

Wanrow and Serena cases confirm brutality against Indians



Yvonne Wanrow and her children

Yvonne Wanrow, a Colville Indian woman living in Spokane, Wash., faces the possibility of as much as 30 years in prison because she shot and killed the man who had more than once molested her children and those of a friend and neighbor. This man was known to the police as a child molester.

Mrs. Wanrow's friend reported to the police that this was the same man who raped her seven-year-old daughter and gave her a venereal disease, and the police did nothing.

In Armstrong County, Pa., Norma Jean Serena, a Creek Shawnee woman, not only had her three children taken away from her, but was sterilized without proper consent. Her doctor told her that she shouldn't have any more children for health reasons and that she could produce mentally retarded babies. But the hospital reported the reason for her being made infertile was a "socio-economic" one.

I know women on reservations who either were never told that they were being sterilized, or were frightened into having the operation by doctors who told them that any number of bad things can happen to them if they have any more children.

It's also true on reservations that children are taken from their families, especially when the head of the family is a woman. They are placed in homes of white families and never know or see their mothers again. With some assistance, many of these families wouldn't have to be separated.

What happened to Yvonne Wanrow and Norma Jean Serena should never have happened. There is nothing more natural than a woman protecting her children from harm. And the choice to be made sterile has to be a woman's willing decision, and hers alone.

When I told a friend of mine about these two women, he asked me if my sources of information were correct. He acted as though these things couldn't happen to people right here in the U.S.

To women who are either underprivileged or a minority, these things happen too often. Women from all walks of life are going to have to know that. Both Mrs. Wanrow and Mrs. Serena need help; you can write to the Yvonne Wanrow Legal Defense Committee, 2517 W. Broadway, Spokane, Wash. 99201, and for Mrs. Serena, the Patients Rights Program, 207 Oakland Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213.

—Shainape Shcapwe

Plant uses 'WL' against women

Detroit, Mich.—At Uniroyal, they use "women's liberation" against us. They add more on to the job, and then say, "Well, you wanted the 'women's lib.'"

They say if you want to work in the factory, you've got to do the job.

We used to have service workers who did lifting. But since they eliminated a lot of those guys, they say, "Well, let the girls do it." It might work for office workers to get an executive position or something, but it goes against us in the factory.

When I first started working there, a woman wasn't supposed to lift over 30 pounds. Now you have to lift as much as they want you to lift. In one department, they eliminated one job where two service men would push these huge rolls with tons and tons of rubber on them.

Now they just tell the women to help change the roll. If the wheels on the caster get locked, you're in trouble.

When one woman complained to the union about it, they also brought up "women's lib." They said the contract was a package deal, and the company can require you to do whatever they want.

—Woman rubber worker

Socialist feminism needs unity of thought and action

by Deborah Morris

I recently attended a West Coast meeting of socialist-feminist organizations as a preliminary to the National Socialist-Feminist Conference to be held this month at Antioch College in Ohio.

During the conference, the different groups spoke about their programs, histories and activities. Each tried to relate their theory, which they called "Principles of Unity," with their outside activities. Most felt there was a considerable gap between their theory and practice.

I think the women's movement is having so much difficulty in unifying theory and practice because their definitions of each are far too limited. Theory too often is thought of as an individual's or a group's theory. Instead, we have to see that both theory and practice are much more universal, in the sense that theory can only be developed in response to the activity, the practice, of masses of women.

Raya Dunayevskaya, in *Philosophy and revolution*, captures this when she writes, "Marx saw masses not merely as 'matter' but as Reason. It was not they who were practicing Marxism. It was Marx who was universalizing their praxis."

As organized socialist-feminists, our testing ground will be whether our theory and activity flow from the ideas and practice of masses of women.

ABORTION AND THE E.R.A.

The women's movement fought hard to win the right for abortion. At the same time, Black and Third World women raised fears of forced abortions and sterilization (See Native American article on this page). I don't feel the women's movement has given enough attention to their questions. The challenge for us is to test ourselves against both the right to abortion and the fear of genocide, and to universalize both into the concept of the right to control one's own body.

The Equal Rights Amendment is another area where few women's groups have listened to the objections of working women who knew concretely, on the job, how the E.R.A. would be used against them. In fact, since the passage of the E.R.A. in California, moves have been made to take away break time and overtime pay, because they are guaranteed by state law only to women, and thus were ruled discriminatory (See Uniroyal article on this page).

To argue, as many women do, that first we must get the right to abortion or equal rights, and only then will we worry about other problems, is to deal in abstractions. As socialist-feminists, we should be very sensitive to this, because it is similar to some of the problems we have faced in the male-dominated Left that told us to wait until after the revolution before beginning on the woman question.

REDISCOVERY OF MARX'S HUMANISM

This is the very opposite of what Marx stood for when he created his philosophy of human liberation that he called Humanism. Far from any pre-conceived notion of how to bring about a new society, Marx's methodology, his process for developing theory, began first with what he called "the new passions and new forces" for the reconstruction of society on totally new human foundations.

Much of the Left has now been forced to acknowledge the women's movement, but there has been no corresponding reorganization of thought. As socialist-feminists, we can ill afford not to reorganize ours. To do this, we have to be on very different ground than the present-day Left—old or new. This is not a rejection of Marxism, but rather a rediscovery of Marx's humanist philosophy. To do so will put us in touch with both the ideas and the activities for freedom being raised by working and minority women today.



WAY OF THE WORLD

'How will the poor exist?'

by Ethel Dunbar

The high cost of living, high inflation and the greed for money by capitalists are causing misery and suffering for those unemployed, poor, or existing on a so-called fixed income. At the same time, government statistics are saying this country has hit bottom and is beginning to start back up.

On TV you see where thousands are being laid off every week and unemployment is close to ten million, as high as it was during the '30s. How will the poor continue to exist? More than 100 years ago, Karl Marx said that any system that exists solely for profit, breeds within it the seeds of its own destruction. It appears to me that is the direction this government is headed.

My first reaction was if all those unemployed, poor and on fixed incomes would go to the polls and vote against those that do not think enough to mention doing anything to help our condition, there would be enough votes to put them out of office.

But my second reaction was it would only mean putting some other capitalist, reactionary politician in office and we would be in the same situation. So the only solution would be to uproot this society and change it to answer the need of all of its citizens.

The big question in many minds is when will our lives ever be able to adjust to this high cost of living, while unemployment is skyrocketing. Rules are being changed now to make it more difficult to receive public assistance when it is needed. The aged, blind and disabled will not be able to receive food stamps after July 1, 1975 unless new federal legislation is passed.

There is a need for a change where every citizen in this country has a right to exist without living in misery, as many Americans are living today, and that means the need for a revolution.

WL NOTES

On May 24, 300 women chanting "Free Dr. Morgentaler now!" and "Join us, join our fight, safe abortion is our right!" rallied at Ottawa's Parliament building. Morgentaler is the Canadian doctor who has been jailed for performing abortions. Two weeks earlier, over 1,200 persons demonstrated in Toronto not only for Dr. Morgentaler but also against the fraud of International Women's Year in Canada.

For over ten weeks, 200 workers, mostly women, have occupied the Imperial Typewriter factory at Hull in Britain. They are trying to prevent the closing of the factory and the loss of all their jobs.

Nadia Svitlyneha, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynetz, Nina Strokata, and Stefania Shabatura, political prisoners in a hard-labor camp in Russia, offered their wages—earned at hard labor—to a fund for victims of the Chilean junta. All are charged with "anti-soviet propaganda." They also requested that a woman political prisoner be a representative to the International Democratic Federation of Women. Both requests were refused.

After three years of struggle to allow young unmarried mothers to participate in all school activities, a demonstration by Black high school students in Oakland, Cal. caused the principal to end this discrimination.

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

Philosophy & Revolution

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Hard cover: \$8.95

Paperback: \$2.95

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With the celebration of International Women's Year, it is time to see women as one of the "new passions and new forces" seeking freedom now.

"The uniqueness of today's Women's Liberation movement is that it dares to challenge what is . . . not only under capitalism but within the revolutionary movement itself . . . They wished to release all women — most of all Black, working class, Chicana, Indian . . . freedom meant now . . . not waiting for the day of the revolution." —pp. 279-280

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Uniroyal threatens to close, workers question speed-up

Detroit, Mich. — The management at Uniroyal had everybody in the plant attend a meeting recently. The point was to show us how they were operating in the red and to threaten us. They said unless we pick up on production and cut down on the amount of scrap we were throwing away, there was a possibility they will have to close down the Detroit plant.

Management said that right now, with all the other Uniroyal plants operating plus their competitors, there are enough tires on the market to supply people's needs.

Our morale in the plant is real low because we're working on the identical job as before, and we're making on the average \$2 an hour less. The job of a splicer on a job they call dual drum paid \$6 an hour. On that job, 400 tires were made when the old-fashioned tires were

still being built.

Now you only make \$4.50 building radial tires on the dual drum and doing the same type of operation. This is going on throughout the plant. Everybody has taken a cut like this because they changed the standards and we don't know why.

There is supposed to be a whole series of these meetings, and everyone is wondering if all this is leading up to their asking us to take a pay cut or give back our raise.

Management keeps saying how they're not making back the money they put out for these machines. Each one of the 15 dual drum machines costs \$120,000, and all the other machines like the presses are new. The old-fashioned way we used to make tires back in the '60s was better, because there is a lot of waste with these machines. But it's not our fault.

Outsiders come in and put these machines up, but the mechanics that work there can't fix them half the time. They laid off half the mechanics, electricians, and people who know how to work on the machine. Now, more or less, they've got the workers who run the machines fixing them.

The fellows that work on the job don't have proper instruction. They'll bring a new person in and tell the guy already on that job, "you train him." But while you're training him, you still have to do your production. They'll say, "well, just let him watch." But you can't learn anything by just watching.

We told management at this meeting what we thought about improper instruction; that there's not enough mechanics, and that the standards are too high and need to be re-evaluated. But the company said if they re-evaluated the standards, they would go out of business.

They said they wanted eventually to get the number of people in the plant down to 800. The payroll used to be around 3,000. These meetings have started everybody talking in the locker room. What we need now is to get together.

—Uniroyal worker

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

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

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

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

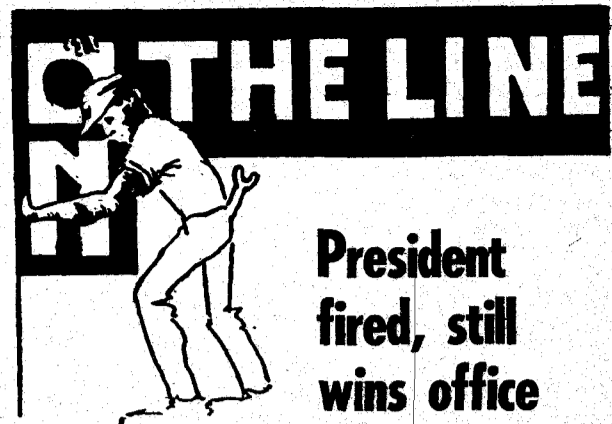
This means that you have the same six-week period for discussion that members have to influence first the perspectives, then the decisions and practical ways to carry them out. This is true on the question of N&L and the pamphlets we hope to publish—from the one on the Committees of Correspondence that were the actual "engines of revolution" to the one on today's Women's Liberation Movement as it relates to working women.

We invite and hope you will be with us in this historic and practical undertaking. Watch for the next issue, and even before that, think through what you wish to do and say to change society. By the time the issue comes off the press at the end of July, you should be ready to write your thoughts up in time for our Discussion Bulletins.

Though it comes out in July, the next issue will be dated August-September. In other words, we are not going to wait for the next paper for your ideas, but we will mimeograph Bulletins as material comes in during July and August. By our Convention over Labor Day, we will come to a final conclusion in collective discussion.

If you are a worker as I have been for so many long years, you will get a new and exciting experience. As most workers know today, the leadership in the working class, both Black and white, is completely separated and unrelated to workers' problems of today. This is so especially in the shop, at the point of production, where it counts the most.

As News & Letters Committees, we have never separated our thoughts and actions from those of workers, and have never separated our organization from our philosophy. This unity flows from Marxist-Humanism and the collective experience of the working class for the past two hundred years. We invite you to join us in our discussions and action to further strengthen this unity.



President fired, still wins office

by John Allison

Chrysler Corporation has tried to get rid of union fighters by firing them whenever they can find any kind of excuse. Many times they do this with the help of the union, because the fighters usually have to battle the union bureaucrats as hard as the company—if not harder.

Some times this works, but some times it doesn't. There are at least three fighting union presidents in Chrysler plants who have been able to outfox both the company and the union—even when they've been fired.

Those three have been at Dodge Main in Detroit, the Chrysler Twinsburg, Ohio plant, and most recently at the Chrysler Eldon Axle plant in a Detroit suburb.

That's what these three presidents did—run for office even though they weren't working in the shop at the time. They won their elections because the rank-and-file wanted to keep them to fight for them. What's more, the rank-and-file did this against the opposition of both the UAW International and the company.

The latest example, at the Eldon Axle plant, was in doubt for a while. The president there, a Black militant, had been fired by the company and his discharge had been upheld. But he ran for, and won, the presidency. When the elections came up this month, he was in a battle with another Black candidate supported by the UAW, and a white skilled worker.

When the Black president in office failed to get a majority by two votes, he was thrown into an election run-off with the other Black candidate, who at this point got the support of both the company and the UAW.

The run-off election was close, but the Black president won against both the UAW and the company by a small margin. The majority of the workers at Eldon Axle are Black, so the matter of race wasn't the decisive issue, since both candidates were Black. The question was, who did the workers feel could best represent them. And they voted their conviction.

But it's still only a partial victory, because most of the other offices, including a majority of the local union's executive committee, were won by members on the slate opposed to the fighting Black president. It means that he'll probably have his hands tied for most of the time, since he is outnumbered where it comes to any action that has to be approved by a majority vote of the executive committee.

'We bled for seniority rights'

by Felix Martin

(Note from Editorial Board: Many workers are aware that management is using the debate about seniority vs. affirmative action for their own ends, and that the so-called "affirmative action" programs about which there has been so much talk, are in reality only a myth. Blacks and women are still kept out, by seniority or otherwise. Capitalism knows a thousand ways to practice racism. Because, however, it is a serious and complex subject, we are printing in this issue two views—that of a white worker, below, and that of a Black worker in the Black-Red column on page 7. Further discussion from our readers is welcome.)

The latest attack on workers by corporations is the attack on seniority rights. To destroy the only right that workers have won through years of struggle—a right that many workers bled and died for—is just one more way to higher profits for corporations and lower conditions for workers.

With the destruction of "seniority rights," we will go back to the 20-hour day and the sweat shops. Everyone will be working for pennies. Why? Because if you refuse, you can be fired on the spot. If you manage to work for many years at a place and you start slowing down with age, you will be replaced by a younger worker.

This will also destroy retirement benefits, because you'll be gone before you can use them. The same will be true with medical benefits, because if you're hurt, you'll be replaced. All of this can happen because benefits come from corporate pockets and cut into their profits.

Since corporations were forced to stop their discrimination against Blacks, browns and women and had to hire them, they have tried to pit worker against worker. It didn't work. Now they have come up with the idea of destroying "seniority rights" and are trying again, using their own racial bias, to pit worker against worker. It won't work this time either.

The workers I have talked with—Black, white, brown and women—all agree the "seniority rights" must stand. Any changes made in the seniority system will have to be made by the workers. It was not judges or corporate executives or union bureaucrats that did the bleeding and dying for the right of seniority. It was workers.

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich. — The majority of workers at Mack today are older Black workers. After the big lay off and cut back in December, all the younger workers were put out on the street. When the company began to call back workers, they were older workers from different plants.

In the press room, there is not a worker with less than 20 years seniority. The company began to use scare tactics against them, saying that if they wanted a job and wanted the company to remain in business, they would have to eliminate all scrap and increase production. They also want to eliminate all absenteeism, because they are not hiring extra workers for replacements. We have also lost our break time and our regular lunch period.

The company doesn't accept a doctor's report when you are absent. If a worker is absent for one day, he is subject to a week to five weeks off.

The union at Mack doesn't say a word about all this.

When we talk about revolting, the company and the union boast to us about how they, with the help of the city police, defeated the workers who took over two Chrysler plants two years ago. But I can't see how these working conditions can continue. Something has to happen, and the only weapon we have is to revolt.

—Mack worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Why is the union afraid to tackle discrimination at Fleetwood? From the committeeman level to the local and International level, the union has ignored the open racism here.

We have a new president and new officers in Local 15—but that doesn't mean that there will be a change. One Black man just elected into Local 15 leadership said the union is supposed to represent all employees,

and that is true. Yet it still doesn't make sense to pretend racism doesn't exist in the plant.

Take final repair on the fourth floor. There is not one Black man working there. Most of the workers there are very low-ranking employees in seniority, lower than many Black workers who have put in 63-B's, transfer requests, into final repair. But they sneak people in.

One white worker who had been laid-off last spring was called back to the body shop. The company put him in final repair, even though there are Black workers with seniority as far back as 1967 who had put in 63-B's for final repair.

Not a job in the plant has been settled yet. We got no satisfaction from the mini-strike. The only thing that changed was that people on lay-off were called back, but they all found work added onto their jobs.

Right here and now we have the power to strike—if there is a union over there. There ought to be a way that committeemen could pass on the word to the workers he represents that "we're walking out right now." That is the only way to battle discrimination, and to get the company to respect your seniority, whether you are Black or white.

—Dept. 11 worker

Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—They're bringing back some people who were laid off. That's only going to last a few weeks because we're going to be laid off again in July for two weeks.

One of the weeks is when everybody is going to be forced to take a vacation. This is the first year they did this in the assembly plant. During the election, the union man in the D.A.P. swore up and down that he wouldn't let this happen, that we would have some choice about when to go on vacation. But he hasn't even given it a fight.

—DAP worker

EDITORIAL

No sooner had Ford's chief economic adviser, Alan Greenspan, again boasted to the press that "the bottom of the recession has passed", than the government's own unemployment figures for May made it clear that whatever world he was living in, it was not U.S.A., 1975. The official unemployment rate jumped to 9.2 percent—the highest since 1940. When "discouraged" workers are counted, no less than 11 million people have lost their jobs.

Add to this the 2.7 million youth entering the job market this summer for temporary or permanent work—many because their parents have been laid-off—and the real world reveals itself as a nightmare.

DEPRESSION CONDITIONS FOR BLACK USA

Not a single one of the Ford administration spokesmen, who seem to start each day declaring that the economic crisis will disappear tomorrow, responded to the devastating report on Black unemployment published by the Urban League. That report revealed a Black unemployment rate of 25.7 percent—nearly three times the national average. Of the 49,000 who became newly unemployed in March, fully 47,000 were Black. The report's conclusion that "Depression conditions have become the norm in Black America" is no overstatement.

The newest additions to the jobless ranks are the thousands of government employees let go in May and June as the effects of the crisis in production became a fiscal crisis in the city halls. New York City alone has cut 14,000 workers and has threatened 50,000 more with termination. City services, particularly those to aid the poor, simply disappear.

So degenerate has this capitalist system become, that it is continually re-defining "normal" unemployment, as the number of workers on the streets grow. After World War II, Congress declared that any time unemployment reached four percent, national emergency measures such as public works programs were to be instituted. By the Kennedy administration, four percent had become the "the norm" below which no reduction could be expected. Today, the Ford administration calmly lists

The permanent unemployed army grows

seven percent unemployment—nearly seven million people—as the best they can hope for in this administration!

The barbarism of what passes for American civilization is nowhere more clearly revealed than in the fact that nearly a million Americans now belong to the third generation unemployed.

THE PERMANENT UNEMPLOYED ARMY

The never-ending growth of the "industrial reserve army", which Marx predicted over 100 years ago, is today a sickening reality. After each economic crisis, the new "prosperity" is witness to a million or more new additions to those permanently out of work, and for whom capitalism has created a special kind of horror called "welfare."

It is no accident that attacks on those on welfare have sprung up all across the country just as unemployment benefits or SUB payments are running out. In Michigan, Governor Milliken's so-called "corrective action plan" has resulted in the illegal termination of benefits without a hearing for thousands of the unemployed.

The midnight searches against welfare recipients are not far removed from the 1984 world of the CIA, a small part of which is now appearing in the newspaper headlines (See lead article, p. 1). The truth is that this repression stems from fear of the total revolt from below which permeates every area of life in the U.S.A. today.

REVOLT REVEALS MATURITY OF AGE

Despite the unemployment rate, strikes are on the increase. In Harlan, Ky., miners who finally won a UMW union contract last fall after a year-long strike, have gone out on nine wildcat strikes in the past six months. In California, farmworkers have launched their biggest organizing drive ever in the wake of the new state labor law. New strikes by farmworkers have sprung up in the melon fields of Texas. In Detroit, auto workers report that hell-hole conditions on the produc-

tion line are forcing a new unity between Black and white workers.

Nor is the activity limited to those who still have jobs. It is a mark of the maturity of the age that there is no separation between the employed and unemployed today. When 60,000 marched on Washington April 26, the ranks of the marchers included not only employed and unemployed union members, but thousands who carried signs like: "National Welfare Rights Organization," or "Brooklyn Council for Jobs." In Detroit, welfare recipients and caseworkers joined together to picket welfare headquarters.

We truly live in an age of absolutes. There is nothing in common between the absolute tyranny of rulers to whom 11 million unemployed are seen only as subjects for CIA spying, and workers themselves whose activity is born of the drive for total freedom. That is why no "turning the economy around" can solve anything. Nothing less than a completely new society based on human power and human creativity will do.

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THE CIA

Director Colby said his CIA maybe made a few small mistakes, but what the heck . . . If toppling governments is small potatoes, I'm glad the CIA never sank its fangs into anything really big, or Armageddon might have arrived prematurely.

F. R. Davis
Los Angeles

It has really been an education to read through your bound volume of N&L. And some things written years ago mean more now than they probably did then. Just when all the revelations on the CIA came out I happened to be reading the issue you published after President Kennedy's assassination and found a letter commenting on Gerald Ford's call for a witch-hunt, when the Warren commission of which he was a member had not even started their investigation. Here is what he said then: "Congress should thoroughly investigate the Oswald types, the Communists, Marxists, leftists and the pro-Castro elements in our country. It is essential that we get on record all possible background information on these individuals and groups so the American people can more fully understand the threat of the Communist conspirators to the peace and security of the United States." The "impartial" investigator then and now!

Alarmed
Detroit

This is what the CIA activity in Chile bears responsibility for:

During Pinochet's "restoration of law and order" 5,000 to 30,000 have lost their lives, 2,000 of them executed in custody before January, 1974. An estimated 40,000 were arrested. Torture has been practiced systematically, too hideous to detail. All pro-Allende media closed down. All political parties of the Allende coalition outlawed. The General Workers Union outlawed. Control of universities and hospitals seized by the military. A country with a long tradition of democracy has been converted into what one Chilean prisoner termed "an inferno of terror."

And there are hundreds of thousands of other prisoners interned in Western nations, Communist nations, and Third

World countries. Tyranny is universal.

Amnesty International is an organization that operates to free these "prisoners of conscience" throughout the world. We have waged campaigns on behalf of more than 13,000 prisoners in our 12 years, and over 7,500 have been released. If your readers want to help, tell them to write: Amnesty International, 200 West 72nd St., New York, N. Y. 10023.

Member, AI
New York

If you had any brains, you knew what was going on in the past years. What is really scary about all the recent publicity about the CIA is to know that this is only one drop in the bucket, as the powers-that-be keep trying to move us further and further to fascism.

Office Worker
Detroit

We who were active in the '60s all thought we knew what the government was doing. But when it all comes out in an official report there is a sense of personal horror you can't describe. That isn't a matter of statistics — how many people had files on them, etc., etc. It comes down to wondering, "Who can I talk to now?"

Activist
Detroit

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR?

Nothing has shown so clearly what a joke the United States thinks International Women's Year is than the plan to have a man be top member of the U.S. delegation and give the keynote speech at the conference in Mexico City. After a huge outcry by feminists, women were told that there had been a "grievous error" and a woman would give the key speech and be top banana after all. The "grievous error" was in thinking that they could get away with this type of male chauvinism in this day and age.

The thing that no one seems upset about is that two of the delegates to Mexico were supposed to be Indira Gandhi and Isabel Peron. These women are not my sisters nor the sisters of the women in the countries they rule! Indira Gandhi has just been convicted of corrupt elec-

tion practices and puts the development of atomic weapons above feeding human beings and Isabel Peron is the leader of the authoritarian regime of Argentina. The one thing we can be sure of is that this conference will not make one bit of difference in the lives of women anywhere. But then the United Nations never intended that it should.

Feminist
Detroit

THE HORROR OF RAPE

I was as angered at your treatment of the Reader's View on rape in the last issue as I was at the letter, itself. To run the letter under the heading "Women's Liberation" was totally wrong. The head should have shown the terrible negative of the subject matter; what did that have to do with Women's Liberation? As for the letter itself, I consider it an evasion of the whole question to have made light of it even if it was done by a sarcastic reference to murder. It is not only that rape can and has often itself resulted in murder, but that rape has to be fought in terms of its own horror. That we have certainly moved backward, is proved not only by that fantastic decision of the British judges, but by the fact that someone who is clearly a sincere and committed feminist could write of it so lightly.

Intellectual
New York

EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED

On June 15 Detroit city government laid off hundreds of city workers in all departments except police. The administration stated it had no choice because of the budgetary crisis, but it didn't lay off from supervision—and so to cut the budget by 23 percent, two-thirds of the non-supervisors in some departments were laid-off.

Mayor Young has been attacking AFSCME Council 77 for four months and placing the responsibility for lay-offs on union refusal to accept wage cuts, and even "five days work for four days pay."

Reader

The fact is that Council 77 members are primarily Black city workers—garbage-men, bus drivers, park workers, etc. The city centered its demands for concessions, and lay-offs on these union personnel who maintain city services, so the lay-offs are racist both in that mostly Blacks lost their jobs and that the people of Detroit have been deprived of health, safety and other services.

It's too bad that Council 77 could not respond to attacks by the city. They were afraid to call on the membership for mass meetings or demonstrations, because the last mass meeting last summer got out of the leadership's control. Instead they debated the administration in the back rooms, and the lay-offs are here.

Council 77 member
Detroit

The UAW is distributing bumper stickers that read: "Buy a Foreign Car —Help 10 Americans Lose Their Jobs." Are they trying to make us blame the German or Japanese or Italian auto workers for our unemployment? Isn't it strange that most U.S. unions call themselves "Internationals" but act very nationalistic, whereas the big capitalist corporations claim to be loyal nationalists, but will go anywhere and do nearly anything to make a buck?

Wondering
Ohio

Believe it or not, the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), in its monthly publication "The Government Standard," attributed the disruption of the "Jobs Now" rally on May 9 to faulty sound equipment! Apparently, the only "faulty sound equipment" was the ears of the union bureaucrats.

Government employee
Chicago

I appreciated the stories by the New York garment workers in the last issue. I know the sweatshops of the North and the decay of the cities certainly do not make the North any paradise. Southern

TWO WORLDS

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

THE CONCRETIZATION OF MARX'S NEW CONTINENT OF THOUGHT: 1917

Once there was a great proletarian revolution, the greatest ever, the most international, having been conceived as but one step toward the world revolution, and the deepest since everything from struggles at the point of production to national liberation movements, and from women's liberation struggles to new forms of literature were to be created anew. And because the 1917 Russian Revolution was so total, not only was the philosophy of revolution inseparable from the actual overturn of the old and creation of the new, but the Black Dimension was recognized as revolutionary, though "a national question." That Black Dimension, moreover, felt so at home as to criticize also the Communists themselves (the American Communists) for their prejudices. Here is how eloquently Claude McKay addressed the Communist International in 1922:

... there is a great element of prejudice among the Socialists and Communists of America. They are not willing to face the Negro question. In associating with the comrades of America, I have found demonstrations of prejudice on the various occasions when the white and black Comrades had to get together; and this is the greatest difficulty that the Communists of America have got to overcome—the fact that they first have got to emancipate themselves from the ideas they entertained towards the Negroes before they can be able to reach the Negroes with any kind of radical propaganda.

In 1918, when the Third International published its Manifesto and included that part referring to the exploited colonies there were several groups of Negro radicals in America that sent this propaganda out among their people. When in 1920 the American government started to investigate and to suppress radical propaganda among the Negroes, the

Instant Marxism and the Black intellectual

small radical Negro groups in America retaliated by publishing the fact that the Socialists stood for the emancipation of the Negroes, and that reformist America could do nothing for them. Then, I think, for the first time in American history, the American Negroes found that Karl Marx had been interested in their emancipation, and had fought valiantly for it.

THE TRANSFORMATION INTO OPPOSITE: STALINISM, MAOISM

In 1929, the Great Depression broke loose in the world. It is also the period when Russia became transformed into its opposite. From the first workers' state in history it developed into a state-capitalist society. Its name was Stalinism and its thought was that false consciousness which reduced Leninism to an administrative formula of how to get the workers to produce ever more and have no voice at all while receiving ever less pay and being forced into the silence and horror of concentration camps.

As against the 1917 proletarian revolution issuing from World War I, the revolutions that issued from World War II were national only. Ideologically they were rooted in Stalinism which passed for "Marxism-Leninism" but in fact were state-capitalist under the shield of "socialism in one country." The "Thought of Mao Tse-tung", grafted on that nationalistic basis, was original in but two aspects: guerilla warfare, and brainwashing which Mao called "rectification." The "new" in that brainwashing was that it was philosophically expressed as "contradiction." The trouble was that the contradiction was vitiated of its class content. The "super-structure" was placed above it, and made so manipulable as to extinguish all fundamental differences between "primary and secondary contradictions."

What Mao said of Stalin after Stalin's death: Stalin was "not completely a metaphysician; he understood dialectics, but not very much," (1) could also be said of Mao.

(1) Wan-sui, 1967, quoted in "The China Quarterly," March 1975.

The Black intellectuals nowadays think that they, in turn, can rest on this abbreviated Marxism called Maoism. Instant Marxism is no substitute for "the labor, patience, seriousness and suffering of the negative"—so imperative for a philosophy of liberation that hungers to become real.

TODAY'S BLACK INTELLECTUALS

The gap between Black workers and Black intellectuals in this era of sharp economic crises has become so deep that, at first sight, there seems to be no point whatever to go into the debates among self-proclaimed leaders, rootless intellectuals trying overnight "to make" a revolution and a theory. Yet the deeper the economic crisis and the unbounded restlessness among workers, the more necessary it is to see what does get reflected also in the elitist movement.

(Continued on Page 7)

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

Views

workers, Blacks and whites alike, have been finding that out since the Civil War, I guess. But I can't believe the South is anything better to run back to—not when that is exactly where the Northern bosses have been running away to with their plants all these years.

Unemployed
Detroit

* * *

New Mexico is a poor state—49th in the U.S. in income. Currently, New Mexico businessmen and politicians are trying to attract more industry to our state. But what kind of industry are we getting? They come here to take advantage of our low wages and unorganized workers, to make huge profits while exploiting cheap labor. While some new industries have been coming here, our income compared to workers in other states has actually been getting lower.

We are in a crisis that rich business men and politicians have created for their needs. Society doesn't run on our needs but only on their profits... The choice today is between socialism or the continued barbarism, war, destruction and poverty of capitalism.

Libertarian Socialists
Albuquerque, New Mexico

THE LATINO REVOLT

I recently heard Juan Carlos Coral, an Argentinian socialist leader who is campaigning for a congressional committee to investigate right-wing terror there (he is one of those marked by the AAA for death). He said that since WW II there is a new form of repression, often subtle (i.e. ideological), but when workers resist ideological repression, then capitalism massacres them as in Chile. At the moment, he said, the ruling class of Argentina is preaching class cooperation and collaboration, while right-wing terror operates openly, and the bourgeois press continues with its conspiracy of silence about it.

What was most exciting was his report of how the resistance is growing there. He said 10,000 steel workers had occupied the mills that produce 60 percent

of the steel, and a recent strike of subway workers in Buenos Aires paralyzed that city. There have also been strikes of rural workers like the sugar cane cutters, and of white collar workers like the bank employees. And since most of the union leaders who are still free and alive are so because they have sold out, the workers have been ignoring them and, in groups of 15 to 20, have been choosing their own representatives to negotiate with the bosses. It is a very explosive situation.

What was most interesting of all to me was that he said he had seen in the U. S. a new dimension of Latin America, one even more advanced—the Chicanos who are opposing both their position in the U. S., the most advanced capitalist country in the world, and the betrayed Mexican revolution, since if there had ever been true agrarian reform there, the grandchildren of Villa and Zapata would not be planting lettuce in California.

UFW Supporter
New York

VIETNAM AFTERMATH

The antiwar movement activists have been celebrating the end of the war in Vietnam—but how can the struggle be "over" when there is no horrified response to the following facts:

Over 55,000 Vietnam war veterans have died since they returned from the war, and the leading causes of death are suicide, drug-overdoses and one-car accidents. Over one-third of the 120,000 vets treated at VA hospitals have received treatment for psychiatric disorders. Estimates of heroin addiction are as high as 250,000—and only 20,000 have been detoxified. Nearly one-third of all prisoners in state, federal and county institutions are Vietnam era vets.

How can there be any question that there must be universal unconditional amnesty for those who refused to be part of the Vietnam horror?

Gold Star Parent for Amnesty
Massachusetts

FROM OUR INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENTS

The recent "referendum" campaign on the Common Market has come and gone. I would have thought that it was elementary to any revolutionary that the working class is international and that whether the boss be "national" or "bi-national" or "septenational" may be of interest to the ruling class, but is certainly not the problem of the working class. A capitalism consisting of seven nations in "agreement" or one state in "isolation" is six of one and half a dozen of the other. Yet along with the official spokesmen for the British bourgeoisie, all the traditional leftists from the CP to IS joined in the fray, and fought for "national independence"—a united front of Michael Foot, Paul Foot and super-racist Enoch Powell. It was a ruling class issue and all the traditional parties and groups demonstrated their thorough integration in the capitalist system by accepting it as their issue.

Bob Potter
London

* * *

I recently saw a copy of the book entitled *Weathermen* and it showed, I felt, how one reaches terrorism through the detachment of the student movement from the labor theory of value.

The problem of terrorism and total detachment from the working class is becoming always more grave here. There are very obvious reasons. The photos on the one-day trial of the Baader-Mienhof gave me the chills—barbed wire, police everywhere, even on the roofs and helicopters everywhere. Worse is the condition of the prisoners. The problem becomes one of how to defend such people on the matter of these conditions without defending their cause.

Correspondent
Italy

* * *

I was disturbed to read in the *United Irishman*, the official organ of the IRA, edited in Dublin, a full page article supporting the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. It is the most blatant thing I have read on that invasion. The paper preaches "James Connally Socialism" but in every way it puts forth the line of the Communist Party, although that particular CP did not support the

invasion of Czechoslovakia. We have every reason to be suspicious. Can it be that it is connected with the growing movement in Czechoslovakia? It is important also that the *United Irishman* is the organ of the official IRA which is now at war with the Irish Republican Socialist Party of Bernadette Devlin that recently split from it.

H. McShane
Glasgow

* * *

There have been several disturbing events in Ontario and Quebec lately—everything from outright racism against Indians in Northern Ontario and the Black and brown communities in Toronto, to right-wing business attempts to stifle the union movement in Quebec. Three of the QFL's construction unions were placed under government trusteeships and the postal workers are embroiled in a life and death struggle with the federal government. Hard times are really with us here in Canada, too.

Supporter
Ontario

* * *

We are making good use of N&L here. It is such a refreshing experience to read about U. S. labor and industry in your pages. It is so different from all the glossy ads we see about it elsewhere.

Dinaman
India

UNDER 21

"Under 21," the modest publication put out by the high school youth in Los Angeles, is very impressive and refreshing. It's a real contrast to the efforts of a Maoist front group of the "Revolutionary Student Brigade" here to organize a one-day class boycott without open discussion from students themselves, and separated in its goals from such ever-present questions as racism in the university.

College Student
Gainesville, Florida

Ed. Note—For copies of "Under 21", issued by high school students in L.A., and another newsletter, "High School Blues", put out by students in Detroit, write to N&L, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mi. 48207.

NATIVE AMERICAN SPEAKS

by Shainape Shcapwe

On Saturday, June 7, Russell Means, one of the leaders in the American Indian Movement (AIM), was shot. The story released to the press by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) police and the one told to me by Russell were two very different versions.

The police say that Means and 20 other AIM members attacked Pat Kelly, a BIA police officer. They say Kelly justifiably shot Means in the stomach. As against this story, Clyde Bellecourt, another AIM spokesman, said that Russell saw one of the residents of the Standing Rock Reservation being manhandled by police who were taking him into custody. Russell tried to intervene on behalf of the man and officer Pat Kelly's son shot him in the back.

The doctors confirmed that Russell had been shot in the back.

I talked to Russell on Friday, June 13. He verified the story that Clyde told me. He added that there have been other attempts to harm him since he moved to North Dakota over a year ago.

DOCTOR IGNORES MEANS

I was told by an AIM spokesman that Russell first was taken to the Fort Yates jail for three hours before he was taken to the hospital.

The doctor there said he didn't think Russell would make it through the night. He wouldn't treat him, because he felt that if Russell died, the hospital might be burned down. So they put him in the paddy wagon and drove him 70 miles to Bismarck, off the reservation.

Russell underwent an operation June 12 to remove the bullet. The wound is infected now and he is listed in critical condition. He is being guarded by AIM people. When he was asked if he wanted police protection, he said, "No, I think the police have done enough already."

I know from experience how the police can doctor their records. When I was 16, I was picked up and charged with disturbing the peace. When the officer had me in jail, he told me that he would let me go if I would spend the night with him.

When I didn't comply, he threw me in the drunk tank and left me there for a day and a half. I had a cold that turned into pneumonia because of the cold and dampness — this was on New Year's Eve. When they came to take me to court, they found me with a fever and in a state of delirium.

They took me to the hospital and told the doctor that they had found me lying on the street. They called my sister and told her the same thing. That is on the record.

MOVEMENT ATTACKS FEAR

These policemen are Indians, too. I know how hard it is to live on a reservation, but it is still shocking to know that the only way people can achieve any kind of status under this system is to make life not only miserable but sometimes impossible for those sharing this existence.

Two years ago, I wanted to go back to the reservation

Black-white support helps fired cabbie get reinstated

New York, N.Y. — A Black taxi driver at the 55th Street Garage was fired early in June. Many of the drivers, Black and white, came to his defense, and helped in his fight to get reinstated. Below is part of their leaflet:

"The bosses have told our brother that he is finished at our garage. They are not interested in his chronic back injury which has left him nearly crippled. The bosses don't even care that 17 years of driving in this industry has created a serious back problem for this worker (as for many others). These bosses have known for quite a while that his chronic back injury can flare up at any time and force him to be bedridden. He was out on his injury for two months, and instead of letting him return to work, they claimed he quit, which is a lie!"

There were several meetings of workers to discuss action during the next week. Most workers understood the firing of this man as a racist action. When a white driver asked if this meant you had to be Black to get fired, a Black driver listed five or six firings in 1975 and said, "No, you can be Puerto Rican."

The workers decided they might strike, and a white shop steward, Larry Guinchard, was fired the next day when a picket line was set up. Finally the union bigshots drove up in their fancy cars and offered arbitration for both fired men the next day. The workers voted narrowly to go to work.

At the hearing the steward was reinstated. The Black driver gave a detailed description of racial harassment by Howie Paris ever since January, when he filed a grievance about discrimination in dispatching.

Some of the most moving testimony was given by three young white drivers who said they'd had flag-ups and long absences, and nothing happened to them. The case was so clear that even the union lawyer had to admit racial discrimination was involved.

The next day, the fired brother was also reinstated, but without back pay. His reinstatement stemmed from the Black-white solidarity expressed both at the garage and at the hearing, which certainly surprised both union and management.

Russell Means shot in the back



—Michael Kienitz/LNS

Russell Means

town where I had spent my childhood. My sister told me to be careful whom I accepted food and drink from. She said that people were afraid to go out at night. She said she was glad she didn't live there anymore.

The positive thing is, of course, that there is an Indian movement and that the authorities are recognizing this movement as a force to reckon with. At the time that I had dealings with the police, I felt that I had to accept what they said. Not so with Russell Means.

That doctor was right in believing that bad things could happen if Russell died there. I think I'm right in believing that this movement can turn that fear and anger that we vent on each other and use it to improve the frightful living conditions on the reservations.

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UFW grape boycott crucial

Detroit, Mich. — The compromise elections bill signed in California makes the harvest season just beginning the most crucial in the history of the United Farm Workers union (UFW). In Detroit, we are picketing chain stores again to let people know that their support is really needed now.

The California elections law is as near to a total victory as a union can get in the legislative arena. It calls for secret ballot union preference elections on any ranch where a simple majority of the workers petition for elections — including those ranches still affected by Teamster "sweet-heart" contracts. The election must be held within seven days, so growers can't stall until the harvest is over when the only workers left to vote would be flunkies.

The election law maintains the ranch-wide industrial bargaining unit, needed so that "craft" union provisions can't be used to discriminate against Chicanos. And the law allows strikers who worked on a ranch during the past three harvests to vote, so that on many ranches the scabs will be in a minority.

This election law does not guarantee that the UFW will regain the hundreds of contracts stolen by the Teamsters. The dual power of intimidation and a reported \$10,000,000 the Teamsters are willing to spend on elections makes this harvest season a turning point for the UFW. But the union members I spoke to here are as confident as ever.

THERE'S BLOOD ON THOSE GRAPES. DON'T BUY THEM. DON'T DRINK GALLO!

—Supporter

U.S. firms exploit Dominicans

New York, N.Y. — The Dominican Republic will be the new Puerto Rico in the near future, if the revolutionaries don't stop the Yankee on the island. The truth of the situation is in La Romana, a province of the Dominican Republic that is 90 percent owned by Gulf & Western and other American corporations.

It is like a Nazi concentration camp. They have fences and wires separating the Gulf & Western property. The Dominican has to show proof that he works there to the gringo security guards to get into 90 percent of his own province.

The exploitation of Dominican workers in their own territory, with the cooperation of the gorilla Balaguer, is a humiliation. The exploiters pay a very low salary, about 50 cents an hour, but build very expensive hotels for rich tourists. The Dominican people themselves cannot afford to stay in these hotels.

The Dominican people don't need the Yankee for the life of their land. They lie when they say they are bringing progress. For example, they spend maybe \$1 million for a hotel, but that's not progress. Sooner or later they make 10 or 20 million dollars on top of that by exploiting the Dominicans and using their country.

Also, they are racist. The administration of the gringo business gives preference to gusanos (Cuban exiles) because they are American citizens. And that's ridiculous, because it is the Dominicans' own land.

Another thing the Dominican people have to stop is U. S. influence in the government and their good relationship with the military of Balaguer. Gulf & Western and other American businesses of La Romana are like a separate state within the state—La Romana is the U.S.A. within the Dominican Republic.

—Dominican garment worker

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Unity results from Bay Area park workers' strike

Oakland, Cal.—After being on strike against the East Bay Regional Park District for two months, we went back to work on June 3 thinking our new contract was agreed upon by management and signed. Well, it hasn't been signed yet, and people are mad and want to know why.

Since we got back to work, management has succeeded in getting 28 union members reclassified as management, so now these people won't be coming to union meetings and will tend to take management's point of view.

Working overtime is now at management's discretion, and instead of working us overtime, they've been contracting out more. They say we can't take our vacations until September; some people have been transferred suddenly for no reason; and one person who was arrested during the strike hasn't had his charges dropped yet.

Another thing they did was to try to make us pay for our medical insurance premiums for May, while we were on strike!

They have one of the crews that's in charge of cutting eucalyptus trees using spray poison and working on weekends when the public visits the parks.

People in my crew are very friendly and getting along much better now. The strike brought people together. They talk to each other and are more inclined to take an interest in other workers' struggles, since they now understand the type of opposition they had to face. A lot of creativity was released during the strike—people writing leaflets, organizing demonstrations, going to meetings, putting out newsletters, picketing, etc. We wonder why management is unable to tap any of this creativity while workers are on the job.

We found out a lot about how the system works. We tried appealing to the board members, who are elected in obscure public elections, to force management to negotiate with us. But we found out they were tricky and arrogant and already on management's side, since most of them are businessmen. There should be a law where candidates for the board should make themselves visible before the election, so people know what their politics are.

We learned a lot of things from the strike. Communication and personal contact both with the public and ourselves is essential in staying together. We put out a strike bulletin every day. People could discuss it and it gave us a better feeling of solidarity.

A good spirit-booster every now and then is good, like our funeral march proclaiming the death of the parks, or the legislative hearing where supportive assemblymen ripped the management.

Management is still trying to weaken the union, so our fight isn't over yet. But as long as we keep up communication among ourselves, while keeping a vigilant eye on management, we may be able to come up with solutions that will at least ensure that our present contract is not violated.

—Park striker

Federal workers fight sellout

Chicago, Ill.—Employees in the U. S. Department of Labor are becoming increasingly vocal about job dissatisfaction. At a recent training session, labor relations and equal employment opportunity were discussed. The instructor was repeatedly called to task for the government's ineptitude in handling union grievances and equal opportunity for its own employees, as well as for its total failure to enforce these laws in the work force at large.

Following the training, a group of employees were discussing their concerns when one of them, an EEO officer no less, asked whether the group thought that we should have the right to strike. He was visibly shaken by a resounding "Yes!"

When he asked why we would want to strike, the group answered, "We should strike over not being allowed to do our jobs; not being trained to do our jobs; and the fact that management is obviously trying to increase our production while reducing our wages. Since we know better than anyone else whenever management sells out to influential politicians, we should demand the right to hold our managers accountable to the public."

Many workers here are forced to work overtime without pay or compensatory time off. Meanwhile, the U. S. Civil Service Commission is trying to force massive demotions in the Labor Department and the Environmental Protection Agency. It is a standing joke in our office that the workers could readily stage a highly successful palace revolution, as management is too thoroughly inept to organize a resistance!

—Federal worker

Redford H.S. harasses Blacks

Detroit, Mich.—Redford High School is very prejudiced against Black students. The process through which a Black parent must go to enroll their child is unjust. The procedure requires that two pieces of identification be shown with the address on it.

I have a friend who is a Black student at Redford, whose mother asked the secretary if all this was necessary. The secretary said, "We don't have any trouble here and we don't want any. We are going to make a check at this address to see if you are living there." My friend's mother said, "I am off on Wednesday, please feel free to come." The secretary said, "We are going to keep coming until someone is at home."

The region board representatives came out to this address and no one was at home. They went next door and the neighbors said they didn't live there, because they didn't know them yet. The following week the school called my friend out of class and said she couldn't attend school any longer, only six weeks before the semester ended.

—Reprinted from HIGH SCHOOL BLUES newsletter

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

The first truth is that, no matter how far removed from any direct relationship to the workers' struggles are Black intellectuals, the Black Dimension is so inherently revolutionary and, at the same time, so forced by capitalism to an intellectual ghetto, that they cannot but reflect some of the alienation produced by capitalism.

Take so Establishment a person as Ralph W. Ellison, who has belatedly come to tout "middle-class values." He was the very writer who produced one of the greatest novels of the 20th century written by anyone, white or Black. That work of genius, *The Invisible Man*, tells of so total a rejection of white society that has made the Black "invisible," that there is no way whatever for that truth—the art-speech of reality—to be covered up by his "sudden" discovery of middle-class values that the Blacks are now being asked to emulate "perfecting our mastery of the cultural and intellectual tools of modern American society," as if that could "transcend the valueless and directionless void in which we now find ourselves." (2)

The second truth is that those intellectuals who do have some roots among workers, like Baraka and Sadauki, and who are looking for some theory, which Baraka calls an "Ideology with three cutting edges— from nationalism to Pan-Africanism to socialism" are attracted to Maoism, not because Mao speaks of remaining Red even if it takes "a thousand or ten thousand years" but because they think that Maoism is a short-cut to a new society. In this they reflect the proletarian impatience to do away with this exploitative, racist, imperialistic, alienating society. They suffer, however, from the preoccupation of all elitists. They all want to be leaders and to order all others to follow. Even some like John Oliver Killens, who do recognize "the problem with instant Marxists is that their Marxism is a misinterpretation of Marx", nevertheless consider the "thrust" must be for leadership. (3)

Among these would-be Marxists there is one, C. L. R. James, who surely has the knowledge of class analysis, racial history and "culture." But he bows out of the whole debate by claiming that "we (James and George Padmore) never quarrelled . . . this quarrelling now I don't understand."

Both statements are untruths, as is the one where he details the working with George Padmore between 1935 and 1939. They add up to an evasion not only of facts but of theory. (4) That can hardly help illuminate the present situation, much less allow us to hear the forces from below who are the only ones that can hew out new ground for the battle of ideas. An end must be put to all the prevarications, evasions and the myriad rewritings of history at the very moment when the passion for philosophy among the masses is so all-pervasive.

It was the Black forces from below that courageously and creatively fought the battles of the '60s and thus gave birth to a whole new generation of revolutionaries, white as well as Black. History shows that these mass forces are the only ones that can save the intellectuals from their rootlessness and thus once and for all put an end to the old and create the new, thereby "realizing" philosophy—that is to say, make freedom a reality.

- (2) "When Does a Black Join the Middle Class?" by Ralph W. Ellison, *Los Angeles Times*, 1-29-75.
- (3) The quotations from the debate in *The Black Scholar* as well as others by Baraka, Sadauki, Killens, James are from "Black Intellectuals Divided Over Ideological Direction," by Charlayne Hunter, *New York Times*, 4-28-75.
- (4) Consult both *Pan-Africanism or Communism?* by George Padmore and *Black Revolutionary: George Padmore's Path From Communism to Pan-Africanism* by James R. Hooker for the history of the relationship of Padmore and C.L.R. James, which hardly extended to 1939 when C.L.R. James had already penned *The World Revolution* and became first a Trotskyist and in 1941 was co-founder with me of the state-capitalist tendency in the U.S. (See *For The Record*, available from *News & Letters* and deposited in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection of the Wayne State University Labor History Archives, Detroit.) It's hard to gauge from his present writings what his views have developed into since he became a professor.

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BLACK-RED VIEW

Black worker views seniority

by John Alan

At an address before the Urban League in Los Angeles, in June, Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, came out four-square for job seniority as written in union contracts. He maintained that Black workers cannot ask white workers "who have not sinned against Blacks to suffer because of the discriminatory practices of employers."

Rustin said "I've never yet met a Black man with high seniority who would agree to let a newly-hired Black woman take his job in case of a layoff, even if that woman got the job because of past discrimination against women . . . We Blacks cannot expect whites to respond differently."

All of this is cold comfort for the hundreds of thousands of Blacks, women and other minorities now facing the bleak realities of the unemployment lines—along with the millions of white workers thrown out of jobs by the massive lay-offs.

We can no longer afford to talk about the seniority clause vs. affirmative action programs in the abstract. Both are vital, concrete issues and are not separate, antagonistic forces within the trade union movement. White workers, in all their zeal to protect their hard-won seniority rights, would be weakening their own position by remaining neutral, as employers began to disregard the affirmative action programs in the name of seniority.

If the capitalists are allowed to get away with this, the onus of unemployment among Blacks, women and other minorities will be placed upon the shoulders of "racist" workers, instead of where it belongs, in the capitalist system of production!

BLACK WORKER SPEAKS

The following quote is from a statement by a Black worker during a talk on the seniority system. I think he comes closer to the root of the problem, both in concrete terms and in ideas, than did Rustin.

"To me, seniority is a part of that process which is based upon racial discrimination. Now that the women's movement has become viable, it also affects them in the same sense. I realize what a job is and how one wants to keep it.

"But something basic here is that the ones who do have seniority, the ones who are kept on, have always been the privileged group, mostly white workers. Beginning with last hired, first fired, it comes down to the same thing. Yes, we know where the blame lies, but the company is not going to do anything. It is to their benefit to keep the lines with less workers.

"I think that within the labor movement there has got to be a new upsurge, with the workers themselves taking the responsibility. One of the very practical things is cutting down the damn work week.

"The simplest and most direct thing is revitalization of the trade unions, where there is a lot of dissatisfaction within as well as outside. There has to be a demand to spread the workload and cut the hours down, with the same basic pay workers are getting. I know it is more complex than that, but it is the first simple step to approach this problem which is so vital. Workers should be thinking about it now.

DIVIDING THE WORKING CLASS

"It goes back to early discussions on imperialism in this country and how it separated the working class on racial lines. The white workers, who are a majority, have got a responsibility, and this has to be pointed out to them—that it is for their own benefit and welfare. As in the '30s, it came down to the practical basis that you weren't going to organize unless the Black workers were with you. Again they are going to have to take a stand and demand that work be shared.

"If not, there is going to be this division and conflict, and I know what is going to happen. You can sense it in so many workers—the racial antagonism that is being played upon. I know that antagonism is going to happen, but it can be minimized."

(FOR ANOTHER VIEW, SEE FELIX MARTIN, P. 3.)

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Czechoslovakia—crackdown seen as prelude to CP Congress

From East Europe we have received the following letter:

THERE WAS A wave of house searches and interrogations in Prague recently — you may have read about this affair as it was in connection with the Dubcek letter Husak was so angry about. In contradiction to foreign newspaper reports, there was no arrest of any prominent person. The only arrest made, in a small East Bohemian town, concerned a young man accused of distributing prohibited literature illegally brought from abroad.

During the searches (20 in Prague at least) even manuscripts in no way connected with any anti-state activity were seized. One is told of a 1000-page manuscript confiscated in Karel Kosik's flat, as well as journals and papers dating from 1968-69. This is obviously done to deprive people of documents and working papers they may use when writing—pri-

vately or otherwise—on 1968 events and analyzing them.

IN ORDER TO do away with those purged from the Party but still employed in jobs where they were "overlooked", a new paragraph was added to the amended labor code that will be in force from July 1: the employer is no longer obliged to document the inability of the employee he wants to dismiss. From now on it will suffice if he declares the employee concerned cannot be expected to fulfill his duties in a way his post requires.

In an academic institution assumed to be a "party" working place (that is, practically any post of human or social sciences) everyone is supposed to be a party member or at least a "proved" loyal citizen. Everyone not meeting this standard will be dismissed.

THERE ARE SEVERAL theories why this wave suddenly erupted at this very moment. Three of

them seem plausible to me. First, any known possibility of ways in which the Dubcek letter could have got abroad and similar documents may come through in the future, have to be stopped. Secondly, as the date of the next Communist Party (CP) Congress approaches, as much opposition activity as possible must be strangled. Third, any intellectual source of assumed future rebellion must be annihilated.

There may be some connection with the European CP congress that should take place in Berlin, though to me the game of the Czechoslovak CP, and perhaps the Russian, too, against the Italian and other West European Communists is not at all clear. Many people believe that this wave of terror should make *tabula rosa* with the opposition forces before the European summit expected in summer, only to erupt once more and still more forcefully as soon as the summit is achieved and the documents the Russians want to be signed are in force.

Indira and India

The Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, was convicted on June 12 of corrupt practices in the general 1971 election by the High Court in her home city of Allahabad. The court ruled that Mrs. Gandhi's election to Parliament was invalid and that enforcement of the verdict could be delayed only for 20 days.

Her lawyers are appealing the decision to the Supreme Court and already there is talk of making an exception, because this has never happened to a Prime Minister. The usual procedure is to at least ban the convicted politician from participating in government during an appeal. Obviously an appeal could go on for years, leaving Mrs. Gandhi in power.

The reign of Indira Gandhi and her allegedly socialist Congress Party has been characterized by its single-minded devotion to power in a state-capitalist world. This madness has directed the expending of millions to explode an atomic bomb, while famine has become widespread.

Mrs. Gandhi dares to talk as if India's only enemies were foreign powers, like Pakistan, which supposedly would be the only beneficiaries of her removal.

In reality, her opposition comes from the Indian masses. Strikers have been jailed by the thousands, opposition marches have repeatedly been met with

brutality by federal police, and there has been no end to the mass outpourings against this corrupt regime. Only last year, an uprising resulted in the overthrow of one of India's state governments, Gujarat, where just recently Mrs. Gandhi had hoped elections would boost her prestige. The Congress Party, which had over two-thirds in the Gujarat assembly, failed even to win a majority taking only 75 out of 182 seats.

Aside from her own Congress party, the only other national party not calling for Indira Gandhi's removal is the Communist Party which is afraid a new ruler might upset India's new relationship with Russia.

Mao and Marcos

Mao recognized the government of Philippine dictator Ferdinand E. Marcos almost as soon as Marcos gave him the chance and offered to reciprocate. In their joint communique, the Chinese leader recognized Marcos' right to squelch his guerrilla insurgents without foreign interference, but made no reference to the status of the Philippines as a military outpost of U.S. imperialism.

In this move, Marcos is making a total turnabout in his attitude toward China, which has long been one of fierce antipathy. The reason lies in his recognition of the significance of the shift in the Asian balance of power resulting from U.S. imperialism's defeat in South Vietnam and Cambodia.

Marcos is very deeply involved in his own little war against Moslem guerrillas in southern Mindanao.

The guerrillas are well-supplied by Arab sources, particularly Libya, which right now is firmly in the camp of Mao's "Enemy Number One," Russia.

NATO and South Africa

Not only is fascist Spain the cornerstone of Ford's new European NATO defense (see editorial article, p. 1), but apparently so is apartheid South Africa. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement and the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid have exposed documents showing that sophisticated NATO communications materials and the NATO coding system are a part of "Project Advocate," South Africa's huge computer complex that is the center of its military system.

Countries known to be involved in this collusion are Britain, Denmark, Holland, U.S., France, and West Germany. Publicly, all proclaim a policy of being against apartheid. Some, like Denmark and Holland, also claim to comply with a voluntary embargo on all arms and military equipment to South Africa.

That NATO isn't supposed to include authoritarian regimes, and also is supposed to be limited geographically to the Tropic of Cancer, shows to what lengths European governments are stretching their hands to the South Africa police state. European leaders may officially celebrate the end of the colonial era—the defeat of Portugal and the playing at being independent of U.S. imperialism—but their support of Africa is as reactionary as ever.

Murderous actions by CIA strike both foreign and domestic targets

(Continued from Page 1)

The drug-testing program on unsuspecting persons continued from 1953 to 1967, a period of 15 years, the last five years of which were conducted under the knowledge of the Inspector General who uncovered the program in 1963. According to reports, the victims were military personnel drafted like criminals!

Russia is often and properly castigated for inhuman treatment of its own political prisoners. The CIA is recorded in the report to have held a Russian defector for a period of three years in its own secret detention camps under sub-human conditions without evidence of any guilt on his part.

When the Nazis used human beings during WW II as animals for experiments in drug research, the world cried out that these monsters must be brought before the criminal bar of justice—and the Nuremberg Trials recorded the verdict. When the CIA, as has been recorded, administered experimental drugs to 173 individuals, one of whom killed himself after an overdose of LSD was administered to him without his knowledge, the inhuman experiments continued for a period of ten years after his death. The CIA destroyed the records of the crime but can not obliterate the guilt. The CIA must be abolished!

CIA'S CONCERN: THE WAR AT HOME

It would appear that there was one grain of truth in what Nixon said to his cronies when the CIA resisted a wee bit in Watergate—though they did actually provide all shenanigans including "psychological profile" of Ellsberg—and that is Nixon's exclamation: "And after all we did for it (the CIA)!"

While it is clearly against the law for any person or agency to open another person's mail, the CIA had started as far back as 1952 to monitor all mail to and from Russia: 2,300,000 pieces of mail were examined, 33,000 photographed and 8,700 opened. Postmasters Summerfield, Day and Blount were aware of this activity and Attorney General Mitchell gleefully approved it. Since 1958 the FBI has been aware of the program and received 57,000 items from it. This lawbreaking was

stopped only in 1973 when the Chief Postal Inspector refused to continue without new presidential approval.

We can see that the CIA was, from the start in 1947, created not so much in a cold war against a totalitarian country—Russia—or out of concern with the Chinese Revolution and the Korean War, but mainly with the pre-revolutionary situation in this country, be it the postwar massive strikes, the Black struggles, the tensions and opposition in the Korean war, or the latest most massive anti-Vietnam war movement.

Anyone who thinks McCarthyism died with McCarthy is entertaining the greatest of illusions. As for those who might think the Democrats would be better than the Republicans, just take a look at the "overseeing" committee headed by Democrat Nedzi.

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The Congress, whose Committee on Intelligence is headed by Michigan Congressman Nedzi, was supposed to supervise the CIA. The Democratic Party appointed him to head up the congressional committee to investigate the affair. He has admitted being in the confidence of the CIA in their assassination effort against Castro and others. Yet demands that he resign his post were immediately met with resistance from Speaker of the House Albert and Kennedy's buddy, the Democratic Whip, Tim O'Neil.

The blatant attempt by Congressman Nedzi to cover-up his own knowledge of CIA crimes, when he had been appointed to be the watchdog of Congress over their activities, demands his resignation not only from the investigative committee, but from the Congress of the United States. He should be put before the criminal bar of justice. Instead, the Democrats in the "higher ranks" are scurrying about to abolish the committee and whitewash Nedzi and the House of Representatives voted 290-64 not to accept his offered resignation. As for Senator Church, he may not be quite so tainted at this point, and may even make disclosures of actual assassinations, but already he has whitewashed Presidents as "not directly involved." Did he expect to catch them with a smoking gun—and from the grave at that?

Clearly, here as well as in totalitarian countries, what this stage of world capitalism—state-capitalism—has shown is that not only is capitalist imperialism the most sweated labor in modern industrial society, and the most militaristic, nuclearly armed to overkill, but it is also buttressed by a vast complex of spies and counter-spies. The counter-spies are not "foreign agents." They are White House men, CIA-FBI-local police men, with each spying on the other, and all spying on the people.

As a very first step it is imperative that the CIA be abolished, the people be freed from Big Brother, and allowed to make their own decisions on their own lives. It is high time that brainwashing stops being substituted for the actual thoughts of the masses who are looking for ways to uproot this exploitative, racist, sexist, nuclear system.