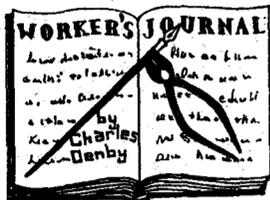


ON THE INSIDE

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Workers ask: Who voted for Nixon?

By Charles Denby, Editor

Many workers are asking these questions: What is in store for us in the next two years of the Nixon administration? What other crises and devastating surprises will he launch against us?

A GM worker with ten years seniority said he was told by his foreman that the layoffs and cutbacks have just begun. He doubts seriously that those who are getting the ax now will ever be called back to work. This same GM worker also said that the news media seems to be trying to make the public believe that laid-off workers are just as well off as when they are working because they will be receiving 85 to 95 percent of their wages.

WHEN THE MONEY RUNS OUT

It is true that some workers with enough seniority will receive that amount with their unemployment and supplementary checks combined, but that is only for 26 weeks. There was a way, before Nixon eliminated it a year or two ago, that after your 26 weeks ran out you could file for a government unemployment check at a reduced rate for up to 13 additional weeks. But today, after your 26 weeks are drawn out, a worker will have to look elsewhere for money to get food. But reporters just say workers laid off will be receiving 95 percent of their wages, as though this is what we will be getting for as long as we are out of work.

A woman at another GM plant in Detroit said that after the layoffs in the Ternstedt plant they were put on a six-hour shift, five days a week. She said some of the workers who did not get laid off were yelling that laid off workers are getting more money a week on 95 percent of their pay than those who are left working. It is practically impossible for them to keep up with their bills on six hours a day, five days a week.

In fact, no workers know just how long they will still be working. This woman said some of the workers here are saying that the same thing that is happening in Britain is going to happen in this country. The miners are refusing overtime there, and paralyzing the country, because the Heath government is out to break the miners' union. And many workers believe that the Nixon Administration is out to control every union in this country that does not play the game his way.

A man who works at another GM plant in Pontiac said that Black workers are asking white workers why they are now yelling against Nixon. They are all saying they did not vote for him. But as one Black worker said, "Why don't you whites admit that you made a mistake in supporting Nixon, instead of saying you did not vote for him. I know damn well most of you did. When Nixon said

(Continued on Page 6)

10¢ NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

VOL. 19—NO. 1



Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1974

MILLIONS THROWN OUT OF WORK IN WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC CRISIS

By Andy Phillips

Severe world-wide recession, if not a full-fledged depression, is the chilling forecast for 1974 predicted by even the more optimistic economic analysts. For the soaring millions of workers who have already been thrown out of their jobs, however, it is not a future prospect, but a grim present reality.



Jobless lines—they'll grow much longer.

All world power balances were thrown into a tailspin once the Arab rulers decided to use oil as a political weapon. It was every nation for itself and the devil take the hindmost — except that the super-powers of U.S., Russia and China were now arrayed in new postures from which to move to continue their jockeying for world power . . . at whatever expense it meant to all other nations.

In extorting fantastic oil price increases, which the U.S. even more than the Arab oil monopolists wished for, the Arab rulers produced a cut in worldwide industrial production. This reduction is pushing the entire world, especially the immigrant workers from the Third World in West Europe, into economic recession headed by unemployment, and giving ever more power to the two nuclear super-powers (See Editorial, p. 4).

MASSIVE U.S. LAYOFFS ORDERED

In the U.S., some 240,000 auto workers have been affected, with over 60,000 laid off indefinitely and others for periods that will continue to range from several days to weeks.

The slashing of the labor force in other industries likewise goes on, with over 30,000 airline workers furloughed, and additional tens of thousands reported laid off almost daily in construction, petrochemicals, aircraft, steel, rubber, glass and other basic industries affected by the energy crisis and the massive cuts ordered in auto production. That ripple effect is still to be felt fully, and will involve additional hundreds of thousands of workers in auto supplier shops and industries.

Much publicity has been given to the illusion that laid-off auto workers will receive 95 percent of their take-home pay through a combination of unemployment compensation and Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) negotiated in the United Auto Workers contract. However, this is true only if a worker has at least a year's seniority. Of the recently reported 7,000 Chrysler workers laid off indefinitely, fully 5,000 of them do not have their year's seniority and will have to subsist on unemployment compensation alone.

RECESSION HAD ALREADY BEGUN

There is no doubt that the energy crisis accelerated the mounting unemployment, but the truth is that the U.S. was headed for recession before the energy crisis hit. Unemployment, reported at 4.1 million, or 4.5 percent, in October, rose to 4.3 million, or 4.7 percent, in November — and this is before the larger layoffs were ordered.

Actually these figures did not tell the story because they do not accurately show the true unemployment for either factory workers, which was 5.5 percent; for minorities, 9.1 percent; or for the youth, 14.6 percent. As for Black youth, the rate is so high that it is no longer even reported.

On top of this, there is the staggering rate of inflation, which is galloping along at an 8 percent clip. This, too, gives a false picture, because the basic essentials of life of the working class — food, clothing, shelter and medical care — have skyrocketed out of sight. In Detroit alone, the cost of food during 1973 went up 25 percent! As one auto worker told News & Letters, "We just got our raise two months ago, and it's already wiped out by the rise in prices of everything. Nobody can keep up with this mess."

This is what Nixonomics has meant for the working class: a decline in their standard of living in 1973 of 1.9 percent—while corporate profits went up by 25 percent!

In his earlier effort to cut inflation at the expense of the working class, the forced recession that Nixon

(Continued on Page 7)

An urgent appeal to our readers

The crisis in America and throughout the world as 1974 begins is so total that it threatens, at one and the same time, massive unemployment, budget-breaking inflation and nuclear destruction.

Nixon-Kissinger's plan for a world under Pax Americana means first the pacification of the forces of revolt at home, especially the Black revolt.

Against this American nightmare plan of the Watergate "law 'n order" men, stands the persistent and unshakable revolt in the Black community, the growing call for freedom for women, and the daily struggle at the point of production in the shops, which only last summer broke out into the wave of Chrysler wildcats and sit-downs. It is obvious that the real "utopians" in 1974 are those who believe that this society can be made human through this or that reform. Everywhere there is a hunger for a new philosophy of liberation which offers a method to once and for all wipe away the corruption and insanity of capitalist society.

News & Letters both offers a forum for the voices of revolt throughout the world to speak for themselves, and does not separate those voices from Marxist-Humanist philosophy. We are still the only paper with a Black production worker, Charles Denby, as editor. And News and Letters Committees is still the only Marxist organization headed by a Chairwoman, Raya Dunayevskaya, whose latest work, *Philosophy and Revolution* reveals a total philosophy of freedom for our age.

We have been supported and financed since this paper began in 1955 entirely by the contributions and subscriptions of our readers — members and friends. Inflation has hit us hard, just as it has hit you. On March 1, 1974 NEWS & LETTERS faces an astronomical increase in postage costs.

The Administration no doubt hopes it will mean the "death blow" for small newspapers and magazines, as reporters are suggesting it will. We do not intend to fold up under Nixon's pressures, either economic or political. But we need your help.

All of us who work on News & Letters donate our labor. No one gets paid. But it still costs us over \$600 each month in printing costs alone — which are going up still higher this issue — to send our paper to you. In fact, all our costs have soared, at the very time that unemployment has cut into the contributions of many of our worker-supporters and friends.

PLEASE, GIVE AS GENEROUSLY
AS YOU CAN!

NEWS & LETTERS

1900 East Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207

I enclose as my contribution to help N&L

Name

Address

City..... State..... Zip.....

'Life on welfare is one big headache'

Los Angeles, Cal.—I never heard of welfare before I came to California. I always worked at a job in a factory or something. I only came here because the doctors told me one of my daughters needed a warm, dry climate because of her spinal meningitis. After a stay in the hospital, her prescriptions alone were \$18 a day and I only made \$80 a week at my job. So they told me to go on welfare. I said "What's welfare?"

It's been a horrible experience and I'm going to get out of it. I don't like to talk about it. I'd like to have a job, but the doctor said I can't bend down and wash, sweep or hang up clothes because of my back.

It's hard work taking care of my five children, cooking and keeping the house and all. Even if I could find a job, there are no child-care facilities here at the housing project; no recreational activities for children or adults; no jobs for teenage children.

I disagree with the word welfare. It's really just

supplementary aid. Most people on welfare work at a job but don't make enough to support their families, so they get a little extra check, but only a bare minimum. They only get what they would have gotten from welfare without a job. So there's no incentive to get a job.



Most people on welfare aren't sitting around depending on people to give them something. There would be no need for welfare if people had child-care available and if there were enough decent jobs with a decent living wage to go around. Being on welfare is not a privilege. It's just one big headache.

We waste a lot of time filling out forms for the welfare office. I have to go once every six months and fill out a 20-page questionnaire. It takes a whole day. Others (who aren't classified disabled, as I am) have to go more often—some every three weeks.

We waste a lot of time at the doctor's, too. If you're on Medi-Cal, they put you last on the waiting list, no matter how long you've been waiting. The cash customers come first, then credit customers. Sometimes they don't get to you one day and you have to come back the next day and start waiting again. You're on welfare so they figure that means you have nothing to do.

Training programs are a farce. With the WIN program, you work a couple of weeks and that's it. It just takes jobs away from other poor people. They don't want people on welfare to get a trade and they won't pay people to go to school so they can better themselves and get off welfare. There are no jobs for you anyway.

If you've got a kid in college, they have to be taking 13 units at all times, and there is no extra allowance for school expenses: tuition, books, etc. Welfare only pays rent, \$50 a year per child for clothing, and food, and they seem to cut benefits every year. I'm all for cutting welfare fraud, starting with the Reagans and the Nixons with their private jets, no taxes and their big expense accounts.

—Audrey William

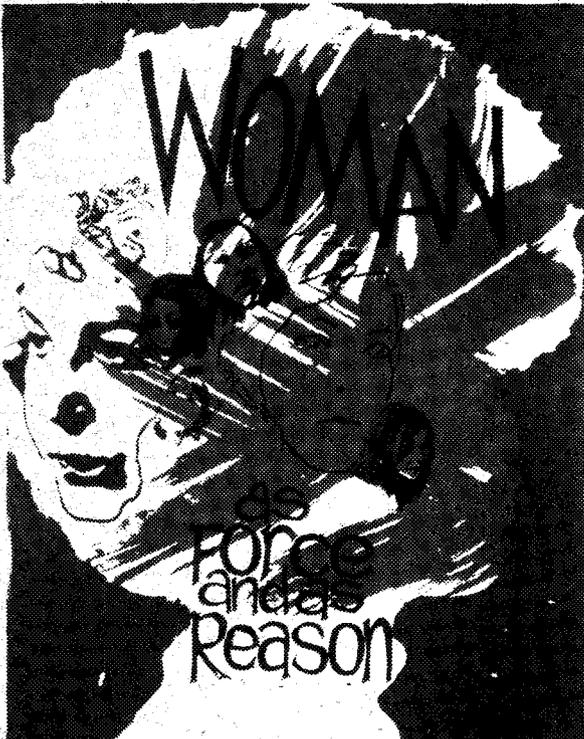
WL NOTES

The National Council of Negro Women, Inc., has called for a coalition of civil rights, consumer and women's groups that would protect minority groups and other individual consumers from being further victimized by unscrupulous landlords and losing jobs and access to essential services due to the energy crisis. Pointing out that the poor and minority groups are the first to suffer in such a situation, the women added that the 68 degree level is one which the poor would have to go up to, rather than down to, as the President suggests.

The Irish Republic's ban on importing contraceptives was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Ms. Mary McGee challenged the sexist law when some contraceptive jelly that was mailed to her was seized by customs. This first victory may make it more probable that a bill presented by Senator Mary Robinson, allowing the advertising and selling of contraceptives will be passed.

Women—wives and friends of miners—sometimes more than 70 at a time, are picketing the Eastover's Brookside mine and the Bailey's Creek mine in Harlan County Kentucky. The miners, on strike since June 26, '73, have an injunction against them allowing no more than three pickets at a mine entrance. The women were so successful in stopping the scabs that they were arrested. Women whose husbands were also in jail had little choice but to take their children into the cells with them.

The first Black Feminist Conference sponsored by the National Black Feminist Organization met in New York Dec. 2. Women who attended this meeting vowed to form their own chapters in their respective states. Agreement was reached that Black Women's Liberation "is a matter of survival" and that there should be unity between the Black and white women's liberation movement.



"WOMAN AS FORCE AND AS REASON" — silk screen poster in black, brown, purple and white created for News & Letters by P. Tamura. Dimensions, 22 by 28 inches.

Special offer through March, International Women's Month—\$3, postage free
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Book Review

Women struggle in Appalachia

Hillbilly Women, Kathy Kahn, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1973, \$7.95

Life in the Southern mountains of Appalachia is a hard one, filled with pain and struggle; poverty and determination, death and joy. *Hillbilly Women* captures all of the contradictory elements of this life as lived by the women of the region and told by the women themselves. It is a book filled with courage and pride.

The nineteen women whose stories appear in *Hillbilly Women* are proud that they are Hillbillies and women, and are proud of their history. Some of them are coal miners' daughters, wives and widows, who, along side the men who work in the mines, helped to organize the United Mine Workers union in its early days and have fought against its transformation into its opposite — a company-controlled union.

These women tell of the constant fear of waiting for someone who is underground in a mine. They describe standing in their homes with a rifle in their hands while company thugs search for union organizers, and of trying to collect Black Lung benefits due them. They tell stories of walking picket lines, fighting for higher wages and better safety conditions for miners.

WOMEN IN TEXTILE MILLS

Other women write of their work in textile mills. They describe conditions in cotton mills which gave women workers Brown Lung disease from uncontrolled cotton dust, and of the forced high production quotas which cause women to use drugs in order to keep their jobs. Two women tell their experiences in a 1966 textile strike over seniority at the Blue Ridge, Georgia, Levi-Strauss plant. Four hundred women workers walked out en masse and stayed out for 14 months. Their strike received no support from their union, and after scab workers voted the union out, some of the strikers began their own plant, one with humane working conditions.

Several women left the mountains to look for work in cities as there are so few jobs for women in the region. These women talk about their lives in Hillbilly ghettos, the prejudice against them as mountain women.

CONSTANT STRUGGLE

All of the women write of poverty and of their struggle against it. They struggle against the mine owners and bosses who constantly exploit them and their land, and against the government bureaucrats and red tape.

Few of the women talk of the women's liberation movement. Their lives and struggles are the living example of women's liberation as reason and as force. They are liberated women because they must be, and their struggle for freedom is universal. Their stories and the stories of thousands of women who share this struggle, can be fully appreciated only by reading *Hillbilly Women* oneself.

— Janet Ross

WAY OF THE WORLD

Back to cotton fields for us?

By Ethel Dunbar

The mess this country is in today is so terrible that it is the number one conversation with practically every person I talk with. All believe that it is manufactured by Nixon and his Administration. There is a shortage in all the basic needs, from toilet tissue to fuel oil, cotton fabrics, and practically everything else.

A woman said, "I lived through the President Hoover Depression in the late '20s and early '30s, and his Administration starved many poor people to death. This Nixon Administration is starving and freezing people to death all at the same time."

An old Black farmer from Alabama was talking about how the Department of Agriculture in that state was insisting that farmers plant all the cotton they possibly can this coming year, because there is such a shortage in cotton material. The government would relax most restrictions on farmers that have been held for some 50 years, and the price would be in the range from 90c to 95c a pound. I grew up on a farm in Alabama, and in those years if we got 20c a pound we considered it top price. Most of those years the price ranged from 6c to 12c a pound.

The farmer said the man from the Agriculture Department gave him two reasons for the cotton shortage: that because of the oil crisis, we cannot produce the synthetic materials that are used instead of cotton; and secondly, that this country was importing much of its cotton from Japan, and again because of the energy crisis, we are not getting the cotton from East Asia. He said that old Senator Eastland from Mississippi may be the happiest person in this country about the cotton shortage.

The poor and working class people always suffer from any crisis situation in this country, just as we are doing today, but there is one thing that really disturbed me about this cotton shortage. I was watching a TV program and one person said that because of this crisis in cotton, it would be a good way to eliminate people from the welfare rolls by deporting them back South and starting them to raise cotton. He said this would help some in easing the shortage, and eliminate the high budget for welfare rolls. I do not think any people on welfare will accept his suggestion.

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

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For more information, call or write News & Letters Committees

1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit 48207
Telephone 961-1010

Italian oil shortage throws economy into chaos

Milan, Italy—The situation in Italy has had such an overturn since the "oil crisis" that it seems a sort of nightmare. Since things change everyday, I can only give a description of what is going on now.

The new central-left government came to power with a program of control on all prices without any word on a wage freeze. The Communist Party supported the government to the point that it stated it would do all in its power to see that there would not be the usual wave of strikes — which by now take place every year in autumn. They seem to be sticking to their promise.

AUTO HIT FIRST

The Italian economy is in a state of total crisis. The auto industry was the first to be hit by the so-called lack of petroleum. The Arab countries are perfectly willing to sell their petroleum to all the European Economic Community (EEC) — Holland excluded — with a five percent increase in price. Fiat announced that production would be reduced by about one third. This happened just at the time that the unions were contracting for the re-hiring of the innumerable number of workers fired during last year's strikes, but the managers of Turin responded that they would have to lay-off at least another 300,000 workers.

Naturally every industry and company is suffering in the same way, but as in all capitalist countries the auto industry is crucial not only for its production of motor vehicles but for industrial equipment. Now the chemical industry is in the same sort of crisis. All companies — big, small or medium — will not have essential parts for construction.

"WAR" AUSTERITY

The social effects of all of this will be disastrous, and no one is trying to minimize them. The government has made it known that we have to think that we are living in the same conditions of austerity that a "war-economy" calls for. This is in part due to the apparent but not clear lack of fuel, but also to the attempt to free Europe from U.S. economic dependence.

It has leaked out of the EEC conference that at least six million people in this area will be fired in the coming year. Italy will be the worst hit because the first

to be fired will be the Italian immigrants working abroad. Kissinger has boasted that the Europeans might have almost frozen to death if it were not for him, but many are already half frozen to death. Central heating has been decreased by 10 to 20 percent, but most Italians do not have central heating and use kerosene stoves; by now there is no kerosene for domestic use.

PRICES SOAR; WAGES FREEZE

The price of bread has increased by about 30 percent and pasta spaghetti, etc.—the food of the poor) by at least 50 percent. The government is thinking of rationing meat since most of it comes from the U.S.; the price of electricity and gas for domestic use will probably be more than doubled; sugar and salt are almost unfindable; and all of this is just part of the list.

The government is thinking of introducing a three year wage freeze for public employees and workers and, if it does so, private industry will certainly manage to do the same.

A sort of mystified hysteria has broken out (certainly not helped by the massacre at Rome's airport) in which people shout: "Let's kill all of the Arabs;" "Put all of the Texas oil men in jail;" or even, "Kill all of the Americans." Then there are fights among neighbors on such things as who has more sugar than another.

What is needed is a sound theoretical analysis, but certainly the Italian left is not giving anyone that.

G.E.: where asbestos kills you

Lynn, Mass. — Asbestos is a killer. Asbestos is in the General Electric River Works Plant. And breathing in excessive amounts of asbestos can cause three types of maladies.

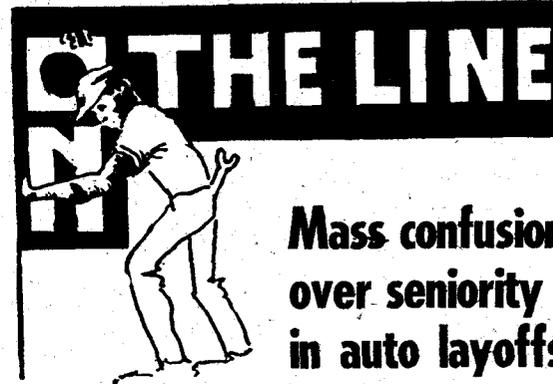
1) Asbestosis — This is caused by the asbestos fibers that get into your lungs. They form scar tissue inside your lungs and eventually cause you to suffocate to death. This usually shows up approximately 20 years after your exposure.

2) Lung Cancer — It has been proven that asbestos can cause lung cancer.

3) Mesothelioma — This is a new and rare form of cancer. So new, in fact, that once it is diagnosed it is just a matter of time before you die. Asbestos is the only known cause of Mesothelioma. Also, doctors do not know at this time how much asbestos you have to be in contact with in order to get Mesothelioma. There is a case of a woman who got Mesothelioma, and her only contact with asbestos was washing her husband's clothes.

The present legal limit is 5 fibers per cubic centimeter of air. This will be dropped in 1976 to 2 fibers per cubic centimeter of air. In a recent test given by the state, 1,540 fibers per cubic centimeter of air was found at one location, Bldg. 77E at a table saw. This saw has now been vented, but what about all those years before ventilation? As stated before, it takes about 20 years for any symptoms to show up.

—from Survival Kit, Cambridge, Mass.



by John Allison

The great confusion that the auto layoffs are going to bring can be seen in the example of the 800 workers laid off at the Ford frame plant. The confusion set in because the union had no lay-off slips or advice to give to the workers.

Both the second and third shifts were wiped out in this quick reduction of the work force. The backlash from a lay-off required bumping. That is, workers with high seniority are supposed to be kept over workers with less seniority.

But look at this that happened at the Ford frame plant. A worker with 35 years seniority was bumped by a worker with 36 years seniority. It's hard to believe, but it happened.

The worker with the 35 years seniority isn't going to be laid off, but this gives you some idea of how messed up this whole lay-off problem is going to get.

Management has worked overtime so long that they have forgotten how to lay off according to seniority. And the union has been so busy counting dues dollars that they have forgotten the lay-off machinery in the contract.

WORSE AT CHRYSLER AND GM

Try to think, if you can, about what is happening at Chrysler and at GM, where they are reducing their work force far more than Ford is. This is the kind of confusion that is going on in every auto plant in the U.S.

But it goes a lot deeper than just this. When you face the fact that you might be out of a job, you'll do a lot of things you wouldn't do in other situations. A lot of workers with long seniority have gone on to jobs that they can keep up with when they could move up in their work.

Now, with the lay-offs, they will have to go back to jobs that they just can't do. The jobs on the production line just take so much out of you that you can't make the switch very easily. As a matter of fact, you just can't cut the work at all.

MORE DEATHS AND INJURIES

This means you're going to hear about a lot of workers who'll be dropping from heart attacks or taking a lot of time off because the killing grind of the production line is more than they can take. It will make no difference to management. It never has. All they're concerned about is what they've always been concerned about—and that's production.

Seniority protection is all that workers have. But it sure isn't enough when all you get out of it is the chance to kill or hurt yourself in a job you shouldn't have to do—and at the same time throw somebody else out of work.

Back the Farah 3,000!

El Paso, Tex.—Three thousand workers have been on strike against Farah Manufacturing Company for a year and a half in an effort to unionize this huge manufacturer of men's pants.

In addition to the struck plants in Texas, Farah has others in the Southwest and overseas. Even though the national boycott of Farah pants has greatly cut sales, the company still refuses to talk about the union.

The workers are 85 percent women and 95 percent Chicano. But my plant had no Chicano or women supervisors. We were paid from \$1.70 to \$2.50 an hour. When we started picketing, the cops waited until nighttime and arrested women with children off the picket lines.

The boycott of Farah is really hurting. My plant is barely working three days a week and plans to close for a few months. Farah has done everything to improve sales, from changing the labels (don't buy any pants that say \$uPar, Daire, Par Excellent, Golden Scroll, Ambassador, or Passport), to advertising for the first time.

Support of the boycott has been great. Representatives of the workers in Farah's Belgian and Japanese factories came to see us. The United Farm Workers union is supporting us, and we each picket with the other in our travels around the country.

Our strike has really affected the Chicano community in El Paso. In addition to supporting us, there have been marches on Mexican Independence Day and a demonstration against police brutality for the first time. Also, before our strike, there had been no major strike in El Paso for ten years. Now there were five last year alone.

Northern workers are very interested in our strike too, because if the Southwest becomes unionized it will stop all the run-away shops in the clothing industry.

Boycott Farah Pants!

—Farah striker

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

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

CONNECTICUT: PO Box 291, Hartford, Conn. 06101 (527-9868)

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

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

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



Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Everyone at Fleetwood is talking about all these layoffs. The company laid off all workers with less than 90 days the Friday after we got back to work from Christmas. Everyone is running around looking for some bigshot who will tell them what is going to happen, but they all have a different story. The notice is up that the plant will be down on Friday Jan. 18th for "inventory." Many workers say that this is just the beginning but no one knows how far it will go.

One thing all workers know is the terrible effect that massive layoffs would have on our lives. Sub pay lasts for one year. Many workers were without work for longer than that in the late 50's. If you have less than a year you will have to make it on compensation alone. If you don't have 90 days you don't get anything. All this means that many workers, those with families, younger workers, many who have just bought houses, could lose everything.

The only ones who are not talking about these layoffs are the UAW leaders. That is because they have been taken off the hook. Only a few months ago Chrysler and Ford workers were raising hell about how bad the contracts were. By the time our contract came up you didn't hear any more about it because we were all worrying about our jobs. Who cares if the contract you used to have stinks when you are in the street? What about those who are "lucky" enough to keep their jobs? We all know that all this will change the speed of the line. That will mean breaking down jobs, and that always

means putting more work on the worker.

Do we only have rights when things are good and lose when things get bad? What will the union do when the company is laughing at them because these will be the only jobs there are and the streets will be filled with people begging for them? We need to make some big changes in this country and we need to make them NOW.

—Fleetwood worker

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich. — Where this energy crisis has caused tremendous layoffs of workers, it not only causes hardships with those who have gotten the ax, but it puts a double burden and pressure on those of us who are left. Many of us that are still working at Mack have been transferred to new jobs or had more work added to the old ones.

It is like breaking in as a new hire—there is no way we can get our production out. It makes the work twice as hard, because the company, and especially the foremen, are expecting the same production standards as they did before the regulars on those jobs were laid off.

It is not only the unemployed who are catching hell because of this crisis. The workers who are left behind in this plant and, I'm sure, many other plants are catching hell also.

The press and the UAW leaders should turn a little attention to those of us who are left behind. But I'm sure they are waiting until another revolt like we had here at Mack this summer hits "like a clap of lightning" before the company and the union begin to yell.

—Mack worker

EDITORIAL**THE MIDDLE EAST: NEITHER WAR NOR PEACE**

The new year began where the old one had ended—with all eyes on the Middle East. The fighting had supposedly stopped, but "violations" were continuous. The oil embargo was "aimed" at the U. S., but was hurting Europe far more drastically. The combatants had sent delegates to Geneva, but all decisions were being made in Moscow and Washington, especially Washington.

Moshe Dayan was summoned to talks with Henry Kissinger as soon as the Israeli elections were over. Golda Meir's "Labor Party" had retained control by a slim margin; the expected heavy vote against Meir had apparently been muted by the fear that the far-rightist, old terrorist, Menachem Begin, might actually out-poll her.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"CAPITAL" OF THE MIDDLE EAST

The talks between Dayan and Kissinger took place only after Kissinger and Soviet Ambassador Drobrynin had already arrived at a plan. The "new" worked out by Kissinger-Dayan was a gesture for peace that Israel will offer. A compromise to withdraw its army inside the Sinai 20 miles from the Suez Canal, if Egypt "thins out" its forces on the east bank, is supposed to convince Egypt that they have achieved a victory, and prepare the ground for re-opening the Suez Canal. That much has been discussed ever since 1967.

The game that all are playing now is a deadly game, the rules of which have been set by the U. S. and its oil interests; Russia and its global interests; Arab rulers and oil magnates in non-Arab countries.

Geneva is a facade — chosen to help Arabs and Israelis save face, as well as to pretend that Europe has something to do with the matter. The truth is that the Middle East decisions are made wherever Kissinger is—and that when it is all over, the Middle East will be in the same mess it was before.

GLOBAL AIMS FOR ALL

What the October war showed that was new was that the Middle East could become the key to the international situation, as Germany was in World Wars I and II. That

was the main aim of the Egyptian initiative in starting the latest Arab-Israeli war. Whether it succeeded, no one can yet tell. It is true that the center of attention has moved from "the Year of Europe" to the year of the "Arabs' coming of age". But that is a long way from an actual shift in global outlook of the two super-powers.

What is clear is that neither Russia nor the U. S. (nor China) cares about either Arabs or Israelis. It is their own global aims that matter to them, and they have no intention of letting either the Arab lands or Israel set the time table for World War III. What was new in 1973 was that the Arabs, too, have learned to be global and not just regional.

The Arab rulers, to Nixon-Kissinger's surprise, proved they were not interested in money as much as in having an impact on global politics. Toward that end, they showed Arab unity for the first time and used oil as a political weapon for the first time. What they were not ready for, was the consequences—which is why Washington, D. C. is still the center for all.

"SAVING" NIXON

The global outlook, however, is not all that preoccupies Kissinger. What does is saving Nixon. And that assignment has a pressing deadline. The House Judiciary Committee has begun to hear evidence collected by John Doar on the question of impeachment, and has set an informal March deadline for a committee decision. A trip to Europe for Nixon, to make 1974 "the Year of Europe" that 1973 wasn't, would shore up the battered President and surely help to convince Congress that they "need" Nixon, despite all. The question is how to convince Europe that it needs Nixon?

At the two-day NATO meeting in December in Brussels, French Foreign Minister Jobert gave bitter expression to the general European distrust of the U. S.-Soviet agreements that have been made over their heads. In the most open clash in NATO's 24-year history, Jobert told Kissinger that the U. S.-Soviet pact had brought into question not only the guarantee of the U. S. nuclear deterrent, but the Atlantic Alliance itself.

How then, could they listen with straight faces, much

less take seriously, the ludicrous proposal Kissinger made in London, immediately after he left Brussels, to create an "Energy Action Group" to ensure the world fuel supply at reasonable prices—which would include not only the U. S. and Europe, but Japan, as well as the oil-producing nations! As if any of these "partners" have the same interests.

What every single ruler does share in common is the conviction that "the real enemy" is not abroad, but at home: their own proletariat. Ever since 1968 it has been the fear of near-revolution in their own lands that has eventually brought forth their class solidarity with the foreign nuclear power they hate and yet depend on so much: Nixonland—USA.

The only reason Europe has again been forced to listen to Kissinger and may yet decide to let Nixon have his "Year of Europe" is because 1974 promises deep recession not only in the U. S., but even more severely in Europe. This is the spectre that is haunting the world in the 1970s.

News & Letters

Vol. 19, No. 1

January-February, 1974

News & Letters is published ten times a year, monthly except for January-February and August-September, by News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207. Telephone: 961-1010. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

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Second Class Postage Paid at Detroit, Michigan

THE CRISIS

Everyone in the plant thinks the energy crisis is phoney — that it's really another Nixon crisis. We're getting used to a different crisis every day.

Factory Worker
Los Angeles

The so-called gas crisis, in the opinion of most of the people I've talked to while on the road traveling from New Jersey to San Francisco, is simply a plan through which the conglomerates can get double their riches at the expense of workers all across the country. The most vocal have been the truckers.

The guys who drive the steel-rigs on the East Coast were the base of the giant blockades, according to one guy I met. He told me, "Somebody would call up on the citizen's band, 'Oh, gee! I just ran out of gas out here right in the left hand lane of the Interstate!' and before you'd know it, two thousand others would be stopped to give him a hand, and, well, you know how hard it is to clean up a mess like that!"

The governor of N. J. dredged up a law that was created for the benefit of CORE activists who'd planned to block freeways in 1964. The threat of long jail terms, high fines, and five-year loss of license didn't seem to scare anybody.

A company driver from N. J. told me a buddy of his took a day off for that 200th anniversary of the Boston Tea Party. He drove all the way up to Boston so he could dump a gallon of diesel fuel in the harbor there.

Traveler
On The Road

They still keep talking about wage controls, but nobody even talks about price controls any more. How could they, when we've seen gas prices soar up more than double in one year! What Phase is this one?

Worker
Detroit

I work in an insurance company which brags on the front page of its employee newspaper about a holiday wreath weighing one ton, made of fresh fir trees, hung over the entrance of the main of-

rice. There has been a big campaign in the company encouraging employees to adopt energy-saving measures, and trumpeting the recycling paper campaign they began in the office. In this energy crisis (read: ecological disaster) you can only conclude it's a pretty insane system that sets such priorities as do my employer and Nixon.

Paper Shuffler
New York

There is talk about the possibility of a winter federal election over the energy crisis. The government has done nothing to help most people get through the long cold winter, and both Stanfield and Lewis say they intend to bring down the government over this issue. Of course, no one will do anything to hurt the oil companies, but the conservatives are talking about creating a policy on energy. Trudeau doesn't even have that.

For once, Canada can't follow Nixon's lead because Nixon isn't leading anywhere, and if he does in the future, no Canadian government would survive the kind of moves Nixon seems able to make with impunity.

Observer
Montreal

Your December lead article really showed the totality of the world crisis. It is not only oil politics, but how to keep Russia out of the Mideast which lies behind U. S. policy. The energy crisis is not just an energy crisis, but the competitive decadence of capitalism.

Teacher
Los Angeles

NIXONISM

I've lived through a lot in my lifetime, but never anything like Nixon. You would have to be as crazy as he is to believe he shouldn't be impeached. The only problem is that Congress will never have the guts to do it . . . unless they are forced to, by the people.

Octogenarian
Philadelphia

When even the reactionary Detroit News came out for Nixon's resignation I couldn't help but feel that they think

Gerald Ford will be more reactionary than Nixon — and therefore more to be "trusted."

Observer
Detroit

Nixon has a new enemies list, I hear. I would be glad to be on it. But the danger of the list isn't to those on it, but that it could be created in the first place. It shows what they are capable of.

Observer
California

It is interesting to see some of the most reactionary newspapers in the country coming out for Nixon's resignation. What it means is that they are for anything to keep him from being impeached. They must be worried about a civil war, if that ever happened.

Politico
California

THE WORKING DAY

About 15,000 working people are killed every year on the job. I noticed that the Lockheed tunnel disaster case, in which 17 people were murdered, was just settled. Lockheed got a fine, which no doubt will be taken as a tax deduction. The supervisors got short jail sentences, which are postponed to 1976 when they will be renewed again. Compare this to the publicity when one policeman is killed.

Worker
Los Angeles

I disagree with the Chrysler Mack worker who said, in your Nov. issue, that there weren't 72 "Communists" or "radicals" in the entire UAW. There may or may not be 72 Communists in the UAW, but for doggone sure there are a whole lot more than 72 radicals. By radicals I mean workers who want to change this whole system around, and get to the root cause of their problems. That means changing the conditions of production they have to work under — whether they're auto workers, steel workers,

rubber workers, miners or workers in any other industry. Their conditions of work make radicals out of them — and there are hundreds of thousands of them all over this country.

Ex-coal Miner
Detroit

When I came out of school at the end of the First World War, I couldn't get a job just 7 miles out of Trenton, where I grew up, because I was Black. Even as a musician, a club "couldn't use you" if you were dark skinned. I know I played better than some of those lighter skinned colored people who got the jobs.

I'd say it's better now. Blacks still get the hardest, dirtiest jobs. And we pay more rent than whites do. But the young people now won't take it anymore. If they can't find a decent job, something they want to do, they don't work.

Worker
New York

As a woman who has to work for a living, and wants the workday to end after eight hours, I was glad to see the auto workers' revolt against the UAW's false claim of getting "voluntary" overtime in the contract. But I was really disgusted with the skilled trades' racist elitism in their arguments against production workers being able to do their jobs. It seems to me a real demand that would grow out of worker solidarity would be "provide enough jobs so that no one has to work more than 8 hours."

I believe, we'll have to make a whole new society before we know what time we can go home from work.

Office Worker
Detroit

Recently I was working in a gas station in Ohio and after four weeks I had to quit. One of the reasons was because of cash shortages for which \$27 was deducted from my sub-minimum wage check. Another reason was that we were required to work eight and a half hours a day, seven days a week, and we weren't even given time to eat while on

Reader

TWO WORLDS

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

(Editor's Note: We print below excerpts from Part I of the *Perspectives Report* delivered to the Convention of News & Letters Committees on Oct. 20, 1973, by the National Chairwoman, Raya Dunayevskaya. The complete report is available from *News & Letters*, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207, for 35c plus 15c postage. See full ad, page 7.)

The few phases of Nixon's counter-revolution that have aborted (or at least been exposed) and have given us a momentary breathing space, have been followed with Congressional and academic euphoria around the new intellectualistic Secretary of State with the mailed fist. Too many have already forgotten that it was Kissinger who kept the Vietnam War going for "four more years" to extract, or rather to fool the American people that Nixon has extracted "peace with honor"; forgotten that Kissinger had never opposed the Vietnam War—not when it began with "advisers" in the Kennedy regime, not when it became genocidal war in the Johnson years, much less during the Nixon regime.

Dr. Strangelove Kissinger had always practiced "benign neglect" that made sure wars would erupt in Latin America, indeed, made them erupt, be it during the Bay of Pigs (and let's not forget those CIA agents, practiced in incompetence there, were the ones directing Watergate) or the Chilean counter-revolution.

The wars at home — against the anti-war youth, against labor, against the Blacks, especially against the Blacks — were the specialty of those Eastern intellectuals so favored by the Western president for their "theory" of "benign neglect" and practice of not-so-benign neglect.

The precise expression for their Eastern as well as Western so-called intellect is: militarism. They practice militarization of the economy—and in this they also carried Congress with them . . .

IT BECOMES INCUMBENT upon us to examine carefully the three new threats that have surfaced with the present state of world counter-revolution:

First, in Chile itself, with the brutal murder of Allende (the duly elected president with his illusory parliamentary majority), there has sprouted a new neo-fascistic "mass base"—the middle class, including the professionals, the housewives, the rightist college youth.

Never before has this type of base been that active, that organized, that "respectable", and that willing to be led by the outright fascistic "Fatherland and Liberty," a military junta that began its "patriotic mission" by destroying the country's national palace, its whole history lying in ruins, spattered by the blood of its leaders extracted by the counter-revolutionary junta and continuing with the murder of thousands of workers.

Second, so abysmally corrupt is the Nixon Administration (and as the Vice President on the take showed, their corruption is by no means only morally so) that the ITT offer of a million to stop Allende's election was far from being the lowest point reached by the Republican Party.

Rather, the key to American imperialism's stranglehold on Chile—the U.S. intervention in Chilean affairs—was everywhere, from having the World Bank withhold credit from the Allende parliamentary government, to keeping money flowing freely to the junta planning that coup.

Third, that which was so phenomenal, so historic, so sharp a 180-degree turnabout—Nixon's spectacular trip to China—is already in a thousand little pieces . . .

SO OVERWHELMED, HOWEVER, were both Congressmen and journalists by the "brilliance" of the Harvard professor, so great the "pride" in their own "democracy" that "a Jew born in Germany" has become Secretary of State, that none paid any attention to the truth that, in fact, they just voted for the most militarist-minded man ever in civilian clothes to handle foreign policy.

It would indeed be foolhardy to be deluded (as, no doubt, the conceited egotist Kissinger is) that it is that "brilliant professor" and not the dirty rightist politician and trickster, President Nixon, who is setting foreign policy. Nixon, not Kissinger, sets policy; Cold War policies have become hot "peace" ones.

Nixon, no doubt, has underestimated just how great was the opportunity that came his way with the Sino-Soviet conflict. For the other truth is that it was not so much the Nixon Doctrine that opened new doors. Rather, it was the new reality of power in a nuclear superpower world, when one of the two nuclear titans is undercut by China—with a little nuclear know-how, 700 million human beings and a lot of Marxian verbiage. On top of it all, China has the longest-in-history common border with its "Enemy Number One," Russia. In a

(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

duty. We were paid \$1.90 an hour. Also the company requires an employee to work at least a year to receive health insurance benefits.

We suspected the manager of stealing money but had no way of proving it. By quitting I was not alone because within three weeks four other men quit for the same reason.

Recently I went by that gas station and found it permanently closed because of the "energy crisis."

Jim Thomas
Ohio

STATE-CAPITALISM

This selling of wheat to Russia is really something. It seems that Nixon is determined to save the state-capitalism of Russia by selling them wheat now that they have a tremendous shortage. And the other part of this deal is that in this country it is only the grain dealers who make a windfall. The public has to pay more for wheat, has to subsidize the sale, and the farmer gets almost nothing.

Plant worker
Los Angeles

I used to have to go through long discussions to explain to people what state-capitalism was. Now nobody asks what it means. Everybody understands it at once.

Marxist-Humanist
Detroit

WARNING TO WOMEN

There have recently been some articles in different feminist magazines that are very important for women to know about. One is about Koromex contraceptive jelly. It was discovered that Koromex contains a very high mercury content. Koromex is still being sold with no warning.

The other is about a drug that has been much publicized recently—diethylstilbestrol (DES). DES was banned in 1972 from being fed to cattle, and many people thought that meant the government had banned it altogether. But in the same year, Lilly, the manufacturer

of DES, showed a 4 percent increase in sales of DES and profits of \$2 million. The reason is that the government did not ban DES for women as the "morning after pill."

Feminist
New York

ARAB AND ISRAELI

I was surprised to learn that there were no less than 21 parties seriously competing for the 120 seats in the Knesset, even if only 10 of the parties will actually get representation. I heard a radio report that a Women's Liberation party won two seats, but no more details about it. Now I read that a Mrs. Shulamit Aloni, of a new "Civil Rights List," will control two seats, and think that must be the WL party. I wish we could get more information about it.

Correspondent
Detroit

During a recent Farmworkers rally at a local synagogue it was an Arab farmworker who presented their case. This was at the height of the Arab-Israeli war and the Arab talked out on solidarity of all the oppressed. It was so ironic and well-timed, that I am sure it was intentional on the part of the Farmworkers.

Activist
Los Angeles

Israel has defined itself as a racist state since it calls itself a "Jewish State." I would like to see *News and Letters* support the idea of a non-racist, non-sectarian Palestinian state in which Arabs and Jews are equal citizens. This is not to suggest that a social revolution to abolish class distinction does not need to occur, unifying poor Jews and Arabs against their real oppressors.

Student
Los Angeles

Your analysis of the Middle East crisis is on totally different philosophic ground from the rest of the so-called "Left." You look at the people, not the govern-

ments, and see the two worlds within each country. You see the need of the Palestinian people for their freedom, but don't confine them to the guerrillas who claim to speak for them. When you stay on the ground of the people involved you escape getting trapped by some abstraction of "socialist" countries, or "united fronts." No simplistic answers will do.

Youth Activist
New York

BRITISH MINERS

Industry has been reduced to three days a week on government instructions. The shops, except those selling food are to open four days a week. No lights are permitted in shop windows.

This is all being done to discredit the miners — who work every day, but have placed a ban on overtime. This is certain to antagonize sections of the ruling class if they are only allowed to exploit the workers three days a week. On top of all this the railways and the power engineers are going slow.

Prices are climbing rapidly. Unemployment is rising. There is now the threat of a general election in which the Tories will challenge the trade unions.

Attempts are now being made to bring the rank and file in other industries into the battle. Support for the miners is growing in Scotland. The Tories must be defeated.

Correspondent
Glasgow

For some time the unions have displaced the Labor Party as being the main centers of opposition to the Tories. The union bureaucrats are being forced by Tory acts as much as by their members to make militant industrial noises while they help Wilson to ride out ructions within his party.

While the Labor Party is seen as a farce (it will be voted in again, but this time by a working class that will expect to be betrayed and lacks illusions) the unions on many fronts are launching something more than just token struggles. Now comes the oil crisis. The CBI (the employers' organization) is calling for retrenchment and freeze (obviously at the expense of the workers, not a freeze of dividends and conscrip-

tion of wealth/profit!). This will force the union bureaucrats to make it quite a fight or buckle down so shamefully that they discredit themselves.

Laurens Otter
England

What impressed me the most about the interviews with the British miners they have shown on TV is that the miners have not spent one minute talking about the tough life they have, or how bad their conditions are. The only thing they talk about is their own power to bring the government to a total stop.

Office Worker
Detroit

FOR KELLY

When Kelly hadn't shown up for our longshore discussion we figured he might have had a few holiday tastes and forgotten about it. But we soon learned he'd been stricken and died on New Year's Eve. He had been looking forward to "going out" next month — retiring, at the age of sixty-two, after a lifetime on the docks that included the 1934 strike.

Last July, when Bridges wrote a column in the International's house organ, *The Dispatcher*, saying that plenty of the younger members of the union tend to take some of the conditions for granted, Kelly saw right through it as that old line: "You came when the table was set." He was aware that it was the working longshoreman who had established conditions through job action and their own ingenuity, and that the true history of the Bridges group was one of all-out assault on those on-the-job gains.

Kelly was with the young longshoremen; he was one of them in the real sense of the term. All of us have lost a friend.

Docker
San Francisco

With this issue we change the sequence of our two bi-monthly issues. N&L will still come out ten times a year, monthly except for January-February, and August-September.

Detroit UFW victory lifts morale

Editor's Note: The Michigan United Farm Workers Union Boycott Committee got Farmer Jack's and Great Scott supermarkets to remove all grapes and non-union lettuce from their shelves. Two Farmworkers organizers tell us how it was done.)

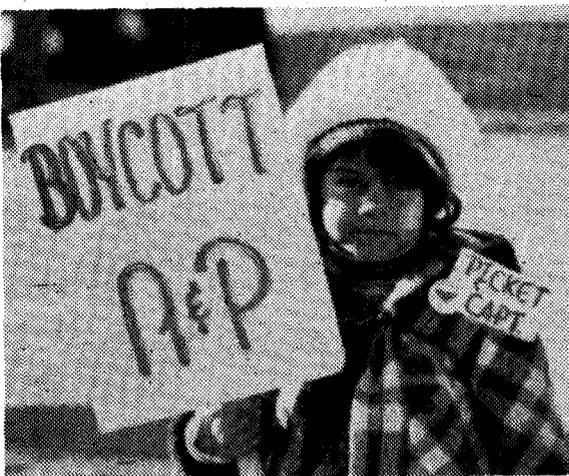
Detroit, Mich. — Nationally, all the other cities are asking Detroit how we did it because Detroit is the only boycott city to get two major chains to stop selling grapes. Next to Boston, we've gotten the most support and publicity. The arrests (of Cesar Chavez's brother, Richard Chavez, his family, and 70 other farmworkers and supporters) made national news! We're now working on Wrigley.

We picketed A&P for about seven months — since last March—but didn't have the people power to beat them then—they're so big. So we switched to the local chains. In Detroit, Farmer Jack's is the largest so we picketed them for about three weeks. We took a lot of care to select the largest stores in places where support would be strong and turned away over 50 percent of the shoppers.

Farmer Jack's then went to court and got an injunction against us which ripped up the Bill of Rights. On the advice of our lawyers, we fought it in court and for a few weeks went back to picketing A&P. By some coincidence, A&P got the exact, same injunction which was so bad it made it illegal for us to even mention A&P to shoppers.

This time we decided not to fight in court — we fought the injunction by ignoring it. On a Saturday, 80 out of 700 who broke the injunction by picketing at A&Ps were arrested. Some of us had left one store and were picketing at another before they decided to arrest us.

We were released from jail after an hour, and court appearances were scheduled for three days the next week. On Monday, the same judge who signed the injunction overturned it, giving no reasons for his ruling. By Tuesday, Farmer Jack's had let it be known that they would discontinue the sale of grapes and non-UFW lettuce.



Even the youngest in the UFW/Chavez family, Theresa Delgado, pickets A&P.

When we found out, everybody went wild but the victory never really hit me until about three days ago when I went to shop at the Farmer Jack's I had been picketing and saw no grapes and all the lettuce with the UFW Eagle on it. I just walked around the store saying "Oh, wow!"

The next week-end we picketed Great Scott for two days and by Monday they had followed Farmer Jack's. The first victory was a Farmworkers' victory; the second was the supporters.' That's Right On! Now that people have seen that it can be done, it's really helped morale on the Wrigley picket lines for both us and our supporters.

**DON'T BUY GRAPES!
BUY UFW LETTUCE!
JOIN UFW PICKET LINES!**

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

he was against busing of school children for the purpose of integration, most of you yelled that Nixon is the man. You thought he was anti-Black, but you did not realize Nixon could not hurt Blacks without hurting working class whites also.

"How in the hell can you worry about a Black child sitting in a classroom with your kids when you do not have a job to feed your family properly. Nixon has raised the prices on me and you just alike. On everything else I catch hell, but so far as inflation is concerned, you and every other white worker have to pay the same as me.

"So Nixon tricked the hell out of most of you white workers to vote for him. Now you are saying, 'I did not vote for him.' Wallace was your first choice, because he was openly anti-Black. After he was shot and couldn't run, then many of you switched to Nixon." The worker said, "Man; I wish you could have seen the expression on that white worker's face."

We must keep the heat in our homes down so low we have to wear our overcoats in bed to keep warm enough to sleep. I heard some man report that today and every week this country sends one million gallons of oil and gas to South Vietnam. Just think how many millions of gallons were used over there during the eight to ten years we fought a war just to control and dominate that country. It would be enough gas and oil for every citizen here for as long as we all lived.

Nixon is the great creator. He created these shortages in order that big corporations could make big profits. Now he is creating special jobs for members of his immediate family. His brother got a \$21,000 job just to look for a place to put a library to be named for Nixon. Then he tried to get a government job for his wife that would have paid her over \$130 a day.

The crisis is so total that working people are searching for total answers. We don't want the programs that many old radicals are offering that turn out to be just another party to lead. Today's crisis cannot begin to be solved on a piece-meal basis.

Neither is it a question of getting rid of some anti-labor, anti-Black Republicans and replacing them with liberal Democrats. The war in Vietnam was as much a Democratic war as a Republican one. Today the news is reporting that Senator Kennedy the Liberal and Wallace the Racist are the leading candidates on the Democratic ticket for the Presidency next time. We must seek the answers for total liberation—total freedom, a philosophy of freedom.

Movie review

'Billy Jack'

By Chris Norwell

"Billy Jack" is about a "Freedom School" located on an Indian reservation near a small Arizona "redneck" town. Inside the school are young people of all ages, all races, and all living together peacefully. This infuriates the "rednecks" to no end and it finally takes our superhero Billy Jack, a Vietnam Vet who is also half-Indian, to save the school.

Normally, I would rate this movie Grade B minus, and save it for the Late, Late Show five years from now; but it shows how the ideas raised by the Freedom movements of the '60s have permeated our society so much that they have even affected Hollywood. In fact, this movie could not have been produced before the revolts — Black, White, Chicano, and Indian — swept America.

The school is run on pacifist principles, yet major conflicts in the "violence vs. non-violence" theme develop when the students have to react to the townspeople's vicious, racist attacks. A young Indian is murdered by the son of the big rancher who controls the town. Earlier, Mr. Big's son had poured flour on the head of an Indian girl — to make her "white" — after Billy Jack forced a store keeper to serve the students ice cream. Later, the Evil Son rapes the school's principal (who is in love with Billy Jack).

After each incident, Billy Jack has to be called in to save the day. And he does it with Kung Fu or his rifle, not pacifism. The theme of violence vs. non-violence is brought right up to the climax, then left up to you to decide. That this question remains unresolved is not the only weakness in the movie. What is really lacking is the connection of the "Freedom School" and its ideas to a mass movement as in the '60s struggles.

It turns out that the leading man and woman made the movie and when it flopped bought the rights to it from Warner Brothers and used a nation-wide TV campaign to "sell" revolution to youth.

The fact that "Billy Jack" was seen by millions — second on the 1973 viewing lists — does not mean that the youth of the 1970s see violence vs. non-violence as an abstraction or that they will forget history and divorce "Freedom Schools" from masses in motion.

Market clerk's story

New York, N. Y. — I work as a supermarket checker. The conditions are very bad—I had to go into work the other day with a fever because when I called in sick the boss told me not to ever come back if I didn't come in that day. He sent me home early when he saw how sick I was, but he wouldn't believe me that I knew when I was sick.

It is a very exhausting job, held mainly by young women. The store is understaffed and always crowded. We have to do many things that I don't feel are part of the job we were hired for—one day I had to help down stairs on the belt when they were unloading a truck.

One man I know in another store has been fired by the chain 14 times! Others have been fired for demanding overtime pay they worked for, and for walking off the job after seven hours without a break.

The pay is very low and there are few fringe benefits. In other types of stores there are employee discounts. In supermarkets, the workers in one chain I know of can't buy or bring into the store any brands sold in that store.

Between the boss and many irate customers who seem to blame us for poor store conditions, the job is very tiring mentally. I even had dreams about cash registers in the beginning.

—Market checker

CARTOON OF THE MONTH

The following cartoon was clipped from a daily paper in New Jersey and sent to us by a reader . . .



Go ahead with "Hogan's Heroes," Ted. I've been dying for a chance to catch up on my Hegel.

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Millions thrown out of work in deepening worldwide economic crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

brought on in 1969-70 did result in over a 6 percent unemployment rate nationally, with 5.5 million out of jobs. But the Vietnam war's drain on the American economy produced instead a combination of both rising unemployment and rising inflation—for the first time in U.S. economic history.

NIXON'S STATE CAPITALIST CHAOS

Caught in the contradictory economic buzzsaw both at home and abroad, with the U.S. balance of payments in international trade reaching a deficit that was the lowest since 1898, Nixon forced the economy further into state capitalism. His New Economic Policy of August 1971 (Phase I) which froze wages (and supposedly prices), and imposed a 10 percent import tax on most of the major U.S. trade countries, specifically those in Europe and Japan, dispelled once and for all the fictions of so-called free enterprise and free play of market forces.

The results of Phase I froze wages, did not hold down prices or profits, and dealt a staggering blow to international trade relations that resulted in revaluations of the Japanese yen, German mark, British pound and an eventual devaluation of the U.S. dollar by a massive 18 percent.

While detente could take Nixon off of the Vietnam hot seat, and provide assists from both Peking and Moscow for his re-election in 1972, it could not solve the contradictions of continuing inflation and unemployment of capitalist economics in either the U.S. or the rest of the world. In this state of growing internal and international crises, the added element of the oil embargo by the Arab oil producing states produced international economic crises that shifted the global power struggle of U.S., Russia and China from Southeast Asia and Europe to the Middle East.

At the same time, the industrial might of the U.S. being what it is, the U.S. dollar is gaining above the countries the Arab rulers are supposedly not punishing—Japan and Europe. The tables have turned.

EUROPEAN CLASS STRUGGLES SHARPEN

British Prime Minister Heath, aware of the economic power of Britain's coal miners who beat his government policies of repressive wage controls against the working class in 1971, has taken advantage of the energy crisis to try to break the coal miners in their refusal to work overtime to produce coal. The class conflict Heath is precipitating is a preview of what can be expected in other European countries. Inflation in these nations is increasing at a rate of 10 percent or more, while widespread unemployment is certain to add to the revolutionary direction that the workers will be taking (See "Our Life and Times," p. 8, and report on Italy, p. 3).

In the U.S., unemployment for 1974 is predicted from a conservative 6 percent to as high as 13 percent. Whatever the unemployment rate may be, it is clear that the so-called labor leaders have totally abdicated. Precisely because they have never had a more dramatic example of the failure of capitalism to provide the fundamental things of life such as food, clothing, shelter, the labor bureaucracy continues with its tail-ending of capitalism.

The recognition on the part of the rank-and-file workers that their leaders are incapable of solving their problems were conclusively demonstrated by the recent sit-ins and wildcat strikes at Chrysler corporation in

protest against both the company speed-up and union do-nothing policies. These are just previews of things to come, because far from getting better, the do-nothing positions taken by union leaders everywhere in this time of national crisis means that the workers can look only to themselves for the solutions to their problems as well as the problems of the nation.

1974 STRIKE BATTLES LOOM

Contract negotiations in 1974 will involve some 5.5 million workers, most in major industries that include 350,000 steelworkers; 665,000 communications workers; 80,000 mine workers; 50,000 aircraft workers; and 500,000 railroad workers.

Patterns shown in the contract negotiations in 1973, and especially among the auto workers who rejected the UAW contracts in numbers never seen before in the history of the union, reveal what can be expected in 1974. Rank-and-file workers are in no mood to continue to bear the brunt of Nixon's economic policies of re-

warding the rich and depriving the poor, and at the same time demanding that workers be speeded-up to increase productivity to compete with lower-paid workers in other nations.

As against these plans the Watergate-weakened President is working on for his State of the Union message to Congress, reality is showing that the masses are so permeated with disbelief in Washington that they believe not a single word coming out of it, not even the nuclear alert and the energy crisis. Both of these crises they believe were Nixon-induced, for the purposes of saving himself. As usual, this is to be at their expense with inflation, unemployment, endless crises in foreign policy.

Once we have reached a stage of such a lack of illusion about the system, we are approaching fundamental changes when the masses will take matters into their own hands. This may not yet be prologue to revolution, but we are on the threshold.

BLACK-RED VIEW

Wounded Knee and the continuity of freedom

Wounded Knee is not over. On Jan. 11, American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means go on trial in St. Paul, Minnesota on Federal charges which could lead to life imprisonment. Their trial is only the first of the upcoming persecutions of Indian civil rights workers scheduled for St. Paul and Sioux Falls, South Dakota. More than 130 Indians have been indicted already and U.S. Attorney William Clayton boasts that the total may reach 200. AIM is calling on Indians from all over North America to attend the trials in protest. —ed.

By John Alan

Once, one of the most ridiculous gimmicks of American bourgeois political hoopla was to have whoever was the President of the United States, or, for that matter, even those who were aspiring to be President, be photographed with an American Indian Chief. The Indian Chief would be stern-faced and dignified, wearing a full feathered headdress, with a trail of feathers down his back to his moccasins, and the real Chief of State, the President, or the hopeful one-to-be, would be a man with a sly self-satisfied smile on his face.

At that time I could never fathom the reason for these hi-jinks, because at "that point in time" the Indians meant absolutely nothing in American politics. After more than 30 years of warfare the West had been won for the railroad, cattle and mining barons. An entire Nation of tribal people had been systematically destroyed by 1900. Those who survived were securely confined to (sic) reservations.

INDIANS RELEGATED TO PAST

Later on, these photographs of the Indian Chief and the "Great White Father" began to symbolize for me the fact that the Indians had been so roundly defeated and so demoralized that now this politician was brave enough to be photographed with him in order to have a little sport. Symbolically these photos were saying, loud and clear: "the Indians have been relegated to the past — a historical past that was over and done with."

The militant actions taken by Indians in recent years has proven the above to be untrue. The Indian today is very much part of a historical dimension. Last year's seizure of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, by militant Indian groups (AIM) has shown that they are very much aware of their historical struggles — it was at Wounded Knee, on December 28th, 1890, that the final massacre took place. In minutes, 200 Indian men, women and children were killed or wounded, and the surviving handful fled in panic to a ravine, where they were subsequently racked with Hotchkiss guns, and women with infants in their arms were among those murdered.

The seizure of Wounded Knee, during the winter of 1973, with the American Indians holding off hundreds of

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

word, this third "little" nuclear power sits astride both the borders of Russia it claims, and those of Southeast Asia that the U.S. has failed to conquer.

Thus did the "new world relations" arise from world realities and detente become the new form of sharp confrontations . . .

So much attention has been given to Kissinger's predilection for studies of Metternich's "concert of Europe" and "balance of powers" strategy that hardly any time was left to the "study" he was practicing. I'm referring, of course, to the "study" that suited Dr. Strangelove Kissinger best: Clausewitz's infamous theory that "war is extension of politics by other means." In reverse, Nixon-Kissinger, the practitioners of never-ending wars, are now practicing politics as an extension of war by other means. It is so at home, and abroad; with friends and with enemies; in Nixonland, it has become a way of life.



U.S. marshals who attempted to retake the old trading post, proved that the Indians had not forgotten their long struggles for independence and freedom, and demonstrated that even such long discontinuity in their struggle for freedom is not fatal to the idea of freedom.

In the 1930s, the idea of a militant Indian was so out of the question that the arch-conservative columnist, Westbrook Pegler, did not find it unusual to sermonize to Black Civil Rights leaders: "to pattern themselves after the long suffering Indian, and avoid the danger of becoming a Communist dupe!"

TERROR AGAINST BLACK AND RED

The 1890s witnessed not only the battle of Wounded Knee but also the end of an era for Black Americans. From 1877 onward there had been a constant erosion of all the civil rights which had been granted to Black people after emancipation. In those crucial years all the white allies of the Black cause in America melted away. The federal government, long before Black disfranchisement and jim-crow became the law of the land, practiced a policy of "benign neglect," a policy that betrayed Black Americans and left them to the merciless reign of terror by lynch law.

1890 was far from the "gay 90s" of song and story books, for both the Black and the Red people. It was a period of warfare, terror and degradation for both these minorities. And, hand in hand with this internal war, went the spread of overseas American imperialism. America's racism descended upon the world, and spread the assumption that all people of color are inferior.

BLACK HUMANISM VS. U.S. CAPITALISM

The conflict that raged then between W.E.B. Dubois and Booker T. Washington, expressed itself ideologically as integration versus accommodation to the "ethos" of work and profit, or, as it has come down to us today, as integration versus separation. It remains fundamentally as the conflict between Black Humanism and the world interest of American capitalism.

When Theodore Roosevelt, that bully boy of American imperialism, invited Booker T. Washington to dine in the White House, to the great chagrin of the racists, he was not expressing solidarity with the Black people's aspirations, but the victory of American racism.

We speak of history, but most often we are speaking of the present — and in this case — if history is meaningful, it has demonstrated that no amount of "benign neglect," which translated means absolute indifference, can destroy the idea of freedom, nor forestall the movement toward freedom.

Report to the Convention of News & Letters Committees PERSPECTIVES 1973-74

By Raya Dunayevskaya

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

By Peter Mallory

Heath's strategy to destroy British miners' power sharpens class war

England is about to embark on the most severe period of energy conservation in its history. Industry is going on a three-day week with power cut to 65 percent of normal, television cut off at 10:30 p.m. and householders requested to heat only one room in their homes.

The crisis is not only due to lack of oil. England has been promised its full allotment by the Arabs. The problem is coal, which produces 80 percent of the electrical energy the country consumes, and the coal miners' refusal to work overtime to supply the demand.

Several unions, the miners, engineers in power stations and railroad workers, are refusing to work

overtime and Sundays unless they receive a living wage. The President of the National Union of Mine-workers declared that the cutbacks were, "nothing but a big political ploy to put the problems of the country on the back of the miners."

The regime of Prime Minister Heath suffered an \$821 million trade deficit in October, the largest in British history, followed by a \$621 million deficit in November. His wage control program met resistance in the face of the high profit level of business and real estate interests. Labor cannot see why it is their already tightened belts that should be tightened further while business goes its merry way. If the three-day-week continues it will mean a

40 percent cut in workers' wages and millions thrown out of work.

The British economy was booming along until Heath decided "to cool it" two days after the October Mideast war. By instituting his Phase 3 wage and price freeze scheme he started the economy on a downhill run that will put the country in a depression by summer. His cut of \$2.76 billion in the national budget will be offset by a \$2.3 billion additional cost for imported oil.

The three-day work week will mean fewer goods for all, but when Heath's hope is to break the union, nothing stops that ruler.

Energy crisis

Due to the secrecy with which the oil industry is managed, firm government statistics on the numbers of producing wells, refinery capacity, pipeline usage and available world supply sources do not exist. We must rely on what the oil industry chooses to tell us about the crisis.

To reap huge profits, the industry has for years abstained from building refineries in the United States, closed some existing refineries, relying instead on off-shore refinery capacity. This column pointed out last June that only three refineries had been built in the United States during the past six years and only 5,000 wells drilled compared to 58,000 in 1956.

If an all-out, spare-no-expense crash program were to be enacted today to explore alternative sources of energy, drill new wells and build new refineries it would take a minimum of five years before the energy supply could be brought back to "normal."

When and if the Arab nations are placated and oil flows once again from this source, the price is up 480 percent in less than one year and workers everywhere are the ones who will foot the bill through higher gasoline prices, rationing, higher fuel

bills and higher prices on everything they purchase.

Nixon has placed the highest priority on keeping industry supplied with its fuel needs and the lowest priority on the needs of the individual. Fuel programs will be managed by people drawn from the very industry that created the mess and will be run for the greater profit of the oil industry.

The result will be the most serious depression in the world economy since the depression of 1930.

Bolivia

Since August 1971 when General Hugo Banzer Suarez seized power, he has conducted a reign of terror which resulted in the arrest without trial of over 2,000 Bolivians.

Of these, 300 to 400 remain in his torture cells, raped, beaten daily or hung for hours with their hands tied behind their backs. Their numbers include oppositionists of all kinds, trade unionists and even priests. The elections promised for June 1974 have been canceled. The Nixon administration has given complete support to the regime since it overthrew the regime of the left wing General Juan Jose Torres Gonzales in 1971.

In the last 148 years Bolivia has had 16 constitutions and changes of government.

Fascist Spain

The car bearing Luis Carrero Blanco, Premier of Spain, who wielded all political power for senile Franco, was blown to bits and Blanco killed. The assassination was the work of the Basque Nationalists who have never ceased to struggle against the fascist regime which has held power since overthrowing the democratically elected Republican regime in 1937.

The event draws attention to the fact that the Franco dictatorship, far from mellowing in its old age, is just as repressive as it was in 1937. The new successor, Carlos Arias Navarro, is former Minister of the Interior and Mayor of Madrid, noted mainly for his right-wing views and police-state methods of administration.

Resistance to the regime continues unabated and thousands remain in Spanish jails for all sorts of minor infractions of the law or viewpoints which do not coincide with those of the Franco clique.

U. S. administrations from Nixon to Roosevelt have cultivated the friendship of the fascist Franco regime.

Mexican workers' strikes fight food shortages, soaring prices

Hermosillo, Mexico—The production of food-stuffs in Mexico before 1968 was keeping pace with the growing population. Since then, it has fallen behind. The government discarded the possibility of producing surpluses, using the argument that food-stuffs could be bought at relatively low prices in the world market and that there were insufficient storage facilities in the country.

The government got so carried away with the policy of promoting exports (to balance the foreign debt) that the only agricultural products receiving attention have been tomatoes, cotton, fruits and beef. The beginning of 1973 saw large exports of corn, wheat and cattle, precipitating terrible shortages of these items by the end of the year. The situation reached the absurd when the government had to begin importing corn in the second half of the same year, and at a higher price. In less than six months, the official price of tortillas, a main staple in the Mexican diet, went up by more than 100 percent.

MILK A LUXURY

The export of cattle included calves, which reportedly has hurt the cattle industry as a whole. The big ranchers in the northern states of Mexico are the ones benefiting and pushing for export licenses. The price of meat is sky-rocketing, and the price of milk is prohibitive to a large part of the population. Government food stores have tried to provide milk at a low, controlled price in Mexico City. But the shortage of milk is notorious throughout the country, and most of the government food stores, as well as the common grocery stores keep the policy of requiring an additional purchase with each liter of milk. In some of the government stores in Mexico City the price of a sweet roll is charged along with the milk—whether or not the sweet roll is provided!

Anderson and Clayton, the international firm which controls a huge portion of the agricultural industry in Mexico, recently raised the price of feed for fowl by 45 percent, meaning that prices of eggs and poultry will soon be climbing too. Food isn't the only part of the budget hit by inflation. In the last few months, bottled gas (the most common cooking fuel) has gone up 100 percent, at the same time that the price of electricity has taken a big leap.

The government attempted to stave off workers' anger by proposing the 40 hour week. Although championed by the union leaders (those of the government-controlled unions) and surrounded by propaganda claiming this to be a workers' demand, the proposal has been exposed as a political move by the ruling party. The hope

was as much to crush small business (who, being unable to pay overtime, would reduce production), as it was to please the workers.

WANT INDEPENDENT UNIONS

From the workers' side, the struggle is taking a much more profound form than the government endorsement of a 40 hour week. Several trades have already begun the fight for independent unions—unions outside government control. Most recently, the bus drivers in Mexico City and the bank employees throughout Mexico have been involved in this fight. They are not alone. Workers from a wide range of trades have demanded independent unions: metal workers, farmworkers, university employees, airport chauffeurs, railway employees, petroleum workers and others.

There is labor unrest everywhere. Textile workers

from Monterrey earlier this year went to Mexico City in a caravan demanding higher salaries and attempting to form an independent union. Workers at Chrysler de Mexico went on strike in August, 1973, demanding a contract, eight hours work, a fixed wage and life insurance. The strike took place at two plants, one in Toluca and one in Mexico City. A sympathy strike was also staged by workers at a General Motors plant.

The strikers' petition was declared illegal by the labor courts, and the attorney general tried to buy off the leaders of the movement. As the strike continued, kidnappings and physical attacks were arranged by the company and the leaders of the government-controlled union. The strikers had broken with the established union in March. Thugs finally broke up the strike after three days.

—Correspondent, Mexico

By Raya Dunayevskaya
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