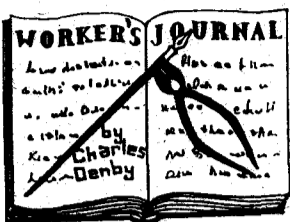


ON THE INSIDE

- China's new constitution
by Raya Dunayevskaya p. 5
- Editorial: racism grows deeper p. 4
- 'Three Marias' author speaks p. 2



Chrysler and UAW play with workers' pay

by Charles Denby, Editor

The capitalist class is saying this country is in a recession, but most workers are saying the country is in a depression — especially workers who have been laid-off. A young woman worker, laid-off several weeks ago from a GM plant in Detroit, said nothing makes her angrier than when she sees and hears news reporters saying that auto workers are not having it rough because they still get SUB benefits.

They say that auto workers still can get 95 percent of their wages for a year if they have a year's seniority in a plant. The truth of the matter is that with GM today, workers must have two years or more before they are eligible to receive Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB).

NO SUB FOR MANY

This woman said, "When I was laid-off two weeks ago, many of us rushed to our local union hall. We were told by the union leaders that unless we had two years with the company, we would not receive any SUB. We could not believe them, because we had heard and were under the impression that we were eligible after one year."

"The union leaders said that 121,000 production workers have been laid-off by GM since last September. The SUB fund was \$260 million in January, 1974. Today it is down to \$100 million. Under ordinary circumstances a person with two years seniority would be entitled to a maximum of 52 weeks.

"But because of the dip in the SUB fund, a worker with two years at GM will receive 32 weeks of SUB benefits; two to five years, 37 weeks; five to 10 years, 42 weeks; 10 to 15 years, 47 weeks, and those with 20 years or more get 52 weeks. At no time did our union leader say a worker with one year received any SUB under the union contract.

GET THE DUES

"Those bureaucrats were spending more time trying to get us to sign some form that would give the union the right to deduct union dues from our SUB pay. When many workers refused, one official yelled, 'If and when you get back it will be deducted from your paychecks. If they take out two or three months of union dues from your first check, don't come over here crying to us.'

"One worker yelled, 'You just told us 121,000 are on indefinite lay-off. Hell, there are many that will never get back. Some of us here will never get back, but you want to make damn sure the union leaders will be raking in their same profits.'

"Another followed by saying, 'Years ago when the union meant something to workers, when we were laid-off there was no such thing as your dues continuing. After we were back, we did not pay dues until we had worked 40 hours in a week. Now what you are saying is, dues are a continuing process. This is taxation without pretending to represent workers. You know well that you cannot represent a worker in the streets.' After that no one attempted to push the form, and the workers all left the local hall wondering if they would be called back."

Douglas Fraser, UAW vice-president, stated that there are some untapped SUB reserve funds stowed away in the National Bank of Detroit. This money, to

(Continued on Page 7)

10,000 laid-off UAW workers rally in D.C.

Detroit, Mich. — When the UAW announced their plans for the Feb. 5 unemployment rally in Washington, many of us called our locals to sign up for the trip. But it was limited from the start only to the 10,000 that the auditorium there supposedly held. Everybody was mad when our local's bus left with 10 empty seats because we all knew others who had wanted to go.

There was a lot of discussion during the 13-hour trip down, beginning with those empty seats and how the local couldn't take care of business, even when it was so simple as phoning people for the rally. All the locals had waiting lists, and in Washington there were whole sections of empty seats.

RANK-AND-FILE ATTEND RALLY

Over 10,000 people came to the rally, and they were truly representative of the UAW rank-and-file — Black and white, young and old, women and men. There were UAW workers from the South, Midwest, and Northeast. But most were from Michigan, especially the Detroit area that has been hardest-hit by the lay-offs.

Many people I talked with said that they had never participated in this kind of mass activity before — not only younger workers with one or two years seniority,

10¢

NEWS

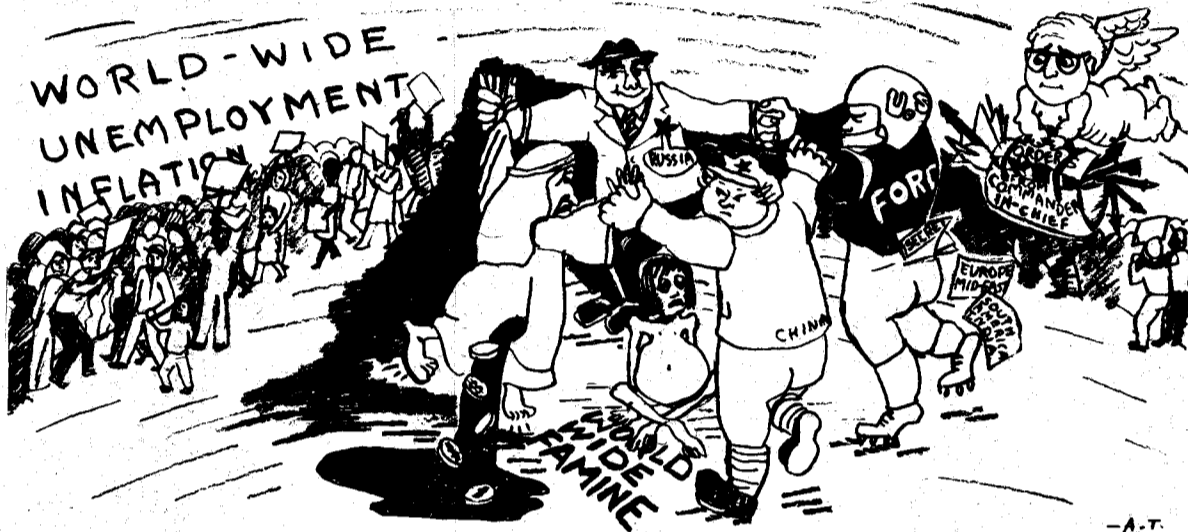
LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

VOL. 20—NO. 2

27 Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

MARCH, 1975



THE WORLDWIDE ENERGY CRISIS AND THE MERCHANTS OF DEATH

by Peter Mallory

President Ford, worried that he will be less than even a one-term president, took off on a barn-storming trip to Big Business friendly audiences in Houston, Tex. and Topeka, Kan., not to mention a side-trip on Feb. 12 to a wreath-laying ceremony at Lincoln's tomb — which he likewise used as part of his endless tirades. Moreover, these are not only directed at the Democratic majority in Congress, but also against the people (and the polls which show him to be on the lowest rung of the totem poll of popularity) who "do not understand."

His explanation all rests on showing off how "comprehensive" his plan is by pointing to the 167 pages his "experts" have written for him, as if the number of

pages would be the instrument to "turn the country around" from its ever-deepening recession and more than a single pocket of outright depression. His "solution" consists of letting unemployment rise ever higher, raising oil prices beyond the reach of all but the rich, and whistling in the dark about ever more appropriations for "Defense"—like that for Thieu in South Vietnam.

OIL PROFITS AND NATIONALIZATION

First, let's get down to some basic facts. The oil crisis resulted from the action, and inaction, of the American oil monopolists, and not the Arabs.

The energy crisis that is facing the world was not created by the Arab states, nor the Arab-Israel war. It is the culmination of over 50 years of mismanagement of world energy sources by greedy capitalist oil interests.

Seven international oil corporations, called the Seven Sisters (Exxon, Royal Dutch Shell, Texaco, Gulf, Mobil, Standard Oil of California and British Petroleum), have for over the past half century controlled the production, refining and distribution of oil and gas throughout the world.

The flow of capital from country to country, the institution of laws, rules and regulations, have been achieved in favor of the oil monopoly through bribery, military force and collusion between the oil interests and governments throughout the world.

Up to 10 years ago, any threat to "nationalize" the oil fields was met with military force or CIA overthrow (Mossadegh in Iran, Allende in Chile). By the end of 1975, all of the oil fields in the Middle East and Venezuela are to be nationalized, not by workers' demands or under workers' control, but by Kings, Sheiks, Emirs and semi-fascist dictators. There has not been a murmur of protest out of the oil monopoly, because nothing will change in the operation of the oil fields. The monopoly will be paid handsomely for their assets; get fat government contracts to operate the facilities; transport, distribute and make final sales on the products—and make huge profits in every step of the operation.

RUN-AWAY OIL INDUSTRY

Oil and gas production and refining in the U.S. over the past decade has decreased rather than increased. The oil monopoly has found it more profitable to drill

(Continued on Page 8)

but older workers laid off permanently after 25 and 30 years. But none of us had just come for the ride and the free food, and we didn't intend to leave it go as planned — a UAW-sponsored rally for the Democratic Party.

There were only a few UAW bureaucrats there besides the big guns — Woodcock, Fraser, Bannon and Bluestone. The speakers, besides the UAW bureaucrats, included presidential aspirants like Kennedy, Mondale and Abzug. Michigan's congressional representatives were nowhere to be seen.

SPEECHES AND MORE SPEECHES

After we finally got there and ate, the speeches began.

Woodcock presented the UAW's "Program For The Nation's People" which we all got a copy of, and which set forth the topics that most of the others spoke on too. The biggest response he got from us wasn't on any of the particular points of his "planned economy," but when he threatened that there would be 250,000 marching in Washington come Spring, if nothing were done now.

In spite of what the news said about the applause Kennedy got when he finally spoke, it was when Abzug began criticizing Ford's attempt to send more money

(Continued on Page 3)

'Three Marias' author speaks on importance of WL

Oakland, Cal. — Most books don't exist as books only for their content's sake, but rather are shaped by the events that have created them or that greet their existence. In that sense **The Three Marias** (Doubleday) is not just a book but represents something more than itself in the international struggle for women's liberation.

The **New Portuguese Letters**, as the book was originally titled (the fact that it was titled **The Three Marias** for the English translation points out how it is the three women who have become important as opposed to the letters themselves), was begun in early 1971 under the fascist Caetano regime in Portugal by the three writers, Maria Velho da Costa, Maria Isabel Barreno, and Maria Teresa Horta.

The theme they chose to write around was **Letters of a Portuguese Nun**, a series of five letters written in the seventeenth century by a young Portuguese nun, to her French officer lover who deserted her and returned to France.

Three women meeting together in Portugal under Caetano's fascism was enough to raise official eyebrows, but the fact that they wrote a book about women was even worse. Getting a publisher was difficult, and once published the book sold for only one month in Lisbon before being banned as "pornographic" and an "outrage to public decency." The women were arrested. While little was known about the arrest of these women within

International women's day

Inspired by working women

Although there have been many celebrations of International Women's Day in recent years, the actual history of how that day developed has not been given enough attention. It is a history which is rich in ideas for today's Women's Liberation movement.

The idea for International Women's Day began with a march by thousands of garment workers, mostly women, who marched from the lower east side of New York on March 8, 1908. The day was called Working Women's Day and they marched to demand the eight-hour day, an end to sweatshop conditions, an end to child labor and the right to vote.

A series of strikes in the garment industry and a proposed general strike inspired Clara Zetkin, a leader of the German Socialist movement, to ask at the Second International Conference of Working Women in 1910 for the organizing of an International Working Women's Day to be celebrated every year. The first International Women's Day was celebrated in March, 1911.

WOMEN BEGAN REVOLUTION

The most exciting celebration of International Women's Day occurred in Russia in 1917 when the activity of the women workers actually sparked the February Revolution (Feb. 23 was the equivalent of Mar. 8 under the old Russian calendar). Officials intended to have a general celebration that day with the usual speeches, etc. Even though it was during a period of many strikes, none had been called for that day—and even a workers' committee felt the time was not yet ripe for militant action.

But the women textile workers from several factories went on strike on their own. They called on the metal workers for support and a mass strike followed. The slogans were not only for "Bread" but for an end to the war and autocracy. It was the first day of the revolution, begun by what Trotsky called "the most oppressed and downtrodden part of the proletariat."

MORE THAN CULTURE

Our celebration of International Women's Day would be much more meaningful—and true to history—if we celebrate not just women's culture, which changes nothing, but the real every day struggles of women like these and others in every country who are fighting for a new way of life for all of us.

The most important point about the February Revolution is that it would never have begun if the women workers, although starting the strike independently, had not called for and gotten the support of other workers.

Today, more people than ever recognize the need for a revolution after seeing that the system they have worked under for so long suddenly has no place for them. The women's movement, armed with a philosophy that looks to these workers, Blacks and youth for ideas and support, has the potential to spark that revolution.

—Suzanne Casey

For our Detroit readers —

Raya Dunayevskaya will speak on
**WOMEN'S CREATIVITY AND
LIBERATION, NATIONALLY
AND INTERNATIONALLY**

Date: Friday, Mar. 7 Time: 7:00 p.m.
Wayne State University Student Center Bldg.
7th Floor

Sponsored by Wayne Women's Liberation



Portugal, outside of Portugal their case became a cause for international women's groups. The trial lasted into April, 1974 when the charges were finally dropped by the new government.

While the collectivity of the **Three Marias** represents an attempt to break through women's isolation, their refusal to sign their individual articles is a source of great frustration because of the need to see each woman develop, to understand the totality each represents and the direction of her thought. The book will be read internationally, and the universal oppression of women will become more explicit, but the question remains, not alone for just the **Three Marias**, but for the whole Women's Liberation movement — after the recognition of women's oppression where are we going?

SPEAK IN UNITED STATES

One of the **Three Marias**, Maria Isabel Barreno, was recently on tour in the United States and was able to develop her ideas and commitment to the Women's Movement more completely than she was able to do in the book. Some of the following comments are excerpted from one of her talks.

"For much of the material in our book the government could have chosen a different charge than obscenity, such as political subversion. . . .

"The problems of women are seen as minor, not general — just female . . . Of course this oppression of women was done in an open way by the fascist government, but it is a way of seeing things that I can feel when for instance during the trial many journalists asked, 'Well is your book political, or is it just feminist?' That way of seeing things, that what is feminist is not political, is because when women are fighting for their freedom this is not something people tend to see as a political matter. It is hard for people to admit that . . .

RECEIVED MASS SUPPORT

"We were very happy when the international support began in the second year of our trial. Something was finally going on inside Portugal that was known outside of Portugal, and it was the women who were taking this first step against the ignorance about Portugal. They were understanding that they had to fight for all women and not only themselves.

"Many people say the coup freed us, but this is not so. This is another way to hide the fight of women. Once the international fight began our trial changed completely because the government was not at ease with the publicity that our fight made round the world . . . In the last session before April 25 (the date of the coup) even the prosecutor did not attack the book, he praised it. So we can see how the struggle of women works, when we are together we are really strong."

When asked what she thought of the women's movement in the U.S., Ms. Barreno replied that too many women here think that just a few changes here and there will be enough, but what we need in fact is total reorganization of society.

—Deborah Morris

Unions ignore P.O. speed-up

New York, N.Y. — The word at the Post Office now is speed-up. They are constantly harassing people to do more and more work. What they do now is send you to another section if you finish your job in your regular section, so you end up doing two or three jobs. Management says it's because they want to "utilize" you to the fullest. The fact is they want to get more work out of fewer people.

They feel they have too many people working there, but because of the contract they can't just lay people off. So what they are doing is going back through people's records and digging up write-ups from a year ago, the point being that if you have too many suspensions they can terminate you.

The working conditions are very bad. It seems like you are in prison instead of working for the Post Office. For one thing, the foremen think they have to stand over you every minute, or you won't do anything. When you are sent from one section to another they line you up and count you; they put a thing we call the disc into a computer to record your time. After you get to the other section, they go through the same thing over again. And on top of that you are watched every minute. They even have guys walking around on catwalks inside the walls watching you through peep holes.

The sad part about it is we have three unions in the place, and not one of them does anything about any of this. The unions know that management is writing people up right and left, terminating people, speeding us up, but they just make lame excuses. It seems like they are working for management instead of us.

—Black P.O. worker

Attention — New York Readers
RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA, author of
Philosophy and Revolution* will speak on
*Dialectics of Liberation and
Today's Myriad Global Crises*
Friday, April 4, 7:30 p.m., Workmen's Circle,
45 E. 33rd St.,
between Madison and Park Avenues
*Available from News & Letters, \$2.95 (see ad, p. 6)

WAY OF THE WORLD

Sexism, racism in politics

by Ethel Dunbar

I cannot help but wonder if the Women's Liberation movement is making any changes in the thinking and attitudes of those who are in power, mainly white men.

When Margaret Thatcher captured the leadership of the British Conservative Party, the news traveled around the world with the speed of the astronauts going to the moon, saying history is being written — the first woman to have hopes of becoming Britain's Prime Minister.

I am not in support of Thatcher's politics, and am firmly opposed to conservatism. But because she is a woman, there is the same kind of thinking as when a Black gets elected to some position here.

In this racist, sexist world, he or she is the first Black or woman to hold such a position. So the yelling is not about politics, but because she is a woman, or a Black.

The worst proof of male chauvinist action against women is the case of Joanne Little, a young Black woman in North Carolina who was raped by an old white prison guard. In defending herself, she somehow got the guard's ice pick and stabbed him, and then ran away.

Now they are trying to sentence her to death, and bond for her is \$115,000, even after the prison doctor reported that the guard's body was found half-naked, and that he had had sexual relations just before his death.

Living in the South a part of my life, I have seen this to be standard practice with prison guards many times. The news did report that there are women guards at the jail now to guard women prisoners, but I am still wondering if Women's Liberation can ever make changes in white male lives for the total freedom of women.

WL NOTES

In Florence, Italy, 8,000 women and men demonstrated to protest the raid of an abortion clinic and the arrest of 40 women and two members of the Radical Party. The clinic was established to challenge the ban on abortion. There are plans to open new clinics in six major cities.

In Indira Gandhi's India, a study on the status of women revealed bleak facts. Only 18.7 percent of the women are literate compared to 39.5 for men; nearly half the women eat their meals after the men in the family, which leads to higher malnutrition among women in poor families; and there are fewer women in Parliament than 50 years ago. A women's activist said of the study, "Indian women had as much responsibility for bringing about independence as men. They have a right to equal treatment."

Twenty Buddhist nuns were attacked by police in Saigon while protesting against U.S. government support of President Nguyen Van Thieu. The police have surrounded their pagoda since October, but they have used various ruses to leave and conduct demonstrations several times.

NY taxi drivers fight racism

New York, N.Y. — At many garages racism has become an issue as the shape-ups get bigger and bigger. One driver from the Bronx told me: "It's been an open issue on the floor of the garage for a couple months. There was a confrontation between a group of younger Black drivers and the boss over the issue of dispatching."

This is a fairly common grievance in our industry, and these young Blacks hadn't gotten cabs to go out after long shape-ups, and white drivers were being sent out ahead of them even though they'd come to the shape-up after them.

A group of drivers, Black and white, finally confronted the boss about it and he sounded both taken aback and scared. He agreed there were some inequities but denied being racist. He promised he'd come up with a fairer system within a week.

Soon after, a number of these drivers and other militant drivers were fired and suspended. The harassment of the Black drivers has usually been heavier, firings have come down harder on them, and their suspensions were longer.

At another garage the boss set an industry record for a suspension over a flag-up. A driver told me about a Black driver with many years seniority, who got his first ticket ever for a flag-up. He was found guilty by the kangaroo court at the Taxi Commission.

The usual procedure is a 10-day suspension by the garage and the only exception is maybe if he doesn't suspend someone, like a high booker, for example. He suspended this worker for 30 days, which is really incredible.

One reason might be that this driver has been filing grievances against the boss for discriminatory dispatching. This was reduced to 10 days only after the union big shots came down to the garage. But the union guys not only refused to raise the issue of racism in these negotiations to lower the suspension, but they told drivers who wanted them to that anybody raising this issue wouldn't last long in the New York taxi industry.

—Taxi driver

10,000 laid-off UAW workers rally in D.C.



—News & Letters photo

Unemployed auto workers jam D. C. armory.

(Continued from Page 1)

and military aid to South Vietnam that the place exploded with cheers and clapping. Then the chant began of "We want jobs!" and it was both a rejection of that continuing war, and a deep feeling against any wars-to-be.

The official rally ended abruptly a little more than two hours after it began, but a lot of us stayed in the auditorium and continued talking. Although many papers and leaflets were being handed out and thrown away, the people I talked with insisted on buying *News & Letters*. Many said they wanted nothing to do with many of the so-called radicals there because they knew them from home and were disgusted with their opportunism. But they did want to read a paper edited by a Black production worker.

In these discussions and on the bus going home, there was a feeling of waiting to see and preparing for that what happen in the Spring. A woman told me that unemployment didn't have to be any worse by then. "If there are still this many of us out of work by then, nobody will have to bring us to Washington. There will be marches in every city in the U.S."

In spite of the cold wet weather, many of us had thought there would be a march to the White House, not

a two-hour meeting in an auditorium on the edge of town. One young Black worker I sat with during the rally said it was like the UAW convention last year. "Then they ran away from Detroit to Los Angeles. This time they had to go to D.C. I had wanted to go to the White House — but Jerry was probably out skiing anyway."

Something has to be done, and we are waiting to see who will do it. It is even more obvious after the "Emergency Unemployment Mobilization Rally" that it's not going to be the UAW or the Democratic Party.

One woman on my bus told me, "People always say it's a Republican Administration that throws us out of work. So are we supposed to wait until 1976 to elect a Democrat for President? And they forget to say that it's the Democrats who get us into a war to get our jobs back. Now the UAW wants us to go along with them again! That's too high a price."

—Laid-off woman worker

Uniroyal: lay-offs, speed-up

Detroit, Mich. — I was working at Uniroyal for two years before I got laid off. Now they say they don't know if I'll ever get back to work. They're never going to get up to the number of people they had before. Whole departments have been moved out and some new machines brought in. These automatic presses are making one job out of what used to be four or five before.

I was talking with some workers in the maintenance department and there is even speed-up there. The number of janitors is being cut down even though there is the same amount of work. Some guys are hardly complaining, because at least they're still working. Also, the SUB fund is so low they're making the workers who don't have a lot of seniority use up their eligibility. At first I couldn't believe it, but that's the way it's written up in the contract.

All this talk about people getting a lot of money for just sitting is ridiculous. They don't know what we had to go through on the job to get compensation in the first place, or if we'll ever find another job. Everybody that works is in the same boat. It seems that we have to do something extreme before we get noticed. That's backwards. As long as the pot's boiling and the top doesn't come off, nothing is done.

—Uniroyal worker



Big fish gobble up little ones

by John Allison

When there is a crisis, the big fish gobble up the little fish. This has always been the way the big corporations have operated, the difference now is that they are doing it more than they do in so-called normal times.

I don't know how true it is, but the hottest rumor around now is that Chrysler will merge with American Motors to keep from being gobbled up by General Motors. Chrysler is on the short end of the stick now, but it wasn't so not very long ago.

Many old timers, and some not so old, can remember Chrysler's buying out and consuming outfits like Briggs, Murray Body and Machine and many more.

Everybody knows that the big squeeze is on Chrysler. They were the first to offer the rebate program, and the reason is that Chrysler's cars were the highest priced in the auto industry. Where it comes to the price per unit, GM makes cars cheaper than Chrysler or Ford. But GM requires their workers to produce more per unit, and make the same profit as Ford and Chrysler — or more. So we all pay one way or the other for the greed of the auto industry.

Chrysler is talking about calling back some more workers, but it is not because they need to build new cars. The reason is the recall of 1975 model cars with defective bumpers in the state of California.

A lot of people who didn't know what they were talking about were saying that the rebate program was going to give the auto industry the push it needed to pick up on sales. But this is just whistling in the dark. The hope for the big Spring push that would send the workers back in the auto shops is now dead. And the noose around the workers' necks gets tighter with every passing day.

'Workers need bureaucrats like a dog needs fleas'

By Felix Martin

Ten thousand United Automobile Workers marched on Washington Feb. 5. What good has this done?

Going to Washington to hear Woodcock and a few senators make pretty speeches telling the government to do something, is like asking the fleas to leave the dog alone.

Standing in the unemployment line I was listening to some workers talking about Woodcock's march on Washington. A Black auto worker said, "Man, they sure made some good speeches there, but they've been making them for years." A Mexican auto worker agreed.

"Speeches will never change a thing. It is, going to take all of us men and women, all colors, all working people getting together. Then we can change it. And I am ready because my unemployment is just about to run out."

I was struck by the fact that they didn't see the government as providing any solution. The Black worker reported that Woodcock said, if private industry cannot furnish jobs for all the people that want to work, the government will have to.

"What's the difference working for General Motors or working for the government?" a white worker answered back. The Black worker agreed, saying "Man, that's what I mean!"

We have to work to produce our needs to live. If the capitalist system cannot furnish us the opportunity for a decent standard of living, we must rid ourselves of this system and replace it.

The new system must be a philosophy grounded in freedom for all, where all work to produce our needs and all people are in on the decision making. The measurement of wealth will be leisure time, where each person decides what he or she wants to do.

As long as we have leaders we can be nothing but followers. And as long as one man exploits another man, there can be no free man. Working people need bureaucrats to exploit them like a dog needs fleas.

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich.—There's a sure signal at the Dearborn Assembly Plant when layoffs are coming. The first thing, a lot of women are hired. It's just to say that they have hired so many women, because before they even get seniority they're all gone. Then we get a new layoff. The women are always hurt the most.

Since October I don't think we've worked more than 20 or 30 days. It's been off two weeks and maybe on a week. And every time there's one of these two week layoffs, there are guys who get a permanent slip who'll never get back. Then they make less people do the same work.

They try to psyche you out by saying they're going to slow the line down. The committeemen will say they slowed the line down, too. But they never do and every worker there knows it.

When I was hired in 1973, they were hiring 150 workers a day. There used to be four people on the welding job I had. Then three. Then two. Then they doubled it up with another job and now two people are doing the work of five or six.

There's a guy about 60 years old being sent all over the plant. He hasn't been able to keep up. They were going to kick him out, so we've been helping him learn to keep up. He's just making it now, but we're all afraid he's going to have a heart attack.

When I first hired in, a man had a heart attack and died. He just laid there for about eight minutes. The line wasn't even stopped.

Instead of taking him directly to the hospital through Ford property, they took him around the long way because it got him off company property faster. They didn't care about saving his life. They just didn't want him to die on company property in order to save on insurance costs.

—D.A.P. worker, second shift

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—GM has laid off many of the workers here at Fleetwood, even though Cadillacs are selling and there are jobs to be built. While they are preparing to introduce the new mini-Cadillac into production, they have temporarily stopped making El Dorados. So they cut the line speed back to about 54 an hour, and laid off workers for a month or more.

Just like in reducing production before, they have laid off too many workers. That makes it really hard

on the guys left working. It is roughest on older workers, just like last year in the energy crisis lay-offs, who are doing hard production jobs again. People are saying there are no easy jobs now. Even foremen are complaining, because with cutbacks in the salaried force one foreman is now often in charge of what two foremen handled before.

When the mini-Cadillac is in production, and the laid-off workers are called back, we have been told that it will be steady nine-hour days, six days a week. They say the line speed will be set higher than it has ever been before, maybe 75 jobs an hour.

—Second shift Fleetwood worker

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—Before we got laid off we were working 10 to 12 hours a day at Mack. I just got my 90 days in when the layoffs came. Quite a few of us were women that had just hired in.

Working in the press room, they were really hard on us probationaries. They treat you just like a man. You get five minutes to go to the bathroom, no matter what, even though it takes you almost that long to walk upstairs to get there. There's no security working in a place like that. When cars aren't selling, they don't have any use for you. It's like the machines are taking over.

—Unemployed Mack worker

GM and Ford

Detroit, Mich. — General Motors was a bad place to work. I worked on the assembly line. It was so hard it put me in the hospital. When I came out of the hospital, I couldn't go back to work building motors so they moved me to the machine shop. I told them I could not stand the noise, but they would not change me. The noise caused me to go into the hospital again, so this time I had to quit.

I went to Ford Motor Company. Three of us were supposed to do the job they put me on, but one day they had me doing it all by myself. I got so tired, but I couldn't stop. I'm left-handed which made it worse and eventually my arm got raw and I had to stay out again. They wouldn't pay me while I was out, so I sued them. I won my case and they had to send me a check for several thousand dollars, eventually.

Meanwhile, I had gone to Uniroyal, and stayed there until they laid me off.

—Ex-Ford and GM Worker

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EDITORIAL

After 20 years—racism grows deeper

The manslaughter conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a Black physician and chief resident obstetrician at Boston's City Hospital, by an all-white, and thoroughly racist jury, for performing a legal abortion, brings to a new climax the lynch-mob atmosphere in a city which in 1974-75 has already far out-distanced Little Rock 1957. The events of the last six months in Boston are the exact measure of how far America has retrogressed in the 20 years since the Supreme Court ordered schools integrated.

In every area of American life, from jobs to schools to housing, the recession is being used to speed the erosion of the advances won by the Black revolution of the '60s. The "official" Black unemployment rate has soared to over 13 percent—twice the rate for whites. In Detroit, the figure is over 20 percent, with some neighborhoods estimated as approaching 50 percent.

STEADY RETROGRESSION

At company after company, Black workers hired in the late 1960s, after the civil rights demonstrations and the ghetto rebellions, are now being laid-off. Companies which were lily-white in 1965 suddenly look just the same ten years later.

In New York, 2,900 ship-building workers, mostly Black and Latino, and "proof" of progress in the skilled trades, were given indefinite notices as Seatrain Corp. cut back production schedules for — of all things — oil tankers!

The Ford administration, already noted for its avid support of the bigots stoning Boston school buses, responded to the reality of Depression in Black America by proposing a cut in food stamp benefits. That this insanity was defeated in Congress was due only to the massive outcry raised against it all across the country.

The very next week Ford appeared in Atlanta to "seek advice on the nation's economic problems" and announced that he was recommending massive cuts in Federal support of health and welfare programs. Spokesmen explained that this was "his agenda." Dorothy Bolden, President of the National Domestic Workers Union, responded: "Well, you got the wrong agenda, darling."

Even the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, investigating Federal agencies mandated to enforce civil rights legislation against race and sex discrimination, called their performance "lax and dangerous." Agencies which obtained affirmative action programs from companies to increase minority employment are now taking complaints from whites charging the programs with "reverse discrimination."

BOSTON NOT UNIQUE

Other agencies, taking the hint from the Ford administration's attitude to Boston's white mobs, have begun "re-defining" school integration. The New York School Board of Regents voted to no longer define compliance with school integration standards "by numerically counting pupils." From now on, integration will be judged by the "good faith effort" a school district displays in support of integration.

Sickening as it is, there is nothing unique about Boston, unless it is a hypocrisy previously unmatched by any other American city. This "center of higher learning" and "citadel of liberalism" is in fact the only major American city which has not elected a single Black to municipal office. Incredibly, even its Dept. of Public Works is segregated, and was just sued by two Black job applicants for having only 45 Black and Latino sanitation men out of 1,331 workers!

In response to the new depths racism has reached in the streets of the North, white intellectuals have been busy and creative, not in opposing it, but in thinking up new excuses to "explain" it. The latest, and most disgusting, is that South Boston is "understandable" because they are trying to preserve Irish "culture." All they have proven is that there is more than a little shared "culture" between the KKK outside South Boston High and the apologists inside Harvard Yard, and it is not "Irish," but simply racist.

Worst of all are the so-called revolutionaries (the Maoist "Revolutionary Union" and the Trotskyist "Revolutionary Socialist League") who actually took the side of Louise Day Hicks and the Boston School Committee,

claiming that "busing is a bourgeois liberal plot," and passing out anti-busing leaflets in the white community. It was over a hundred years ago that Marx had to separate himself from such "Marxists" who evaded a position on the Civil War by saying they were opposed to "all slavery, wage and chattel."

BLACK STUDENTS SHOW WAY

We have had more than one too many aborted revolutions, which pave the way for counter-revolution. Today's vicious attack on Black America, while all workers are suffering from inflation and recession, reveals that the threat of outright fascism is still all too real.

It is significant, therefore, that the latest challenge to Ford-Rockefeller America has come from the Black Students at the University of Michigan who have recruited Latinos, American Indians and Asians to their side and occupied the school Administration Building. (See article, page 7.) Who else will join them, and under what banner, across the country, will tell a lot about which way America will go in the months ahead.

News & Letters
Vol. 20, No. 2 March, 1975

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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UNEMPLOYMENT LINES

Is Chief Edward M. Davis of the L. A. Police Dept. getting ready for food and unemployment riots before they have even happened? Does he know something that we don't know? Are L.A.P.D. riot control drills evidence of coming food shortages for the poor?

Ford has recommended a reversal of social services by cutting back spending for programs such as food stamps, social security and federal retirement benefits — the only means of survival for millions of Americans. In the same breath the President calls for an increase in defense spending and increased tax credits to allow corporations and businesses to reap greater and greater profits. Could Chief Davis be worried about how long people will allow these crimes to go on?

His riot drills only show that "Law and Order" are ready to destroy the victims of the crime of capitalism.

**Unemployed Worker
Los Angeles**

* * *

The present unemployment problem, which we are confronted with in this highly industrialized area, has compounded the problems of youth oppression. I am presently employed at a pharmaceutical company, earning \$2 an hour, with no fringe benefits. I have discovered that the state of the economy is directly proportional to the degree of youth exploitation.

I am arbitrarily labeled a "youth" while working among "adults." I am seized by the "chief magistrate," who lets me know that subjecting myself to the rigid rules of productivity is the only alternative to unemployment. That means cleaning dust out of thousands of tiny jars for many hours. I feel as if I have been transformed into a human gadget, comparable to a supermarket meat-packing machine.

**Working Youth
Detroit**

* * *

I am receiving compensation from another state, Alabama. Each week I am required to submit all the forms that residents of Michigan are required to fill out only once in 26 weeks. It seems

like they should issue me enough forms to fill out and mail in each time I receive a check from out of town. I have to wait in line four to five hours each week, and receive a check every two weeks.

Obviously, there is poor communication between the states. These types of claims should be brought to the attention of the supervisors.

**Unemployed Woman
Detroit**

* * *

Over 2,000 people from all over California marched on the state capital here recently to demand that Governor Brown do something about the rising unemployment crisis in California, which is now over nine percent. The marchers, a good cross-section of the people in California, marched from a poor working-class neighborhood to the state capital to let Brown and the legislature know that there are many angry unemployed people who can't wait forever for the government to act.

Many union locals participated, and rank-and-file caucuses from other unions also joined in. I don't think the march accomplished that much in itself, but it showed that people are getting organized to do something about providing jobs for all. I think we'll be seeing more of these marches in the coming months, both in California and across the country.

**Marcher
San Francisco**

* * *

The workers who went to the UAW rally in Washington were primarily first-timers, innocents. I can understand why they went. I must have gone to various things in Washington a dozen times. It's natural when you're hungry to hope the politicians who will come down to give you a speech will pass a bill to give you jobs or food. But nobody who really has any power will bother to see you. All Washington, D.C. was concerned about when they heard the union was bringing down busloads of workers was "can you control them?" The one thing they don't want is to hear workers talking for themselves.

**Old-timer
Detroit**

Ever since I can remember, my father has always had a job, and a well-paying one at that. But last week it all ended. He was laid off for the first time in my lifetime. I am 16. He has worked for this company for 15 years, and out of a clear blue sky he was called in one morning and told that his job was being eliminated. What got me was that the man who told him this, had just started working there in 1969. Nothing is based on seniority.

Nothing is based on human relations either, or whether a man has a family to care for, or whether he has a house or a car or other bills to pay. Everything is based on profits. Theirs. Money, money, money. It makes you sick. The more I think of the state of our country, with wars, bombs, recession, depression, inflation, food shortages, unemployment, housing crises, world starvation, murders, racial turmoil, school tensions, and all the rest — the more I know this country has got to have a revolution to turn it all around.

**High School Junior
Detroit**

* * *

There is, apparently, no unemployment on the military front, or in the big business that supplies the military system.

I've been reading about the alarming rate at which the U.S. is arming rival nations around the world. Last year alone, we exported over \$5 billion worth of weapons — about twice as much as Russia, our closest competitor, exported. The U.S. is selling or giving away the most effective weapon in the U.S. arsenal, the TOW anti-tank missile, to no less than 17 nations!

**Reader
New York**

GUNBOAT DIPLOMACY

I was talking recently with a Trinidadian from the New Beginning Movement, a revolutionary group of West Indians. One of their important activities is to speak to Black and other groups in this country, hoping that when there are revolutions in the Caribbean,

the U.S. will no longer be able to send in troops due to the opposition at home.

I thought of this as soon as I saw the special Jan.-Feb. issue of News & Letters. Whereas the Left all condemned the government's unveiled threat to use force in the Middle East, it was only in N&L that I saw it analyzed in terms of world-wide gun-boat diplomacy, aimed also at Latin America and the Caribbean.

**Supporter
New York**

* * *

The other day I met some G.I.'s who are stationed in Spain. They said they have standing orders that the day Franco dies, they must pack their belongings and be prepared to move their families out of Spain. Apparently the U.S. Army knows where it's at.

The news from Spain is full of strikes, demonstrations, and other illegal activities. Recently some mine workers struck and refused to leave the mine; thousands of other workers in the town came out to protect the strike. Now the government has shut down four departments at the University of Valladolid and one at Seville because of campus agitation. The government has moved against journalists, actors and even priests for labor activities.

**Taxi Driver
New York**

TWO WORLDS

What the Lead article last issue demonstrated was that if you forget your good Marxist sense — that the crisis is always in production and that it is labor that creates all value — you can all too easily be fooled by the glitter of black gold and sucked into global power politics. Your senses get dulled into thinking that the revolution can emanate from within the UN because the so-called "third world majority" there can prick at the U.S. giant, instead of seeing the two worlds within each country.

The link Raya Dunayevskaya made in her article between the industrialists who now want to "do business with the oil



TWO WORLDS

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

For the first time in a decade — during which nothing short of the planned eruption of the "Cultural Revolution" and the planned loss of a Chief of State, President Liu Shao-ch'i took place without the National People's Congress participating in any way — the Fourth Congress convened in Peking this January. For the first time since the first draft of the new Constitution was proposed — but had obviously been dropped since Mao's "closest comrade-in-arms," his designated successor, Lin Biao, likewise died unnaturally — the name of Mao nowhere appears in the present Constitution.

For the first time in two decades since this governing body, which is supposed to be the highest organ of state power, first met and adopted a Constitution in 1954, it now "amended" it by reducing its 106 articles to 30. The Constitution's brevity was by no means a mere "technicality" any more than was the abolition of the post of the president. The substitution of Standing Committee for the post of a single president and the compression of the contents of the new Constitution both attest to the totality of the revisions, but in very opposite directions. Let's look into their oppositeness.

On the one hand, we see, for the first time, the open admission of the totalitarian nature of the state. The "Standing Committee" is not only subordinated to "the leadership of the Communist Party," but no doubt of any sort is allowed that the Communist Party is the sole, supreme authority in the government, in the Army, as well as "in all matters of superstructure." (1)

On the other hand, there is the complete coverup of the class nature of the state. Without so much as a single reference being made to the original Constitution, adopted in 1954, which openly declared China to be "state-capitalist" (2), the "amended" Constitution declares China

(1) The official (Hsinhua) translation of the Constitution was published, almost complete, in *The New York Times*, 1/20/75.
(2) "In the historical circumstances of China we can carry out the gradual transformation of capitalist industry and com-

to be "a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat . . ."

Were we willing to close our eyes to the forced identity of these two opposites — the dictatorship of the proletariat, a transitional state, and socialism, an achieved class-less society — can such world shaking, historic stages be accomplished by a mere stroke of the pen? Has the reality been so totally transformed?

MAOISM WITHOUT MAO: CHOU EN-LAI

Nothing could be further from the truth. The reality is that, just as Stalinism is flourishing without Stalin in Russia, so is Maoism without Mao's name. And I do not mean only because he is still alive, is still the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. No, I mean that his "philosophy," "Mao Tse-tung Thought," does, indeed, underpin the whole structure of China.

Whether or not Mao's heirs will, like the heirs of Stalin, run like rats from a sinking ship once Mao dies, nothing fundamental will have changed so long as Mao Tse-tung Thought governs the economic base as well as the political and cultural "superstructure." All we have to do to see this is to listen to the Premier and "moderate" Chou En-lai's Report to the Congress as well as carefully reread that new Constitution.

I'm not referring to such superficialities as Chou peppering his speech with quotations from Mao as well as referring to him by name as "our great leader." No. I'm referring to something a great deal more basic — the three fundamental principles of capitalistic production which appear in the Constitution and govern Chou's report: class struggle, production and ever more production, "and scientific experiment." Anointing Marx's analysis of capitalistic production as "three great revolutionary movements" changes nothing whatever in labor's exploitation at the point of production, much less in the sacrosanct halls of science producing nuclear bombs.

merce through various forms of state capitalism. State-capitalism under the control of a state led by the working class is different in nature from state capitalism under bourgeois rule." (Documents of the First Session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China. Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1955.)

How new is China's new constitution?

As if the 11 crisis-ridden years had never happened, Chou En-lai delivered his report where he left off in 1964, and it all led to making China, with a new Five Year Plan, into a "powerful, modern" country. The figures he cited were all in percentage terms so that you didn't really know what, physically, was being produced and what will be the reality at the end of the Five Year Plan in 1980. The great successes he spoke of must have jarred the audience, at least the top leaders, who knew of "Document 21" (3) which spelled out the true conditions of industrial crisis and worker unrest.

Nevertheless, the continuity between Chou's report to the Congress in 1964 and the present is important, not so much because it is "moderate," as against Mao's Great Leap Forward in 1958 and the Cultural Revolution, 1966-69, not to mention the mini-Cultural Revolution —

(Continued on Page 7)

(3) "Document 21" has not yet appeared here, but a review of it appears in *Newsweek*, 2/3/75.

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

blackmailers" and those who used to "do business with Hitler" was sharpened for me when I read yesterday that an American company is sending ex-Green Berets to train an "internal security force" in Saudi Arabia, supposedly to protect the oil fields. Against whom? American imperialism? Saboteurs? A force of 26,000? Any who cannot see that it is for keeping the "second world" within Saudi Arabia in control, will one day find themselves being led all the way to the gallows.

Marxist Humanist
New York

The salaries of the new legal killer teachers the U.S. is sending to King Faisal range from \$1500 to \$1800 a month with rent-free housing. I wonder what the wages and housing for the Saudi masses are?

A. T.
New York

In this International Women's Year, it is particularly necessary for the Left to have a total global view. The Mideast, extremely important as the possible site for launching World War III, is an area where the oppression of women has been continuous throughout history, politically and religiously. Even today, veils, harms, slavery and an absolute dictatorial power by men are the conditions of life for the majority of women there.

To overlook this and to take sides in the power plays of the governments is to re-fute the struggles of the masses for freedom.

Woman for Freedom
Detroit

It appears that the generals learned a few things from Vietnam. Instead of sending actual "military advisers" to Saudi Arabia they will send so-called "civilians." We read, also, that the men who are going "prefer not to be called mercenaries." A rose by any other name. . . .

Black Activist
New York

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

An important letter was printed in "Off Our Backs" (OOB) which was critical of OOB and Jane Alpert, signed by Ti-Grace Atkinson, Joan Hamilton, Florynce Kennedy and Susan Sherman. These women criticized OOB for printing Alpert's article "Mother Right." They asked what do we want the women's movement to represent? "The kind of movement Jane Alpert represents? . . . A racist movement completely cut off from our real needs? . . . It is time for us to take responsibility for what we support and print." They attacked Alpert's disgusting statement that she will not mourn "42 male chauvinists any longer" and said "We do not 'support' or 'not support' the brothers of Attica. We are Attica. We are Attica or we are nothing. Not feminists, not women, not human beings. This is the true feminism."

Hopefully this is a step in beginning to look at the real political differences in the women's liberation movement. It is only in honestly examining our own and others' politics that we can begin to think seriously about working out a new relationship between theory and practice. We can no longer afford to hide behind the myth that "all women are my sisters" any longer.

Feminist
Detroit

PUERTO RICAN PROTEST

Greater Hartford Process is a development corporation formed by local business and industry. They say they are trying to keep the ghetto areas in the city from spreading — which means attempting to control where and how many Blacks and Puerto Ricans are in the city. The two Puerto Rican members of Process recently resigned in protest of a memo that said they didn't want any more Puerto Ricans in Hartford.

There is a relatively large Puerto Rican population here, and politically they are the most "together" people in the city. They organized a protest, the very next day, of over a thousand people,

which is very large, considering the size of Hartford. The marchers gathered at a local church where some of the priests have been active with the Spanish community, and especially with the local migrant tobacco and day-haul workers. From there they danced and marched their way to the Civic Center — mothers and infants, high school students and working men. Many of the youthful pickets carried signs like, "I Can Speak Two Languages, Can You?" and "Revitalize the Ghetto: We Want Jobs." It was beautiful — and forceful.

Supporter
Hartford

ETHIOPIA

The military junta in Ethiopia considers itself "socialist" because of its moves to nationalize U.S. and Western European industries, ranging from Shell Oil to Coca-Cola. At the same time, the junta is brutally trying to crush the freedom fight in Eritrea province. It is a frightening spectacle of bloodshed.

As Marx pointed out in his Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, the abolition of private property by the state is not socialism; the change must come through control of the means of production by the workers themselves. Not only has the junta failed to become socialist; it has ignored the knowledge of both Marx and Lenin on the self-determination of nations. The junta is not only not socialist, it is not even human.

Disgusted
San Francisco

THE CRISIS IN EUROPE

There was a great fuss here in the newspapers about the article on Italy in *Time*. The principal criticism is that Italy is not in as great an economic crisis as the article makes out. I am in no position to say which figures are correct. I can only say that my personal expenses are now limited to food, clothes for my kids, gas, electricity, telephone and coal for the stove. Everything has risen so much in only the last few months that I spend a great deal of time just trying to think how to make cheap but edible

dishes without spending too much for gas. I spend at least two-thirds more for meat than last year. The government has declared that a luxury good.

Correspondent
Milan

There is economic chaos here. A great number are on a three-day week. There were more strikes here in 1974 than at any time since the 1926 General Strike. Hopes about North Sea oil coming to the rescue are a bit dashed. Heath has been beaten for the leadership of the Tories by Mrs. Thatcher—who is a real Tory. Corruption charges are still going on. Wedgewood Benn has taken a bigger step towards state-capitalism. And the figures of unemployment are jumping up.

Observer
Scotland

A WARNING

Have you ever considered being a sewing machine repairman so you can earn a good income, be dependable and never have to worry about money for your sickness? Think three or four times before you decide to go into it. I have been trying to become a member of the ILGW Union that covers the factory I am employed at, but the business agent at the union said I can't become a member because I am a mechanic. She also said there isn't any union that would cover me. And without a union, I am not covered with any benefits at all, not even sick benefits.

So if you are not in it, think about it before you get into it. But if you are already in it, and belong to a union, please let me know where and how I can become a member by writing to *News & Letters*.

Industrial Sewing Machine Mechanic
New York

THANKS TO ALL OUR READERS WHO RESPONDED SO QUICKLY TO OUR APPEAL. HAVE YOU?

Oil without revolution no hope for Latin America

The politics of oil is now exerting its pull on Latin America-U.S. relations. Venezuela and Ecuador, members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) which has quadrupled oil prices, have been excluded from preferential tariffs in the trade bill recently passed by Congress.

This in turn has led to a cancellation of the hemisphere foreign ministers' conference scheduled for March, thus burying whatever was left of Kissinger's call for a "new dialogue" between the U.S. and Latin America.

In truth the dialogue was never more than a monologue of U.S. wishes. The Foreign Ministers' meeting in Quito, Ecuador last November, which Kissinger failed to attend, was where the U.S.'s new dialogue was exposed on the issue of Cuba. Despite the fact that a majority voted to lift economic and political sanctions against Cuba, the sanctions were not lifted because of a two-thirds rule. The U.S. which remained "silent" on the issue was blamed for this failure.

The new in the quadrupling of oil prices for Latin America is that Venezuela is now in a position of economic power with regard to the other nations of Latin America who are now wooing her. Venezuela has committed several hundreds of millions of dollars to a development fund for Latin America. The OPEC example has led to the desire of the Latin nations to form cartels in order to protect income earned from raw materials because the steep decline in copper prices on the world market has made the trade deficit of a country such as Peru climb enormously.

The break off of dialogue with the U.S. has meant an attempt to reestablish Latin America's own dialogue. The President of Peru, General Velasco, recently suggested that "the dialogue should continue, but without the United States."

One view

'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'

Pedagogy of the Oppressed, by Paulo Freire, The Seabury Press, N.Y. (1970).

Much of the past literature based on a Marxist foundation has been difficult for a majority of the Chicano community to accept. There are several reasons for this unacceptability, but primarily it is due to the rather mechanistic manner in which interpretations of Marx have been written.

Paulo Freire has reached out to those of diverse philosophical positions which may apply in an existential way. He draws from Sartre, Mounier, Erich Fromm, Althusser, Ortega y Gasset, Mao, Martin Luther King, Che Guevara, Unamuno, Marcuse, Marx and Engels. In this list it is apparent that he has a Marxist orientation, but has also reached out to perspectives that give clarity to the reality of the human predicament.

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, the humanistic void is movingly and realistically filled. Freire clearly emphasizes that the denial of subjectivity when analyzing reality or acting upon it, is objectivism. It is not subjectivism that is propounded, but instead subjectivity and objectivity in a continuous dialectical relationship. The denial of subjectivity in the transforming process of the world and history is naive and simplistic.

For Chicanos as well as other oppressed people, Paulo Freire recognizes some crucial concerns and presents some concrete tools to work with. The first is the human content that has been missing in the literature. Freire emphasizes that our struggle is one that works for full humanity, and liberates those whose humanity has been stolen, and those who have stolen it.

The second thing Freire presents is a theory and method of education. For the Chicano, education has been a terrifying barrage of racist I.Q. tests, textbooks, and curriculum. The educational institutions have been staffed by teachers and administrators who have been ideologically racist, culturally ethnocentric, linguistically chauvinistic and attitudinally paternalistic.

In stark contrast, Freire proposes that the distinctive cultural expressions of man are to be valued as the creative and spiritual expressions of workers, and that workers are the creators of culture.

Freire presents the ultimate purpose of education as that of raising the level of consciousness of reality and proceeding to transform this reality to a more human condition. The method is one that places the student at the center of the educational process as a subject and not an object. The method also emphasizes the contact and critical reflection on immediate reality. Through dialogue and work, the student then begins to actively participate in the transformation of the world.

Finally Freire demonstrates the totality of the struggle for humanization by unifying the constituents to the broader international struggle. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* stresses that the struggle to regain humanity is the common struggle of all of the oppressed of the world.

—Alfredo Carmona, Chicano Studies Dept., CSULA
(A DIFFERENT VIEW WILL APPEAR NEXT ISSUE.)

However the basic question is whether the oil money and new stance vis-a-vis the United States is of real significance in the present circumstances. What exactly would development with oil money mean in the right-wing dictatorships of Chile, Brazil, Uruguay and the state of siege in Argentina? What in fact has it meant for the masses within Venezuela? Will the new found riches mean any fundamental change within the Latin nations much less any escape from the vortex of the world market with the U.S. at its head?

Besides the disunity within Latin America, the two worlds of oppressed and oppressor within each country, there awaits on the outside the U.S. economic and military might. The recent study on "The Future World Environment" being prepared for President Ford indicated that gunboat diplomacy was not alone for the Middle East, but forecast the possibility of military intervention in Latin America.

Only a Latin America unified on the basis of new social relations within, not oil money spread to the old hands of the ruling class, can stand a chance in confronting the power of U.S. capital. Otherwise the dialogue-monologue will continue.

—Eugene Walker

Argentina: Peron's death a signal for repression

(Ed. Note: The following background material on Argentina was received from a correspondent in Mexico City.)

When Peronism triumphed in Argentina, and Campora took over as President, a process of reform was begun which were favorable for the poor people. There was amnesty for all political prisoners; leftist parties unified with the new government; labor unions organized a "social pact" with the government in order to reorganize the economy of the country.

There was freedom of expression in the country—various guerrilla groups such as the "Montoneros," FAR, etc., left the underground because to be against Peronism was to be against the poor people, and in doing so openly entered the political struggle. Only the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) remained in the underground, stating that Peronist process was reformist in nature.

This entire process was not approved by the ruling class. Campora had to resign, leaving the presidency to Peron, the one man who was considered to have the capacity to unify the interests of the different social classes. The project of Peron that functioned in the 1950s, could not function in 1973 when Peron again took office due to the tremendous antagonism between the working classes—with the leftist parties and the ruling classes. Due to this, Peron began leaning to the Right.

The death of Peron gave the Right the opportunity to consolidate itself in power. Isabel Peron is a puppet. Behind her are the most ominous personalities of the Right such as Jose Lopez Rega, Minister of Social Welfare, who now appears to be the strong man in the government.

These groups have let loose a giant wave of repression. Para-military organizations (of the Right) are tolerated such as AAA, The Argentinian Anti-Communist Alliance. These groups have performed many attacks and assassinations with the tacit approval of the government to liquidate dissidents, leftist or democratic. In this context Silvio Frondizi was murdered.

This situation has divided the Left. The "Montoneros" want to lead the working class. The ERP is isolated from the masses and appears to be a group that leads provocations and accelerates repression. It is said that the ERP has a large military apparatus and also that the CIA is possibly infiltrated in its ranks.

Dominican aliens U.S. victims

New York, N.Y.—The so-called problem of illegal aliens has nothing to do with the inflation and unemployment in this country. It is being thrown up along with Arab oil as an excuse, because the politicians don't want to have to explain why there are such troubles. It is the same as when the Russians use the question of Jewish emigration.

The newspapers and magazines are full of articles against illegals. They are accused without proof of crime and welfare fraud, and if one illegal does commit a crime, it is taken as a reflection against all immigrants.

They talk about preventing the one million illegals who have jobs here from working. Well, one million people will not give up their survival without a fight. Many Latin American immigrants whether legal or not cannot return home not only for economic but political reasons.

Since 1965 when the U.S. Marines overthrew the constitutionally elected government of the Dominican Republic, the number of Dominicans having to leave their home greatly increased. Are we to be blamed for that?

—Dominican immigrants, New York

Indian 'self-help' a struggle

I talked to a man on my reservation about a small factory that was built by the tribe with money that was finally given to us by the federal government for the lease of our land. The plant is in operation now and is presently employing about 235 people, most of whom are Indians from the Fort Totten Reservation.

The tribal council member that I talked to said that he was glad for the employment that this factory was providing. The average yearly income for the American Indian is \$1,500 and the lowest wage for these workers is \$4,800 per year. He felt, however, that because of the funding situation they might end up back in the hands of the federal government. Most of the work being done is contracted to the factory from the Army.

I felt that he was discouraged. He said that this seemed to be a pattern for most of the tribe's attempts at self-help. He said that agencies willing to help always seemed to be attached in some way to a government-sponsored program. He felt that this might happen to the Indians in Wisconsin, too.

He said that in the many years that he's been working toward independence for our people, things have improved considerably, but that we will be taking a big step forward when we finally become independent of the federal government in a project that is of some major importance to our tribe.

My impression after talking to this man was that he was both hopeful and a little desperate. He said that we had come a long way but that we still had a long way to go yet, even in our attitudes towards ourselves as a strong people.

—Indian woman, Detroit

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(Marx's Humanism Today)

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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U of M strike and sit-in rock administration

Ann Arbor, Mich. — On Feb. 11, the Graduate Employees Organization (GEO) of the University of Michigan went on strike. The GEO represents 2,000 teaching and research assistants.

The major contract demands are: union recognition of GEO; a class size of 25 students for labs and 20 for classes where student participation is necessary; one year of job security; agency shop, and the inclusion of GEO in the University's Affirmative Action program which concerns the hiring of minorities and women. The economic demands include a five percent cost-of-living raise and a service fee to be paid by the Grad Students' Association in lieu of tuition.

The GEO has enlisted the support of undergraduates asking them to boycott classes and help with picketing. Attendance around campus has been down more than 50 percent among undergrads. The GEO has the support of the Teamsters who have agreed not to cross the picket lines. Support was expected from the campus AFSCME locals and the union of UAW clericals, but it has been very slow in coming.

—Undergrad Support Committee member

Ann Arbor, Mich. — While graduate teaching assistants and their undergrad student supporters braved cold, rain, and snow in the second week of a surprisingly effective strike at the University of Michigan, the Black Student Organization (BSO) and Third World Coalition began a totally unexpected sit-in occupying the office of President Robben Fleming on Feb. 18.

More than 200 minority students jammed the second floor of the Administration Building demanding that the University negotiate four demands: acceptance of BSO

Tenants fight service cuts

State College, Pa. — The tenants of the Laurel Glen apartment complex have responded to deteriorating living conditions by organizing the first tenants union local in State College.

The Laurel Glen apartment complex came under the management of Equity Finance Corporation of Chicago after the former owner went bankrupt. In an attempt to turn the floundering apartment complex into a profit-making enterprise, the new owners have decided to cut their costs by cutting back on essential services.

The new management fired the security force, which increased burglaries, reduced the already inadequate maintenance staff, and allowed their buses to deteriorate to the point where the tenants can no longer rely on them for transportation.

A recent inspection of the apartment complex, made at the request of the tenants by State College Housing Inspector James Pettingill, revealed numerous housing code violations. The tenants demanded that these violations be acted upon, and that the management reinstate the security force; increase the maintenance staff; recondition the bus fleet, and recognize the tenants' union as their legal bargaining agent. The new management has refused to recognize the union and responded to the tenants' demands by calling the demands "excessive".

The Laurel Glen tenants will decide whether or not to withhold rent until the new management recognizes their union and signs a legally-binding contract agreeing to act on the tenants demands.

—Penn State Student

As others see us

Italian review of Philosophy and Revolution

(Excerpts from a review of *Philosophy and Revolution in Aut-Aut* by Amedeo Vigorelli)

Raya Dunayevskaya is above all a revolutionary militant. She has always been actively involved in the Marxist movement (was, for a certain period, secretary and collaborator of Trotsky), has now an active and leading role — together with workers of various races, like the Black worker Charles Denby — in the organization of the Marxist-Humanist News and Letters Committees and in the newspaper with the same name that unites the work and the debates of the Committees. The works of Dunayevskaya, those that are principally philosophical, are always tied to specific political questions, are often the outcome of collective work — a unique collaboration between intellectuals and militant workers — in the attempt to unify theory and practice and to concretely assert a philosophically revolutionary pattern.

... HER ANALYSIS is completely tied to the contrasting movements of the U.S. political situation. That is, her "humanistic" choice does not come from an academic reading of the classics but from a specific political evaluation of present day world alternatives: the alternation between oppression and liberation, totalitarianism or a free socialist society. The guiding thread of her research is exactly that of conceiving philosophy as a revolutionary political instrument.

All of this can clearly be seen in the recently published book, *Philosophy and Revolution* . . . The reference to new challenging forces is explicit. This is so true that the book is made up of a very unique dialectic between philosophic concepts and practical struggles . . .

IN READING the book the key is to be found in the re-evaluation of Hegel and Hegelian dialectics in the light of a revolutionary philosophical and political instrument, although it gives much more importance to Marx's

as bargaining agent for Black students; re-hiring of a Black nursing school employee fired without cause; hiring of an Asian minority advocate, and amnesty for the protesters.

President Fleming listened to the demands, then announced that they could not be met on the spot and told the students they would be arrested as trespassers if they stayed beyond working hours. As the five o'clock deadline drew near, a rally of several hundred students and striking grad student-teachers moved to block the building. Fleming then announced that the Black students were "free" to use the second floor as long as they wanted.

The Black students' demands go back to a 1970 University agreement — negotiated after sit-ins and strikes — to recruit ten percent Black students. Five years later Black enrollment has declined to below seven percent.

—Strike and BSO supporter

(Ed. Note: This sit-in ended on Feb. 21, when the administration agreed to negotiate demands.)

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

"criticize Confucius, criticize Lin" campaign — but because the class nature of China remained the same throughout all of these periods. Thus, though the 1964 report, which tried initiating a new Five Year Plan, was "interrupted" by the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (which they couldn't contain, once it got going, until 1969), the motive force of the society remained Stalin's perversion of Marx's great principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need," into the exploitative principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Far from the Cultural Revolution having been a truly social revolution, it was actually Mao Tse-tung Thought disciplining his co-leaders to consider Russia to be "Enemy No. 1." Now that he has trained the "collective leadership" to operate on that basis, the rehabilitation of many in the party headquarters that "had to be smashed" was with Mao's approval. Whether it is the young Wang, whom Mao hailed at the Tenth Chinese Communist Party Congress in 1973, or the old Teng, whom the Cultural Revolution had called a "demon" and "freak" but who is now Chou En-lai's Deputy, China is once again being put on a new footing and Chou is telling the masses that they must do as the Chairman asks: "Work hard," and "Dig trenches deep."

What was exciting and what was new and from below happened outside the Congress. Strikes and work stoppages occurred in various industrial centers in China. The Constitution is trying to face that reality by "granting" the workers the right to strike.

Judging by the very first declarations the "new" and "moderate" leadership has issued officially, it is clear that their interpretation of "continuous revolution" is endless labor discipline, with editorials in Red Flag and People's Daily, shouting that those who do not practice labor discipline are trying "to make use of the slogans of democracy to sabotage the unified leadership of the party and the proletarian dictatorship."

What, then, is Maoism with or without Mao, and with Chou-Teng-Chang as the new triumvirate to execute the new Constitution?

(TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT ISSUE)

BLACK-RED VIEW

Black Nationalist leaders move closer to socialism

by John Alan

The past several years have seen a number of former Black Nationalist leaders become advocates of socialism. That is to say they are now realizing the importance of the class struggle as being central to Black liberation.

According to the publication, *The African World*, the impetus towards socialism in the Black movement in the United States arose out of the successes of the African Revolutions. Black revolutionaries in the U.S. who were out of tune with the African struggles, came across the writings of Amilcar Cabral, the head of PAIGC-Guinea-Bissau and, "saw how he, as an undisputed Black revolutionary, could creatively apply scientific theories of socialist revolution, which we had previously called 'white theories' to clearly Black revolutionary situations."

The publication further states that a condition of dormancy has settled over the Black mass movement, and the problem now facing Black leadership is to regain its connection with the Black masses by turning to current issues which Black people must deal with every day—jobs, housing, health, education and inflation.

The former chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee, Owusu Sadukai, along with Imamu Baraka, are the two most vocal exponents of the idea that the Black struggle is basically a class struggle and therefore can only be transcended by a socialist society. But nowhere in their writings are any indications found of the role the Black working class would play in the building of this socialist society.

There is nothing new in being able to see the class nature of racism. Karl Marx, as long ago as the 1840s, discovered that all human history has been a history of class struggle. What would be new, would be the ability to see how the Black working class, in its struggles against capitalism, develops new creative methods and organizational forms to bring about their own liberation.

Throughout his life Marx was always on the alert for this act of creative struggle. In fact, the Civil War in the United States, coupled with the Black masses' demands for freedom, had a direct impact on Marx's greatest work—*Capital*. To Marx it was never the question of applying "scientific theories of the socialist revolution;" it was always the question of seeing the dialectic of revolution emerging from the subject of revolution — the working class.

It's highly doubtful that the great African revolutionary, Amilcar Cabral, ever mechanically applied the scientific theories of the socialist revolution to the struggles of the people of Guinea-Bissau. The greatness of Cabral was that from the very beginning he saw that the way to succeed against the forces of Portuguese imperialism was dependent upon the counterforce for freedom generated by the grassroots organizations of the people of Guinea-Bissau.

The question is not whether to doubt or to believe in the sincerity of this turn toward "Marxist socialism" by hitherto rampant "skin nationalists," but WHY is it being done at this point in the history of Black struggle?

It is true that simple "skin nationalism" has run its course and can no longer be a viable rallying point for a movement for liberation, but neither can "socialism by edict" replace the self-activity of the masses for freedom, regardless of whether it comes from a military junta or from self-appointed intellectual leaders. In either of these cases it could only be a distortion of Marxism—or at its worst, another state-capitalist controlled economy, controlled by the government for its needs, at the expense of the masses.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

the tune of \$19 million, has been accumulating dust — and interest — since 1964. Fraser is proposing to the Chrysler Corp. that the money be withdrawn from the fund to extend payments for 51,000 idle Chrysler workers as their eligibility for SUB payments and insurance becomes exhausted.

Fraser said the creation of this special fund began back in 1961, when like now Chrysler was experiencing severe financial difficulties and lay-offs were high. He said workers agreed to forego a total of five cents an hour of their wage increase over a three-year period to create the reserve. He said this money is entirely separate from the regular Chrysler UAW SUB fund.

I was an employee of the Chrysler Corp. in 1961 and was active in union affairs. I was there for 30 years, and I cannot remember any local union discussion relating to taking five cents an hour from my wages to go into any special SUB fund.

As an older worker said, "This money in that special fund that we have just been told about came from many retired workers who never before knew it was there. It was not returned to us when we retired, not even mentioned."

Although I hope the fund can be used to help the laid-off workers, just to think of all the double-dealing with the company without workers knowing shows how those UAW leaders are masters in faking workers. They are the masters of substitution.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

West Germany

The massive postwar expansion of the West German economy, commonly called an "economic miracle," was made possible by workers from all over Europe. At present there are 2.5 million gastarbeiter, "guest workers," doing the most grueling and undesirable jobs that up to now were left over after enough German workers could not be found to do them. On the Volkswagen assembly lines these workers from other parts of Europe make up more than half the workforce.

The gastarbeiter were never given any secure status and the added club of deportation is always there to keep them in line in the workplace. With the economic crisis and the unheard-of for Germany unemployment rate of over four percent, they are now being deported at the rate of 500 per day.

Like the U.S., however, the farmwork and other low-paying jobs are still expected to be done by foreigners. A foreign worker is deported without benefits if he or she doesn't accept a job offer, even if it pays less than compensation. The prejudice against non-Germans, particularly the Turks, pervades all aspects of life.

The make-up of the gastarbeiter that the West German government is moving to get rid of includes 593,000 Turks, 505,000 Yugoslavs, 410,000 Italians, 229,000 Greeks, 168,000 Spaniards, and 83,000 Portuguese. These workers are returning to countries where the economic crisis is much deeper and there is even less chance of finding work. Even so, it was 90 percent Turks, who are only one-third of the workforce at an American Ford Motor subsidiary in West Germany, who took the company offer to resign with severance pay to escape the isolation and intolerance in West Germany.

Europe, in and out of the Common Market, has been in a state of disarray since the capitulation of its various states to the Middle East oil cartel, exposing the joke in the claim of the promoters of the Common Market that its integration of the European economy, and specifically the internationalization of labor, was a first step towards socialism.

The only internationalism that amounts to anything is that which workers themselves create. This was the kind of internationalism of Marx and the workers of the First International who said they would rather starve than go to a job that would help perpetuate slavery in America.

South Africa

Strikes by over 12,000 Black miners broke out recently in the police state of South Africa where reprisals are sure to be swift and total. This strike at the world's largest gold mine complex at Vaal Reefs took place just when South African Prime Minister Vorster has been peddling his policy of detente in Africa aimed at preserving the absolute white domination in his own country.

While national liberation struggles are increasingly isolating South Africa, the leaders of these national revolutions have yet to learn the first principles of international solidarity.

Acting on the theory that liberation can be piecemeal, the liberated states in Africa have for years been supplying labor that has helped to undermine the struggle of Black workers in South Africa. The truth of the matter is that it is impossible to have total freedom in Africa until there is a revolution in South Africa.

What all the protestations, boycotts, etc. by the British and all-powerful U.S. couldn't do, the African freedom fighters who defeated the Portuguese have done, i.e., moved the racists Ian Smith of Rhodesia and Vorster from their total intransigence. But the movement doesn't stop with the consolidation of power in the new African states with whom the Southern African racists are playing detente in their own form of Kissingerism — an appeal to the international economic dependency on the African continent.

The revolt of the African miners in South Africa against Vorster's racist schemes shows that the movement of the Black African masses will stop at nothing short of total freedom.

Ethiopia

A rebellion in the Ethiopian province of Eritrea, which was simmering for a number of years, broke out into open warfare when the Eritreans cut off the largest city, Asmara, and demanded independence from the new military regime that recently overthrew Haile Selassie, the ancient Emperor.

The Ethiopian military regime, which calls itself "socialist," received a ship-load of the latest in U.S. tanks and military hardware which has been used to crush the independence movement.

The first reporters to arrive in Asmara, after the

government troops had suppressed the "rebels," counted over 500 civilians killed, saw government troops running wild and shooting civilians in cars as they passed by, in the streets and in their homes. Estimates of those killed run over 3,000 and reports of needless atrocities are running high.

The independence forces have abandoned the city and have taken to the hills where the struggle continues.

Russian Jews

There are 2,100 Russian Jews who have left Russia and who do not choose to go to Israel, living around Rome, Italy, awaiting permission to enter the U.S. When the emigrants leave Russia they first go to Vienna for processing, and then choose the country they want to enter.

While over 3,490 of these people have entered the U.S., it is becoming more difficult every day, with a wait of three to six months while U.S. Immigration processes their applications. They stay in private homes while waiting for U.S. red tape to be cut.

Great Britain

British Army Intelligence has confirmed that the standard training manuals used by the IRA terrorists are published and supplied by the U.S. Army and obtainable in almost any British bookstore.

Described as "Department of The Army Field Manual," it contains 134 pages describing in detail how to make over 100 types of boobytraps. The second volume, called "Unconventional Warfare Devices and Techniques," was published by the U.S. Army in April, 1966. It tells you how to make all kinds of bombs out of everyday readily obtained materials, timers, fuses, grenades, etc., complete with the chemistry, mechanical devices and diagrams for their manufacture. They boast that this material has been tested and is effective—sort of a "Good Housekeeping" approval.

Spokesmen at the U.S. Embassy in London disclaimed knowledge of their widespread distribution in Britain and said that they certainly would not be sold in the United States.

The world-wide energy crisis and the merchants of death

(Continued from Page 1)

abroad, refine abroad and distribute to whatever market provided the most profit.

Between 1960 and 1970 not a single new refinery was built in the U.S., and the number of new wells brought into production decreased to 5% of what they were before 1960. Millions of American workers are familiar with the "runaway shop." American oil companies have been running away from the country and their responsibilities for decades.

The U.S. Coast & Geodetic Survey estimates that the U.S. has 80 times the 1971 crude consumption underground, 100 times the 1971 gas consumption, 800 times as much coal and unlimited shale deposits. In 1972 U.S. refineries ran at only 84% of capacity; it was cheaper to refine abroad.

When the Supreme Court ruled in 1968 that gas prices were high enough, the oil companies responded by capping 500 gas wells in the gulf of Mexico. The price of gas doubled from 1970 to 1973.

Eleven of the 15 largest coal companies are owned by oil firms, and 18 out of 25 oil companies own uranium mines and processing facilities. After 1970 the price of coal more than doubled—while production was up only 5% and consumption was up a mere 2%. Control of alternative energy sources by the oil interests produced monopoly control, higher prices and exorbitant profits.

PRODUCTION, LABOR & TRANSPORTATION

The tanker fleets which transport oil are owned or chartered by the oil companies and are 99% under foreign registry to avoid American maritime law, regulation and union labor. The "mishaps" suffered by supertankers over the past few years could have been avoided if these ships were under U.S. registry and rigid inspection. Ford recently vetoed a bill that would have compelled a minimum of 30% of imported oil to be carried in U.S. ships.

The notorious "depletion allowance," which permits U.S. oil companies to avoid taxation, has no provision to insure that these funds are reinvested in production facilities. In 1970 these outfits claimed \$1.3 billion in foreign tax credits. There is no law which demands that the billions paid to U.S. oil firms for properties confiscated abroad be returned to the U.S. or invested in wells or refineries in the U.S. This union of Government and Business is all on the backs of the workers.

The tendency of the oil giants has been to gather up and control all sources of energy, coal mines, uranium deposits, gas fields and transmission lines, to achieve a complete energy stranglehold on the country.

A 1948 study, "Oil and Labor,"* indicated that for each worker employed in the oil industry, the investment in machinery represented \$250,000 and the profit per worker was \$5,200, compared with \$643 profit per worker for General Motors.

OIL MOST AUTOMATED

Today the oil industry is the most highly automated industry in the world. Four or five operators control a huge chemical complex costing \$100 million or more. From a single control board they pump the crude through the refining process, divert dozens of products to different tanks, package and store them all by a push of a button.

The predominance of capital over labor confirms precisely what Marx wrote. While the profit per oil worker is fantastic, the rate of profit for oil capital invested nevertheless continues to decline as predicted by Marx.

While the need for conservation of energy has become obvious, it should be pointed out that oil reserves proven out in 1974 have increased by 87 billion barrels and a new gas field in Texas has been discovered that is 25 miles wide and 100 miles long, containing trillions of cubic feet of natural gas.

The new taxes proposed by Ford on foreign oil will only increase the price of every item used in the American home, be it fertilizer for food, plastics or transportation of finished goods. Rationing as proposed by the Democrats places the burden for conservation on workers who must use their cars for basic transportation.

MERCHANTS OF DEATH

The proposed military budget for 1975, \$104.7 billion, up \$15.7 billion over last year, provides a lucrative market for the merchants of death who supply the planes, tanks, guns and munitions to be stockpiled to obsolescence or given away to keep war going in other parts of the world. The sums spent for fueling fleets, planes and tanks are unavailable, but total in billions of dollars.

The strategic bomber command has 40% of its 415 B52 bombers on constant alert, each burning 8,000 gallons of fuel per hour. Defense Secretary Schlesinger's promise to cut it 30% represents a grim joke: picayune savings as against his militaristic budget.

* This study by John Fredericks is included in Vol. V of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, "Marxist-Humanism in America," available on microfilm from the Labor Archives of Wayne State University, Detroit Michigan.

The fuel supplied to Viet Nam, Cambodia, South Korea; U.S. armies of occupation throughout the world; naval fleets plying the seven seas, constitute an energy drain as well as one of the major contributions to the balance of trade deficit.

The jump in crude oil prices from OPEC countries from \$2 to \$12 a barrel for oil that costs 20c to produce has created a world wide financial crisis, a bonanza for the merchants of death in the West—and leaves the poor Arab as poor as ever.

Egypt's President Sadat left his French hosts with orders for 130 Mirage fighter planes—while his struggling masses would rather have had 200 new buses on the streets of Cairo. The Sultan of Oman has traded off a military base on the island of Masira in the Persian Gulf to the U.S. for a supply of guided missiles. The king of Saudi-Arabia placed a \$77 million order with the Pentagon for a private firm to train 26,000 national guards to protect the royal personages from the wrath of the masses. New ways of spending money will have to be invented if the Arab rulers are to find ways of disposing of the \$50 billion a year in new income.

WHAT NOW?

The financial drain on the oil-consuming countries is such that bankruptcy is certain for many, severe internal dislocation assured for all. The way Western capital wishes to solve the problems created by the OPEC countries playing the same game the oil monopolists always played is once again to let the workers carry the whole burden. And since the Western nations are already in deep recession, Western capitalism, U.S. especially, keeps flirting with the idea that unemployment, rather than inflation, can be tolerated. After all, the capitalists are not the ones unemployed.

At the same time, gunboat diplomacy now verges on the global power play. Thus, the growing U.S. and Russian fleets in the Mediterranean, the U.S. acquisition of military bases in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, the "practice" military landings on Sardinian shores similar to those on Arab lands, have nothing to do with "protecting" Israel, and everything to do with the struggle for world power between Russia and the U.S.

The oil crisis is only one more proof that it is not "our" government that runs the oil industry; it is the oil industry that runs the government. Or, rather with Treasury Secretary Simon and Chief Economist Greenspan up there in the top echelons, the state and industry are one big endless monopoly against the American masses.