

National-International, Objective-Subjective Crises Are Testing Revolutionaries

With this special issue, News and Letters Committees is presenting the Draft Perspectives Thesis for our coming National Convention, in full, directly in the pages of **News & Letters**. We ask you to join in the pre-convention discussion of these Perspectives with us, over the next two months. Write us your ideas. In an age in such total crisis as ours, revolutionaries can no longer allow a separation between workers and intellectuals, "inside" and "outside", philosophy and revolution.

I. Facing State Capitalist World Reality

The instigation to racism directly from the White House, under the threadbare euphemism of anti-busing, compounded by the even more blatant racism of Ronald Reagan, reveals the abysmal state of degeneracy of the U.S. rulers this bi-centennial year. "Smiley" Carter, the Democratic Party challenger to the Republican occupant, has likewise nothing to offer but noxious "ethnic purity." And, as if unconscionable bloated profits, in face of continuing high unemployment which has become a permanent feature of capitalism in its Automation phase, meant prosperity for the masses, President Ford keeps talking about an economic "upturn." The only negative feature Ford seems to see is inflation, and to his Administration that means further inroads into the poor's living standards, including the cutting off of food stamps to millions on social security and welfare. **Nor is it possible to take the crisis in this country out of the context of the myriad world crises, in all of which U.S. imperialism is hardly the least of the perpetrators-instigators.**

Take the little country of Lebanon where the civil war surely began on indigenous grounds, between the fascist Falangist rulers holding on to their unholy military-economic-political exploitative dominance in face of the challenge of the great masses of Lebanese on the point of winning, and not merely as Moslem vs. Christian, but as exploited versus exploiters. The sharp class struggles have, after all, gone on for years, but this year they were finally reaching a successful finish. This time, it is true, the first to enter the fray was not the U.S.A. but the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Arafat. It was he, while shouting orders to his UN representative on the "Zionism is racism" Resolution,¹ who also ordered the winning Lebanese Left to hold in its reins, to accept the leadership not only of the PLO but also of Syria's Palestine Liberation Army (PLA). And once that happened, the imperial U.S. eye became glued to the situation in Lebanon, at one and the same time decrying "foreign intervention" . . . and welcoming Syria's.

Pandora's box is now open, not only in Lebanon but with the other nuclear global super power, Russia, while the other "Communist" power, China, is busy regularly and favorably reporting meetings of Islamic countries and their communiques about "ending Zionist occupation"². The complications that (1) France's d'Estaing's sudden protrusion into its former colony which the U.S.'s ubiquitous Secretary of State Kissinger is christening as a "historic role"; (2) the murder of U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon, Me-loy; and (3) the landing of a new all-Arab Army "to keep the peace", will be introducing into that tinderbox, the Middle East, cannot but multiply the counter-revolutionary factors in that beleaguered land.

U.S. imperialism in this single year has inter-

vened in every crisis spot in the world from Angola to Italy, from the Middle East to Latin America, and from Cyprus to Portugal. Presently, just when the greatest Black revolt in South Africa's history is occurring and apartheid South Africa is outdoing its 1960 Sharpeville massacre³, Henry Kissinger is meeting with its Prime Minister, Vorster.

In all instances it is impossible to separate the objective crisis from the subjective mouthings not only where ruling powers are concerned, where the governmental policies logically flow from economic crises, but among the opposition Left. The truth is that ever since the near-revolutions in West Europe collapsed in 1968, coming to a counter-revolutionary climax in the Nixon Administration's 1970 invasion of Cambodia and massacre at Kent State, and Jackson State College in Mississippi and Augusta, Georgia, the Left has failed to work out a new relationship of theory to practice.

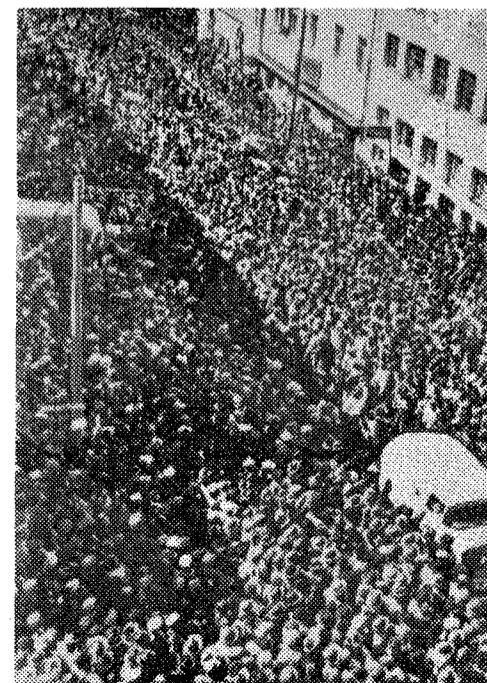
Instead, it has continued to tailend existing state powers at one or the other pole of world state-capitalism, calling itself Communism. Nowhere has this been more revealing than in Italy where the largest, most theoretical and most famous breakaway from the Communist Party—the Il Manifesto organization—instead of filling any theoretic void, has now likewise sunk to electoral politics.⁴ Theoreticians sans theory would be the correct designation of such intellectuals who are by no means confined to Italy. On the contrary. The most innovative (except for "style" in which the French still excel)⁵ of the splits are those in Italy. This, however, no more removes the seal of bankruptcy on their thought which is nearly as total as on that of the "internationalist" state-power they tailend . . . It all comes down to the new type of national capitalism—state-capitalism calling itself Communism—which does indeed have a global reach.

The sharply dual, contradictory nature of state-capitalism befuddles the "New Left" sufficiently to consider it (the state-capitalist planned economy) some sort of revolutionary alternative to private capitalism. Since, however, the two revolutions this year—Portuguese and Angolan—which created the fright of a possible shift in the global balance of power have created some very strange bedfellows indeed, we must take a second look both at that Goliath, U.S. imperialist capi-

³ See "South Africa, South U.S.A." **News & Letters**, April, 1960, and "Our Life and Times" in this issue, p.3.

⁴ See "Paradoxes of the Italian Crisis," by Paolo Flores and Franco Moretti, **New Left Review**, #96, March-April, 1976.

⁵ "In France, one doesn't have ideas; one has style," writes Bertrand Poirot-Delpech in his quite interesting review article, "In the Wake of Structuralism: French Philosophy's New Wave," **Manchester Guardian** (Le Monde section), 3-20-76.



At left, over 30,000 Black South Africans massed in Capetown in 1960 to protest arrest of their leaders. Today, youth have sparked mass revolt against brutal apartheid rule. Building in flames was where apartheid documents were issued.



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talism, and Mao's "revolutionary China" to see what is new in the present world crisis that can make such opposites like the U.S. and China (not to mention South Africa) be on the same side.

II. U.S.'s South African Connection

The totality of the world crisis is such that Goliaths likewise cannot escape it; indeed they bring it on—massive unemployment, spiralling inflation, the undercurrent of revolt which has brought about instability, an instability that will not let go and threatens capitalistic class rule itself. It is this which has brought about the curious situation that it is not only Ford-Kissinger but the Congressional Black Caucus that presents U.S. imperialism as if it were concerned with the Third World. What should have been used as the most telling tale of all about the total hypocrisy of the U.S.-Kissinger's present meeting with Vorster—is very nearly being whitewashed by them. Indeed, Kissinger got an O.K. for this meeting from the Congressional Black Caucus as if Kissinger would, in the not too distant future at that, help bring about majority Black rule in Rhodesia.

O.K. let's take a look at real relations with South Africa, economically and politically. A single glance at U.S. investments in South Africa show them to be both massive and growing. Where, a decade ago, U.S. companies had \$600 million invested in that apartheid land, it has skyrocketed to no less than \$1.46 billion in 1974 (the last year for which data is available). Further projects are being built by Kennecott Copper and Caltex Petroleum (owned jointly by Standard Oil of California and Texaco, Inc.). Moreover, some Canadian-sounding names are mainly American owned, as witness Quebec Iron & Titanium which is two-thirds owned by Kennecott and one-third by Gulf and Western Industries, which has a 39 percent interest in a proposed \$290 million mining and smelting complex. Two other

(Continued on Page 2)

¹ See Political-Philosophic Letter #1, "The UN Resolution on Zionism—and Ideological Obfuscation Also on the Left," Jan. 24, 1976, 50¢ from News & Letters.

² The latest UN conference on housing held in Vancouver, B.C. suddenly came up with a resolution for "ending Zionist occupation" of Palestine by which it was clear they meant, not just the lands conquered in the 1967 war, but the very creation of Israel in 1948.

DRAFT PERSPECTIVES THESIS, 1976-1977

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major mining companies are planning investments: Phelps Dodge and Newton Mining.

It isn't as if the State Department doesn't know about these investments, or why American capital prefers that white supremacy country with its cheap labor, and high profits. As one State Department official explained, "the large and growing role" (no less than 15 percent of total foreign investment in South Africa is American!) of U.S. investments is because "businessmen don't have to fear their operations in South Africa are going to be nationalized . . ."⁶

No statistics are needed to prove the global might—economic, military, nuclear—of U.S. capitalism. What is needed is to expose why some of the Left, including Black intellectuals, are very nearly whitewashing U.S. actions at the very time when the open revolt of Africans against apartheid South Africa is being put down most brutally, and when even just the stark facts of economics reveal the real relations of the world in crisis. Thus, half of the world's 3.9 billion population lives on less than \$200 annually; 900 million subsist on less than \$75 a year; and four million are literally starving. This at a time when a mere five percent **growth** of U.S. GNP in 1976 (\$70 billion) equals the combined annual GNP of no less than 70 developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The designation of the Third World has, of course, by now become a misnomer. The Arab Gold Circle carries a clout all its own, and again not only in economics—the fact that the energy crisis for the industrialized world also hurts the undeveloped does not in any way divert from the oppressive capital-labor relationship in each country—but politically in West Europe as well as Japan, and the U.S.—as well as the UN where, especially when it comes to the question of Israel, it has very nearly total control. **This, however, in no way helps the poor Third World, or the masses in the Gold Circle any more than the masses of Africa.**

Which is why all the rulers feel a great deal more in common with each other than with "their own people", and why at this very moment, despite both the civil war in Lebanon and the revolt in South Africa—or just the elections in Italy—Ford-Kissinger's meddling is accepted. From the capitalists' point of view that is understandable enough. The shocker is China. As a state-capitalist society calling itself Communist, it has been building up all sorts of theories why only Russia is state-capitalist while it, China, remained the world revolutionaries' beacon light. But its support of FNLA and UNITA brought it so close to South Africa that, at least in Africa, it had to step back.⁷

Just as the breather we gained with the mass disgust with Watergate, which at least did remove Nixon from office, didn't mean any fundamental change in capitalism-imperialism in reactionary outpouring against the anti-Vietnam war movement, or in Nixonism's racism and anti-laborism, so the present Maoist move back from the precipice of being with South Africa doesn't cause fundamental class changes in either Russian or Chinese state-capitalism, or more familiar global capitalist-imperialisms. It becomes imperative therefore to turn to basic **class** questions:

III. State Capitalism—in Theory and in Practice

What is state-capitalism calling itself Communism? Isn't it the stage of capitalism Marx predicted in **Capital**, not because he was pre-occupied with "prophesying" ultimates, but because, in logically tracing the "law of motion" of capitalism, he wanted to warn the proletariat that **even if** capitalism ever reached the stage where all capital would be concentrated "in the hands of one single capitalist or one single corporation", nothing fundamental whatever would change in

the most fundamental of all relations—capital/labor which had to be **totally** uprooted?⁸

What is **new** ever since this theory Marx projected became reality, first, with the transformation into opposite of Russia as a workers' state into a state-capitalist society; secondly, with the Depression's collapse of private competitive capitalism and rise of fascism; and thirdly, post-World War II world?

In probing for the answers to these questions, we must keep in mind that in the present situation the one place where Mao didn't step back an inch is: (1) Russia is Enemy No. 1 not only to China, but the world over, including even Angola where a genuine national liberation struggle was reaching a successful conclusion, and this also makes the Cubans fighting with the Angolan revolutionaries "mercenaries." (2) Any possible shift in the **global** balance of power which might tip in favor of Russia automatically makes U.S. imperialism "the lesser evil".

It is **this** concept of a shift in global power, and **not** Rhodesia, which has brought about the ongoing Kissinger-Vorster meeting. Angola, or **more specifically Russia-Cuba's** role in Angola's victory, and **not** South Africa's apartheid, is the topic of discussion and maneuverings. It may have created in Russia, too, the Grand Illusion that the scales of global power have tipped in her favor. But in fact, again like the false consciousness of all exploiters, it all results from an underestimation of mass power as Reason, especially African masses achieving national liberation. It is the most basic capital/labor relationship we must never lose sight of as we take a second look at a world in decay and its **new** national state-capitalisms, whether they call themselves Communist or just Socialist Planned Economies or "Democracies."

Out of the holocaust of World War II only two powers remained standing and of these only one—the U.S.—was an economic might, strong enough to start capitalistically rebuilding what it had just destroyed, West Europe; the only Goliath possessing an A-bomb; and thus the only one with the Delusion that this was **its** "century"—**Pax Americana**. To make matters still more ominous for Stalin's Russia, the greatest international Communist economist, Eugene Varga, in taking measure of the post-war economy, said that no

⁸ See Ch. 8 on "The Logic and Scope of **Capital**" especially the section on its applicability to today: "The fundamental error of those who cannot understand that a single capitalist society is governed by the same laws as a society composed of individual capitalists is that they simply will not understand that what happens in the market is merely the result and the consequence of the inherent difficulties in the process of production itself. They seem to think that a single capitalist society will have a limitless market. The single capitalist—call him "Collective Leadership under Khrushchev, Inc.," if you will—will have, at a certain stage, a magnificent plant, completely automatized, or a jet bomber, but he cannot stop to raise the standard of the masses of workers . . . Marx, throughout **Capital**, insists that either you have the self-activity of the workers, the plan of **freely** associated labor, or you have the hierarchic structure of relations in the factory and the despotic Plan of capital. **There is no in-between.**" **Marxism and Freedom**, p. 136.

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general economic crisis can be counted on for a decade because the war economy had taught private capitalism to plan. Stalin quickly put an end to that discussion, and continued testing the U.S. "will", be it in Berlin, Iran, or where it could have others do its fighting—Korea.

His heirs ran quickly from his policies for immediate global reach. But there was no doubt that something totally new had appeared. There was no doubt that—as against private competitive capitalism, where economics and politics were in different spheres, and thus Marx's classical expression that the State was the "executive committee" of the capitalist class applied—economics and politics had become tightly tied (and not only in foreign trade). When China won its revolution, it acknowledged its economy as state-capitalist, but assured the masses there was no need to worry since the Communist Party controlled "the commanding heights", and property was nationalized.

Once the Sino-Soviet orbit had been transformed into the Sino-Soviet conflict, however, a new reality was forced upon the Movement: new questions had to be answered. Clearly, a new stage of **national** Communism had appeared. No longer was it sufficient to say, that, "of course", "socialism in one country" had always meant a move away from world revolution.⁹ No longer could one hide under Trotsky's understanding of nationalism as a return to private property. The nationalism of state-capitalism the world over meant also a new imperialism, not alone for division of world, but for single, national control of world economy. It is this which is new, which is most immediate and ominous today.

No one doubts that this is precisely what U.S. capitalism is reaching for, but that the new nationalism with global reach is the nature of **world** capitalism today, including state-capitalism calling itself Communism, is not faced. Which is why it has been impossible for the New Left, no matter how multitudinous are its splits, to make a clean break, theoretically, "strategically", practically, that is to say, a total break from Stalinism-Maoism. What becomes imperative, in the face of Russia and China maneuvering to get U.S. on "its" side¹⁰ is to start afresh, on totally new beginnings, from the ground up, indeed so grounded in the mass **movement** from practice, with so new a relationship of theory to practice, that never again will the philosophy of liberation and actual revolutions be separated.

There is no doubt in any one's mind now that no holds are barred in the Sino-Soviet conflict, nor that what had begun as differences in internal policies extended to differences in relations to the Third World which was gaining political independence on its own, with no aid from Communism. What is in dispute is the similarity of **class** origins and, therefore, each pole's narrow nationalism, tied nevertheless to a global reach. The simple truth, however, is that state-capitalist perspectives prevailed when **both** swore by their "indestructible friendship", and **all** 81 Communist Parties were meeting in Moscow, signing unanimous statements against "revisionism" **by which, then (1957) they meant, not Russian state-capitalist counter-revolutionary politics against the Hungarian Revolution, but the revolutionary Marxist-Humanism against Russian totalitarian domination of East Europe.**

It was then, **just then**, that Mao shocked Nehru out of his wits by telling him there was not much to fear from the A-bomb; even if it led to a nuclear war, and half of humankind was destroyed, China could survive and "start

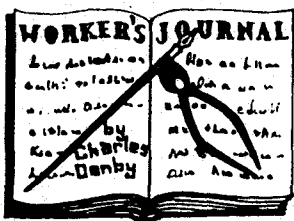
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⁹ See Political-Philosophic Letter #3-4, "Western Europe and Its Communist Parties; Portugal and Its Socialist Party; New Stage of State-Capitalist Crises." Since that letter was written, in May, the European Communist Parties met in East Berlin, and seemed happy with their separated **national** Communisms. See report, **NYT** July 1, 1976. As against this development, the latest revolt of the Polish workers shows the real state of unrest within each of these national Communist state powers.

¹⁰ As if Nixon-Kissinger who established that "new historic" relationship with China were not sufficiently aware of how useful to American capitalism is the Sino-Soviet conflict, the Foreign Policy Association has recently issued a statement advising Kissinger that he must do everything possible to assure that the Sino-Soviet conflict never again becomes the Sino-Soviet orbit.

⁶ "Uncertainties in S. Africa Don't Slow U.S. Investing" by John Henry, **Detroit Free Press**, 6-20-76.

⁷ See Political-Philosophic Letter #2, "Mao's Last Hurray," Feb. 27, 1976, 50¢ from News & Letters.



U.S. follows South Africa's racist lead

by Charles Denby, Editor

Racism is so prevalent today in this world that many people seem to take it as a natural thing in life, especially some of the Black leaders in this country. They yell louder about two U.S. diplomats getting killed in Lebanon than they do about the massacre in South Africa. Back in April, 1960—when the Sharpeville massacre shared headlines with the teargassing and beating of Black student demonstrators in South Carolina, Louisiana, Texas, Georgia and Florida—we wrote in *News & Letters* on racism in South Africa and South USA, but today racism is all over the U.S. and the world, with South Africa leading all other countries.

Ford's administration is talking like we could go to war over the slayings in Lebanon if he doesn't get a satisfactory explanation, but he has not uttered a word on the massacre of Blacks in South Africa.

POLITICIANS TURN CLOCK BACK

What the Ford Administration is most concerned with today is turning the clock back on school busing after years and years of a Supreme Court ruling on desegregation.

I was watching a program on TV this week showing Blacks working for integration in a town in South Carolina in the '50s. The leader was a minister and the KKK shot into his home and later set it on fire. The fire department came but would not hook their hoses up, and let the house burn to the ground.

After the second time he was burned out he had to move to North Carolina and they ended by reporting that the public schools in that town are still not integrated today, because wherever Black children go to school, the whites have taken their children out and sent them to private schools.

Jimmy Carter is no better than Ford. He is for keeping the ethnic purity of a neighborhood and takes no position on any other important question but has many Black leaders supporting him. After this election I feel the wrath of injustice will come tumbling down upon the Blacks and poor whites with such force as it never has before. When the KKK and the fascist Nazi Party can parade up and down Chicago streets without a word being said, and knowing this would never have happened in the '60s, it just proves that South Africa is not alone in its treatment of Blacks.

OPEN RACISM AND SEXISM

Just look for a moment at the trial of Madeline Fletcher, the Black policewoman, in Flint, Mich. She was one of the first women on the force and got into an argument with her white male partner over who should drive the scout car, that ended up in a shoot-out with her being shot in the stomach and him being shot in the thigh. If you read what the police said, this is a case of open racism and sexism.

The papers played it down, as if she fired the only shot, but some 15 shots were fired, with several policemen firing at her as she lay on the ground.

They waited 15 minutes before they called an ambulance for her, but drove the white man to the hospital immediately in a scout car. Many of the policemen said they did not want her there and some were recorded saying they hoped she'd die, after hearing she had been shot. The jury finally acquitted her, but still no charges have been brought against the white policeman.

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'Human Power is its own end'

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Editorial article

Textile, clothing workers vote merger; face runaway shops, slave wages, racism

by Michael Connolly

Meeting in special conventions June 3 and 4, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) and the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) not only voted to merge their organizations, creating the first half-million member union in the textile and clothing industry, but immediately announced a "full-scale organizing drive in the non-union

bastion of the South and Southwest." The delegates also named J. P. Stevens Co.—the infamous anti-union giant which has defeated nearly a dozen organizing attempts over the last 20 years—as the target of a nationwide boycott until a contract is achieved there.

Just two weeks later, the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) announced in Delano, Calif., their merger with the Asociacion de Trabajadores Agricolas, a predominantly Puerto Rican farmworkers organization on the East Coast.

There is no doubt that, in the case of the textile and clothing workers, the merger was inspired by the victory of the Farah strikers, 2,000 Chicana women whose struggle was backed by a national boycott.

Neither is there any doubt that the decisions to merge were made in the face of the most vicious anti-labor counter-revolution, especially in the southern and western states. In California, where ten years of sacrifice and struggle finally won farmworkers there the right to union elections, the growers and the Teamsters have now succeeded in blocking all elections by getting the legislature to cut off the money needed to hold them.

ANTI-UNION PRESERVE GROWING

Across the South, such an economically powerful preserve for the scab sweatshop has that region become, that even some of the "labor leaders" of the AFL-CIO have now become alarmed. The fact is that the biggest textile companies, J. P. Stevens, Burlington Industries and Cannon Mills, never organized, have now become huge multi-national conglomerates. In the Carolinas, center of the textile industry, only eight percent of the workers are now unionized.

Nor has the anti-union offensive been limited to textile. General Motors has selected southern locations for seven of its last nine parts plants. At the Clinton, Miss. plant, GM pulled out all the stops in a campaign of race-baiting and red-baiting to defeat UAW organizing attempts. The UAW hasn't even tried to organize GM's six other recently opened southern plants.

No one is more conscious of these facts today than the striking rubber workers, who have seen their walkout drag on for over two months, while 40 percent or more of U.S. tire production continues.

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Oneita Mills workers in South Carolina, Black and white together, celebrate union recognition victory.

Our life and times

South African Black youth fight hated regime

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

"Amandhla, Amandhla" — "power, power" — was the chant of the thousands of South African Black youth who, armed only with rocks and hand tools, braved the police with automatic weapons in Soweto. Whereas, in 1960 thousands of native Africans in Sharpeville burned their passes in a demand for human rights and 72 were murdered as they were gunned down in the street, the Soweto youth burned and gutted the pass office and other buildings of this hated white minority regime.

By June 19, two days later, the whole ring of seven Johannesburg townships—ghettos where the Blacks who do most of the labor of this society are isolated—exploded as people of all ages joined the youth. But it was primarily the Black youth all over the country that rose in revolt. At the University of Zululand, 280 miles southeast of Johannesburg, students burned to the ground the administrative headquarters of the university.

At the University of the North, 200 miles north of Johannesburg, 2,000 students demonstrated and were attacked by police. Some sympathetic white students battled police in Johannesburg and Cape Town. In the heart of Durban a group of Blacks marched on the city's center building. After three days and a lull, the rebellion started up all over again in the townships around Pretoria with Black

workers striking in Mabopane township for higher wages at the water works.

As if it was just a question of language, all the white officials in Pretoria could say was "Why here, where everyone speaks English in the schools?" The full story of the rebellion is yet to be told. The toll in human life is staggering. According to the government over 140, all but two being Black, were killed, and over 1,100 injured. Many of those gunned down by the butcher police were pre-teenage Black children.

As in the townships around Johannesburg, in the ghettos around Pretoria most government buildings, schools, beer halls, and offices of the Bantu administration were a target to burn, in this country where every governmental structure is designed to preserve white supremacy.

More than 2,000 Blacks are arrested each day for violations of regulations regarding internal passports. Blacks must carry everywhere outside the remote reserves or concentration camps. At any time Blacks can be sent to those concentration camps or what the head of this police state, Vorster, who is still an admirer of Hitler, calls "homelands."

The "homelands," which many Blacks have never seen, constitute 13 percent of the land area of this country where 70 percent of the population is Black.

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NY working women protest day care cutbacks

New York, N.Y.—Over 5,000 people marched along hot New York City streets from downtown City Hall to the mid-town office of Gov. Carey on June 8, raising their voices high in demanding that no further cuts be made in day care centers.

Though some men were present, it was mostly Black women, Hispanic women, and many Asian women who were marching and shouting enthusiastically, trying to be heard. They were not students, but working women, many with their children in hand.

Many of the women, if not thrown onto welfare already because of the closing of 67 day care centers within the past six months, had to take a day off from what you can be sure are low-paying jobs, to make their protest heard against the closing of 49 more centers by the end of June.

What is horrendous in city politics, and smacks of political pay-offs, is that something like 10 of the 49 centers slated for closing



are "direct lease" rentals. This means that even though they are closed, the city goes on paying enormous rents, and some have been contracted for as long as 20 years. At the very least, the protests are making the city politicians break some of these leases, or pretend to, because it is such an outrage to the poor of this city.

Working class women in New York City do not make wages that would enable them to pay individual "baby sitters" who in turn are mostly women who receive low wages. So the question of day care is a vital one to working class women.

These closings mean literally thousands of working women will not be able to work, with many going onto welfare. Does this make sense? About as much sense as firing all school crossing guards here, who were paid \$3.50 an hour, and replacing them with cops who make twice that, if not more.

What was visibly missing at the march, and upsetting to me, was that although surely some women's liberationists were marching, Women's Liberation organizations were not present supporting these working class women.

—Angelz Terrano



News & Letters photo

Over 300 demonstrators, including groups like Union WAGE and CLUW, crowded into the Industrial Welfare Commission's hearings in San Francisco to demand \$4.00 minimum wage and overtime pay after eight hours. The IWC wants to do away with all protective laws as well as overtime pay, break times, lunch times and rest areas. The women also demanded not only to keep the protective laws, but to extend them to men.

Michigan welfare department boss can't buy off activists

Detroit, Mich.—At the May 17 hearings sponsored by Social Services here, several welfare recipients had spoken out against the cutbacks that the State has been making, especially in areas of Medicaid and services to the elderly and handicapped. (See "Women For Freedom" newsletter, June 1976, available from Women's Liberation, News and Letters, Detroit).

The way John Dempsey, head of the Department of Social Services, has been answering these protests is by trying to "buy off" those who have spoken out. One handicapped person told me she had received a letter from Social Services, and later a phone call from John Dempsey in Lansing.

He asked her if she had received his letter, and she replied that with the money she got from Social Services, she couldn't afford a reader. He went on to thank her for "participating in our little get-together" (the hearings, which he also attended, that almost ended in a riot). He said, "We're always encouraged by people like you. We have thought of hiring five or six people to be client advocates. Would you like this job?"

She said no, because she felt she would no longer

have any contact with people like herself. She said, "They wouldn't want to have anything to do with me, and I wouldn't blame them. I feel it's the kind of thing that would separate me from what's really going on."

There were several others whom Dempsey tried to buy off with this job. One person had been complaining because she could not afford a new set of teeth, and Social Services would not help her. When Dempsey asked her if she wanted the job, she said, "No, I just want the money to be able to get teeth."

When you're on welfare, you understand how the State is always playing around with the budget, and the first cuts are always made in Social Services. For instance, the State is now talking about "restoring" some of the Medicaid cuts. But they are also saying they will withhold two percent of the raise in our budgets next October—and we will have to pay a certain amount of our Medicaid bills ourselves.

What would happen after a year, when the budget came up, and these "client advocate" jobs were eliminated? The people who took the jobs would find it almost impossible to get back on welfare. They are a lot smarter than Dempsey, who thinks he can buy off a movement with a couple of jobs.

—Welfare activist

World recession challenged by women's self-activity

by Molly Jackson

We hear the reports that employment is going up—the government is touting the fact that 300,000 more people were employed in May—and that the majority of new jobs are going to women. All those statistics represent is underemployment, and the fact that many women who are now counted as employed are taking part-time jobs because they have lost all hope of getting full-time work.

"Last hired, first fired" became reality for millions of women in the U.S. during the current depression. The employment gains made by minorities and women through mass movements have been wiped out with the aid of the labor bureaucracy's silence and the revival of government-sanctioned racism.

Although women now make up 40 percent of the work force, we are still treated as marginal workers, although the majority of women work because they must, to support themselves, their children, or to contribute to their households. Many women work full-time and still live in poverty. And in spite of the women's movement, the gap between the earnings of men and women has widened in recent years.

Underemployment, unemployment and unequal pay—these hallmarks of capitalism go doubly for women everywhere in the world. In Java, mechanical rice hullers created some factory jobs for men, but eliminated hundreds of thousands of jobs for women, who had hulled the rice by hand.

All over the world, these are the daily, life-and-death struggles of working women. In Great Britain, women in ten different factories went out on strike for equal pay during April. In Portugal, women textile workers occupied their factory, and in Italy, others occupied a palazzo, fighting the same kind of battles (see WL Notes).

As for our own country, the new outpourings of women in motion, organizing themselves, are all around us. This is the whole thrust of our new pamphlet, *Working Women For Freedom*, that women are not separating their doing from their thinking, or their "economic" lives from their private lives, as labor and as women:

"When we see, as fact, cleaning women in New York—in their sixties and seventies, who complained that men were paid more, and when asked what they thought about WL, declared, 'We ARE women's liberationists!'—there can be no doubt that the fact is well-grounded that Women's Liberation is, indeed, not just an idea whose time has come, but the fact of development that has emerged out of it." (See ad below.)

The movement of working women today, who in their daily lives are questioning and changing this exploitative society, is also laying down a challenge to women's liberationists everywhere to grasp this very high stage of the WL movement.

WAY OF THE WORLD

by Ethel Dunbar

I thought when we were in the midst of the Watergate scandal, we had had enough to last for a century. Now we are seeing this sex scandal coming out of Washington and right here in Michigan, too. It makes me wonder if this is, in fact, a "man's world," as I have heard so many times, and nowhere more than with

WL NOTES

Workers at Portugal's Eurofil industrial textile factory, 60 percent of whom are women, have occupied and run the factory since Feb. 4, 1975. The women are still fighting for equal pay for equal work. The workers have set up a primary school where they teach themselves, and the schools are run during regular work time, with no loss of pay.

The Alternative Program Unit (APU) of the California Institute for Women, a prison, has been shut down through the efforts of the women prisoners, and concerned people and groups on the outside. Over 1,000 people demonstrated in March at the Sacramento Capitol, and hundreds more packed a Department of Correction hearing on prison regulations. The so-called "therapy" of the APU consists of 24-hour lock-up.

When it was discovered on May 3 that asbestos dust, a carcinogenic, was being emitted by sterilizing equipment, 40 women workers at Queen Alexandra Hospital, Portsmouth, England, walked out on strike. They were followed by 25 more women who came out in support, forcing the hospital to remove the equipment.

Inez Garcia, the Chicana found guilty of murder for killing a man who helped rape her, has won the right to a new trial. The prosecution has appealed this decision all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which has yet to make a judgment.

Fifty women have occupied an ornate palazzo in Milan, Italy, for over a month. They have named their commune after Teresa Batista, a Brazilian woman who was sold for sexual purposes and later became a revolutionary. In explaining why they took the house, empty for over five years, they said: "We have seized the housing which this city denies us because we make a living from precarious jobs at low salaries, and because we are the worst hit by unemployment."

Politicians play while we pay

the leaders of this country.

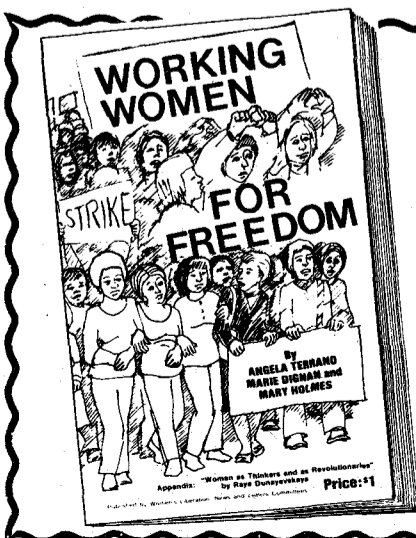
They are the ones that make the laws for us to abide by, and they are now using women as prostitutes, like the mistress of Congressman Hays. What is worse, these Congressmen are wasting tax-payers' money.

There are millions of poor people in this country that are in dire need of money for themselves, and want to talk about, among other things, a health-care plan for those who cannot afford it. At the same time, President Ford is trying to cut millions of people off from what little aid there is. Then you see Congressman Hays who pays a woman some \$14,000 not for working but for just coming to the office. Hardly any workers make that much money a year.

Some people here seem to want to uphold these men that are being accused, and are still willing to vote for them. Not one of the leading candidates for President has said a word about it, and I think it is because of their racist nature.

Some years ago, Adam Clayton Powell was accused of the same thing, and everyone in the government had something to say against him. Hays was the leading opponent against Powell. They hounded Powell until he gave up his position, and he died in exile.

When you see the urgent needs of so many families that have to go through hell to get help and sometimes do not get help at all, and at the same time these people in Washington are wasting money, it makes you wonder what kind of world we live in.



Just off the press!

Working Women for Freedom

Appendix:

"Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries" by Raya Dunayevskaya

"You get so disgusted with the system. You can't just sit at home and think everything will take care of itself. When you find out that other people feel the same way, you know you're not in this alone. We need to put together work and thought. Without that, we won't be moving . . ." (p.13)

—Pat Carter, Black GM worker

Order from:

Price: \$1.00
(plus 25¢ postage)

Women's Liberation, News & Letters
1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207

Los Angeles, Detroit

Uniroyal strikers denied voice in negotiations

Los Angeles, Cal.—How do we express ourselves? The company and the union have tried to cut off any dialogue among workers. They don't want workers to discuss their common problems.

The strike we are in right now is a good example. At this point most of us have been told we can't get information. When the local union president calls the local back East, he spends most of his time on things having nothing to do with the negotiations.

Even the information that the Internationals has printed about the strike benefits and obligations is just sitting on the floor of the union hall and not given out. And then you will have the union representatives going around saying these young fellows don't understand what it is all about. But do the union officials understand what it is all about?

Some of the old attitudes are prevalent right in the middle of the strike. Why were women taken off the picket line and put in the kitchen? Some of the younger women refused this assignment. Why couldn't men be asked to work in the kitchen?

Why does it appear that the union leadership is responding to us as a group and as individuals as if we don't have the ability to reason for ourselves? Why

is it that negotiations and ideas for this strike are being done by the "big brains" and consequently there is no participation by the workers?

The problems and attitudes we are facing in the strike are really a reflection of those same problems and attitudes that have been going on on a daily basis in the plant long before the strike.

A lot of the plant has recently been young Black and Chicano and that seems to be a number of strikes against you. The tire division where most of the young Black and Chicano workers end up having to go through is where they let you know as a worker where it's at, where the workers are most abused, where they hit you with everything, where we find the highest accident rate.

I want to know is it an accident that the company and the union are always complaining about the Detroit plant as the problem plant? It is the one whose workers in the majority are Black.

Everyone recognizes the need for dialogue. The union, right now in the middle of the strike, is still having a dialogue with management working in the plant. They call them up. But they don't seem to want to have a dialogue with their workers.

It is time for us to have our own dialogue. We have to discuss our common problems, come up with our own ideas and answers. There isn't a function from running machinery on up that we can't perform as workers. The only reason anything is a function today is through the workers doing. No one did it for the workers.

—Black Uniroyal worker

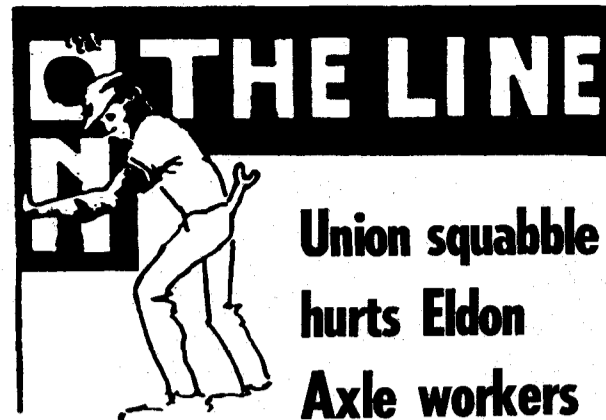
Detroit, Mich.—There's a lot of companies who are hurting on moving down South or overseas. That's hurting us right now because those non-union rubber plants are continuously producing tires. The union knows exactly how it is hurting us to also have those union plants working without a contract. The whole strike is a big front, they're hoping that we won't be able to stand up long. Striking the Big Four was just something to snap you back from where you were into believing that they are all for you.

Whatever we're going to get, they already have it planned. All they're doing is something to get us to accept it. We won't like it but they're hoping we'll accept it anyway because of all the suffering and the losses we're going through now. I don't believe anybody has gone to them and said, "I want to go back to work."

But the union is going to say they decided to accept something because they saw so many of their people not prepared for this. They'll throw the blame right back at the workers, saying something like "none of our union people were prepared for this long strike and we can work it through this till the next time when we'll be ready for them." And if we go back we'll be begging the company to give us what is even in the contract.

There's a lot of divisions in the plant. The Blacks are trying to have what the whites used to have. The whites are still trying to have what their ancestors always had. They both are trying to get it through a plant that has a union that won't even stand up to let them keep any gains at all.

—Black worker, Uniroyal



By John Allison

Jordan Sims is serving his second term as president of Local Union 961 at Chrysler's Eldon Axle Plant. Now, for the second time, he is being suspended from office by the UAW International Executive Board. The local is being run by UAW regional representative Homer Jolley.

All of this hassle goes back to the last local election, when Sims, a Black worker, was elected president but all executive board members were elected from his opposition slate. They've been battling each other ever since, and the present battle is over the misuse of union funds.

The UAW will render a decision by Aug. 1, since all reviews have been used up. The UAW is making a big effort to bring all local unions in line before contract negotiations begin in September to give the appearance of a solid front. But if the UAW rules against Sims, this will mean a new election in August or September when the negotiations will be in full swing, and the UAW will try to avoid that kind of conflict.

Sims has already been told that he cannot run for re-election as president. But if he is removed as president, it doesn't mean he can't run for vice-president, which will be open if the present vice-president moves up to become the president.

The majority of the workers in the plant are Black, and since the rest of the executive board is white, many of them are demanding that there be a Black member on the Board. This could help Sims' chances to become vice-president if he is removed as president.

These charges and counter-charges on the part of the union bureaucrats are taking up all of their time, and the rank-and-file workers are tired of the squabbling. The reason is simple: their own grievances and work problems aren't being taken care of, and that's what they're interested in.

The end result is that hundreds—if not thousands—of grievances are piling up and no action is taken on them. The company always drags its feet on grievances before contract negotiations, knowing that they will all be thrown in the hopper and most of them thrown out in the course of settling local grievances after the national contract is signed. It means the workers are not getting the representation they deserve.

Fleetwood's Wayne Powell

(The morning after the June issue of News & Letters was passed out at Fleetwood, our office received a phone call from Dept. 21 committeeman Wayne Powell. He was angry because the story said that he was "closer to supervision than to Black workers." Here is part of what he said, without the obscenities—Ed.)

There is no such thing as harassment of Black workers in my department. I know of only two cases of Black workers being penalized since I have been there. You talk about racism. What is it? I don't know. At Fleetwood, more than half the workers are Black and the Blacks have all the best jobs . . . The more you print about me, the better chance I have to get elected next time. There will be a real back-lash. The two hi-lo drivers you wrote about brought the trouble on themselves. The foremen and the general foreman didn't cause the trouble.

(A Black worker in Dept. 21 comments.)

What Wayne Powell said is ridiculous. He couldn't have been talking about Dept. 21, because it is still mostly white. The only places that are mostly Black at Fleetwood are the body shop and the paint shop. Most Blacks only came to Fleetwood in the last 10 or 12 years. We don't have the seniority, so how can we have the best jobs?

If Wayne Powell is doing his job, why do so many Black workers have to go file at the Civil Rights Commission? Powell just proves he is prejudiced by these remarks. He is the type of man who tries to make white workers think that they will be treated better if they stick together against the Blacks. But the poor white will not be accepted by GM any more than the Black. All GM cares about is production.

(A white worker in Dept. 21 gave another view.)

I think the article last month gave the wrong impression about Wayne Powell.

I drive a hi-lo in Dept. 21 myself, and I'm white. It is probably true that Wayne Powell is a worse committeeman for the Black workers than for the whites, but he isn't a very good committeeman for the white workers either. The only time you are likely to see him is around election time. Whenever I have put in a committee call (except two times) the alternate is the one who comes. Powell is never available. White workers need good representation too.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from page 3)

In South Africa they are reporting it is the worst riot since March, 1960 when 72 were killed and some 200 wounded. They reported that they were driving the people onto a hill, using police dogs and other brutal methods, and then planes would fly over them and gas the area and the people.

During Angola's recent struggles to attain freedom, Mao sided with South Africa, and the Blacks who followed the line went along with Mao. How can any Black in his right mind support a country where you can be shot down for violating a policy designed to keep Blacks separated from whites and to keep colored people separated as long as one is lighter skinned than others?

And the U.S. supports and condones all this because it is a form of slavery, and that is what the U.S. has had for most of its 200 years. And to think that this is the 200th anniversary of the freedom of this country and the Blacks are not really free yet. In fact, some of the freedom that we ourselves have gained has been taken away, and more will be taken if President Ford has his way.

They all sneak in the words: "I am for integration but against forced busing." This will go on forever if what they mean is—when whites accept you Blacks and say it is okay for you to go to school with us, then I am for that kind of integration. It is like saying to a criminal, I am against what you are doing, but I don't want to force you to stop. So between South Africa and South-North-East-West U.S.A., the Black people will have to find their own way to freedom.

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich.—When Ford said they were knocking out 1,800 jobs from their Ford Rouge plant, a meeting was held between company officials and Ken Bannon, head of the UAW Ford Division. At that meeting, Ford told Bannon that Rouge was a dying plant and that the corporation was not going to be putting the same kind of investment in Rouge like they had in the past.

Bannon came out of the meeting yelling for job security, but nobody knows just what he means by that. Sure, every worker wants to keep his job, but there's more to it than that. These jobs are going someplace, and are going to be located in the South, in the right-to-work states where they're all 100 percent against the unions.

Many workers are wondering what this talk about "job security" means, and some of them are saying it might be a trick of the UAW to substitute "job security" for seniority.

In Britain and many other countries, the unions, government and others work to support management policies. Looks like the UAW is hewing out this same road here for the auto corporations.

—Day-shift worker

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — They have added on so many operations to so many jobs, that you have to run like crazy here to keep up. And we have been working overtime, nine hours and six days. Whatever happened to "voluntary" overtime? With this overtime, you get off work, go home, go to sleep, get up, and it's time to go

to work again. I am glad school is out, because a couple of mornings I just couldn't wake up to get my kids off.

A lot of people went out on medical the past couple of weeks, not because they had anything "wrong" with them, but because the heat in here was so bad. When the temperature inside reaches a certain point, we're not supposed to have to work. But nobody in the union said anything about it. It's still only June. What will it be like in the summer?

—Second shift worker, Main building

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — The heat in the paint shop is intolerable and we have been trying to get some air in there. We had a petition going, and we brought it up at the local meeting, but the union is doing nothing.

There is an air freeze in the paint shop that was hooked up last year, but they haven't turned it on yet. They are trying to tell those of us who have to work in this heat that it is turned on, but they are just trying to save money by keeping it off. A foreman said it won't ever be turned on, because it would mess up the paint on the cars. They are more concerned with these cars than the heat we have to work in. They said we might get some fans in during changeover, but they made the same promise last year, and nothing was done.

One sister got so sick that she had to walk out, and go to the emergency room at a hospital. They tried to fire her, but she did get her job back. Everyone is going to have to walk out if they don't get the air on.

—Paint shop workers, afternoons

200 YEARS AFTER AMERICA'S UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

"Operation Sail", the international naval exhibition that is supposed to be a Bicentennial event at the harbor here on the eve of July 4, may well prove to be an all-too-fitting celebration of our 200 years of racism. Not only did Kissinger especially invite South Africa to participate—six months after the original list of participating countries was announced—but to emphasize the ugliness, another ship—this one from Chile—is included in the extravaganza and will carry an "honorary" South African captain and personnel from the South African armed forces. Disgustingly enough, the Chilean ship is none other than the "Esmeralda", which was used as a torture center during and after the 1973 coup in Chile!

The American Committee on Africa has urged people to protest the presence of both the South African and the Chilean ships, stating that "the alliance between the military junta and the South African racist regime will be literally on display at this event." So will their alliance with American imperialism.

Incensed
New York

Anyone still harboring illusions of reform in capitalist society should take note of how the "right to privacy" law is being implemented. According to a friend in the Social Security Disability program, since claimants are now legally entitled to see "Confidential" medical reports from their treating physicians, all reports marked as such are being returned. Instead, the state orders a consultative examination at a privately-run but publicly-supported clinic. These evaluations are generally inferior to the original, and after being typed and mailed through the offices are anything but private. The upshot is the "privacy" of the bureaucracy is protected, while that of the wage-earner is abolished.

Student
Los Angeles

Congratulations on a fine publication. To me, it is fitting that you are located in Detroit, the aorta of American industry. If I had but one day in which to show the U.S. to a foreign visitor, or someone risen from the past, Detroit is where I would take him . . . Whenever I visit Detroit I am forcibly struck by its combination of myth (the worship of technology, of mindless consumption, of ruthlessness masquerading as virtue) and reality, the reality of the assembly line, of racial tensions and class-divisions perpetuated by capital . . .

Detroit is, in the subtle way of imperialist capitalism, the Auschwitz of America. Yet there is a nobility in the suffering that its citizens and workers undergo, just as there was at the death

camp. Lies cannot deceive them. The dominance is not total. Every oppressed person (which, in this country, means virtually everyone) owes Detroit a kind of debt of gratitude for being at an advanced stage of self-consciousness compared to other places. The actions and thoughts (of Detroit workers) are on a universal plane, and transcend all boundaries of doctrine, party affiliation, or nationality. Liberation is every man's cause. I am a Detroiter.

New Reader
Chicago, Ill.

To give visual shape to revolutionary ideas is a challenging part of revolution. I have just viewed an exhibit of drawings and sculptures by a young artist named Ann Marie D'Anna that swirl with excitement and inspire the imagination. Your Detroit readers might be interested in inquiring about her works through Object Unlimited Galleries, where they were recently shown.

Art Enthusiast
Detroit

What is happening to those great documents of American freedom—the very foundation of our country—the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights? Not only is there dictatorship rule in America's Judicial



Editor's Note:
This cartoon, captioned "The Little Con", was a crayon-drawn in red, white and blue on the envelope of the letter printed here.

System, but one of the most cruel and inhumane acts ever used in all mankind—the Habitual Criminal Law. Court and prison records will show that states are violating the 8th and 14th Amendments by letting one person, the prosecutor, use despotic dictatorship rule to pick and choose who to try as habitual criminals. Since the statute is used randomly and vindictively by prosecutors without guidelines or standards, it constitutes Cruel and Unusual Punishment which the 8th Amendment prohibits, and vio-

A DISSENTING VIEW FROM ISRAEL ON THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT

As opposed to many other left papers, N&L shows a much clearer understanding of the political dynamics of the Middle East conflict. But in your article in the May issue your writers failed to do their homework in learning the facts behind recent events.

The basic confusion is between those Arabs inside pre-1967 Israel and those in the occupied territories. True, they are all part of the Palestine Arab people, and we may rightly aspire to a future in which they will not be divided from each other, and from the Jewish-Israeli people. But the imperative of peace today requires a certain amount of separation of the two struggles; an end to the Israeli occupation of territories conquered in 1967 and the establishment of peaceful relations between Israel and its neighbors, including the Palestinian state which will hopefully arise.

The March 30 general strike was organized by Arabs in Israel, in protest of the expropriation of land in Israel from Arabs, for "development" . . . With the help of past expropriations, a large percentage of their inhabitants have become commuting industrial workers in Jewish areas. Hence the resistance to further expropriations. The government used threats of firings and other steps to try to break it, and the clashes occurred when troops and police invaded villages, firing in some cases into homes. Six were killed.

Most of the clashes reported in the last six months—the demonstrations of school children, commercial strikes, and oppression from the Israeli authorities—involve Arab residents of the West Bank. The April 12 elections were held there, not among Israeli citizens, as stated in N&L. Officially, they were non-political, concerned only with municipal administration, since the military government allows no political expression, but everyone knew who the candidates represented, and, as you correctly reported, pro-PLO and Communist people were overwhelmingly put into office, as opposed to the more collaborationist, pro-Jordanian traditional leadership. . . .

Your sentence that "the tactics of the government are playing into the hands of the Communists and of the PLO" implies that these two forces are the enemy and smells of gross ignorance of the situation, at best, or old-fashioned anti-Communism at worst . . . No observer of the scene can deny that the PLO has won the allegiance of Palestinians for its role in their struggle. In addition, the Communists in Israel and those in the occupied territories (underground) have made their position very clear: in favor of a Palestinian state alongside Israel. The CP by default has become the main defender of Arab minority rights and is winning the support of more and more Israeli Arabs.

There are some extreme Arab nation-

alists in Israel and the territories not in the CP, and among the "rejection front" factions of the PLO, who deny any legitimacy for Israel. In my opinion, these circles and the Israeli government which refuses to recognize any Palestinian rights are playing into each other's hands, against the interests of both peoples for side-by-side peace and coexistence today, and a united struggle for common interests in the future.

David Mandel, New Outlook
Tel Aviv, Israel

Editor's Note: We are glad to print the preceding letter of dissent from Israel. For our own views on the Arab-Israeli conflict, see "Our Life and Times," p. 10 this issue, as well as Raya Dunayevskaya's "U.S. and Russia Enter Middle East Cockpit" and her Political-Philosophic Letter No. 1, "The UN Resolution on Zionism". As for our analysis of what calls itself Communism but is, in fact, state-capitalist rule, our views on both Russia and China as well as the Communist Parties around the world are well documented not only in the columns of N&L but in *Marxism and Freedom* and *Philosophy and Revolution*. Raya Dunayevskaya's fundamental analysis of Russia as a state-capitalist society appeared first in 1941, following her opposition to the Hitler-Stalin Pact in 1939.

Reader

lates the 14th Amendment that requires that punishment be handed out uniformly. On behalf of America's founding fathers . . . I would like to issue a challenge to anyone in the whole U.S. judicial system to deny these allegations publicly.

The "Little Con"
Tennessee

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

The article in the last issue of N&L by the Portuguese editor, "Theory Critical to Revolt" was very important. In the midst of counter-revolution he is reexamining what went wrong, and it is the very ideas we have been talking about here, i.e., the needed unity between theory and practice, the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory, and the opposition to the vanguard parties to lead.

Nothing could be a stronger call for us to work out these questions today, before a revolution, so that we won't have to confront them during a counter-revolution, and the American revolution will go all the way to freedom this time.

Marxist-Humanist
Detroit

SOUTHERN AFRICA

The Smith regime in Salisbury has had over ten years since it declared its independence from Britain to avoid majority rule. Now that Angola has been "over-run" by Russian and Cuban mercenaries, so the story goes, the "red challenge" is eager to turn its attention to Rhodesia. This has led to cries of support and requests for military aid from our own home-grown right-wingers, who make their wish to exploit Rhodesia evident by reminding of vital resources and minerals available there. Unfortunately, the myth of kith and kin ties between Britain and Rhodesia are strong. It is easy to know which side to sympathize with, if a racial war started, but harder to know how best to aid the cause, and support those who have been oppressed by our so-called kith and kin.

Hyde Park Socialist
London

Operation Namibia is collecting a boatload of books banned by the South African government to be sailed to Namibia this summer. The request for help in setting up such a library was

made by the Namibia National Convention, an umbrella group that contains all the freedom organizations, and includes both SWAPO and SWANU. The project is supported by interested groups and individuals around the world. Contributions to help get the books to their destination, and inquiries for further information can be sent to:

Operation Namibia
5 Caledonian Road
London, N.1

Carling Breweries have been advertising proudly that they now have a brewery in South Africa. Count me as one boycotter of Carling's beer from here on in.

Beer-drinker
Detroit

Rhodesia (Africans call it Zimbabwe) has been very much in the news recently. What is daily life like for the 6 million Blacks (95 percent of the population) inside Zimbabwe? They have no voice in the political process or the laws that regulate their daily lives. Security raids by the police are a constant fear and families are moved against their will to "protected villages" where their every action is watched. There are concentration camps, overcrowded, filthy and lacking the most basic necessities. Wages are low. A Black mine worker earns 26 cents a day for an 8 hour shift. The average annual earnings for Blacks is less than \$650, for whites more than \$7,100.

The Africa Fund has been aiding African people on their difficult road to independence with education, humanitarian and legal assistance since 1967. Readers who wish to help can write for information about the Fund to:

Frank Montero
Africa Fund
305 East 46th St.
NYC, 10017

CAMPUS PROTESTS

The news that the French government had sold nuclear potential to South Africa came on Memorial Day week-end. On Tuesday, when classes resumed at Wayne State University, several of us got together and talked about it. The French Vice-Consul had been invited to the university for that Thursday to present prizes in the French Poetry Contest, so we decided to go there and protest by asking him embarrassing questions about it, about French collaboration in WW II, and about racism in France today. In no way could we reconcile poetry with the Atomic bomb.

When we told the Language Dept. of our plans, they immediately cancelled his visit, and there was a lot of discussion among students. Most of the French-speaking students were favorable to the protest, but some of the Americans were "scandalized". There are many people who believe that there is something "pure" and "aristocratic" about everything "French" (who would ever empty the garbage in French?)—which is a dead weight on the entire French-speaking world. The youth and workers of the French-speaking world are looking for a new society.

French Lit. Student
Detroit

Chicano students on the nine University of California campuses went on strike May 21 with a rally of 700 at the Berkeley campus. The strike call was in response to the University's failure to implement the recommendations of a 1971 President's Task Force Report on the status of Chicanos in the University system.

The report revealed that Chicanos make up 17 percent of the state's population, yet have comprised only two percent of the university-wide student enrollment since 1971. Despite more than 6,000 new admissions to the UCB campus in the fall of 1975, there were only 72

Views

new Chicano admissions.

The UC Chicano community is demanding: immediate implementation of the Task Force Report, strengthening of Chicano Supportive Services, hiring of more Chicano faculty and staff, and allocation of a guaranteed financial aid packet depending upon financial need with immediate notification of stipend.

Supporter
Berkeley

ARGENTINE VICTIM

On May 27, Raymundo Gleyzer, a 34 year-old film-maker who has won numerous international awards, disappeared in Buenos Aires, Argentina. It seems certain he is one more victim of the recent military coup d'etat. He was best known in the U.S. for "Mexico: The Frozen Revolution". Those who would like to join us in protesting this outrage should write for more information to:

Emergency Committee to Defend
Latin American Filmmakers
339 Lafayette St.
NYC 10012



WOMEN'S LIBERATION

In the May issue of *News & Letters* there was a review of Susan Brownmiller's book on rape, critiquing the author for racist tendencies. In her review, Morris did not mention the stand Brownmiller takes on prostitution—that there should be harsher anti-prostitution laws—but I think this stand, fairly common among feminists, reflects the same racist, elitist tendencies.

The argument runs that the existence of prostitution degrades all women because it enforces the idea that women are property, to be bought, sold, raped, at men's will. Theoretically, the argument sounds good, but it is totally removed from the reality of the actual daily lives of women who support themselves, and often their children, by hustling. We all know that the majority of women in the labor force work at monotonous, low-paying jobs, and with the economy as it is now, there are many women who can't find jobs at all. Furthermore, anti-prostitution laws—"even" if geared to the arrest of male clients—hurt most the poorest class of prostitutes, the women who work the streets. You can bet all those male legislators, lawyers, politicians and business executives aren't about to put a stop to "their own" expense-account women! Or to arrest themselves.

Feminist
Detroit

The Detroit Police have put rape behind car theft, purse snatching and burglary in their priorities for answering emergency calls. This in a city where, in one day last week, nine women were raped. It is the total unfeeling of these priorities which sickened me. How could anyone think that a stolen car is more important than the total degradation and physical violence done to a woman who has been raped. Even with all the rape crisis lines and changed laws that the Women's Liberation Movement has fought for and won, this is a problem which will be with us until we rip this society up by its roots and build a new one on human foundations!

Feminist
Detroit

"Hershelf" (2 Highland St., Highland Park, Mich. phone 869-4045) is a women's bookstore and craft shop which opened on May 9. Many hours of labor by the collective have created a warm and peaceful setting for the many books, records and pamphlets by and about women. "Hershelf" is also establishing

a resource file of women with skills or those who wish to learn a skill. Hours are currently 2 PM to 7 PM Wednesday and Thursday, and 12 to 5 PM on Saturday. More volunteer helpers are needed.

Susan Van Gelder
Detroit

The special May issue was a real unity, and especially so on the question of women. From the excerpts from *Working Women for Freedom* to the article on 100,000 Italian women demanding abortion rights, and from John Allison's column on the changes women made in the shops not only for women but for men, to the protests against health care cuts and Shainape Sheapwe's column, *N&L* showed Women's Liberation is a concrete question, or it is nothing.

Working Woman
New York

LEONARD PELTIER

Leonard Peltier, a leader of the American Indian Movement, is facing extradition from British Columbia to the U.S. on a trumped-up murder charge. Peltier's legal defense is the Canadian law that states no fugitive is liable to surrender if the alleged offense is of a political nature, because the murder charge is part of systematic political repression.

The federal minister of justice will make the final decision on Peltier's case. Telegrams in support of Peltier's right to asylum should go to Ronald Building, Minister of Justice, Parliament Building, Ottawa—with copies to the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, Box 758, Station A, Vancouver, B.C.

AIM supporter
Detroit

RACISM

With the primary elections over, it looks like Carter will represent the Democrats this fall. What difference does it make whether Ford or Reagan represent the Republicans? The choice for the people to pick a president will be made between two racists.

White worker
Los Angeles

The racists have adopted new tactics for the 1970s. There are no longer confrontations with dogs and water hoses. Today it is more subtle, playing on the division between leaders and masses, and we see this in the Black community especially this election. Once the movement of the 1960s separated thought and action, the door was opened to a Jimmy Carter. It isn't that he is causing the racist backlash we see today but that his whole kind of campaign plays right into the reaction that's sweeping the country.

Student
New York

In the June issue of *N&L* a Uniroyal worker spoke about how quality control jobs are filled from off the street rather than from in the plant. Quality control used to be a job that they would give the people off the floor, when it was lily white job. Only after demands were being made by a lot of brothers in the plant was it decided to get the job filled from off the street, so they could keep it a white job. The same policy applies to some other jobs in the plant.

Black Uniroyal worker
Los Angeles

The article in the June issue on racism in the election really made me think. It is not just white labor which has to face up to that disease, unfortunately, but a lot of people in the Latino community too. I was shocked when I went to the polls on May 18 to find a young Latino with farmworker buttons on passing out leaflets for two right-wing, white racist school board candidates. She was saying, "Vote for them to stop forced

Who We Are

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

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

busing. Keep our schools decent." I asked her how she could wear the UFW buttons and say this. Her answer was that the two questions had nothing to do with each other.

What is really sad is that she is not the only one. The neighborhood anti-busing group is led by Latinos in alliance with whites who were campaigning for Reagan. I guess they believe that if you act as anti-Black as the worst white racists, you will be accepted in the white community. This kind of thinking is as real a barrier to the movement for freedom as the billy-clubs and police dogs used on marchers in Delano, Cal. or Birmingham, Ala. I would like to know if Cesar Chavez and the UFW leadership has ever really tried to confront this problem. It might change some minds.

UFW supporter
Detroit

LIFE IN QUEBEC

The conditions of life here in Quebec have regressed greatly. The State, as the biggest employer, is trying to force greater and greater productivity out of fewer employees. And it is in the public sector that unrest is greatest now.

In the hospitals they now want a "mobility clause" in the contract, to enable them to shift a worker around to many jobs during a single day, and with no time allowances. Not only is this a completely inhuman work situation for the nurses, it is extremely dangerous to the patients, who instead of being treated by two or so different nurses per shift, might be seeing as many as eight or more, none of whom has the time to become familiarized with their individual health situations.

The unions are hardly worth anything, and despite all the big publicity and the big "militantisme", are largely in collaboration with the employers. There have been threats and talk of an all-out general strike three or four times in the past few years, including the "limited" strikes of right now, but nothing has come of it. The current strike situation seems to be over.

One alarming development is the illusion of workers' "self-management" within the system, such as is being implemented at the Tricofil textile mill in St. Jerome, which is really self-exploitation. Another is the organizing of "community pride" groups by the government to do the work without pay which was formerly done by DPW workers, who are now without jobs.

Gerard Roberge and Colin Bernard
Montreal

EFFICIENCY

I used to work at a small, family-owned company. It was a good place to work—I liked the job and I liked the people. The owners decided they had grown a lot and that it would be a good idea to hire an efficiency expert. The first thing he did was put in a time clock, so everyone had to punch in and out every time they left, even on their breaks. It just destroyed everybody's morale. We all felt so hurried and mistrusted with that clock watching us—it was degrading. I was glad when I had to quit.

Working Woman
Los Angeles

WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Just when the flu is hitting low punches, when gastro and other nutrition diseases are widespread, when we were just getting away from the yellow eye, there is a serious shortage of the right foods on the market. Oranges are 5 for a dollar and to get them is another job. Greens and fruits are very scarce. The people are forced to eat white rice while the rulers are exporting brown rice.

How is a family to live on \$5.50 a day and buy oranges at 5 for a dollar? We hear on the radio about the low cost of living (but what about the low wages?) in Guyana. The workers cannot live on the starvation wages being paid to them.

Our leaders are busy rewriting Marx, telling the workers that socialism is achieved through "hard work." The capitalists say the same thing, that if workers work hard, their standard of living will rise. Guyanese workers worked harder and got a lower standard of living.

Dayclean
Guyana

With this recession, the bourgeois ideal of hard work and climbing the promotion ladder has been knocked on the head. Executives are now sacked as well as shop floor workers. Even the sacred bastions of security, the civil service and local authorities, are now coming under the redundancy axe. Work is held up by the capitalist as the be-all and end-all of life—work and consume—by the process the people are completely controlled. Now this ethic is crumbling. Automation has meant massive unemployment and the work there is, is as soulless as it is pointless. It would be foolish, however, to think that a socialist work ethic exists in other parts of the world claiming to be communist or socialist. These societies have replaced private profit making with systems that deny workers any form of self-management and are producing the same anti-human products that are poisoning the workers of the West.

Bill Hughes
London

Most workers see Woodcock's "flexibility" on the economic demands in the same way they saw Reuther's "substantial" demands—as a list GM can select from in order to buy us off over the next three years. There will be no fundamental changes. Workers see the International Union as another group of parasites for workers to support, the same as government and corporations. They are all holding hands and living off of our sweat.

Auto worker
Los Angeles

The interview with Harry McShane shows that the world-wide capitalist crisis crosses national boundaries. It is not only that inflation and unemployment are hitting workers everywhere, but that in Britain one of the first "cultural" things they hit was to take the libraries away from the workers, while here the New York Public Library has had its hours cut down, and the Schomburg Collection in Harlem is now open only three days a week. The fact that employed and unemployed workers are anxious to work together in both countries is most important of all.

Working Woman
New York

Blacks, whites, join march to free Gary Tyler

Detroit, Mich.—On June 13, I attended a rally and march to Free Gary Tyler at Central Methodist Church. About 100 people were there—Black, white and many high school students. It was a very exciting demonstration.

The speakers included Gary's mother, Mrs. Juanita Tyler, and Gary's younger brother. Mrs. Tyler thanked everybody for helping to free her son. She said that she knew there were many others in situations just like Gary's—facing the death penalty. Gary's brother told how he had organized a youth committee to free Gary in Louisiana, and the way the police have harassed them there.

Another speaker was Mrs. Rosa Parks, of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. She said that when she heard about the rally to free Gary, it brought to her mind an incident that had taken place in Alabama many years ago. A young Black man was railroaded to be electrocuted. He was accused of raping a white woman and he was murdered by the state before the NAACP could get mass support behind him. She said because of this nothing could have kept her away from the rally.

I know just what she meant. When I was growing up in Alabama there was a case just like that. They have been killing young Black men for all my life and long before.

After the rally we marched to the Detroit News



News & Letters photo

Detroit supporters march in rally to free Gary Tyler.

building. The rally organizers wanted to get the press to see how many people cared about Gary Tyler and start giving his case coverage in the newspapers.

There was one thing that disturbed me about the rally though. Every speaker that got up just seemed to be giving out a line. They were all just advertising their positions. One speaker even said, we have to use Gary Tyler to fight racism. It was like a big recruiting party. I don't think I ever saw the separation between worker and intellectual so clearly before. It made me think about philosophy and what it meant to me.

—Tommie Hope



Nelson Small Legs Jr. gave life to protest conditions

by Shainape Sheapwe

Nelson Small Legs, Jr., a 23 yr. old Indian leader, was found by his brother, shot through the heart with a .303 caliber rifle, on Sunday, May 16. He left three notes explaining his reasons for killing himself:

"I give my life in protest to the present conditions concerning the Indian people of southern Alberta. I also give my life in the hope of a full-scale investigation into the Department of Indian Affairs corruption, and also the resignation of Judd Buchanan, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and the divide-and-conquer tactics present on each reservation . . . My suicide should open the eyes of non-Indians into how much we've suffered . . . I give up my life in protest to the Canadian government for its treatment of Indian people for the past one hundred years."

900 ATTEND FUNERAL

The funeral was held on Friday, May 23 in Brocket, Alberta on the Peigan reserve. About nine hundred people attended the funeral, including AIM leaders from all across Canada. Dennis Banks was to have been a pall-bearer but was not permitted into Canada and was even threatened with arrest if he crossed the border despite Indian rights of free passage specified in the 1793 Jay Treaty.

Two days before he died, Nelson Small Legs, Jr. spoke at the Berger Commission hearings on the MacKenzie Valley pipeline. The commission was formed by the Canadian government to investigate native land claims and to find out how the pipeline will affect the native way of life. Many native Canadians fear that the breakdown in the traditional way of life that the southern native Canadians experienced a hundred years ago could be repeated in the north with the laying of the pipeline. Many of the natives feel that the Berger hearings are the last hope to stop the destruction of their land and culture.

Nelson Small Legs showed the people's desperation when he said to Mr. Justice Berger that his people did not condone violence but are trained for guerrilla warfare. "We will take up anything to defend ourselves, our wives, our culture and our spirits."

PIPELINE PLANS SET

Nelson Small Legs' death made me remember and feel again some of the day-to-day hardships and frustration I felt when I lived on my reservation. I talked to a man who has worked with the Canadian AIM and knew Nelson Small Legs, Jr. He said:

"I can see why Nelson was depressed. In the room where they hold those hearings, there's a big map of the area where the pipeline is to be laid. You can see what they plan to do and no matter what's said at the hearings, these big oil companies will do what they want to anyway."

I read a clipping from a Canadian paper that quoted mayor Rod Sykes of Calgary, Alberta as saying: ". . . I am amazed that Canadians have tolerated so far and even financed the talking about land claims and compensation claims by people who would in many cases rather talk than work." The man who sent the clipping said that he thought that many of the white Canadians felt somewhat the same way. That's a familiar but frightening thought.

Nelson Small Legs' death will most certainly make people a lot more aware of what's really going on with regard to the MacKenzie Valley pipeline. I talked with a man in my neighborhood who has been working on the pipeline for the past few summers. He said: "I've been impressed with the technology and the amount of money that the oil companies are spending. I never thought about what it was doing to the people of the area. It's bad how this society can make us so callous. I guess I'll have a lot more to think about this summer."

Finally, I think that the Canadian government must have felt threatened by the 33,000 natives in order to hold such hearings at all. Any time people start working together for their rights, it's a threat to the government's divide-and-conquer tactics. I'm sure that the death of Nelson Small Legs, Jr. will have the effect of bringing both the Canadian and American Indians together. It shouldn't have taken this death to do it, but it is only by working together for our freedom that we will see any changes at all.

READERS:

DO YOU HAVE A STORY TO TELL? SEND IT IN!

Hostos coalition based on campus, community activity

(We received the following letter on June 10 from a Queens College student who has been active in the continuing protests opposing cutbacks at the City University of New York (CUNY).—Ed.)

New York, N.Y.—This week has been a busy one at CUNY, since they closed the campuses after imposing tuition, and there were several demonstrations. At this point all the campuses are still closed, but June 9 there was a great march at City Hall of almost 10,000 that was called with only a few days notice.

On June 8 there was an even better march for day care, where working mothers and community groups turned out in a very militant march. (See page 4). There were people from Hostos College at that march too, as well as at the Puerto Rican Day march.

CUTS AIMED AT MINORITIES

It's clear to all the students there that the cutbacks are not over money at all, but solely to kick the Blacks and Hispanics out of college altogether. Someone told me that it cost \$4 million to close Hostos and \$3.7 million to keep it open. Needless to say, with tuition they won't even have to officially close Hostos, as that will kill it. (Hostos students succeeded in keeping Hostos open for the coming year when the State Board of Higher Education on June 14 authorized funds for its continuation and for tuition assistance.—Ed.)

The hope now is that there will be more takeovers as the month progresses. There were some Hostos students who took part in an occupation of Staten Island Community College, which will close also. The problem now, of course, is that no one is on campus, and that makes the June 9 demonstration, which was barely publicized, really significant.

I think the last two weeks have been a good uplift. Earlier in the year, before the protests at Hostos broke

UFW campaigns for new bill

Detroit, Mich. — The signatures of 719,589 Californians have placed the Farm Worker Initiative on the November ballot, in another attempt to obtain a Labor Relations Act suited to the seasonal nature of agricultural work. By going through the voters instead of the legislature, the structure of the act could not be later altered, assuring continuous funding, and could only be rescinded through that same initiative process.

This new bill promises to put an end to the type of blackmail which killed the original CALRA: rural legislators demanding restrictions on union activities in exchange for funding. However, out of 79 initiatives in the last six years, only four became California law, and the growers have pledged \$5 million to defeat this one.

To meet this challenge the UFW is trying to double the number of staff in the next few months. For the massive, multi-lingual "get out the vote" campaign deputy registrars and hundreds of volunteers to go door to door and do street theater are needed.

Here in Detroit, we hosted the Great Lakes Mobilization for Farm Workers June 18, 19 and 20 with the emphasis on recruitment, and workshops covering all aspects of the farm worker movement. The workshop on Florida was proof of the unity between Black, brown, and white. Although the Florida legislature just defeated the latest of the unending tries for an agricultural labor relations act, the workers' spirit and creativity doesn't waver.

Florida has the largest concentration of corporate farms in the U.S., yet the Coca-Cola contract was won with only six full-time organizers, the threat of boycott, and the ideas and actions of the workers themselves.

—UFW supporter

out into the takeover, there were endless attempts at some kind of organization or at least clearinghouse to coordinate actions on the campuses. As you could guess, those (with the exception of the Hostos coalition) fell apart, as many people didn't see the need to work with the actual protests as they were breaking out.

COALITION DISINTEGRATES

This really hurt City College where, a month ago, there was a very good walkout that was spoiled when the coalition calling it broke apart over squabbles. The same happened at Queens. But with the actual takeover at Hostos there is more organizing going on from below.

The Hostos students not only have formed the community coalition but they worked hard to build yesterday's rally, and I doubt the rally could have occurred without them. The takeover at Staten Island, which started June 9, is also a sign that things are moving very quickly.

Since the campuses are closed there has to be a way to get information on what's going on. This sort of thing came out of the June 9 rally where about 1,000 of us met in Union Square to plan activities. In other words, the organization is coming out of the actions, and not the other way around.

Latina Collective raises problems of working women

New York, N.Y.—A conference called by the Latin Women's Collective on June 12 drew some 200 women and men together to discuss labor, education, health, and related problems. With its emphasis on working class Latin women, the group hopes to concretize its ideas in future activities and invited those at the conference to join them.

The year-old Collective presented its research, including facts about employment of Latin women, who are almost exclusively factory, clerical, and service workers.

They are low-paid, and either not unionized, or in fact, unrepresented by their unions. In the garment industry, where many Latin women work, they often cannot even see their union contracts. The discussion on how to approach and involve factory workers was heated.

At a workshop on education, topics ranged from the problems caused by the enormous cut-backs of childcare by the City and what alternatives mothers have, to bilingual education, and mothers as students. The women discussed helping your child to think critically, dealing with machismo in the family, and working on the problem of illiteracy in the community.

A session on health took up birth control, abortion, sterilization and its abuse, and nutrition.

The Collective believes that working class women are the most abused and exploited, but that their struggles are not isolated from other workers around the world.

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Workers aim 'quiet rebellion' at GM, union bureaucrats

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

In the last few weeks there has been a quiet rebellion going on within my plant. The first realization of this came when the votes were counted in the shop committee election. Any official with opposition was voted out of office. It came as a surprise to everyone.

In the trim shop on the night shift, a committeeman for 22 years was shocked at his defeat, as was the worker who replaced him. There had been no organized opposition, but individual workers had voted their rebellion against the union system as it is being run in our plant. One worker said, "Nothing is ever done on our grievances, such as foremen working and speed-up. That is why I voted the way I did."

One of the defeated committeemen tried to say he was defeated because all the Black workers voted against him. But I don't see it that way. Plenty of white workers voted against him, too. I feel the workers were alienated against all those in power from the top of the International to the shop floor.

The quiet rebellion continued with sick time. So many workers have become sick on Friday and Monday that it has finally forced GM to start calling back laid-off workers. With the call back of several hundred workers, last night was the first night this week that the company didn't have to shut down the body shop line for relief. But this doesn't mean that the worker isn't being piled with work.

I was talking with one worker who had been taken out of the body shop to cover for an absent woman worker on the main line. He found it impossible to do the job and called for a second worker to help. Even with a second worker, the foreman had to find a third person to run stock for the job. And the workers were exhausted by the end of the shift.

The workers have also been fighting back by small job actions. One occurred last week in the body shop. Maintenance workers getting ready for changeover were welding and burning old materials in the plant, causing a lot of smoke. Workers on one part of the line were having to breathe the smoke. They walked off the job and stood where there wasn't any smoke. The whole body shop was closed down as a result.

You should have seen how quickly management stopped the welding and burning until after the shift. A foreman came over and said, "You can go back to work now that the smoke has been stopped." But the workers said, "We will wait until it has cleared." Not a word was said back, no holler, no bother from management. When we are together we have a tremendous power.

This quiet rebellion is, I am sure, in many plants, certainly in auto. Where it will go next we will have to wait and see.

Textile, clothing workers vote merger

(Continued from Page 3)

(See Uniroyal story, p. 5.) Three of the "Big Four"—Uniroyal, Firestone and Goodyear—have unorganized plants working to capacity across the South and Southwest. Firestone alone has 20 southern plants—only one of them unionized. The exact measure of the URW bureaucracy's failure to organize what Carter and Reagan delight in calling the "Sun Belt" is being taken by picketers discussing the strike in front of the plant gates.

Whether the next President is Reagan or Ford—or a Jimmy Carter, backed by UAW President Woodcock—the Sun Belt's executives can be assured that he will be a life-long supporter of Taft-Hartley's "right-to-work" laws which now ban union shops from 18 states. Beginning with these states, the flood of runaway shops has spread to Latin America and Asia, and even into the supposedly "union" North itself, as states and cities vie to "steal" industry from one another with offers of low taxes, all-white surroundings—and assistance in keeping out unions.

The truth is that in the South today the unionized percentage of the workers is lower than at any time since the early years of the CIO—nearly 40 years ago. What the union bureaucracy proved through the CIO's still-born and long-forgotten "Operation Dixie"—its organizing drive in the South after World War II—is that no such drive can ever succeed if it places the fight against racism on some "backburner" to be resolved "after the union is in."

It was not until Blacks refused to wait for labor to fight racism and launched the civil rights movement that new union drives, by Black and white workers, began to score some victories in places like Charleston, S.C., Selma, Ala., and Cambridge, Md.

It is racism that U.S. capitalism has turned to in time of crisis since its inception. And racism is precisely what is being whipped into a frenzy nationwide in this presidential election year. There are the daily verbal assaults on school integration which all three candidates term "forced busing." They have encouraged the actual physical assaults on Black school children in Boston and in Louisville, the attempt by Louisiana to electrocute 17-year-old Gary Tyler, and have watched silently as, in Chicago, 500 rallied at a meeting openly called by the KKK and the Nazi party against open housing.

THE DEPTHS OF RACIST U.S.A.

Ronald Reagan has evidently made the return of wholesale executions his rallying cry, and the Supreme Court is now considering the fate of 631 men and women on Death Row in 30 states. That same

As we go to press, the Supreme Court has contributed to the July 4th Bicentennial "celebration" by upholding the barbaric death penalty.

Supreme Court went very far last month toward rolling back every gain of the civil rights movement, ruling in an employment discrimination case that the victims of racism must prove that the employer had discriminatory intent—in other words, they must read his mind!

Never was the demand greater to oppose racism in every form. Yet so divorced are such groups as the Congressional Black Caucus from the Black masses, and so dead do they think the Black revolt is, that they actually met with Kissinger prior to his announcement that he would hold talks with South Africa's Vorster, and gave the talks their "blessing." Incredibly, even after the South African police began murdering Black demonstrators by the hundreds there, Detroit's Congressman Diggs still declared that the meeting would "help the U.S. image in Africa

if it was handled right." (See S. Africa article, p. 3.)

Against this opportunism, and the disarray that capitulates to a Jimmy Carter, stands the self-activity of the Black revolt, especially in the "Sun Belt," and the self-organization of workers, Black and white, exactly in those places where so many have said organization was "impossible."

THE 'SUN BELT' IN REVOLT

All through the past year, North and South Carolina have seen the worst terror of the counter-revolution—and have answered it. In Florence, S.C. thousands protested a wave of police murders which left at least three Blacks dead, and continued the campaign with the largest civil rights rally in South Carolina history, on Martin Luther King's birthday. In Raleigh and in Charlotte, N.C., self-defense units were organized and marches held in the wake of a resurgence of the KKK in North Carolina.

This state, which leads the nation in the number of prisoners awaiting execution, and which jailed the Wilmington 10 and the Charlotte 3, has also seen the organization of the Carolina Brown Lung Association, the first movement to win compensation for men and women textile workers whose lungs were poisoned by cotton dust. In Kannapolis, N.C., a complete company town owned by Cannon Mills, Black and white workers united in a TWUA organizing committee and came within 640 votes out of 16,000 votes cast, of voting in the union after a campaign which attacked the company's policies of job segregation, along with its company stores, company housing and company-controlled county law enforcement.

All across the South, new organizing drives are springing up, precisely in the towns which had always been considered "the worst." There is certainly something new going on when even southern prisons are not "safe" for employers seeking docile labor; Alabama and Louisiana prisoners have begun their own unions and demanded upgrading of working conditions.

And in the Mexican "border strip," where literally hundreds of U.S. corporations set up runaway shops ten years ago to get non-union labor at slave wages, dozens of these companies have abandoned their plants and run-away someplace else, as Mexican workers organized their own unions and struck for wages and conditions comparable to workers in areas from which the companies had run.

The months ahead will tell whether the new union mergers are but one more maneuver of the "labor leaders" or whether they can really mean the beginning of the end for J. P. Stevens and the runaway shop. If, and only if, the explosive power of the idea of freedom is released—refusing to separate Black, Chicano and white, or the fight against racism from the fight for unionization—only then can that struggle be won.

Italian election assures crisis

Milan, Italy — After the incredible hysteria about the Italian elections throughout the world, it would seem — at least superficially — that the only concrete result is that Italy is going towards a two party system. The Christian Democrats (DC) maintained their position compared to the parliamentary elections of 1972, gaining again 39 percent of the votes. The Communists (PC) received 35 percent of the votes compared to the 27 percent they received in 1972. All of the other parties lost votes.

This does not change the underlying problem discussed before the elections: is it possible for the DC to govern here without the support of the PC? The leaders of the DC have continued to say that they prefer to form a coalition with almost any party except the Communist Party. During the election campaign they even asked for the support of "honest fascists."

However, after the February regional elections in France, in which both Socialists and Communists gained votes, various European powers have begun to take a very different position on so-called "Euro-Communism," and it would seem that they have convinced the U.S. that the problems of Europe are much more profound than that of thinking of Communists as just big, bad Russian big brothers. Quite the contrary; a compromise with the Communists is absolutely essential in this economic crisis in order to keep the labor movement in hand.

The Communists have already shown that they will accept a policy of lower wages and higher labor productivity (even if the latter means automation unemployment). Now they only have to show that they do control the labor movement (not very difficult since the largest labor union is Communist), and a happy wedding party can take place.

It seems quite obvious that the large multinational business concerns (mostly American) want, above all, for Italy to remain a country where there is low cost labor for their various international interests. The DC could bargain with Western powers. They would guarantee a cheap labor market in a country without continuous strikes, through their compromise with the CP, if the Western powers were willing to make another loan to Italy—useful for keeping the DC in power, but absolutely useless to the Italian people.

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Thousands of South African Black youth fight supremacist regime

(Continued from Page 3)

The native Africans in the reserves want as little to do with Vorster's scheme, as do the millions who work for poverty wages around the industrial centers and for whom every aspect of life is controlled by state regulations.

The June rebellion was the deepest revolt in the history of this country, including the demonstrations following the Sharpeville massacre. It was started by junior high school students at the Phenfeni school in Soweto who boycotted classes for five weeks saying no to Afrikaans, the language of the barbarous rulers of this totalitarian bastion of racism on the African continent.

In addition to Afrikaans—a language spoken only in this land of apartheid—the young Africans are instructed in English and their own tribal language, while the white students can learn in only one language of their choice. But the Black nationalistic youth want to learn English just because it is a way to international communication.

Arab general strike

Ever since the end of the 1967 war, Israel has occupied the West Bank and dominated the 725,000 Arabs who rightly claim it as their homeland. Recent attempts to colonize the territory have met with stiff resistance from the Arabs in the West Bank, and the native Palestinians who are Israeli citizens.

On March 30, a general strike was called by the Arabs, which was highly successful and during which six Palestinians were killed in the Galilee area. Before the strike, the police and the military used terrorism, brutality, curfews and cordoning off whole areas to intimidate and divide the Arab population. When Arab youth stoned the troops, the soldiers fired back killing and wounding many.

The Israel League for Human and Civil Rights has issued denunciations, and documented cases of civilians being detained and brutally beaten by the military. The Israeli government has forbidden newsmen and TV crews to enter the areas of demonstrations and banned reports of military activities.

The fate of the Jewish poor is no better than their Arab brothers and sisters. On May 24, slum-dwelling Iraqi, Moroccan and Yemeni Jews demonstrated against the demolition of a building that had been built without a permit. When riot police arrived with a bulldozer and a utility truck to cut off the electric power to the building, the demonstrators burned the truck, firebombed the police and cut a trench across the road to prevent the destruction of the building. Soon thousands had joined in the protests, making it one of the largest demonstrations ever by Jewish workers against the government.

The demonstrators seized an Israeli TV crew and locked them in a building, threatening to kill them if the building was destroyed. They were later released. The demonstration, which took place in the

The international community is shocked by the butchery of this regime. What was revealed again is the fact that even when the masses of South African Blacks aren't openly in motion, a total revolutionary impulse is always seething just below the surface of this society just because it is so totally deprived.

It took the South African economy over two years to recover from the flight of investment after the Sharpeville massacre. That was before the national liberation movements had defeated the Portuguese in Mozambique and Angola and before revolutionary movements were so prominent in Namibia (South West Africa) and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

The UN resolution against South Africa passed almost unanimously with the one exception being South Africa. The fact that it was only a verbal slap on the wrist instead of calling for the total isolation and boycott of this murderous regime, is due both to the Black African leaders who have moved away from their own masses and have been bought off literally with a few bags of gold, and western pow-

heart of the slums of Tel Aviv, was finally broken up with tear gas after seven of the demonstrators were seriously injured by baton-wielding riot police.

News from Gaza, where 350,000 Arabs live under Israeli occupation, is subject to heavy censorship but it is known that the mayor and the entire city council in Gaza joined the March 30 Arab strike. Troops attacked an Arab meeting in an orange grove and one man, Khader Jilda, was killed.

Israel has consistently refused to produce a solution for the people of the occupied territories. They claim that economically, the Arabs are better off now than they were before the occupation. But they are now finding out that the issue of freedom and self-determination outweighs a loaf of bread.

No amount of military suppression, political indifference or religious bigotry can gloss over the denial of basic human rights which only the granting of self-determination for the Arab population can resolve.

Latin America

Mind-staggering reports, now included in testimony before the UN Commission on Human Rights, of torture, assassination, and mass imprisonment of political prisoners have been coming out of Chile ever since General Pinochet and his friends in the military murdered Allende and his popular government in a coup instigated by Nixon and Kissinger in 1973.

U.S. aid poured back into Chile after the coup, the latest assistance being an announcement of an outright grant of \$90 million by Kissinger's special envoy, Treasury Secretary William Simon, in Santiago on May 7. Actual aid with loans and loan guarantees totals \$1.8 billion.

This was a prelude to the Organization of American States' general assembly in Santiago where

ers like the United States and France who were competing with each other to see who could give Vorster nuclear know-how first.

The young native Africans have totally undermined Vorster's detente with Black-liberated Africa. This detente was grounded on the idea that South Africa could be treated as a special nation, that special favors would come if only one ignored that the core of this whole society is a savage white racism—if only one ignored that this society still illegally dominates Namibia, still provides the life line to Ian Smith's land-locked Rhodesia, still exploits Black labor from all over Southern Africa.

The demand for freedom by the South African youth has called into question the whole future of southern Africa just when Vorster had hoped to gain international respectability as a "statesman" of segregation by meeting Kissinger in Germany. And it has brought home just how central a revolution in South Africa, whose racist form is the basis of its being such a magnet for international investment, is to the liberation of all of Africa.

Kissinger spoke and, along with others, focused on human rights violations in Chile and one other country, Cuba—which is not even a part of the OAS. But it was mentioned as if Cuba's detention of political dissidents being outside the U.S. sphere of influence could balance the scale of U.S. barbarism.

By focusing on Chile as a special problem, Kissinger is hiding the role of the U.S. in underwriting one military dictatorship after another throughout Latin America. Amnesty International reports that in addition to Chile, the incarceration and torture of political prisoners is a systematic and regular practice in other Latin American countries like Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Human rights advocates in Paraguay, where a genocidal policy against the Ache Indians has reduced their population from 10,000 to a few hundred, were too frightened to even send a delegate to the OAS.

For years, Latin American police have been trained in the techniques of "counter-terror" at police academies in Washington and Texas. The military in each country cherishes above all its special relationship with the U.S. government, and has no hesitation at moving against its own civilian government as it did in Chile. All over Latin America there has recently been a rash of murders of even moderate opposition leaders.

A former leader of Bolivia, General Juan Jose Torres, was overthrown in 1971 in a bloody coup supported by Brazil, Torres, whose reforms had been popular with Bolivian workers and peasants, was recently kidnapped and murdered in Argentina.

The murder of Torres and the refusal of present strongman General Banzer to even let his body back into the country sparked strikes in Bolivia's mines that have spread throughout the industry and have the support of many students. It is precisely this mass revolt persisting throughout Latin America in strikes and peasant land seizure, that Kissinger wants to keep the lid on to keep a whole continent in chains to U.S. imperialism.

BLACK-RED VIEW Fanon's breakthrough on leadership crucial for today

by John Alan

Frantz Fanon—what does he mean today, more than a decade after his death, to the African and other Third World revolutions? This is a relevant question that carries with it a degree of urgency which demands an immediate answer, especially since there has been a resurgence of the African revolutionary spirit since the defeat of both Portuguese and U.S. imperialism in Angola.

We have seen a new wave of guerrilla wars of liberation in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and in Namibia (South West Africa), that have so unsettled the status quo in the southern portion of Africa, that the possibility of mass revolt increases daily—a situation that neither western imperialism nor the Black African elite can disregard.

Simultaneously with mass revolts in Africa, Frantz Fanon's philosophical and theoretical ideas concerning revolution in the Third World are now again in "vogue". Scholars, critics, political hacks, etc. are among those who have rediscovered Fanon.

NEW AFRICAN ELITE

Chinweizu, the African poet and playwright from Nigeria, in his recent book, *The West and the Rest of Us* reveals how considerably Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* has influenced him, especially in his chapters on the "African Elite and the Black Condition," where he plainly shows his contempt for the new African elite. However, these chapters lack the dialectical quality of Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*—that need, that urgency, to set into motion, in Africa, a new society, a new

man—not just the replacement of the former white rulers by a Black bourgeoisie that is just as alienated from the Black masses as the white colonizers.

Where Chinweizu draws acid portraits of the Black African bourgeoisie, naming them by name, calling them Quislings, and much more, Fanon is all motion in his ideas. Fanon calls upon the African intellectual middle class, at least a section of it, "... to consider as its bounding duty, to betray the calling fate has marked for it, and put itself to school with the people; in other words to put at the people's disposal, the intellectual and technical capital that it has snatched when going through the colonial Universities . . ." And, if they failed to do that, that is, to follow the path of the revolution, then they would fall into deplorable stagnation.

What Fanon has so eloquently said, in the *Wretched of the Earth*, in the section on the "Pitfalls of National Consciousness", is that political independence from western imperialism is only the first step on the road of revolution, the first negation in the revolutionary process. This first negation is not conceived by Fanon as a step toward a "transitory" stage, "pre-socialist formations", or a "national bourgeois liberation stage".

BEYOND NATIONAL LIBERATION

Fanon was so conscious of the dialectic of revolution, that "stages" were foreign to his thinking. He was conscious that revolutions open up all sorts of change in human relations. The logic of his thinking was: why stop at national liberation, which is weak and dependent upon world imperialism, when the revolution has already

revealed that the possibility is ripe to move on to a non-exploitative society, to totally new human relations.

To him, this was to come about by a fusion of the revolutionary intellectuals with the most oppressed sections of the underdeveloped nations. These intellectuals were to come up through the people, to "allow entry of the masses upon the scene of history."

What we should be concerned with is, not that the underdeveloped countries can generate such revolutionary momentum that they can destroy world capitalism—because in the final analysis, that is the role of the world proletariat—but with Fanon's breakthrough concretely on the retrogressive role of leadership in our age, by relating it directly to what happens to the first waves of revolutions in Africa. His concern was that any leadership that does not spring out of, or is not dependent upon the revolutionary mass movement, will find its dependency upon neo-colonialism.

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DRAFT PERSPECTIVES THESIS, 1976-1977

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anew."11 Whatever, "the East Wind" (which then meant not just China but Russia) would prevail over "the West." This hardly convinced revolutionaries, when it was they who had started the movement against totalitarianism, and Mao advised Khrushchev to get the tanks to roll over them.

In a word, **once opposition arose from the Left**, from below, spontaneously, first against Russia, and then within Mao's China itself, and the revolutionary offensive challenged the Single State Party rule, then what consolidated in the minds of these rulers, Chinese as well as Russian (not to mention Indian who never had a social revolution), was to maintain state-capitalist rule, **no matter what the cost**. It is this monstrous perspective that Mao thought would be the next stage of humanity's development. His "revolutionary" perspectives, as, in 1960, he began to engineer splits in the international "Communist" movement, ran under the euphemism that, since Russia was no longer the only "socialist" country, there was no reason for it to be an international arbiter. By 1965, when President Johnson was raining bombs on Vietnam, and not China but North Vietnam became the besieged fortress, Mao refused to have a united front with Russia to aid Vietnam. Indeed, the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was geared to the proposition that Russia was "Enemy No. 1", and the U.S. "the lesser evil."

Before that narrow nationalism, comprised within the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution", the Third World was confronted with the dualisms in nationalism on the African continent. The great revolutionary theoretician of the African national liberation struggles, Frantz Fanon, had warned about the innumerable "Pitfalls of National Consciousness." Too many on the Left were then busy playing up his concept of violence as if that was all he had to say on the question of national and international revolutions. It is high time we heard what he wrote back in 1961 on the distinctions **within** national liberation struggles: national consciousness **when** it is as great as that "untidy affirmation of an original idea propounded as an absolute"12 and when it is not. Frantz Fanon knew whereof he spoke when, in hailing the Africans' freedom struggles and, at the same time, stressing that only when nationalism means **liberation** and is thus **international**, only then can the revolution develop fully into a new humanism:

"Let us waste no time in sterile litanies and nauseating mimicry. Leave this Europe where they are never done talking of Man, yet murder men everywhere they find them . . . Let us decide not to imitate Europe; let us combine our muscles and our brains in a new direction. Let us try to create the whole man, whom Europe has been incapable of bringing to triumphant birth . . . This new humanity cannot do otherwise than define a new humanism both for itself and for others."13

Like proletarian revolutions, national liberation movements begin, of course, on native ground. What of necessity extends them internationally is that philosophy of liberation which makes no distinction between philosophy and revolution, internally and externally. It is this which Frantz Fanon propounded not only for the African revolutions or Asian or European, but for world revolution.

IV. On-going Revolutions in Portugal and Angola

The Portuguese Revolution continues to be the burning question for revolutionaries in the mid-1970s. When it first burst out on April 25, 1974, very nearly inauspiciously, it may have appeared as no more than a military coup by a neo-fascist General Spínola against an overaged, decrepit, half-century-old, fascist Caetano regime, finally waking up to some needed decolonization. In fact, it at once displayed revolutionary features, and precisely because it was grounded in Africa. In fact, so strong was the proletarian

revolutionary current at home that before the year was out Spínola was stopped in his tracks, and soon made to flee. So varied were the new revolutionary forces—proletarian and peasant, youth and women liberationist, and even petty-bourgeois and literary14—that what emerged in 1975 was a movement that was not only anti-fascist, but anti-capitalist, and not only Socialist and Communist, but independent of all existing state powers. What emerged, in a word, was a strong revolutionary current that was anti-Stalinist and anti-Maoist; what emerged was the perspective that the impossible was possible.15

Thus, though Portugal was the most underdeveloped country in Western Europe, it had, **at one and the same time**, the greatest appreciation of African reality, working with the national liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, **and** the most massive and active proletarian movement. Portugal's labor movement is the most strongly organized in Europe, in the world.

Thus, the peasants likewise were revolutionary, occupying landed estates, and that strong movement was also solidarizing with workers, with Tenants Commissions.

Thus, Women's Liberation was the new revolutionary force that was both integral in all class struggles in the factories and on the farms, as well as in developing autonomous movements—MLM as well as MDM. So many new forms of organization had appeared, from new trade unions and Workers Commissions to political parties to the left of both the Socialist and Communist parties, from rank and file committees of soldiers and sailors to Workers Councils, which, though by no means so all-national as to be a threatening dual power to capitalism, neverthe-

14 **New Portuguese Letters**, published here as **The Three Marias**, was one of the most significant literary events which disclosed the deep undercurrents of revolt before the April, 1974, overthrow of the Caetano regime.

15 In addition to our special supplement, "Can The Revolution in Portugal Advance?" (**News & Letters**, Jan.-Feb. 1976) see the latest issue of **APOLLO**, July 1976, and the Portugal Information Bulletin that take up events in Portugal since the elections in April 1976. A superior article on the Portuguese revolution by a Spanish revolutionary exile, Wilebaldo Solano, "Notes on the Portuguese Revolution," appears in **New Politics**, Winter 1976.

Briton reviews 'America's First Unfinished Revolution'

Reprinted from **FREEDOM**, an Anarchist Weekly, London Vol. 37, No. 12, June 12, 1976

IN THE bicentennial year of American Independence, this is the first attempt to give a "people's history" of the American revolution. It is the untold story of the true creators of independence, the workers, the yeomanry, the Blacks, the women.

Official "histories" always systematically distort the facts in favor of the ruling class, and this is particularly true of the American Revolution, reducing it to a saga concerned with 'leaders' guiding an ignorant mob towards a "new constitution." Forgotten is the **mass participation** that transformed town meetings from talking shops for rich colonial merchants into people's self-participatory organs, and eventually to the creation of the Committee of Correspondence.

The Town Meetings were also being superseded. It is easy to see why. Boston had a population of some 15,000 in 1773. A town meeting would allow only 2,500 of the populace to attend. The mass meeting, the 'Body,' preceding the Boston Tea Party, was over 8,000. And several such meetings had taken place, within a short period of time, each one increasing in size. No restrictions existed, all could attend. Men and women, Black and White, young and old, rich and poor, all constituted the Body.

A Boston Town Meeting on 26 May 1766 voted to consider steps "for the total abolishing of slavery from among us; that you move for a law to prohibit the importation and purchasing of slaves for the future."

The pamphlet offers considerable documentation of the involvement of Black labor, free and unfree, in the struggle for freedom. Prior to the war with British imperialism some 300 slave revolts have been recorded, perhaps the most significant example of Black participation being the events leading to the Boston massacre in March 1770. A group of citizens under the leadership of Crispus Attucks, a runaway slave, attacked a detachment of British forces, and although unarmed were shot down by the troops.

BLACKS represented one-fifth of the then total population of 2,600,000 and their positive presence was felt everywhere, even in the militia, and the pamphlet reproduces the flag of the all-Black Boston regiment of officers and men. (Of course, the reaction of the Whites varied from area to area. In Virginia they were not

less revealed how all-embracing was the revolutionary current. Nor can we consider the Army as just one reactionary mass. The very fact that the counter-revolutionary coup on Nov. 25, 1975 could not defeat the mass movement, though it was a tremendous blow to the revolution (which must now operate under its counter-revolutionary whip) shows that it is still an ongoing revolution. The military commanders, with all the reactionary aid from U.S. imperialism, NATO and the West European Socialist Parties, especially Helmut Schmidt's West German Socialist Party, are out to "re-establish discipline" in the army. But here too, their victory is by no means total in face of the rank and file committees in the barracks. The fact that the Left could hold their own in the elections, despite all the inflow of money and arms from international capital, also testifies to the strength of the mass movement. No doubt the rule will become more brutal now that military commander Eanes, who engineered the Nov. 25, 1975 coup, has become President. Nothing could be more damaging to the revolutionary movement functioning under such odds than the international Left suddenly becoming no more than bystanders.

We have witnessed the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries—and in this case they are both old and young since the new relates to the new perspectives raised, and not to age—who are independent of both Socialist and Communist parties. This anti-Stalinist, anti-Maoist revolutionary Left — PRP, MES, LUAR — has raised questions against elitism and the "party to lead" concept, **not** because they do not appreciate the need of a revolutionary organization, but the party to lead has been a noose around the revolutionary movement that appreciates the need to work out new relations of theory to practice. As against the New Left in Europe in 1968 with its disregard of theory which supposedly could be picked up "en route", they are trying to work out a philosophy of liberation and struggle that would be independent of all **existing** state powers.

The international Left is likewise being put to the test. Under the whip of the counter-revolution, the road is rocky enough for the revolutionaries in Portugal. More than international solidar-

(Continued on Page 12)

allowed in White regiments.) For their part the British tried to use Black aspirations to further their ends, by the promise of freedom in return for support of the colonial troops.

Women have also tended to be 'written out' of official history, yet the truth that so clearly emerges from **America's First Unfinished Revolution** is that then, as always, women's struggles were not separable from those of men. This was especially true of the lower classes. Only among the budding 'aristocrats' was the distinction of sex and economic roles especially sexist.

In Boston women deliberately bumped into redcoats and shouted 'rape' to rally the townspeople. One of the early copies of the Declaration of Independence was printed by the woman publisher Mary Catherine Goddard and page 21 furnished us with a picture of Molly Pitcher firing a cannon at the Battle of Monmouth.

WHEN TOTAL WAR eventually came, it was the militia, in many respects the first ever 'guerrilla' army, which proved the decisive factor. What the British considered a 'rabble in arms' and George Washington described as "exceedingly dirty and nasty people" was in fact the very force that saved Washington.

Official legend hails Washington. The truth is that his aristocratic pretensions and practices, his commanding in luxurious comfort on behalf of the Southern shareholders and conservative merchants, was responsible for the virtual demoralization and disintegration of his armies at Valley Forge. His attempts to create a traditional feudal-style army lost him the support of the rank and file, and he never succeeded in commanding an army greater than 20,000 of the 200,000 colonials involved in the fighting.

It was not just an American revolution, but rather the beginning of an age of revolution. As Karl Marx put it, "the American revolution sounded the tocsin for the Europeans." They are still 'unfinished' revolutions in that 'victory' went to the Washingtons and the Bonapartes, while the people remain cheated of the liberty for which they fight. The implication of the pamphlet is clear.

Finish them!

—Bob Potter

Order copies of **America's First Unfinished Revolution** from **News & Letters**—\$1 plus 25¢ postage

11 See the **Wan-sui** documents (**Long Live Mao Tse-tung Thought!**) published in two volumes under the title "Miscellany of Mao Tse-tung Thought, 1949-1968," by the National Technical Information Service, U.S. Department of Commerce, Springfield, Va. 22151.

12 Frantz Fanon, **The Wretched of the Earth**, p.41.

13 *Ibid.* pp.246, 311 and 313.

DRAFT PERSPECTIVES THESIS, 1976-1977

(Continued from Page 11)

ity is a must. Filling the philosophic void since the death of Lenin is an imperative. The endless repetition of the need for The Party, The Party, The Party accompanied by the specification of itself as The Leadership needed, will hardly either be decisive for the actual struggle against international capital's intrusion into the civil war in Portugal, or help in filling the philosophic void. Each, by itself, remains narrow, one-sided, self-paralyzing. No one can tell what will precipitate the torrential release of new revolutionary forces, but a new Marxist banner of **total** freedom that will not tolerate the separation of philosophy of liberation from actual revolution is an indispensable first step.

Thus, at a time when it is not only international capital which is helping Portuguese capital try to recoup its dominance, **but also the SP and CP are out to contain the revolution, it is of the essence to realize that the need is not total abstractions, much less sloganeering, but concretely to separate from both the "Communist" and Social Democratic orbits.**

Not only that. The West European CPs, with the Italian CP in the lead, are playing the game of "pluralism" as if that meant proletarian democracy and anti-Single Party State, **instead of the sheerest class-collaborationist opportunism, grabbing for capitalistic state power.**

Where the Socialist Party, at first, had the greatest mass support in Portugal both because of the strike-breaking activity of the CP and Soares' mouthing of phrases for socialism and proletarian democracy, all it now has to offer is "re-establishment of discipline," not to mention working for the election, as president, of the very military commander (Eanes) who headed the Nov. 25, 1975 reactionary military coup, tied to NATO. As the darling of West Germany's Helmut Schmidt, Soares has long (since 1971 when he first organized the SP under Schmidt's tutelage) known and practiced class collaborationism, and not just as a tactic, but as "principled" parliamentary bourgeois democracy! And if that doesn't work, when did the U.S. ever stop short of supporting fascist regimes? There is no doubt whatever that the Portuguese SP and its German Social-Democratic ties represent the greatest danger to the revolution, and even the general labor movement and its gains since the overthrow of fascism.

V. Movements from Practice and from Theory—1968-1977

Ever since the 1968 near-revolutions in West Europe aborted, the new Left has been so preoccupied with blaming the proletariat for their defeats that it has yet to face its own role, especially its avoidance of theory, rooted in the movement **from practice.** This is neither a mere generalization, nor something so concrete and minor a matter as not to demand a great deal of very hard labor on the part of intellectuals. New forces of liberation that emerged can by no means be regarded only as Force, and not as Reason. For example, the emergence of the Women's Liberation Movement and its demand to have the question of "what happens after" answered **now**, has certainly introduced more than a so-called "tactic" of revolution. It has demanded an entirely new vision.

Or take the question that both labor and youth raised—decentralized form of functioning, like councils instead of trade unions, committee form of organization instead of centralized, monolithic party. It certainly opposes the type of intellectualistic return to the concept of substitutionism of intellectuals for the proletariat as The Leadership. Surely the new that emerged that the Portuguese call **apartidarism**¹⁶ becomes an imperative in the state-capitalist world in which we live with its strong pull on the administrative men-

tality that characterizes scientific intellectuals, Left included. Instead of this imperative, as we reach the mid-1970s and do have ongoing revolutions in Portugal and Angola, the old Left organizations keep bringing up the old concept of the Party to Lead as "the answer."

No one can be unaware of the unrest even where there are no outright revolutionary situations. In supposedly quiescent U.S.A. there are wildcats in the factories, women's marches, Native American unrest and youth rebellions, especially in high schools. In returning to home grounds, where lives the most monstrous and most racist of all imperialisms, and fighting intellectual laziness against working out a new relationship of theory to practice, we can build also on the **new** that has emerged out of the ongoing revolutions.

Clearly the elitist Left has learned nothing from these ongoing revolutions because they remain imprisoned in the old fixed particulars like nationalized property equals socialism, upon which is grafted the supercilious attitude to philosophy **as if it were an abstraction instead of what it was to Lenin, the actual theoretical preparation for proletarian revolution.** In truth, it becomes a burning question in the mid-1970s because no national crisis arises anywhere that isn't at once forced into a global face-off, which global face-off not only demands inseparability between revolutionary nationalism and internationalism that is absolutely independent of all existing state powers, whether they call themselves Communism or "democracies."

Just as the international and national, philosophic and actual manifestations of revolution cannot be separated, neither can the objective and subjective. This does not mean an intellectualistic "totalization," or a Maoist total identification of objective and subjective. It is no accident that the **bourgeois** philosophic identity of objective and subjective which Mao first propounded back in 1937 in **On Practice** as "the dialectic materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing" as he was preparing a new united front with Chiang Kai-shek, and repeated in another form both in 1955 and in 1958 on the agricultural front, was made into nothing short of the "Momentous Struggle on the Question of the Identity Between Thinking and Being" in the 1970s.

The reason this time was the vitiation of the class nature of West European capitalism which Mao suddenly began calling the "Second World." This time, the Revolutionary Mass Criticism Writing Group of the Party School under the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee told us "Chairman Mao's theory that 'matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter' was a body blow to Liu Shao-chi."¹⁷

Far from there being an absolute identity of matter and consciousness, objective and subjective, totality, **in Marx's sense**, is that of Subject **as masses** in motion becoming mediation as action. It was this new historic vision which, far from seeing any "peaceful co-existence" of objective and subjective in any other circumstances than that of a new classless society, was projecting a fight to the death—"absolute negativity"—of the existing society **and its "false consciousness."**

The fight for a new type of human existence involved "absolutes" only as Method, Absolute Method; that is to say, it was **self-movement** as Method. In a word, far from "mediation" meaning a mediator, be he a trade union negotiator, or a bourgeois philosopher—or The Party—mediation as masses in motion meant actualization of freedom.

Presently in the U.S., where abject racism oozes out of the White House both at home and abroad; where the economic crisis has made a permanent feature of unemployment under automated production (compounded by the total disregard for the lives of all those over 50); where the Black dimension and Women's Liberationists, the Native Americans and the youth in revolt are never considered as Reason, what is as urgent as

activities in the mass movements is the working out of a totally new relationship of theory to practice as preparation for actual revolution. In today's world, philosophy and revolution are the manifestations of the totality of the world crisis—the myriad crises—on the one hand, and the mass revolts on the other. The passion for a new type of human existence demands that every aspect of our work, be it in the class struggles at home or the expressions of solidarity with the international movements from Latin America to Portugal, from Africa to West Europe, and of course, the dissident voices in Russia and East Europe, reflect the totality of Marxist-Humanism. Though there will be a full Organization Report, I do wish to mention a few concrete organizational tasks here.

Some Organizational Conclusions

The concretization of philosophy gives an altogether new meaning to politicalization. That is to say, whether it's an activity in the class struggle, or Women's Liberation, or racial equality, or international solidarity, philosophic analysis is not something "appended" to a "main thesis", **but is itself a form of activity even as the movement from practice is itself a form of theory.** The Political-Philosophic Letters that were initiated this year were started with this in mind and have, in fact, created new relations internationally.

The same type of concretization of **Philosophy and Revolution** was the impulse for the creation of a philosophic nucleus, that is to say, the living realization of what we mean by philosophy, not philosopher. It is in the context also that we are projecting the following six points:

1) First and foremost, is the concentration around the Black question, both within the factories and the communities since there is no doubt whatever that, whether Ford-Reagan or Carter wins, the open war against Blacks in both employment and education will continue unabated and must be stopped in its tracks.

That will of necessity also bring us into a direct battle of ideas with Black intellectuals on the question of Marx's Humanism as well as the form of national liberation which is itself a form of internationalism and which relates directly to the Angolan revolution. Projected for 1977 is a new pamphlet, **Black Voices.**

2) Second, the establishment of a new local in Chicago, is inseparable from the first, not only on the labor and race fields, but signifies a new stage of Women's Liberation that relates to our new pamphlet, **Working Women For Freedom.** Moreover, the whole idea of a new local brings in a question that we have really never faced since we have no paid functionaries. Nevertheless, we must create financial responsibility for organizing work, and we will propose that the Special Fund this year project such a perspective.

3) Third, 1977, as the 100th anniversary of the 1877 general strike in St. Louis, will see the publication of a new pamphlet that, again, will manifest a unity of labor, women, and philosophy—the first Hegelian philosophers in this country criss-crossing with the first Workingmen's International Association.

4) Fourth, this year will also see the production of our first bi-lingual pamphlet, which will be not only a celebration of the Spanish edition of **Marxism and Freedom**, but also will open new opportunities for activity in this country with Latinos. In this case, the new preface to that edition expresses to all of Latin America the solidarity of the **other U.S.** in its struggles for freedom **from U.S. imperialism.**

5) Fifth, new classes in **Philosophy and Revolution** will be scheduled nationally. The new form of these classes will start with Ch. 9, **provided** that it is studied along with Ch. 1, **as well as** the Political-Philosophic Letters, that is to say, analyses of current events.

6) Finally, and this in itself shows that the enumeration of points does not signify the degree of importance, as this point on the expansion of **News & Letters** is every bit as important as the first—three special 12-page issues a year will be a regular characteristic of **News & Letters.** Naturally, this means financial responsibility for both continuance and expansion of **News & Letters.** Toward that end, the REB is suggesting a minimum of \$12,000 as an Organizing and Sustaining Fund for **News & Letters.**

THE RESIDENT EDITORIAL BOARD

¹⁶ Alexandre Oliveira, editor of the Portuguese newspaper **Republica** during its six months under workers' control, at his New York talk on May 6, (see **News & Letters**, June 1976): "When we got out of fascism, what we call apartidarism is a bit of a development of the resistance to fascism . . . I am not against the idea of a party. But I don't have a religion of the word party, or the Leninist party or anything like that."

Isabel do Carmo, head of the PRP/BR, expressed the need for a new relationship of theory to practice in its Draft Program: "It's also the organization capable of making a synthesis between theory and revolutionary practice."

¹⁷ See **Three Major Struggles on China's Philosophical Front, 1949-64**, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1973, p.43. It seems that the first time Mao propounded that concept, Liu Shao-chi shouted: "It is idealism if one holds that all man-made things are preceded by ideas." This appears to the authors of this pamphlet as the perfect "proof", in 1973, of the "bourgeois reactionary line which was 'Left' in form but Right in essence."