationally, as **American Civilization on Trial** concretizes it on the American scene. In opposing this capitalistic, exploitative, racist, sexist society, we participate in all freedom struggles and do not separate the mass activities of workers, Blacks, women and youth from the activity of thinking. We invite you to join with us both in the freedom struggles and in working out a theory of liberation for our age.

Views

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I was struck at the NOW convention at the small number of Black women present. I attended one workshop on "Racism, Poverty and Classism" but I'm afraid I was naive to think that by classism they meant what I mean by it. They seem to think that all white women are middle class. I believe that the link between the Black and other minority women who have labored all their lives is with white working class women. I spoke on that, but I just don't think they are going to accept that link to labor (by which, of course, I do not mean labor movement or unions).

There were a couple of poor women from small rural communities, and I saw one Native American woman. NOW had three "resources people" (boy, do I hate that phrase!) speak first at the workshop, and one of them had said that Native American women through their culture traditionally do not take an aggressive role. I kept remembering all that N&L has had on the role of women at Wounded Knee, and I made sure to show the Native American woman who was there some copies of the paper with Shainape Schapwe's column. Her face lit up and I know she was bursting to talk.

Working Woman
New York

There's no doubt in my mind that it was mass support by Black and white women that freed Joan Little from being convicted of murder in defending herself against her white rapist jailer. But when she lost her appeal on the original burglary conviction so soon after that tremendous victory, it started me to think that many white women only supported her in the first place because of the "issue" of rape, and that once that was won, they deserted her. Joan Little is a very brave woman, but what I fear the most is what will happen if she has to go back to jail again in North Carolina?

Women's Liberationist
Detroit

I found the recent article on Portugal in "Our Life and Times" more than informative. Showing the direction that the Three Marias gave to world-wide feminist action is a lesson for all those feminists who are so anxious to forget history and be only for "women," no matter what they stand for as long as it is anti-Marxist. Marxism has historically held tight to the link between all forces that arise to overthrow this decrepit society. So when I see so-called feminists supporting Jane Alpert and basing an organization on her stand against Marxism, I see them as victims of their unphilosophic, unhistoric method. That is what allows them to spin theories from the tops of their heads, since they answer to no one, and rewrite history to suit themselves. Indira Ghandi is doing that today, and Hitler did it yesterday. How frightening that this kind of thinking can raise its ugly head in the women's movement.

Women's Liberationist
New York

NEW STUDENT REVOLT

The whole question about the fight against the ID cards in the highschools which the students see as one more instance of Big Brother is very important. The students of the 1960s stressed they were against the anonymity of the multiversity — but I remember in the early '50s, before the open revolts erupted in East Europe, we took notice of a lonely voice of revolt at a Communist Youth meeting somewhere in East Europe. A young woman was complaining about the "lack of privacy." The last issue suddenly made me remember that again, in a new context.

Marxist-Humanist
New York

I found the November issue of News & Letters great because of the link you made between the new student upsurge with the Black dimension — whether in Latin America, Africa, U.S. High Schools or at New York's City University. The

vitality of that link was made clear just two weeks ago at CUNY. With the University entering a major budget crisis, 200 Black and Spanish SEEK students at Queens occupied the college president's office to protest the firing of 9 SEEK professors. Within a week, a teach-in was held on campus, drawing about 300 people. Before that SEEK protest, the teach-in had a hard time getting organized. That 300 people did eventually show up at it just a week after the SEEK protest highlights that link between the actions of Blacks and the movement of students.

CUNY Student
New York

FOUR APPEALS

Every day we learn our fight for dignity and justice isn't less difficult because a law is passed or an election won. The right to vote is a breakthrough, but the boycott is as important to our struggle as ever . . . During the short time we had our contracts we established five medical clinics, a credit union, a death benefit plan, social service centers, legal offices, leadership training programs, and a Farm Worker's Retirement Village — the only one of its kind in the country. To help them survive and to help fight the unfair labor practices being committed by the growers and the Teamsters, we desperately need help. Please ask your readers to give whatever they can, and to continue the boycott of grapes, head lettuce and Gallo wines, until a free and democratic union is won for the farm workers.

Cesar Chavez
La Paz, Keene, Calif.

Angie and Ivis Long Visitor, both Oglala Sioux Indians from Pine Ridge Reservation, and Joanna LeDeaux, a Native American from South Dakota, have been in jail since Sept. 16 because they stood on their Treaty rights and refused to recognize the "right" of the U.S. government to compel them to testify to a Federal Grand Jury about their friends and neighbors. Hundreds of people refuse to testify every year, and only those selected by the Attorney General of the U.S. are put in jail. Clearly this is a "test case" and part of the continued harassment of Indian people.

Public pressure on the Attorney General can help free them. Please ask your readers to get more information from:

Native American Solidarity Committee
Box 3426, St. Paul, MN 55165

Every year there is famine in Haiti. This year the Duvalier dictatorship has admitted it. The question is why? International relief agencies are sending aid, but it doesn't reach the people. Corrupt government officials divert it through everything from taxation to outright theft. Five million peasants live with no roads, no water system, no electricity, no health care, in order to provide raw materials and markets for U.S.-based multinational corporations. In return for their "international aid" the U.S. gets a political puppet, a source of bauxite and copper, and a potential source of oil. Americans who don't want to be part of this exploitation of a whole people can write to:

Friends of Haiti
P.O. Box 308, N.Y.C. 10956

Consider that since WWII supposedly ended in 1945, the nations of the world have spent four and a half trillion dollars for "military security." The nuclear arsenal of the U.S. now has enough to annihilate every major Russian city 36 times. Russia can level every American city 11 times. There are already over 500 nuclear reactors operating in 45 countries. In addition to the nuclear "club" — U.S., Russia, China, France, Britain, and India — there are at least 22 other nations that have the technological means to produce nuclear weapons.

Then consider that the U.S. Defense Department spends more every 14 hours than the UN World Food Program spends in a year. In 1972 worldwide military research consumed \$25 billion while medical research received only \$4 billion.

Then please ask your readers to consider that our 1976 War Resisters League calendar is only \$3, which will be used to help fight such insanity. Order from:
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DID YOU PUT N&L
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UFW wins farm vote, Florida strike; boycott still on

Oakland, Cal.—After two months of voting under the new Agricultural Labor Relations Act, the farm workers of California have decisively stated that the United Farm Workers is their union, despite all the grower-Teamster pressure to the contrary. As of Nov. 7, there were 307 elections held involving 48,850 workers. Of that total, the UFW has won 163 elections with 23,854 workers, 48.8 percent. The Teamsters have won 23.8 percent, no union scored 4.2 percent, and 23.2 percent have been challenged.

One good example of the workers' choice is that everywhere the UFW had a contract before the vote, the workers voted for their union by 80, 90, and 100 percent. On 54 ranches that were under Teamster contract, the workers voted for the UFW, and on a dozen ranches that had Teamster contracts the Teamsters didn't even get on the ballot. The UFW is negotiating for new contracts at over 30 ranches now.

More victory news comes from Florida, where the UFW has signed a new three-year contract with Coca-Cola. About 1,200 workers, most of whom are Black, will get substantial wage increases, making them the highest paid farm workers in the South, plus other benefits.

The union had struggled almost a year, including a hunger strike by Mack Lyons, the Florida director, and the threat of a nationwide boycott of Coke and Minute Maid, the subsidiary under contract, before Coke realized it was in their best interests to sign a contract.

Debs, Pullman strike examined

The past that still lives in the present, like books, buildings and old movies, undergoes changes as even this moment does. Books, for example, perish and are not always republished. Without them, the present itself becomes barren. The need to preserve or reissue such evidences of the past is especially true of the labor movement. It is for this reason that the Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company's reissue of two "oldies" deserve applause.

CARWARDINE'S *The Pullman Strike* (1894) deals with the famous railroad workers attempt to introduce industrial unionism into the craft-fragmented railroad industry. Useful as a primary source, despite its lack of depth, it serves to illuminate certain social features which we, some 80 years later, can see more clearly.

Pullman, the railroad magnate, had set up a "model" town for his railroad workers which provided them with the necessities and amenities of life. Here, in primitive form, is the "womb-to-tomb" welfare/totalitarian state. While Carwardine believed it was inspired by the noblest intentions, it became its opposite, a totalitarian tyranny replete with spies. Outsiders were entranced by the model; the railroad workers exposed the reality.

Who, reading this today, can fail to see the parallel between this and the proliferating "socialist societies" with their variety of models, giving the workers everything except their own power over their own work? Failing this, like Pullman, capitalist laws of economics, the world market, will have sway inevitably and transform noble intentions to totalitarian tyranny.

THE SECOND reissue, *Debs' Walls and Bars*, retains its currency though it deals with prison conditions based on his own experiences during the Pullman strike and during World War I. It reads as though he might have just walked out of, say, Attica. The barbarity of the prison system seems not to have changed at all since he wrote of the brutality of the guards, the circulation of drugs, the antiquated regulations, the deliberate debasement of prisoners, and other barbarities.

Debs, already a socialist when he wrote this in the '20s, saw that, "Capitalism needs and must have the prison to protect itself from the criminals it has created." But his "socialism" as well as his treatment of the prison system is marred by the same kind of religious tone that marred Carwardine's work. One whole chapter, for example, titled, "How I Would Manage the Prison," assumes it can be managed rather than destroyed root-and-branch.

TO BE SURE, they wrote at a stage of the labor movement when it was not yet fully defined, still tainted by the enormous wealth of the nation with an immense immigrant proletariat, a frontier only recently closed (1892). The "shark's teeth" (Melville) of depression, sit-downs, atomic war, Vietnam, Watergate had not yet ground down the soft reality to a hard core.

Then, only then, would Hegel, Marx, and Lenin become the indispensable guides of the working class and world civilization. Armed with their insights, the ministerial tone of Carwardine and Debs may be easily waived and their experiences with workers welcomed as illuminations of both our past and present.

—M. Franki



News & Letters Photo

UFW supporters in Detroit picket Farmer Jack Supermarket.

Detroit, Mich. — While reports of UFW election victories in the California fields have cheered us on, Detroit boycott supporters have intensified efforts over the past several weeks. We have stepped up our picketing of Farmer Jack's supermarkets—Detroit's biggest chain—in order to reach out to the public to let them know that the boycott of grapes, lettuce and Gallo wines is being continued by the UFW "until the ink is dry" on contracts with the California growers.

Several weeks ago, a large group of us picketed at the Joy and Greenfield Farmer Jack's store where the manager has constantly harassed UFW supporters who were legally leafletting.

We struck back by having relay arrests—four pickets at a time—and it took the arrest of 20 people to "break" Farmer Jack's phony injunction. In fact, these arrests took the police all afternoon and thoroughly disrupted the store's functioning.

Two days later, when those arrested were arraigned, we found out—much to our surprise—that since the arrests had been for "creating a disturbance" and not for breaking the injunction, the judge threw all charges out of court as groundless harassment of our rights of free speech.

We had a later mass picket at another Farmer Jack's to test their reaction to the arrests. Almost 100 supporters showed up and picketed right on Farmer Jack's doorstep for over three hours. The police came, but there were no arrests.

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Regina Brave links reservation oppression, Black urban racism

by Shainape Schapwe

I first heard about Regina Brave when I read her account of the Wounded Knee occupation in 1973. It was in the pamphlet, "Black, Brown and Red." I was excited about her description of the way people of all races worked and lived together. She wrote that both men and women shared in the decision-making as well as the work.

I looked forward to meeting her for almost two years. She is a spokeswoman for the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee. Their headquarters are in Rapid City, S.D., a town near the Pine Ridge Reservation.

She was invited to speak at a big teach-in (Nov. 2-4) at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. During that same week she made several speeches in Detroit, reporting on important Indian developments.

On June 25, at about the same time as the shooting of the two F.B.I. agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation, Dick Wilson, head of the Tribal Council, sold about one-fifth of the reservation, to the federal government. This was done without the approval of the Tribe.

Regina feels that this was the reason the federal government wanted Wilson as head of the Tribal Council. Now that he has outlived his usefulness, the federal government won't insure his re-election with the same devious tactics they used before. Elections on Pine Ridge will be taking place soon, and Regina hopes that this time one of the traditional chiefs will be able to win that election.

Regina said, "I had to leave the reservation to learn about racism. I moved to a suburb of Boston and lived with Black people. I faced the racism that they had to face with them. It was then that I really knew what racism was." My experiences were the same as Regina's.

Near my reservation, Fort Totten, N.D., there was a town of about 1,200 people. Those of us that could did most of our shopping there. We tried always to give the clerks the exact amount of the purchase. We knew that we would never get our change back if we didn't.

What I'm trying to point out is how the isolated life on the reservation can dull some of the realities of the everyday injustices shown to the people. Regina said that it was the urban Indian that organized the American Indian Movement. When Indians were relocated to the cities, they saw other minorities fighting for their rights. They came back to the reservations and showed the people there that they didn't have to accept racism and injustice as a way of life. Both reservation and urban Indians fought together at Wounded Knee, and at Shiprock, N.M.

Regina feels as I do that it will take the drive and enthusiasm of the urban Indian and the direction that has to come from the reservation Indian to keep this movement going.

One of the most exciting things she said was that she felt that the minorities had to become involved in each others' movements. In this way, we can learn to accept and appreciate the differences in each other as well as the ways that we're alike. It is the only way that we can help ourselves and each other in the struggle for the freedom that we all want.

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High school youth oppose administration neglect

Highland Park, Mich. — Two months after the walk-out to upgrade education at **Highland Park High School**, we have gotten only a couple of teachers and a couple of classes back. Nobody knows what has been going on since students returned to classes on Sept. 29.

The students' committee which presented the demands to the school board after the walk-out has not met with the school board lately.

Meanwhile, starting this card period, we are going to pick up our blank report cards ourselves. We're supposed to take them around to teachers, and they are supposed to put your grade down and sign the card. Some students are going to pick up their cards and get friends to put an "A" on the cards and sign them.

Report cards used to be mailed out, but the school board wants to save on postage to help make up a \$1.6 million deficit. The board says they are trying to get things straight. The excuse they give is that the new high school which is under construction is going to make everything the way it used to be.

Students are asking when are we going to walk out again, thinking there might be another one planned.

—Highland Park High student

Detroit, Mich. — At Cass Tech High School a new technique has been used for grading our report cards. Everything is now done by computer. This is supposed to make everything so much better and more efficient. It makes things worse as far as I'm concerned.

When teachers graded cards the old way, we took our cards to classes one by one and the teacher graded and signed them. We had a chance to argue grades we thought unfair. Now everything is already done for you, and you don't find out from the teachers themselves what you got on a slip of paper. It is all done and over.

Teachers have ten times more work to do because everything is done outside class. The students and teachers used to get a break because first period would be devoted to grading; so no lesson plan was needed.

'New rule' cuts youth wages

Los Angeles, Cal. — Since I've been out of high school I've had one job, a construction job building concrete forms and stuff like that. It was hard labor, ten hours a day, for \$2.50 per hour.

One day, after working for half the day, I got tired and quit. When I came to get my pay, they said that they made up a new rule, that if you only work half a day, you don't get paid for it. They owed me \$15. My cousin, who was in management, gave me a hard time for quitting, saying that if it was up to him, he wouldn't pay me anything.

They work young people ten hours a day for \$2.50 an hour doing construction work that should be paying \$5-\$6 an hour. How can they get away with that?

— Young construction worker

Cuts hit education for blind

Detroit, Mich. — I am a blind student in a special education class for blind students. At my school they decided to start switching us around only a week after school started.

Even though the law allows 30 to 35 students per class, there are now 45 students in the regular education classes which the blind students also go to. To relieve the overcrowding, they moved the regular students to another classroom to use our room for a homeroom, and then moved us, in the blind class, to another school. If you're blind, they'll strike at you first.

Fortunately one student who left the small blind class was replaced. Otherwise, they would have sent us all away from a young, understanding teacher to other schools.

— Blind youth

Black workers in South battling 10-year job discrimination case

Birmingham, Ala. — A ten-year battle by Black workers against job discrimination at American Cast Iron Pipe Company (ACIPCO) is reaching a climax. ACIPCO workers have rejected a one million dollar settlement of their claims for back pay lost since 1965 because of job discrimination. They are demanding that U.S. District Judge Seyborne H. Lynne, who ordered the original settlement, issue a new decree. The workers had sued for \$11 million.

The settlement would compensate more than 800 Black workers for wages lost because of discrimination since July 2, 1965, the effective date of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Divided among over 800 workers, the one million dollar settlement would only pay from \$300 to \$1,100 to each person. The amount of pay actually lost over the ten-year period ranges from \$20,000 to \$30,000 per person.

A caucus of Black ACIPCO workers, Committee for Equal Job Opportunity, stresses that money is only part of the case. Ending discriminatory practices in the plant is one of their main objectives. ACIPCO employs 2,500 workers; about 1,100 are Black. Yet Blacks were kept in low-paying jobs by overt discrimination and a biased testing and promotion program.

We either had a test or a reading assignment, but now everything goes straight through.

If you get slotted in the wrong place with someone else's grades—TOO BAD. But the icing on the cake is that on the day we were supposed to get our grades the computer broke down. What was supposed to be so much better and easier really wasn't easier at all.

—Cass Tech student

Detroit, Mich. — At Chadsey High School we had a bomb drill after someone made a bomb threat on the school. The superintendent came around to each class with a white piece of paper and asked students to open their lockers so they could search for the bomb.

They didn't even evacuate the school in case there was a bomb.

I came in during the search, and my instructor refused to tell me what was going on.

This happened while we were in a three-hour-long class; we were nervous the whole time. The possible danger was unnecessary, especially since there is a bomb squad right across the street from the school.

—Chadsey High Student

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Among the most significant, five years before the actual revolution, was the barehanded attack by Boston citizens led by Crispus Attucks which resulted in the infamous Boston Massacre of March, 1770, in which he and four other unarmed civilians were killed by British troops:

"Attucks was not only Black, but also Indian. His mother's name means 'little deer'. It is always mentioned that he was the first to die for the cause of the American Revolution, but it is almost never revealed that he was also the leader of that Boston crowd, a leader of runaway slaves, and a seaman of 20 years experience.

"The depth of the Black slaves' passion for liberty stamped them as the first fighters for total freedom. Precisely because they were the most oppressed, their passion for freedom was the deepest."

Lerone Bennett, Jr., senior editor of *Ebony*, is opposed to Black participation in the Bicentennial. He gives two basic reasons. The first is that 200 years have passed and we're not free, and that calls for mourning and struggle, not celebration. The second reason is that we are never going to have any freedom to celebrate if we don't seize every opportunity to remind white Americans that we are not free.

As Frederick Douglass said: "What, to the American slave, is your Fourth of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity.

"Your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your shouts of liberty and equality, a hollow mockery. Your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings with all your religious parade and solemnity are to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety and hypocrisy — a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages."

We get a new look at the petitions and revolts of Blacks, the land we took from the only native Americans, and also how new foundations were laid for the next period of revolt — abolitionism. Understanding the lessons of that history to help us today is the best way to prepare for the revolution that first has to be made in our age.

In the January-February issue of *News & Letters*, we will publish in full the Introduction that the National Editorial Board is preparing to introduce the pamphlet. It will be a most exciting issue and a most exciting pamphlet. Watch for it.

While the settlement is being contested, individual Black workers are refusing to cash their settlement checks and a picket-line has been set up outside the federal courthouse.

Those who wish to support the ACIPCO workers can demand a fair settlement by writing to: Judge Seyborne H. Lynne, 3323 Briarcliff Road East, Birmingham, Ala. or to the Committee for Equal Job Opportunity, P.O. Box 2241, Birmingham, Ala. 35203.

For New York and Bay Area readers Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries

A series of 6 taped lectures by
Raya Dunayevskaya, author of
Philosophy & Revolution

All lectures on Sunday, 7 p.m. as follows:
New York—Advent Lutheran Church, 93rd St.
between Broadway and Amsterdam, on Dec.
7-21, Jan. 4-18-25, Feb. 8.

Bay Area—Oakland Community Center, 5316 Telegraph, Oakland, on Jan. 11-25, Feb. 8-22, Mar. 8-22.

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

cultures are American—reveals both how frustrated the Negro feels at ever achieving full democratic rights in America and how desperately repressed he feels as a national minority. And, what is more important, they mean to do something about this with or without the help of revolutionists . . .

* * *

PROLETARIANIZATION SOUTH AND NORTH

The Negro has been an integral part of labor in heavy industry since the earliest days of Southern industrialization. He was a militant member of whatever unions took root there. At the height of its power, the IWW claimed one million members, 100,000 of whom were Negroes. The most important of the IWW unions among Negroes were precisely in the prejudice-ridden South, in the lumber industries in Louisiana and Texas and among the longshoremen and dockworkers in Baltimore, Norfolk and Philadelphia. The Brotherhood of Timber Workers in the lumber camps of Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas had 35,000 members in 1910, 50 percent of whom were Negroes . . .

The proletarian Negro is not the cowed plantation hand. He is literate and has been disciplined by the factory. He knows the might of a cohesive group, organized by the very process of production. He is and feels himself a potent factor. He is no small minority to his white brethren in industry . . . Nevertheless, the "boss and black" relationship—that is, the racial relation having its roots in the plantation economy—still pursues him in the city as well as in the field. Segregation, Jim Crowism, social discriminations persist. The contradiction between the potency in the process of production and his seeming impotence outside cannot but find a manner of expression.

The explosive power in the struggle of the Southern Negro proletarian in the Southern metropolis will have significance in repercussions on the contiguous rural Black Belt. It will strike directly at the heart of the Southern economy and Southern politics and upset as well Northern capitalist interests which have so readily accepted the South's segregation pattern in order to coin surplus value from it. But among the millions suffering on the plantations and among the hundreds of thousands who have won themselves a place in industry, the problem before them is and must continue for a long time to be the emancipation from the national oppression which they feel at every turn . . .

* * *

URBANIZATION

In the North, too, the proletarianization and trade unionization of the Negro did not raise him to the status of the white proletarian and did not dissolve his struggle for elementary democratic rights into the general class struggle. First, in the trade unions he must fight as a Negro for his place as a worker. Wage differentials, seniority, upgrading have by no means been abolished. Then, outside of the trade union, he is ghettoized.

Both South and North, the Negro has become urbanized as well as proletarianized . . . It is the creation of a comparatively free proletariat and semi-proletariat of these large urban centers in the North which created the possibility for the development of the powerful Negro press . . .

It is precisely in the Northern urban center that the political results inherent in the situation in the South receive their sharpest political expression. Capitalism, in dragging the Negroes from the South, cannot prevent the explosion and revolt of the national oppression which the semi-feudal economic relations in the South not only generate but are able to keep in subjugation. The ghetto-like existence, the social humiliation not only spring historically from the cotton plantation. The cotton plantation exports to the North its workers imbued with the ideology of the South along with the Klan, the Knights of the Camelia, etc. to stimulate, encourage and organize anti-Negro prejudices of the people of the North, fortified among the working class by competition in industry . . .

* * *

THAT THE PROLETARIAT will ultimately solve this problem, we have no doubt. The oppression which the bourgeoisie has so mercilessly placed upon the Negro has not only resulted in placing them in strategic industries but will give their developing class consciousness a hostility to the existing society and a determination to destroy it which must be the counterpart to the history of the Negro people in the country.

But for this very reason, declining capitalist society aided by the historic traditions of the country will see in the Negro Question the focal point of attack in order to disrupt the proletariat. Under these conditions, on the one hand you have the question of seniority, closed shop, etc., and on the other hand you will again see the Negro as a nationally oppressed minority inside the union. With unemployment as the basic question facing capitalist society in the post-war period, the opportunity for creating dissension in the ranks of the proletariat will be substantially increased. . . . It is equally clear that the proletariat is also aware of the dangers.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Angola's revolutionary victory over Portuguese imperialism

The struggle of the Angolan people for freedom from Portuguese subjugation has been one of the greatest the world has witnessed — in the length of the struggle, the heroism of the peasants, workers and urban intellectuals alike, the ferocity of the fascist dictatorship they fought, and the inspiration the Angolans provided to spark the Portuguese revolution itself. By sheer grit, the poorly-armed and under-supplied Angolan guerrillas were able to force Portugal to the verge of economic exhaustion and, more important, imbue the Portuguese armed forces with revolutionary fervor and a consciousness of freedom which helped to bring down the fascist regime in Lisbon, in April, 1974.

Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique gained independence first; and finally, on Nov. 11, when the last representatives of the Portuguese military left the continent, Angola ended nearly 500 years of colonial subjugation. It was the culmination of a war of liberation that started in 1961, and the beginning of the even harder struggle ahead to create a truly free world for the Angolan people.

Three groups, the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, headed by Dr. Agostinho Neto), the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola, headed by Holden Roberto), and UNITA (the National Union for the Total Independ-



Angolan children, taught to read and write by guerrillas, argued ideas of freedom with captured Portuguese soldiers.

ence of Angola, headed by Jonas Savimbi) are contending for power.

There is no doubt that the MPLA, founded in December, 1956, was the first to emerge from the

early pro-independence struggles, and is the most deeply rooted in the masses—having organized groups as diverse as the National Union of Angolan Workers and the Organization of Angolan Women, and fighting Portuguese-imposed poverty, poor health and illiteracy by establishing medical care and schools for both children and adults in areas under their control.

But there is also no doubt that the struggle in Angola has become part of the world struggle between the super-powers — the U.S., Russia and China. The stakes are high not only because Angola is a mineral, coffee and oil-rich country, but because it is strategically important for the whole of Africa. That is what has also brought South Africa together with U.S.-Zaire to the scene. The question mark over Angola is not because of the civil war now being waged, but because that civil war is not related to the Angolan masses but to the super-powers who are more than willing to "fight to the last Angolan," while making sure that philosophy and revolution will not become the unity that would assure true liberation.

The desperate struggle the Angolan people now face is to keep destiny in their own hands so that the destruction of the old can be completed by the creation of the new. That struggle must have the support and solidarity of all revolutionaries.

Poland and GM

General Motors Corporation plans to manufacture trucks in Lublin, Poland for sale throughout the world. This is typical of the new interest of global corporations in state-capitalist authoritarian regimes in East Europe and Russia, itself, as a source of disciplined and cheap labor.

Poland's foreign debt has risen drastically in the last few years due both to the ever higher prices of western goods, and their Russian overlords who not only keep prices of basic Polish exports like coal dirt cheap but are now charging inflated prices for Russian oil in addition to iron ore.

No doubt General Motors will be making use of their obsolete technology in this venture which the Polish leaders are counting on to make their economy more competitive in the world market.

What all three—G.M. and Russians and Polish leaders—are solidly against anywhere in the world is the self-activity of workers. The present leadership in Poland was installed after the 1970 uprising of workers toppled the Gomulka regime and forced a cancellation of his 20 percent rise in the price of food.

A measure of the revolt in this totalitarian country is that Poland's First Secretary of the Communist Party, Edward Gierek, is conducting a campaign-style handshaking tour, warning the workers,

nonetheless, of the need for more productivity and cutting rising absenteeism.

While shortages of essential commodities are already appearing, Gierek is hoping to avoid a revolt by saving the party's austerity program for after Christmas, inasmuch as it was Gomulka's pre-Christmas price rises that triggered the 1970 revolt.

Venezuela

On Jan. 1, 1976 Venezuela will formally nationalize its oil industry consisting of 20,000 wells, a production of 3 million barrels a day and revenue of \$10.8 billion per year. It does not mean that socialism has come to Venezuela.

Shell, Exxon and the 15 other foreign companies now operating the fields, refineries and shipping will continue to do the job they have always done. They will buy the oil from government-owned corporations and distribute it throughout the world for a profit as they always have. They will have a management contract which gives them real control and a profit for their trouble.

The workers will go to work on Jan. 2 working for the same boss under the same conditions as before, nothing will have changed, the exploitation remains. What was private capitalism becomes state capitalism with no worker gains.

Russian racism

African students studying in Russia (the African Student Union) in Lvov have requested their respective Ambassadors to the Soviet Union to help stop racial assaults and arbitrary expulsions in that Ukrainian city. They claimed that they had experienced torture and said that they were treated as "outcasts". In appealing to the Ambassador of Senegal, Dean of the African Ambassadors in Moscow, they cited incidents of assaults in their dormitories, at a hostel and one on a pregnant student. Those who complained were expelled from the Soviet Union.

They report that no two African students are permitted to share the same room at the universities; that each is roomed with a Russian spy who reports all their activities to the secret police.

In Kiev, African students went on strike to get a Czechoslovakian woman reinstated in her classes after her government withdrew her scholarship for marrying an African student.

All African students claim that there is widespread anti-Black feeling in Russia and if they protest, they have their scholarships withdrawn and are ruined for life in their fields of activity.

No Arab nations dare protest this racial discrimination.

Ford, Brezhnev, Mao maneuver for total domination of world

(Continued from Page 1)

The projected national military budget, proposed by Schlesinger and supported by Ford, contains no less than \$100 billion for war goods and generals' salaries. Any efforts by Congress to reduce it, much less use any of it for social needs, Ford threatens with immediate veto. So it isn't just the military budget but the fact that with Ford-Kissinger it may be tied to detente with Russia that is worrying Mao.

China has made abundantly clear what the thick-headedness of some of the "left" refuses to recognize: that nothing, nothing whatever, takes precedence over Russia being "Enemy #1."

While China has a nuclear capability, it will be years before it can match the deliverability of either the U.S. or of Russia. Each new weapon system developed by either side requires development of counter-weapons by the other side until there is no such thing as parity between the offensive and defensive capabilities of nations.

The big three — the U.S., China and Russia — are engaged in a struggle for military supremacy, each supported by its own false ideology.

Throughout the world the followers of Mao and Russia have spawned parties, groups and grouplets too numerous to list. Each seeks followers based on the latest line from Moscow or Peking. The damage they do to the struggle for freedom is irreparable and can be counted in human lives everywhere — and nowhere more so than in Angola. It disorients the youth of all countries, puts "action" above theory and practice, substitutes nationalism for philosophy of world revolution, fosters the illusion that either Moscow or Peking represent revolutionary forces seeking a better world.

The SALT talks with Russia are at a low ebb, each side hoping to get an advantage over the other on nuclear limitation, the costs of which are keeping both countries

broke. During the past year the U.S. has added 850 nuclear warheads to its stockpile of 8,500 and Russia added 300 to their pile of 2,800. Every warhead is capable of several times the destructive force of the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima.

The SALT talks, aimed at limiting deployment of nuclear weapons, has reached a stalemate that could spell their doom. The issue is the development of a new weapon, the Cruise missile which looks like a torpedo, and can be fired from submarines, ships, aircraft or mobile land vehicles.

It can carry nuclear or conventional warheads, sprouts wings in flight and can be maneuvered in the air by an on-board computer. With a range of 500 to 2,000 miles, it is impossible for either side to detect or count, as they can the present nuclear missiles. Since neither side wants to include the Cruise missile in the weapons count, the entire SALT talks become useless.

Brezhnev has cancelled his visit to the U.S. because, although Schlesinger was fired, the overheated military budget was not reduced. On the contrary, the summit meetings of the six most industrialized countries just held (Nov. 15-16) in Paris welcomed the huge U.S. arms budget.

The summit meeting of these heads of state might more aptly be called Six Men in Big Trouble. With a combined army of unemployed totaling over 15 million, they have every reason to become deeply concerned with the common problems that confront them: unemployment, depression, energy crisis, monetary chaos and economic stagnation. Three of the six face elections next year.

With no basis in fact for his optimism, Ford sounded like that old British character, "I'm all right Jack, how are you?"

The keynote might have been struck by Prime Minister Moro of Italy who said, "No one country has

the right any longer to isolate itself from the others." With Japan depending on a 50 percent export rate to sustain its economy and the European countries on a 30 percent export rate, they all wanted assurances that their best customer was in good health.

The truth is, if any of them was enjoying a healthy economy, he would not have been there. With inflation at a 25 percent rate in Britain and balances of payment a disaster area, any threat to impose restrictions on trade by any of them would set off a chain reaction that could help undermine capitalism just when mass unrest in each country aspires to the end of that old exploitative system.

Whistling in the dark on the part of these rulers can help only if Marxists, in place of international class solidarity, pose Maoism as the alternative to capitalist imperialism and "prove" their point by quoting Mao on Russia as state capitalist.

Any illusion that this equals revolutionary politics forgets that China itself is also playing state capitalist politics and undermining any and all principled politics right here in the U.S. With the country in deep recession, unemployment on the rise (See editorial, p. 3) and the mass unrest definitely pinpointed against the administration, as the American people move to vote Ford out of office, how can any revolutionary have the gall to whitewash Ford-Schlesinger just because Mao says they are not as bad as the Russians?

The fact that Mao-Teng are at this very moment (Dec. 1-2) lecturing Ford as sharply as does the Reagan wing of the Republican Party on the evils of detente with Russia, only shows that State-capitalism and Communist totalitarianism need not be identical twins to aim for single world domination. What is obvious is that the enemy is the class enemy, most of all in our own country. The underlying revolt will develop, once we do not choose sides between state-capitalist rulers, even though they call themselves "Communist."