

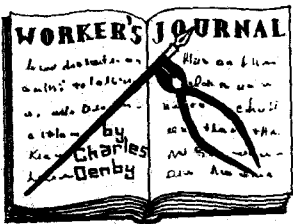
ON THE INSIDE

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Workers suffer from Ford's inflation game

by Charles Denby, Editor

The economic crisis today has many workers shaking in their boots, especially here in Detroit. Many workers are asking older workers were they around when they had the depression of 1929 and the '30s, and does this time in any way resemble that period.

One worker said, "It is impossible to listen to all these specialists on the economy, and the President in particular, saying that we are not in a recession, much less a depression. When people are out of work by the thousands and have no income after their unemployment checks are out, their families are in a depression."

Listening to President Ford tell the American people how to fight inflation is nonsense. He seems to say that what has caused inflation is the consumers. And all we have to do is quit wasting, stop buying, stop wasting food, tighten our belts. And as soon as he is through speaking, he goes to a \$1,000 a plate dinner to raise money for the Republican Party.

Ford's chief economist, Greenspan, is running around saying that those that are hurt most by inflation are the New York stock brokers. What worker wants to listen to that kind of remark, coming from the leaders of government? How can a society survive if its buying public quits spending?

IGNORES PRICE RISE

At the same time Ford says he won't do or say anything about runaway prices. The auto industry is in deep trouble today mainly because of high prices on their cars. Instead of reducing the prices of their cars, they are reducing the work force, in hopes that the companies can keep their profits at the same high rates. The human beings that are consumers are those to suffer.

In this process many thousands of workers, both blue collar and white collar, will lose income as the companies reduce their work force. There are still thousands of workers laid-off from the slump and gas shortage of last year. The unemployment rate is eight percent in Detroit, which is above the national average, and is much higher among Blacks and young workers.

PLAN TO CLOSE CHRYSLER PLANT

Added to that is the shocking news that Chrysler is planning to close down completely its Jefferson assembly plant, where 5,000 or more production workers will be added to the ever-growing unemployment rolls. This new news has all the UAW labor leaders yelling, telling management that they are willing to let the company do anything just to keep it open.

Some of the capitalists seem to be getting worried

(Continued on Page 3)

Uniroyal speed-up sparks wildcat, increases job dangers

Detroit, Mich.—The pressure being put on us now at Uniroyal is unbelievable—and it's getting worse. The company is pushing for production in every department while trying to pay people as little as possible.

The departments hit the worst are where they are making changes in the tires, because the company can reset the piece-work rates to run a lot faster. Some of the tires are timed so fast it's hard to believe that anyone could make out on them.

WILDCAT IN RADIALS DEPARTMENT

It got so bad in the 5th floor radials department that workers there walked out during the first week of October. In that department, they've been working full speed just to make the minimum basic wage production. Builders there are making as many as 500 tires a day working a kind of "carousel" machine where they have to keep three drums going at the same time. Even if the company changed the rate and raised the pay, it still couldn't compensate for that kind of inhuman work pace.

There was talk of wildcatting in other departments too, but the company let up a little on the pressure and technical mix-ups have given workers a little more time than usual.

Supervisors everywhere are harassing and insulting workers a lot more than usual. Nobody should have to take the kind of abuse some of us get. Sometimes supervisors make younger workers stay on their machines until just a few minutes before punch-out time, even when they've finished their day's work.

BLACK WORKER'S ARM TORN

The biggest story now, though, is about what happened the week of Oct. 14 to a young third shift Black worker in the mill-room. He got his hand caught in a conveyor belt which tore up his right forearm, and he

had to be taken to the hospital.

When he got back the next day, the supervisor tried to put him on painting markers around the plant. He refused, since his right hand was swollen like a cantaloupe. So the supervisor dragged him down to the big boss and they tried to fire him on the spot. When he wouldn't leave, they called the police into the plant to arrest him and drag him out. Even the police wouldn't arrest him, though, it was so clear that he was right.

For once the union stood up for him, even if they don't do it very often. How could the company do such a thing to somebody? In the shape he was in, the guy ought to get a gold medal just for showing up for work.

BLACK DISCRIMINATION

Some people are wondering if there isn't some discrimination against Black workers. Would they do a thing like this to a white worker? A lot of people think that the supervisors are harder on young Black workers, even if everybody is getting a lot of static.

Last summer Uniroyal fired a Black worker for taking a nap in the locker room and for going 5 or 10 minutes over his coffee break. But if they fired him for that, then hell, they ought to fire the whole plant, since just about everybody does those things at one time or other.

In August the company posted a report that sales went up but profits went down last year, and we've been talking about this and the way the heat is on all of us now. One guy said that "when the profits go down, you know that we're in for it. You can tell what they've got in for us by what those reports say." But it's hard to see how things can go on this way much longer, and if they push the production much faster, it's hard to see how the tires are going to be any good anymore.

—Uniroyal worker

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NEWS

LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

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NOVEMBER, 1974

Ford's racism is powerful, economic answers are weak

by O. Domanski

The Oct. 13 march of Boston's Black community to Boston Common, where they were joined by an equal number of whites and other Blacks, was their determined answer not only to the hate-torn white bigots of "Southie," but to

Nixon's hand-picked racist President, Gerald Ford, who had managed to use his Oct. 9 press conference to openly denounce the federal court-ordered busing to end segregation in Boston's schools.

Small wonder that the South Boston anti-busing groups, who had already attracted every racist scourge from the KKK to the American Nazi Party to their sides, sent telegrams to the aptly-named White House saying "Thank you. We love you."

LYNCH-MOB RACE-HATE

Ford's statement and the government's adamant refusal to send federal troops to protect the children of Boston, were an open invitation for the race-haters to continue the murderous, rock-throwing, night-riding, lynch-mob tactics they had organized ever since the opening of school on Sept. 12. They did not even bother to pretend—as had other places, more ashamed of their racism, like Pontiac—that it had anything to do with "preserving the neighborhood schools". This was open race-hate, more disgusting oozing from Boston, not because it is supposedly the "Athens of America", but because it once had deep roots in the Abolitionist movement. Boston seemed hardly to have moved from that October day, 139 years earlier, when William Lloyd Garrison was driven out by another mob.

It was an old-time, Southern-styled, Bostonian lynch mob that pulled a 33-year-old Haitian immigrant, Andre Yvon Jean-Louis, from his car on his way to pick up his wife from work, beat and kicked him, and was prevented from killing him only when police finally fired shots and pulled him to safety.

Yet it was from the South that the most eloquent pleas for sanity came—from Black and white high school students in Charlotte, North Carolina, who launched a letter-writing campaign to Boston students to describe the benefits they have found in integrated education, after having suffered needlessly through the same kind of bloody violence five years ago. And right within Boston itself, Black and white students were also speaking out, asking parents to leave them alone, and let the youth work it out together.

STEADY EROSION OF ALL BLACK GAINS

The attempt to integrate Boston's schools came not only 20 full years after the Supreme Court had declared school segregation unconstitutional, but 10 years after passage of a specific Massachusetts state law to prohibit public schools from having more than 50 percent non-white students. Yet since passage of this Racial Imbalance Act, segregation in Boston's public schools had steadily increased. The number of imbalanced schools rose from 46 in 1965 to 68 in 1973.

There has been a steady erosion of every small gain the Black masses won through the decade of the '60s, ever since 1969 ushered in the age of Nixonism.

Black poverty has increased. Fully one-third of all Blacks live below the official poverty line, set at \$4,540 a year. While overall unemployment has soared to 5.8 percent, Black unemployment continues to double that of whites. In some ghetto areas, such as Chicago's West Side, it has reached 45 percent!

While government economists were debating last month whether or not we are in a Recession, these are the devastating Depression conditions of Black America.

Never have so many meetings accomplished so little as the "summit" conferences on the economy called by Gerald Ford through September and October. Just about all that the experts could agree on was that prices will continue to rise at a double-digit rate and that unem-

(Continued on Page 8)



'Big Mama Rag'

Feminist paper misses importance of class

It was good to see in one of the Women's Liberation newspapers, *Big Mama Rag*, from Denver, Colo., a front-page story on "A Working Class Perspective." Just the fact that a feminist newspaper feels it necessary to deal with working class women is encouraging, but I doubt that they will get past talking about it.

I base this on a paragraph in the "Analysis" by the editors that went with the story of a poor white woman and what she has gone through and her anger at middle class women. The paragraph says: "Any perspective on class issues in the feminist movement must have as a reference point the fact that women are oppressed first as women and secondarily for their class background,

Support swells for Inez Garcia

Salinas, Cal.—The sentencing of Inez Garcia on Oct. 21, to five years to life, for killing a man who held her down while another raped her, has not ended the case, but only taken it to a higher level. Demonstrations were held on the day of the sentencing across the entire country, and in London, Paris and Italy. Outraged telegrams came to the judge from all over the world, and Attorney Charles Garry has assured her supporters that he will appeal the verdict.

On March 19, Luis Castillo and Miguel Jimenez came to visit Fred Madrano, who shared a house with Mrs. Garcia, a 30-year-old farmworker, and her son. The men were drinking and fighting and Mrs. Garcia ordered them to leave. She opened the door, whereupon they dragged her to the alley where Jimenez held her down and Castillo forcibly raped her.

In a state of shock, she loaded her rifle and got Madrano to drive her around in search of the rapists. When she found them ten minutes later, Jimenez lunged at her with a knife. She shot him but missed Castillo who fled to the police. Both she and Madrano were arrested, charged with first-degree murder and jailed.

In court, Judge Lawson instructed the jurors to "disregard any testimony about rape and deal only with the murder charge," even though Mrs. Garcia had been asked to draw diagrams of the rape and describe it in detail including how much she liked it. Tears streaming, she finally left the stand saying, "I am only sorry I missed Luis Castillo."

Inez Garcia said she had to kill the men because "men do not have the right to take over a woman's body" and that she hoped her act "would end the rapes, beatings and threats for other women and children who live in fear in Soledad." In California, there are an estimated 80,000 forcible rapes each year and one man in 60 is convicted.

The thousands of women who have rallied to her defense are determined to reverse her conviction.

—Elbee

Mother's 3-year welfare trap

Detroit, Mich.—I've been on ADC for almost three years and I still haven't found a way to get off it. The way the welfare system is set up today, the only way a woman can free herself from this degrading situation is to accept a low paying job where sexism is dominant and equality is unheard of.

Still she would be in the same financial position she was in with ADC, but without medical benefits. All the jobs I've looked into didn't offer any benefits and paid under \$2 an hour.

My son is three years old and just last week I bought him his first pair of boots. This winter he can play outside and we won't have to wait until the sidewalks dry up so we can just go to the store.

We receive no clothing allowances. Enough money is supposedly provided for this in our monthly checks but for me this comes to about \$5 a month. How can I provide proper clothes for both me and my son with this amount? I spend only \$21 every two weeks for food so I can buy clothes and extra things that we need.

Looking for, and receiving good medical and dental care, is one of the worst problems a woman on aid faces. I looked for over two weeks to find a doctor that accepted Medicaid.

But finding one doesn't guarantee good medical care. I found that the doctor I was going to charged the state over \$120 just for an office visit, and ran his clinic like an assembly line. With all the charges being made about welfare recipients cheating the state, what about the doctors who cheat?

Women are discriminated against. But the woman on aid faces the worst kind. This comes from men and from women. These people think we are just too lazy to find jobs, and we bring all our problems on ourselves. I don't believe the majority of women on aid are happy with their situations. I'm certainly not.

We shouldn't accept these low-paying jobs. The whole system of Social Service has to be changed so we can change our living conditions and get out from under this degrading lifestyle. And we need all the support we can get.

—Feminist on aid

among other things, such as their race or sexual preferences."

WOMEN'S OPPRESSION A TOTALITY

Instead of taking the ground that what women's liberation is all about is totally new human relations, becoming whole human beings, and taking back our heads, the editors of *Big Mama Rag* are saying that poor and Black and Latina women must define themselves as women first. If we have learned anything from the formation of groups like the National Black Feminist Organization or Coalition of Labor Union Women it has to be that women will define themselves as a totality.

No white woman is going to tell a Black woman that she is a woman first and then Black. The fact is that she is a Black woman and she is reminded of that fact every day of her life. There is no way that a Black woman in Boston is not going to see her Blackness as something that oppresses her as deeply as her womanhood. To think that this means that poor or Black women will not fight for women's liberation is not true. Not only will they, they have, even before Sojourner Truth spoke up for women over 100 years ago.

REASON AS WELL AS FORCE

Big Mama Rag thinks that they are going to solve the class division in the WL movement by listening to the anger of their working class sisters.

While this is important, working class and Black women have much more to offer the WL movement than their anger. While the WLM is so concerned with strategy and tactics the passion for philosophy comes from those who have experienced this society in all its oppressive dimensions. It is poor and Black women who will never accept this world as it is or try to "make it" by moving to the country or starting a women's bank.

Women are revolutionary force and reason and if we only accept the anger, the force of working class and Black sisters, and not their revolutionary reason as well, we will never move to a truly new human society. Because freedom is a totality and because freedom is inseparable from self-development, this is the only way that the barriers between women and between other oppressed groups fighting for freedom can be overcome.

—Terry Moon

Helm strikers divided by racism

Detroit, Mich.—The 10-week Helm strike is over. The strikers voted to accept the company's last offer of a five percent raise, but with no cost of living provision. Two Black and two white workers the company had fired were rehired, however.

There is no getting around the fact that the company won this strike. And it won for one reason alone, and that is because it was able to use racial prejudice to divide the workers, and keep them all from uniting. With unity, the workers would have won. Without it, they were bound to lose.

Both Blacks and whites were scabbing, and both Blacks and whites were on the picket lines. But racism is such a cancer that bitter racial hatreds stood in the way of getting together.

What is true of the Helm strike is true of battles everywhere: where racism can be used to divide workers and other revolutionary forces — white workers, Blacks, youth and women—they will lose the fight to change their conditions.

A woman striker said, "The trouble is we haven't had 100 percent unity on this thing. There's 44 people scabbing in there. That's why we've been out for over 10 weeks now. I don't see how we can stay out anymore. Our strike fund is down and a lot of people out here are supporting families. All I can say is that we are going to start right now getting ready for next year."

What must be first on the list of things to get ready is to establish that needed unity among both Black and white workers.

WL NOTES

The Mexican Government, while reforming some of their sexist laws, was not prepared for 25-year-old alternate deputy Silvia Hernandez demanding legal abortions, and Beatriz Sanabria, representing the National Organization of Young Professional Women, supporting that demand and making her own—free distribution of contraceptives.

In Toronto, Canada, more than 700 women, children and men demonstrated against the Canadian Government's proposed reduction in child care standards which would increase by 30 to 50 percent the number of children each day-care worker would take care of, and lower nutritional and staff requirements. The government hopes to take credit for providing more child care without spending more than the tiny budget already allotted.

King Abdul Halim, Shah of Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, called off his wedding to a second wife. Three hundred women in this Islamic country demanded that the wedding stop, calling it an insult to the popular queen, a throw-back to feudal arrogance and "simply crude."

WAY OF THE WORLD

Ford sides with Boston racism

by Ethel Dunbar

Many Black people have been discussing the Boston school integration crisis and President Ford's statement against integration of schools. As one older Black man said, "It appears to me that the racist whites cannot get it through their heads that they are dealing with a different Black people today than they were dealing with 50 years ago."

There is no such thing as Blacks being afraid of a white person today just because his or her skin is white. Inferiority complexes among Blacks are gone forever.

Fifty years ago many Blacks were told that the kind of thing we have been witnessing in Boston did not exist up North. Up here, whites were liberal—they accepted Blacks—all the oppression and suffering was caused by white Southerners who openly hated Blacks.

That myth was soon proven to be a lie as Blacks began mass migration northward. Many years ago, a Black man was arguing with a white liberal trade union leader and said, "I would feel better going into the white racist Mississippi Senator Bilbo's back door to eat than coming into your front door in this city."

When this white unionist asked how he could say it, we told him that this Black worker understood that the late Bilbo, as all racist Southerners, will accept a Black coming into the back, but many whites up here will say it's okay to come into their homes but in actuality do not want Blacks there at all.

The TV and daily papers are playing up the fact that those leading the opposition to school integration in Boston are from an Irish working class district with beat-up and run-down housing. This white community sees Blacks in their school as enemy number one, and what seemed to strengthen their belief was when Ford, while calling for order, chose sides on the basic issue. He took the white racist side when he said he disagreed with the law when it comes to equal learning opportunity for Black children. No Blacks think this president, Mr. Clean, Mr. Honest, will ever fool any Blacks.

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O. Domanski

S.F. dockers close piers to protest Chilean dictatorship

San Francisco, Cal.—Longshoremen and ship clerks shut down Piers 30-32 for two days in a boycott against handling cargo to or from Chile. Now the very people who opposed this genuine action against the murderous assault on the Chilean working class—the International Longshore Workers' Union (ILWU) top officialdom—are spouting as if they were the ones who did it.

The International of the ILWU sent out a letter to the locals early in September "strongly recommending" that they support the two-day international boycott of all forms of Chilean transport proposed by the International Federation of Transport Workers.

However, in Los Angeles Harbor, President Bridges intervened against a walkout from a ship carrying freight from Chile. In San Francisco, the longshore local executive board went on record for the boycott, but plans were made to have a demonstration uptown—far away from the docks.

It was a half dozen members of ILWU locals who showed up at Piers 30-32 on the morning of Sept. 18 and passed out leaflets explaining the situation that started the workers phoning their hiring halls to get off the job. By 8 a.m., only two working ship clerks of this group were left, and while they tangled with the company guards, someone inside the dock called a clerks' business agent who was prodded into taking the final step that shut down the piers entirely.

In response to longshoremen's pressure, the Execu-

tive Council of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), the East Coast and Gulf union, went on record for the boycott of Rhodesian ore. This boycott is in support of the enslaved Blacks of that country dominated by a white racist minority government.

But the fine statement on paper means nothing. The main obstacle to working longshoremen's actions is the Executive Board and the ILA officialdom. The similarity between the ILA and ILWU leaders is clear, and this fact is especially relevant now as Bridges continues to push for merger with the ILA.

Longshoremen Prevent International Takeover

The S.F. longshore story in the October issue of News & Letters (p. 7) dealt with the International having established a monitorship over the longshore local here and its attempt to get the local's officers to resign. Since last month, a dozen supporters of the International invaded the local's offices and attempted to physically force the elected officials to quit.

The reaction of the overwhelming majority of working longshoremen against this "goon squad" tactic has forced the International to beat a hasty retreat, withdrawing its demands for resignations, etc., and promising to limit the monitorship to financial matters. An old-timer urged us to mention this "goon squad" action and to relate it to the way the ILA is run to this day.

—SF Docker

Ford's answer for economy: more sweat from workers

by Felix Martin

President Ford's summit meeting on inflation came to the natural conclusion of men who live off the sweat of others—that the workers must work harder and produce more. Needless to say, there were few, if any, laborers, housewives, Blacks or poor people in attendance, as they would be the ones exploited both by the extraction of more unpaid labor hours for the company profits and the inflationary cost of workers' needs.

What we as workers must see is that these parasites at the summit discussing new ways to exploit workers for capital gains are the cause of our whole global minefield. The capital over labor relationship, vampire-like, sucks unpaid hours of labor from workers at work, and also disgorges itself as inflation on the workers as consumers.

FEWER WORKERS, MORE WORK

You can see this in my plant. Each model change-over has brought more automation with fewer men working and more cars being produced. The workers left have to fit in more and more to the pace of the machine, the number of workers on unemployment rises, the cost of the automobile goes up and up, and the profits for the company reach new records.

What they talked about at the conference is really within the everyday life of a worker in production. A few days ago I was working on the line and everything became jammed up near me. I was trying to get it unstuck and needed just a little more time. Here comes the general foreman swearing at me and telling me to get the line moving. I just dropped everything and turned on him. We went at it for a couple of minutes yelling at each other. He finally backed off and tried to act nice for the rest of the shift.

Afterwards I started thinking about what made him

so excited. He was hot before I answered him back. What got him excited was the same thing they were discussing at the conference. When that line stops, every minute means something to the company.

EVERY MINUTE IS PROFIT

In just a few minutes of work each day we produce enough to make our day's wages, that is, we produce ourselves for the day. The other time goes to the corporation and people that live from it. That is why they get so excited when something breaks down. It stops the value from being created. It means less production going out, and less production means more crisis in the country.

What we have to see is that when there is all this talk about the economy and what they are going to do about it, they are really talking about us and how they are going to make less of us produce more. And that means we are going to have more fight over production.

Hear Raya Dunayevskaya on Tour

Frostburg St. College, Md., Nov. 6, 7 p.m.—"Women's Liberation as Force and Reason"

Washington, D.C., Nov. 8, 4 p.m., George Washington Univ. (Hegel Society of America meeting) "Hegel's Absolutes as New Beginnings" and American Univ., Nov. 11, 8 p.m., "Role of the Blacks and the Development of the Working Class Movement"

New York City, Nov. 14, 7 p.m., Workmen's Circle, "Hegel, Marx, Fanon and a World in Crisis"

Detroit, Nov. 24, 7 p.m., Downtown YWCA — "Hegel, Marx, Fanon and a World in Crisis"

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—The company is playing games with women hired into Dept. 11. They are putting women onto jobs on the line that men have not been able to do physically. Then foremen stand over and harass these women until finally they are forced to quit.

They are putting women on these jobs so they can say, "We hired women and they quit." Eventually this will make it hard for any women to get hired.

Some people are walking around with easy jobs who could help these women out until they make their 90 days. Others of us don't have easy jobs, but we give a hand to the women having trouble with their jobs.

The foremen don't like this, even though if you do your job you can do anything you want with the rest of your time. So they transfer these women somewhere else along the line where they are on their own and can be forced out before they make seniority.

The union is no help in this. They take out their initiation fee and monthly dues before they can represent new hires. There is no sense in taking people's money when you can't do anything for them.

No one person can change the situation at Fleetwood. We cannot challenge it alone. We need every worker in the plant involved in keeping a check on supervision.

—Fleetwood worker

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich.—They started laying off non-seniority people in the compact building—around 100 people so far in both buildings, and a lot of them were women. The heat has been on ever since Chrysler's quarterly report came out showing a drop in profits.

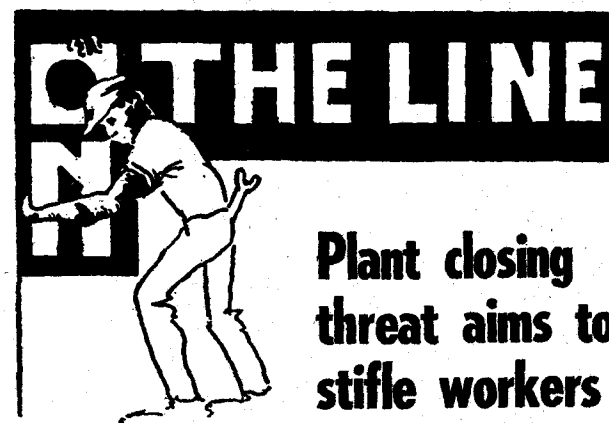
Production has been cut back to 40 hours a week. Now with these layoffs, rumors of more layoffs, and the news about Jefferson Ave. being closed down, many workers are worried.

Management never cares about our personal lives, in or out of the plant. They are only interested in production, and they are using these rumors and threats to make sure workers are so uptight about layoffs that they will be at work every day and take any kind of speed up that comes down.

On Fridays so many workers didn't come in that they've had to shut down the medium line for relief to have enough workers on priority jobs. But the Friday after the lay-offs, so many workers showed up that they didn't have to shut down the line.

A lot of workers who were laid off and had close to their 90-days in had arguments with their foremen, because workers with only a few weeks were kept working. The company was picking and choosing who to drop.

—Dodge Truck worker



by John Allison

There's more than just scare rumor in the talk about Chrysler Corporation closing down its Jefferson Ave. assembly plant in Detroit. At full work force, there are about 7,000 workers, but with layoffs and cut-backs in production, there are about 5,000 now employed in the plant which produces Chrysler's full-size autos.

What's a little complicated about the situation is that there are a number of irons that Chrysler has in the fire with this threat. There's the question of tax relief. Several years ago, Chrysler appealed to the city to cut taxes on its property in Detroit. Auto sales were going great guns at that time, and Chrysler like the other auto manufacturers was making money hand over fist. So the city administration, and the public, didn't show very much sympathy for Chrysler's tax-cut request.

But then came last summer, when Chrysler-Jefferson was shut down by two rank-and-file workers who cut off the power supply to the plant in protest against speed-up and working conditions. For days, a ring of rank-and-filers surrounded the power cage the two workers were in to keep company officials and guards away. When negotiations ended, the workers won all their demands, but the company never forgot—and will never forget—the near revolutionary sit-in actions of the rank-and-file, and will never forgive the union, the UAW, for not being able to discipline the workers.

In addition, there is also the problem of absenteeism. And at Chrysler-Jefferson, the absenteeism is a bit higher than it is at other Chrysler plants.

So now the stage is set. With the energy crisis, cut-backs in big car production, the deepening recession and unemployment in Detroit at the nine percent mark and climbing, Chrysler is making its move. Make no mistake about it. Chrysler means to put the squeeze on everybody with this threat: the city, the UAW and especially the rank-and-file workers.

Only this is pretty powerful medicine that Chrysler management is brewing. Like one Jefferson worker said, and he was speaking the mind of many of the rank-and-file, "You put 5,000 laid-off workers out on the street in Detroit at one time and you've got the makings for an explosion that can tear this city down." Chrysler management might be serious, but they sure better know that the workers are serious too.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

over the economic situation. Senator Mike Mansfield in a speech to the nation said the country has no need to go back to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, on classical political economy of 1776.

He did not elaborate, but following that he said the Vietnam war was mainly what got the country into the crisis it is in today, and our great-grandchildren will still be paying for that war debt. It reminded me of what Karl Marx said over 100 years ago, that the only thing working people own in any capitalist country is the national debt.

Mansfield could have said that Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* reached its height and ended in 1821 with the publication of David Ricardo's *Political Economy and Taxation*. The classical theory of political economy said the wealth of the nation was not something outside of man. The greatest force of production is labor, it is the source of all value.

TWO KINDS OF LABOR

This labor theory of value created as great a revolution in man's thinking as the industrial revolution had on man's condition of work. Although Ricardo did not separate labor into two, dead labor (the machines) and living labor (the human beings), the human being that had been left out of Ricardo's analysis loomed very large in the development of capitalist society.

Every worker knows, that throughout the development of machines into automation, all of the best science, with millions of dollars, has been spent in developing dead labor over living labor.

Nothing has been spent to improve the safety and conditions under which living labor has to work. In society today and in all major industries, dead labor is working hell out of living labor. The human being is geared to keep pace with those monster machines.

This dead labor cannot buy back one thing it helps to produce. Workers all over can point to how the economy has gotten into the mess it is in. And we have to do all the hard suffering. Not those millionaire stock brokers on Wall Street.

EDITORIAL**War resisters' boycott exposes Ford's phony amnesty**

The spontaneous, near-total boycott of President Ford's infamous and fraudulent "amnesty" plan by Vietnam war resisters can be gauged by the mounting political and legal challenges being hurled at its punishment provisions. Even by the Pentagon's own count, fewer than 200 war resisters have turned themselves in and accepted the loyalty pledge and alternative service sentence.

This, despite the fact that anywhere from 20,000 to 40,000 war resisters are now in exile in Canada, Britain, France, Sweden, Tanzania and other countries. And despite the fact that at least 50,000 and possibly as many as 200,000 resisters are living underground right in the U.S.A.

Around the world, demonstrators marched on U.S. consulates during the "Week of Concern" to support the demand for universal and unconditional amnesty. In Detroit, President Ford was greeted as he arrived for a lavish Republican fund-raising dinner by chanting amnesty pickets. In New York, the American Civil Liberties Union denounced the Ford plan as "worse than no amnesty at all," and offered free legal aid to all who wanted to challenge it.

'THIS IS YOUR JUSTICE'

The first challenge came from 29-year-old Bill Meis, who went to Canada seven years ago after refusing the draft. He surrendered himself in Illinois to a U.S. Attorney and then declared his complete refusal to do alternative service. He was immediately arrested, and his trial is set for December.

The truth is that the only amnesty which was "universal and unconditional" offered by our new "Mr. Clean" President in September was the one he bestowed on his predecessor in crime, Richard Nixon.

One resister, exiled in Canada, compared the two "amnesties": "Nixon sent us off to war on people who never did anything to us, and we destroyed their country. He wasn't even charged for that—like the bombing of Cambodia. We refused to murder the Vietnamese. We tried to tell America what he was doing. So here is your

justice: he gets off scot-free; we get two years slavery, dirty discharges, exile or jail. It's a beautiful system."

Completely ignored in the Ford plan are the more than one-half million veterans saddled with less-than-honorable discharges for their opposition to the war and the military system. They are overwhelmingly Black, Latino, and working-class white, and there is no amnesty—phony or otherwise—offered them. Instead, they get what the Vietnam Veterans Against the War has called "a lifetime brand of bad discharges, no benefits and no jobs."

The International Conference of Exiled American War Resisters, meeting in Toronto on Sept. 21-22, showed that the issue of amnesty can not be separated from that of the continuing war in Indochina, when they made their very first resolution a "demand for the immediate end to American aid to the dictatorial regimes of Thieu, Lon Nol, and the reactionary forces in Laos."

As President Ford toured the country "explaining" his two "amnesties," the U.S.-directed and supplied armies of the Thieu regime continued their war in Vietnam. The genocidal search-and-destroy operations, the massive bombing raids, the 200,000 or more political prisoners—all continue in Ford's war, just as they did under every American president since Eisenhower. This is so, not because Ford has some special "loyalty to Nixon," but because permanent war—both hot ones, and cold ones waiting for the right moment to burst out—are the sickening truth about the state-capitalist world in which we live.

WHAT DIRECTION NOW?

While everyone is united against the war, it is no secret that the movement does have divisions. Most crucial is the issue of political direction—whether the anti-war movement will follow the lead of a Russia, or a China, or whether it will find its own revolutionary ground.

Gary Lawton, Black activist in Vietnam Veterans Against the War, facing trial himself, raised this issue in his open letter to Angela Davis, a leading member of

the Communist Party, USA. "Since your release from incarceration you, and those around you, have engaged in a phony game of 'Selective Support' . . . but for the most part you do not seem to give a damn about what is happening to the mass of both political prisoners and subjugated people as a whole here in the wilderness nation of Amerikkka."

Bro. Lawton is quite right to insist that the CP's idea of revolution is exactly what the anti-war movement does not need. It was the struggle against the war in Vietnam, and the Civil Rights Movement which preceded it, that brought onto the American scene a new generation of revolutionaries. That movement, committed to the self-determination of nations, of peoples, and of ideas, offers the hope of a truly new and human society. If we are ever to make that hope a reality, we need a movement which is not only independent of all state powers contending for world domination, but which stands on its own ground with a new philosophy of freedom, that is as challenging a vision as will be the actuality of freedom.

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RACISM

I read in the paper that a lot of Irish Catholics in South Boston try to excuse their racism by equating their situation to that of the Irish Catholics in Northern Ireland. If they really understood the oppression that the Irish are subjected to in Northern Ireland they'd see that if any people in the U.S. are subjected to the same type of oppression, and usually worse oppression, it has always been the Blacks. Even the racial and ethnic slurs are the same: "They are all on relief," "They're lazy and shiftless," and "all they do is reproduce."

The only people I get angrier at are the so-called leftists who gloss over the outrageous racism by claiming that busing is a "false" issue. Racism has always been the downfall of the white "radicals."

Angry Irish-American
Connecticut

As the United States of America prepares to celebrate its 200th anniversary, the racism which was expressed in the Constitution is still very much a part of the fabric of American life. This is all too clear in that supposed cradle of American Idealism — Boston, Mass. The violent mobs of whites opposed to busing in Boston are starting early to commemorate the 200 years of unfreedom for Blacks and other minorities in this country.

In New York also, it is open season on Black and Latino youth. In the past year there have been no less than four killings of Black and Latino boys under 15 years by white racist cops. And not one of them has yet been punished for the outright murders they committed.

Activist
New York

The "self-activity of the masses" is seen in these current news stories: 1) violent opposition to school integration by working-class whites in Boston, the allegedly most-progressive state in the country; 2) wildcat strikes and book-burning by coal miners in W. Va. to protest "anti-Christian" and Black militant writings in school text-books; 3) membership up in a sect led by a Korean preacher who tried and failed to save Nixon's neck.

Like the old Leftists who romanticized the proletariat, N&L persists, nevertheless, with its rose-colored view of the masses, ignoring the huge roadblocks of false consciousness on the way to revolution. As a theoretical start, I suggest you come to grips with the thought of Marcuse.

Sympathetic Skeptic
Santa Monica, Cal.

The separation of workers from philosophy — which you are always saying must be unified — is the whole history of the American labor movement, and why we have South Boston.

Taxi Driver
New York

GERALD FORD

No wonder Gerald Ford gets all those letters from the grammar school kids. That's the age level he talks to every time he addresses this country! (No offense to the children of America.)

Disgusted
Detroit

STRIKING WOMEN

Macmillan Publishing Company has responded to OPEIU Local 153's filing for a representation election by firing 200 employees. Workers met and decided to strike. Putnam's, a much smaller place, filed a couple of weeks ago and had four firings.

Publishing employees from 25 different houses have been meeting together for the last few months, ever since the successful strike of Harper & Row employees spurred them to organize. Nineteen houses are already planning or starting unionization campaigns, in addition to Macmillan and Putnam. Clearly, the mass firings are meant to stop dead this historic, rapid organization of an entire industry.

Woman Worker
New York City

It's four months since the strike called by the California Nurses' Association (CNA) and we still haven't seen our contract. Now there is a move starting among the nurses to get out of CNA and affiliate with a labor union. We feel that we were really used.

The new contract has nothing in it that we wanted. The patient care issue was

especially left out. CNA is losing ground; it just lost its strength in Los Angeles to a major union and nurses here are going the same way. The strike united us and we learned a great deal. Next time, we are determined that we are going to win what we demand.

Nurse
San Francisco

REVIEW OF A REVIEW

You can't please everybody. The long article of mine which was reproduced in *This Country Was Ours*, and which Steve Fletcher, in his review last issue found shocking, has been widely praised and used, by Indians, and this is the first time it has been criticized adversely. As for listing people who made it in the white culture, he might have quoted what I said before naming them, to wit: "It is a trap to measure the worth of any people to the degree to which they have successfully participated as individuals in a rival culture. Because Indians are few in number and have lived a largely separate life, they cannot point to a large number of such persons."

It is interesting that I also got a rough review from Father Francis Prucha, a Jesuit priest at Marquette University, who assaults me for being too one-sided on behalf of the Indians . . .

Virgil Vogel
Chicago, Ill.

'SOCIAL CONTRACT' IN BRITAIN

Wilson is now talking the same language as the Tories. He is going to finance private enterprise. He pretends that the "social contract" will work. It is not working now. Unemployment is increasing and will continue to increase.

Jack Jones of the Transport Union, and Lawrence Daly of the miners got the TUC to agree to the social contract. The following day, Jones had an article in the "Morning Star" attacking the Common Market. They aim at making the Common Market a Left vs. Right issue. Wilson has promised a referendum on it. He will recommend staying in.

The CP will then, with some trade union support, come out against it. There will be trouble in the Labour Party over subsidies to private enterprise. The demand for more nationalization will be intensified. The Tories will support Wilson. There never was such dishonesty in British politics.

Harry McShane
Glasgow

... AND IN ITALY

The large industrialists here seem disposed to let the Communists in the government. They think an agreement with the CP might give some chance for class peace. The CP is asking only for social reforms. They don't even ask for Italy to leave NATO. And anyone can see that costly social reforms cannot take place in Italy as it is, after the humiliating loan the government had to get from Germany just to stay on its feet.

However, with the incredible number of layoffs after summer vacations, the number of workers being put on a three day week, and the fantastic rise in prices (20 percent between Sept. '73 and Sept. '74 — and for food 50 percent), the CP is beginning to ask why jump on a sinking boat?

For a week, in an urban-factory area an hour from Milan, the workers have been sitting on the train tracks because the trains to take them home are always late. The unions never thought of that form of strike. Then, 500 people from the worst slums of Rome occupied a public apartment building that the bureaucrats forgot to rent. When the police threw them out, the whole quarter rebelled, sending a lot of police to the hospital. All of this is probably only the beginning of what may happen this fall.

Correspondent
Milan, Italy

HIGH SCHOOL LIFE

On September 26, a fight broke out between a few white and Latin students at Bulkeley H.S. Two motorcycle police responded and were driven away by over 40 rock-throwing students. More police responded, and fought with over

Readers'

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION** and **Marxism and Freedom**

Dear P.B.*

It is sad, indeed, that so abysmal is the theoretic void which has persisted in the revolutionary movement ever since the death of Lenin in 1924 that the moment there is mention of Hegelian dialectics—the ground that made possible Marx's discovery of a whole new continent of thought, Historical Materialism, which, in turn, made necessary a return to that self-movement which Marx had declared to be "the source of all dialectic"—at that moment even an independent Marxist like you hauls out the three old, very old, red herrings: 1.) Hegel's reinstatement of "theology", 2.) Hegel's failure to understand "the real meaning of Napoleon on the white horse", after which comes the clincher, 3.) "where was Hegel's practice?"—as if that ever were the reason Marx continued grappling with the Hegelian dialectic throughout his life as a proletarian revolutionary.

You, however, go about your merry way, violating both philosophy and history, not only by imputing the reason for Lassalle's "going to Bismarck" to Hegel's Logic, but bringing your clincher up to date as well as "personalizing" it by further dragging in me and Mao, writing that Hegel's "horror" at Marat and Babeuf "is somewhat the same as yours against Mao."

NO PLACE FOR PSEUDO POINTS

Were I as interested as you in scoring totally irrelevant, pseudo-points, I could end the discussion right here by simply showing my "horror"—and this one is real and is of today—at your gratuitously supplying revolutionary red coating to that state-capitalist ruler continuing to mouth Marxist phrases while rolling out the red carpet for every leader from Nixon to Arafat after he had turned his Army loose against the Chinese proletariat whom he called "economists" for daring to

—*P.B. is the German revolutionary who wrote the critique "Why Hegel? Why Now?" that appeared in N&L, August-September, 1974.

Answer given to 'Why Hegel? Why now?'

ask for better conditions of labor, and against the Sheng Wu-lien**, the youth rebels who took him at his word that "it was right to rebel" and worked to develop communes in the manner of the Paris Commune, the form of workers' rule that Marx recognized as the "dictatorship of the proletariat".

It is high time, instead, seriously to get down to working out the inner connection between Marx's theory of revolution and Hegelian dialectics.

It is high time, instead of counterposing endlessly Feuerbach's materialism as "the superior" of Hegel's idealism, that we understood fully why Marx, despite the fact that Feuerbach helped the Young Hegelians (Marx included) "complete" the break with Hegel's idealism, credited Hegel, not Feuerbach, with developing "the active side" of self-developing "Subject":

"The chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism (that of Feuerbach included) is that the thing, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the object . . . not subjectively. Hence, in contradistinction to materialism, the active side was developed abstractly by idealism . . ."

Of course, neither Feuerbach's materialism, nor Hegelian idealism, understood proletarian praxis, "revolutionary", "practical-critical activity." That was Marx's

—**Sheng Wu-lien is the acronym for the 20 organizations comprising the Hunan Provincial Proletarian Revolutionary Great Alliance Committee which issued their Manifesto "Whither China?" asking that the "Cultural Revolution" not remain "a revolution of dismissing officials, nor a movement of dragging out people, nor purely cultural revolution, but 'a revolution in which one class overthrows another.'" Calling the Maoist leadership "the 'Red' capitalist class", the manifesto concluded "Let the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie tremble before the true socialist revolution that shakes the world! What the proletariat can lose in this revolution is only their chains, what they gain will be the whole world." (See the manifesto quoted in Chapter 5 "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung" in **Philosophy and Revolution**, pages 176 to 182).

and only Marx's, original contribution—a whole new continent of thought which not only united idealism and materialism, but spelled out the role of the proletariat as both revolutionary force and as Reason, as living, human, practicing of absolute negativity. Which is why when Marx left Feuerbach, it was for good (a fact, I'm sorry to say, that even Engels didn't understand, much less the post-Marx-Engels generation raised on his Feuerbach).

MARX RETURNS TO HEGEL

But when Marx left Hegel, he constantly returned, declaring that, because Hegelian dialectics was "the speculative expression for the movement of history", its "summation"—2,500 years of it—we can see in its "transcendence" an objective movement. Therefore, when we get to the actual movement of history through very specific class struggles, and see proletarian "Aufheben", we

(Continued on Page 7)

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

Views

students. The only people arrested or injured by the cops were Hispanic students.

On Oct. 11, a cop on duty at Hartford (there are always at least five patrol cars there when classes are dismissed) was checking on a fight between four women students. He claimed he had heard a shot and put in a distress call. Over 20 cop cars responded, a fight broke out between the students and the cops. The police revealed racism again by singling out mostly Black students to hassle and arrest. A police captain, Robert Merrick, was photographed pulling a young Black man by the hair. They herded over 100 youths, mostly Black, into the north side of Hartford, which is the predominantly Black ghetto.

To wonder the Black and Latino youth resisting their oppression at a young age than ever.

L. Ryan
Hartford

TWO APPEALS

The alliance of the Teamsters Union, Nixon Administration and their corporate grower friends, continues to try to destroy our union. New evidence confirms this. In May, 1971, Charles Colson, former Nixon aide and Teamster counsel, sent a memo to the Justice Department, Labor Department and NLRB instructing them to stay out of the Teamsters-farmworkers dispute. "Only if you can find some way to work against the Teamsters union should you take any action." In another memo in 1972 he said, "The Teamster union . . . will need our support against the UFW."

The 1974 harvest has begun, and harassment of the strikers has started. Several hundred farm workers have been arrested. The sheriff's helicopter hovers over the picket lines to cover the farm workers pickets with thick clouds of tear gas. The Department of Justice closes its eyes to the importation of illegal farm workers from Mexico, the Philippines and other countries to break our strike. Realizing that the Department of Justice has decided to mobilize the National Guard to be ready to move into our strike areas on call.

But our small union will not be destroyed by the growers, the Teamsters or the White House. We are going to win, but we will win sooner with everyone's help. All gifts, large or small, will be appreciated.

Cesar Chavez
UFWA
La Paz, Keane, Ca. 93531

The Gulf Coast Pulpwood Association was organized in Alabama in 1967 to help woodcutters' families. In seven years we have brought Blacks and whites together and helped in getting more money for cutting wood. Before GPA it was hard to get the Black and white woodcutters to talk with each other. We have distributed hundreds of tons of used clothing to needy families, and started the Rural Farmers Cooperative to grow food and soybeans and cotton for a little cash income.

Since January, the Postal Service has been investigating us and so far as we know they have found nothing. We don't know yet what we are being investigated for. Here in the South if you ever do anything to try to better yourself, you get investigated. We have spent all the money that has been given to us for the purpose it was given under. All we know to do is the best we can. If your readers are interested they can send help to:

Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association
PO Box 100
Forest Home, Alabama 36030

MAOISM

I lived in China until 1960. The problem with Communism there is they talk equality, but the Party officials lord it over everyone else. My uncle spoke out during the 100 Flowers movement and they warned him. Many others went to jail or just disappeared. In principle, the idea of students going to work in the countryside is a good idea. I did it during the Great Leap Forward. But in China today, it's very dangerous to speak the truth. I've lived there and I've lived in the West and each society has its problems. I don't know if it's

possible to have a society where the people rule, but I certainly haven't seen it in Paris, Shanghai, or New York.

Chinese woman student
New York

Several hundred demonstrators picketed the Philippine Consulate on Sept. 22, protesting the second anniversary of the martial law imposed by President Marcos.

On the very same day, the wife of the detested dictator celebrated by being the special guest of Premier Chou En-lai in China and on Sept. 28 was flown to Peking for a "surprise meeting with Chairman Mao Tse-tung" which became "an unscheduled conference marked with extreme cordiality."

One week later Marcos announced he made peace with the Philippine Communist Party and would release a few political prisoners, but at the same time vowed to continue his vigilant military attacks against the (reputedly Maoist) insurgents in the hills!

Disgusted Demonstrator
San Francisco

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

The most relevant part of **Philosophy and Revolution**, to me, was where Dunayevskaya discusses the fact that Stalinism contains within it a counter-revolutionary tendency. I have recently split with the "new communist movement" forces due to their desires to build a new Stalinist CP to replace the revisionist CPUSA. I feel that a serious critique of Stalinism is urgently needed at this time. Stalinism was not perverted from without or by the errors or opportunism of a few individuals. The most fruitful method for analyzing the problems of Stalinism is to ferret out the inherent contradictions within Stalinism that gave rise to the state-capitalism and social imperialism of Russia.

Student
State College, Pa.

Many of those sentenced in the political trials of the last three years were released during the past few months. When the Association of Czech lawyers published an open letter addressed to General Pinochet, protesting suppression of civil liberties in Chile, the political prisoners released here sent a letter to

the Association in which they supported their protest, asking at the same time about the state of those liberties in Czechoslovakia. The signatories were all called to the police and an inquiry was made. The police tried to intimidate them to make them recall their signatures — without success.

Correspondent
East Europe

I had the chance to hear a Yugoslav diplomat, Mladen Soic, speak on socialism. He outlined a very beautiful picture of Yugoslavia where the State was withering away and the workers were beginning to manage the factories themselves. He also called it an "open society" in contrast to other "socialist" countries. It was funny how all of this changed once some students began asking questions which compared the reality of Yugoslavia to what he had portrayed.

At this point he reminded me very much of a U.S. labor bureaucrat. He referred to his wounds in the Partisans against the Nazis, just like labor leaders refer to the '30s, and implied that anyone criticizing Yugoslavia was a dilettante. As far as the eight dissident philosophers persecuted by the regime at Belgrade University, he said their problem was they were paid to teach philosophy but they entered into politics, which was "not their field."

Student
New York

In Memoriam JAMES MURPHY

We mourn the death and honor the memory of James Murphy a fighter for workers' freedom. Born into the Depression and World War II, Jim worked in the factories of Connecticut. It was there that he met Marxism as a philosophy of freedom in the 1960s. From the wildcat at Colt Industries to the daily battles with capitalism and the UAW bureaucracy, his activity was never separated from his quest to achieve a new society based on human needs. As with so many workers, he sustained injuries which weakened him, and we mourn his sudden death of heart failure. He will live on, wherever the workers' struggle continues.

el pueblo sigue siendo explotado



"The people continue to be exploited."

Ramona Parra Brigades sprung up throughout Chile during the Popular Unity Government, painting murals on street walls; denouncing imperialism; talking about socialism. They were named for a 20-year-old communist worker-militant, Ramona Parra, who was killed when police opened fire on a workers' meeting held in solidarity with striking nitrate workers on Jan. 28, 1946.

Lemon workers explain strikes, stop scabbing

Yuma, Ariz. — The farmworkers who were working in the lemon fields in Arizona got fed up. They were underpaid. They struck and wanted to be under the United Farmworkers union. Many of the strikers were green card workers, that is, workers from Mexico working on permit.

The Immigration Department has been threatening the green card people with deportation to Mexico if they continue to strike, and before, the workers were scared, but now they have begun to feel more secure. They know there are people who will back them up. That is why we came down to help.

The problem the strikers faced in Arizona is a problem that has been faced by many of the farmworkers on strike: that of people who come over without documentation in search of jobs. The green carders were very militant in talking to people without papers. They were very strong, because their jobs were at stake.

They have been able to talk to people coming over

the border and persuade them not to work. So far, the strikers have been successful. It is at night that people cross the border illegally.

The strikers have been stationing themselves at various places to talk to the workers. They can't see at night, but they keep on shouting about not breaking the strike. In one case, 16 people did not cross, but waited until morning because they wanted to find out what was happening. The strike was explained, and they didn't take the jobs. They were willing to go to another place to try and find a job.

When I went to help in the strike, I didn't want to be in the position of a "Pig," but to explain the situation to people coming across the border. Many had come from way south in Mexico after they had heard that there was good work. We talked about the whole struggle and all the time it had taken to try and get decent wages and decent working conditions.

I pointed out that I don't care if a person comes from north, south, east or west. A person who crosses the picket line is a scab, and I hoped many of them would not play that role. Those who turned away said that it was great that we were getting together and could stand up to the police.

I blame the government of Mexico for not saying there is a cause over there, a struggle over there that we should help. I feel that the Mexican Revolution has been betrayed, and that is why the government is not helping in these strikes. The people are coming from far away to be exploited. They are jumping from the frying pan into the fire. We should not be dealing with this as Chicano vs. Mexican, but with the smuggler, the grower, the governments.

—Strike supporter

Immigration police harass Detroit Latino community

Detroit, Mich.—In our neighborhood in Southwest Detroit, the Immigration police are always patrolling up and down the side streets. They are often in plain-clothes. If you look Latino, they pick you out and stop you.

You can be walking down the street, doing nothing wrong, and they pull up and demand to see your I.D. But what they really want to find out is if you have an accent or if you know where things are located in the neighborhood. If you don't answer to their satisfaction, they take you down to Border Headquarters.

If you are a blue-eyed blonde, they never stop you. If you look Mexican, they check you out. Some of the older people dress in the old-fashioned way, with a straw cowboy hat and boots. You just know that Immigration is going to stop these people.

There have been quite a few times that Immigration has gone into a house looking for illegals. Sometimes they don't even have a search warrant, but they go in anyway. If they take someone away, you never know what happens to them. They just disappear. I've heard that they get a large group and take them on a train to the border in Texas. Immigration stop-and-searches are "just the way life is" in our community.

—Latino activist

'Cuando murio' Neruda'

Pablo Neruda, oso gigante popular, se fue muriendo, y de sus estertores de agonía saltaban los versos, deslizándose entre piernas y rifles militares, hacia la resistencia de la poesía armada.

'When Neruda Died'

Pablo Neruda, gigantic popular bear, began to die, and from his death rattles the verses jumped out, sliding between military legs and rifles towards the resistance of the armed poetry.

Felipe Lizana, Chilean Poet in Exile
San Francisco, 1974

Marxist revolutionary

Silvio Frondizi

The television screen made us all witnesses to the magnificent funeral march in honor of Silvio Frondizi, who was brutally murdered by the Argentine fascist regime on Sept. 27. We were witness also to the vicious attack on the funeral itself.

The fact that so many thousands braved the anger of the regime which had just completed the murder of that independent Marxist—whose assassination brought to 91 the number killed since Peron's death in July—proves the deep mass unrest and the unceasing activity of the Latin American revolution.

Silvio Frondizi was a serious Marxist, an activist. In a land where the Left confusedly hoped after World War II that Peron might be an effective force against U.S. imperialism, Frondizi had instead, by the 1950s, organized a group to seriously study dialectics and print Marxist studies of Argentina.

Having just lost its fascist head, Peron, Argentina now wobbles between open civil war and total fascist barbarism. At present, Mme. Peron's goon squads are doing in extra-legal fashion what they dare not yet do legally and openly: exterminate their opposition. There is no question that the violence now wracking the southern end of South America, including Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina and Chile, is part of an attempt to prevent the Latin American revolution from completing its links. A pro-fascist combination of military forces, oligarchs, U.S. imperialists and CIA ferret out left-wingers and independents, then torture and assassinate them.

That Silvio Frondizi has fallen at the hands of fascist gangs leaves all of us not only mourning his loss, but determined to carry on revolutionary activity. Bloody assassinations can neither halt that nor stop the search for a philosophy of liberation which he had started.

Below, we print an excerpt from Silvio Frondizi's writings. Remember, please, that it was written before Marx's 1844 manuscripts were published in the U.S., before the Cuban Revolution had taken place and called itself Humanist, and at the very time when the American intellectuals were busy telling us about the "end of ideology."

The aggravation of the contradictions of capitalism and the sharpening of social tensions make necessary, better still, make imperative a rebirth of the studies of the conception of dialectical materialism. That becomes clear if it's kept in mind that this conception makes no pretense at being either a finished system, or a dogma, but is solely a method; as such, it needs to relate itself to the contemporary situation.

This renaissance, which has emerged in various countries, including ours, fulfills a decisive task. Above all, it sheds light on the causes of the different interpretations within Marxism.

The recent publication of the *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* and of *The German Ideology* serves to illuminate many important aspects of dialectical materialism, making urgent and indispensable a new study of theory that would take into account the humanism in them and in *The Holy Family*, *The Jewish Question*, the *Introduction to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, as well as the later economic works that, far from contradicting the philosophical principles affirmed in the early works . . . illuminates and enriches them.

Buenos Aires, Feb. 1952

Silvio Frondizi

Mass arrests by military

Montevideo, Uruguay — Economically this country is worse than ever. The bus fare is now 150 pesos, double last year and well over one hundred fold more than 10 years ago. People are leaving the country by the hundreds if not thousands.

The military closed the Department of Sociology in the University because they said it wasn't necessary. Women are not allowed to go to the University with blue jeans, and before you enter you have to give your I.D. to policemen who stand in the door. Without the I.D. you just don't dream of going to school because if the police ask you for it and you don't have it, you go to jail. They give you back your I.D. when you leave. This way they have absolute control and know who is who.

Several months ago somebody put some fire crackers at the Medical School and the police closed all the doors and went to all the classes announcing that everybody was under arrest. They actually arrested 600 students for a period of 24 to 48 hours. If they arrest you and find something on you that is leftist, you can go to jail from 6 to 18 years.

—Maria

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La Raza women — a new voice

Los Angeles, Calif.—La Raza women are very obscure within what is already an obscure minority. It is difficult to tell you specific things that La Raza women have done, for just as the women's movement had to find its heroines under the dusty pages of history, La Raza women have had to do the same thing.

Recently there has been the Farah strike. The fact that 95 percent of the workforce was Chicano and 85 percent women and that the strike was so effectively waged is a matter of pride. The cannery workers have always included many Chicanas. There have always been a lot of active women in the Farm Workers.

There are several reasons why as La Raza women we've decided to organize separately from the men. For instance, I've read articles on the Farah strike written by La Raza men who said absolutely nothing about the preponderance of women in that strike—and we resent that.

To organize separately also gives us a better bargaining position. If you have a solid base and some show of strength you get a lot farther than by just asking. We asked already and it didn't happen. When people have been robbed of their identities they get together with themselves until everyone can develop so they don't get stepped on.

There is a certain brand of machismo that everyone knows exists in La Raza households that's very difficult to break out of. I'd like to say that this is on the decline, but I don't see it. I think it's becoming much more diplomatic and covert, but it's not leaving.

We also organize separately from the women's movement because we don't want to get lost in there either. In the women's movement we all understand each other to a certain extent, but on the other hand the Anglo feminists haven't all lost their vestiges of racism. I have always felt the little bit of condescension they have toward La Raza women because of the family issue, because of the machismo, and because many of us still hold to traditional cultural things.

You might have heard some La Raza and Black women say "We can't join the feminist movement, we have to struggle alongside the men we're related to in terms of race and culture."

I had to go through a lot of things to get that together in my own mind. In one sense that's true and easy to understand, for La Raza organizes around the whole culture, but it doesn't make any sense that there isn't enough room for us.

To say you can't be a La Raza activist because you're a feminist or vice versa is doing a great disservice. I think you can make a stronger commitment in terms of where you think you might be most useful, but if you're contending with one oppression over here and yet allowing another one to exist over there it is not intellectually honest or even useful.

—La Raza woman

BLACK-RED VIEW Pan-African Congress: rhetoric

by John Alan

The Sixth Pan-African Congress (PAC), convened last June in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, was the first ever held on the African continent. The Congress was dominated by a bloc of Black and Arab nations seeking to gain ideological hegemony in the Black world, most specifically in Africa, by engaging in the most abstract revolutionary rhetoric. And, at a time, as one observer put it, "when struggles for liberation are taking place on the very doorstep of the Congress."

What emerges after nine days of deliberation, is not a concept of the theory and practice of revolution, but an attack on the ghost of Negritude and a heated debate on whether racism can be reduced to a form of the class struggle.

AFRICAN MASSES VS. LEADERS

It is true that Negritude is often used to conceal oppression and counter-revolution. Still, a nagging question arises: why the sudden interest at this Congress, when there are greater theoretical and practical problems besetting the Black world?

And it is precisely the African people who were not present in Nkrumah Hall at the University of Dar es Salaam. If they had been present, the fundamental problems facing Africa, not the ghost ones, would have been number one on the agenda.

No amount of "revolutionary" rhetoric can conceal the fact that many of the government delegations, from so-called "independent" African states, were representatives of oppressive military regimes, and all of them, in one form or another, are totally controlled by foreign capital. They have become a group so alienated from the masses that they can live comfortably as concubines with neo-colonialism.

The most alienated of the delegations, and the largest, were the Afro-Americans, composed mainly of a wide range of intellectuals, quasi-socialists, Maoists and Black Nationalists.

Although they could not get together on precise ideas, they did come to Dar es Salaam with a program to set up Pan-African Institutions such as an African Science and Technology Center, an all African Society of Scientists and Technologists, a permanent PAC Sec-

retariat, etc.

Ideas for Pan-African Institutions were buried by the dominant forces who controlled the Congress, who feared that they would be a threat to the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which is completely under the control of the established African states and their foreign masters.

RACE VS. CLASS

The other issue that became focal to the Congress, and was dealt with abstractly, was the issue of class struggle vs. race struggle. Black Nationalists and middle-class elements in the U.S. delegation could not swallow what they considered to be a Marxist over-emphasis on class struggle. What immediately jumped in their minds was the white American proletariat full of race prejudice. They did not see the Black U.S. worker as force and as reason in such a struggle, and neither did the dominant bloc, who wanted to merely talk about racism in the most abstract form.

An evident reality which emerged from the 6th Pan-African Congress was that the African nations really did not want the Congress to be held, and the Black American intellectuals who did want it, were powerless to accomplish anything.

Youth barred from decent jobs

Detroit, Mich.—I belong to the Youth Task Force which has been working on getting decent jobs for youth in Detroit. We have been going to companies to see if they will cooperate.

We went to Detroit Bank & Trust to ask what kind of jobs they had for young people. They said they had nothing for us, except maybe sweeping the floor. After some discussion, they said they wouldn't even hire us to do that.

We also went to McDonald's to check out how to get jobs there. I saw they had a sign: "Help Wanted Part-time and Full-time." I went into the back looking for the manager. He asked me if I was purchasing food. He said, "If you're not purchasing food, you can't even have an application." And he took me out the door, with the help of two guards.

We came back later that night and the guards weren't there. We ordered lots of food and they still wouldn't give us job applications. The manager said we were harassing him and messing with his business. The guards came back and started playing trigger-happy, pulling out their weapons. So we left.

The truth is I wouldn't work there now if they gave me the job. With bosses like that, anything could happen to you.

—Black high school student

Warren, Mich.—For a high school student, trying to find a job with tolerable working conditions and wages of more than \$2 an hour is definitely futile. I tried to seek help by going to the high school placement counselor.

I asked the teacher on duty there if he had received any information on jobs. He told me what was available: grass cutting, \$2 an hour; dishwashing, \$1.65 an hour, and gas pumping, \$2 an hour. I said that I was looking for a job which pays at least \$2.50 an hour. He said, "You've got to be kidding, you're not worth that much."

After this experience, I was not only angry, but also terrified, because this man represented the attitudes of hundreds of employers toward youth. If we do not become more demanding we will never overcome this problem.

—Fitzgerald High student

Blind picket United Fund

Detroit, Mich.—Twenty members of the National Federation of the Blind, volunteers from News & Letters and other friends picketed in front of the United Fund torch on Oct. 15. We gave out 5,000 leaflets telling people that the Greater Detroit Society for the Blind (GDSB) is not giving adequate service to the blind.

Twenty may not seem like a lot but it was the first time we'd done anything like that and some members were afraid. Sunday we got together and talked about it and most of us were very enthusiastic about going back. We got a good response.

We are asking for control of our own lives and some dignified way of saying what's going to happen to us. We're more enthusiastic now because at least we've become more aware of what we can accomplish for ourselves.

—Member, American Federation of the Blind

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TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

see not only abolition of capitalist private property by communism, but "the second negativity": "Only by the transcendence of this mediation . . . does there arise positive humanism beginning from itself."

You're absolutely right when you write: "Concrete Humanism starts with Marx, with nobody else!" But that doesn't explain why Marx himself, after his own discovery and the actual class struggles which marked the true "non-speculatively"-expressed history of mankind's development; after the 1848 revolution followed by his theory of permanent revolution; after the development of all his economic theories of value and surplus-value and collapse of capitalism "reverting", in that genius's magnificent work, the *Grundrisse*, to such Hegelian language as "absolute movement of becoming", to describe the proletariat's "Aufheben"; and, finally, in the second edition of his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, published after the Paris Commune, when the greatest civil war in his life-time showed "freely associated men" finally stripping "fetishism off of commodities", Marx first then made crystal clear that the exploitative capital/labor relationship assumes "the fantastic form" of an exchange relationship between things (commodities) because that is "what it really is" at the point of production—reification of labor. This phenomenon become Notion, however, far from transforming us all into "one-dimensional men", first concretizes "the quest for universality" as the proletariat taking destiny into its own hands, so that the greatest achievement of the Paris Commune, as he tells us in *The Civil War in France*, is simply, "its own working existence."

HEGEL CRUCIAL TO MARX AND LENIN

I can hear you grinding your teeth in impatience at my repeating such "ABC's" of Marxism. No doubt you believe that your reference to 1852 as "the decisive year" has already (and more cogently and surely more briefly) dealt with the problematic of our age since in that letter to Weydemeyer Marx had developed from class struggle through the dictatorship of the proletariat to a classless society. Why then do you persist in (1) separating philosophy from economics so that even when we agree on a point, such as the still-not-surpassed greatness of Marx's "Fetishism of Commodities", you say it in order "to prove the need to dispense with Hegel? (2) continue further to degrade Hegel to one of many philosophers—"Spinoza, Herder, etc." (I love especially the "etc." which shows just how intellectualistic a revolutionary can become once he begins allowing for "culture!") although you know very well that, whatever other philosophers and utopian socialists and "materialists" Marx "learned from", one and only one—Hegel—he not only "came from", but said the task of the proletariat was "to realize" his philosophy, i.e., freedom. And (3) claim that the reason for Lenin's studying Hegel, in the midst of the holocaust of World War I, was because he "spoke to revolutionaries who fell for Kautsky, etc.—like he, himself, did before he had studied Hegel."

Now supposing that was true—it wasn't, as he fought those politically, not "philosophically", and for those *The Renegade Kautsky* sufficed—but supposing it was true, how could that possibly explain how Lenin in his *Will* summed up a lifetime in the revolutionary movement, leaving as a legacy what to look for to extend the Russian Revolution to a world scale? How could what you say show why Lenin who had initiated the Great Divide within revolutionary Marxism, philosophically as well as in actuality—and, remember, I am not talking of Stalin or Trotsky or Zinoviev-Kamenev, but of Bukharin who, Lenin says, "is not only a most valuable and major theorist of the Party (Bolshevik, not "Kautsky, etc."—rd); he is also rightly considered the favorite of the whole Party"—draw the considered conclusions:

"But his theoretical views can be classified as fully Marxist only with great reserve, for there is something scholastic about him (he has never made a study of dialectics, and, I think, never fully understood it)."

No, my dear P.B., what you say is far from any truth about the Hegelian dialectic. Where you single out Hegel's *Logic* as that which is supposed to have led Lassalle to Bismarck, Lenin writes: "It is impossible fully to grasp Marx's *Capital*, and especially its first chapter, if you have not studied through and understood the whole of Hegel's *Logic*." Where you make it a matter of "studying" only, and that of Hegel "not much more than for studying Spinoza, Herder, etc." Lenin made it a question of break with Plekhanov who "followed" Spinoza, and above all with himself, as a theoretic preparation for proletarian revolution, breaking with co-Bolsheviks who did not understand either "self-determination of the Idea", or the "self-determination of nations" as "the dialectic of history!" And where you stress "the end of philosophy started with Marx," both Marx and Lenin considered it was first necessary "to realize" it—AND THAT, IT IS TRUE, COULD NOT BE DONE BY HEGEL BUT BY PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES WHO, HOWEVER, UNDERSTOOD "SELF-DEVELOPING SUBJECT" AND PRACTICED IT.

That's what I am trying to do in carrying out philosophy as action. Having so heatedly rushed to criticize "Why Hegel? Why Now?" (Part I, of *Philosophy and Revolution*) by just the title, may I now ask you to read the book, especially Part I? Raya

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

How Kissinger's CIA sponsors counter revolutions

It is high time, now that Nixon's Kissinger is once again off on a so-called peace mission in the Middle East, to take a closer look at the C.I.A. that this Dr. Strangelove bosses.

It was a 40-page briefing document by C.I.A. Director William Colby that revealed in detail what everyone had long suspected: that the C.I.A. has been up to its ears in a series of dirty tricks which included millions to help finance the overthrow of the democratically elected regime of Salvadore Allende in Chile.

Behind the super secret activities of the C.I.A. is a secret "Committee of 40," headed by Henry Kissinger and comprised of such members as Deputy Defense Secretary William Clements, Under Secretary of State Joseph Cisco, General George Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and others.

Although Kissinger has repeatedly claimed he had nothing to do with the coup in Chile, one expert asked, "How can you work for three years to upset Allende and then claim you didn't have anything to do with the coup?"

Kissinger's big reputation as a miracle man at the negotiating table is backed up by his ability to obtain by foul means that which cannot be obtained legitimately. It is not accidental that every dictatorship in the world has some degree of U.S. financial and military backing, without which they could not survive.

Back at Harvard in 1967, Kissinger conducted a seminar for bright foreign students that was later revealed to be C.I.A.-financed through money "washed" through the Rockefeller Foundation. He later, on the Council on Foreign Relations, attached himself to Nelson Rockefeller who made him director of a family-financed project on national security. The report, written by Kissinger and released in 1958 concluded, "The willingness to engage in nuclear war is part of the price of our freedom."

Allied since his student days with Rockefeller, the grateful patron gifted him on departure with \$50,000. Kissinger loves political power. "Power is the ultimate aphrodisiac," he once stated.

He has used that power through a combination of confrontation followed by personal deals. During the Yom Kippur War he held off aid to Israel as long as possible and when faced with Russian intervention he called a full scale nuclear alert.

While Pakistanis were on a murderous rampage in Bangladesh, he sent an aircraft carrier to the Bay of Bengal to intimidate India. American policy in that war was much influenced by Kissinger's secret efforts to please Mao, who supported Pakistan and with whom he was trying to achieve an opening for Nixon.

Kissinger's plots and counter plots in Greece,

Turkey and Cyprus have nothing to do with the age-old Greek-Turk animosity. He seeks a military base on Cyprus as part of the cold war with Russia in the Mediterranean, and he just doesn't give a damn how many get killed in his quest for power.

Revelations to date on C.I.A. activities are but the tip of the iceberg of bigger unrevealed assassinations and plots. The questions are: to what extent can any nation exercise its rights to self-determination without the overt intervention of the Kissinger gang? And to what extent does he have Congressional backing for his activities? The questions were raised recently when the Italian government fell. We cannot but wonder if Francois Mitterand had been elected President of France, would Kissinger have permitted him to take office?

The U.S. Congress, on Sept. 24, 1974, defeated, by a vote of 291 to 108, a motion that would have prevented the C.I.A. from interfering in the domestic affairs of foreign states. No wonder Congress was so quick to whitewash Dr. Strangelove as "Mr. Clean" when he threatened to resign unless Congress absolves him of Watergate. The speed with which Senator Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee hurried to do just that is matched only by President Ford's unconditional pardon of that other crook, former President Nixon. This *troika* still runs the government!

China

Today Mao is having trouble finding youth who are inspired by his officially proclaimed "hundred-year, thousand-year great plan" for warding off "revisionism" in China. The plan entails millions of Chinese middle school graduates (about junior high school here) being carted off to the countryside each year to be "re-educated by the peasants."

The youth are expected to settle permanently, but there is often no way for them to support themselves. There is an underground in forged residence permits and ration cards as the youth are holding out for any way they can to return to the city. Some peasant communes have been openly resisting Mao's plan to make them the dumping ground for China's unemployed.

Ng Mund, one of China's rusticated youth who escaped by enduring the dangerous swim to Hong Kong, was a former Red Guard leader in Canton city. The following poem is from a wealth of material he smuggled out which is part of a new literary underground:

Song of Sacrifice

*I threw myself into the flames
When the fire was burning bright
Burning ever brighter
Later came the chill
Growing ever colder
Turning my soul to ice*

"Song of Sacrifice" is indicative of a whole generation that once took Mao and his Little Red Book seriously. Today they reject him as being what Ng says "out of joint with the times—he thinks still in

terms of creating new means of reforming society by the exercise of his own personal will."

Northern Ireland

Demonstrations broke out throughout Northern Ireland in support of the revolt in Irish prisons. The revolt which began in Maze prison and spread to the Armagh women's prison is aimed against the British policy of internment. The policy, in effect since August, 1971, has been used to round up and jail suspects without a trial, including nearly 600 political prisoners being held at Maze alone. Irish Catholics supported the revolt by blockading roads with hijacked trucks and burned out buses as prisoners at the Maze prison camp set fire to and destroyed most of that complex.

Ford's racism is powerful, economic answers are weak

(Continued from Page 1)

ployment will climb at least to 6 percent, and probably more.

In face of the complete meaningless of all these conferences, a group of professors, members of the Union of Radical Political Economists, announced plans for a series of teach-ins at their colleges on the "Economic Crisis of Monopoly Capitalism", to counter the publicity surrounding the summit, which they called a "charade". And 60 Black elected officials and civil rights leaders representing organizations like the Urban League, NAACP and PUSH, with a constituency of over six million, met in a counter-summit and raised the question of mass demonstrations against unemployment.

NOBODY LISTENING

Nowhere, however, was Ford's Administration proved more thoroughly impotent than on the international scene. First, he delivered a threatening speech to the World Energy Conference in Detroit on the same day (Sept. 23) that Kissinger delivered one to the UN—raising the very real specter of worldwide depression and warning that the U.S. was ready to do diplomatic (and possibly more serious) battle with the Arab-producing countries over the high price of oil. But nobody paid any attention to his paper sabre-rattling.

Second, after months of negotiations, he managed to get 12 of the oil-consuming nations, including Japan, Canada, Norway and most of the Common Market countries, to come to Washington and agree on a draft plan for a new International Energy Agency—but France refused to join the group, and this one wound up as complete a flop as all his other conferences.

The truth of the matter is that the Administration has never so much as considered cracking down on the U.S. oil monopolies—who supply two-thirds of the domestic oil supply, control the world market, and are reaping huge profits at the expense of the American people. The even greater truth is that while oil prices—manipulated through a conspiracy between the sheiks and American oil magnates—have certainly added to world-wide inflation, they are not the main cause. The enormous military spending is.

Ford proposed a "target spending limit of \$300 billion" for the current fiscal year—which means cutting a little more than \$5 billion. He was careful not to specify where the cuts will come until the post-election session of Congress convenes, but Treasury Secretary William Simon has already warned legislators that they face a "political nightmare" when they return, because the cuts will be so damaging.

Clearly, what will be slashed will be what few social programs are still left in the budget. The White House is already holding up \$42 million in current health and welfare funds and \$10 million in benefits for Vietnam Veterans. The \$100 billion military budget will not be touched.

Not a single proposal the Administration made puts even a small bandaid on the lethal wounds of either inflation or recession which we are suffering at the same time for the first time in the history of capitalism.

Even the new version of the WPA is a farce. It is set to be triggered only when the national unemployment rate is at or above 6 percent for three straight months—but there are many areas, like Newark, N. J. and Flint, Mich., double and triple that already. Moreover, at 6.5 percent unemployment, the program would provide only 378,000 jobs. Translated into human terms, today's 5.8 percent rate already totals no less than 5,300,000 people hunting for jobs; another 2,800,000 working involuntary part-time jobs; and nobody knows how many more who have been searching in vain for so long that they are not even counted in the rate because they no longer bother to look and hence have "dropped out of the labor market".

Ford's answer to all these crises was as impotent as

his attack on the Black people of Boston was not. He will soon find out that it is not only the Black masses who have no intention of giving up their struggles for a decent life.

STRIKE ACTIONS EVERYWHERE

Workers throughout the country have been in constant turmoil for the past several years. All in all over 1.6 million workers were involved in 3,240 stoppages in the first six months of 1974 alone.

All capitalism has produced since World War I is the constant shift from wars to depressions and back again—always extracting from labor the maximum and paying it the minimum it can get away with. The Irish workers in South Boston who think the Blacks are their enemy have evidently not looked at their own dilapidated houses or their own unemployment rolls. And all the labor militancy in the world will not rid us of this rotting system so long as the revolutionary forces are kept fighting each other.

It is no longer as simple a question as "Black and white, unite and fight." The workers, Blacks, women, youth, must seek unity, not for unity's sake, but for establishing new principles, new human relations, a new creativity.

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