

Draft perspectives thesis, 1977-1978: TIME IS RUNNING OUT

Introduction: the Neutron Bomb and Dehumanized Thinking

So crises-ridden is our world that no country, not even the mightiest giant of all — U.S. imperialism — has been able to get out of the recession, incoming "recycled petro dollars" and fantastic new weaponry expenditures notwithstanding. At this very moment — although the world is not at-war and the global "peace" military expenses are \$350 billion, and rising! — still each slight economic upturn swiftly turns into a "premature cyclical downturn."

The unconscionably high unemployed army has become a permanent characteristic of decrepit capitalism. And it is so overwhelming a phenomenon among youth—unemployment is no less than 50 percent to 60 percent among Blacks, Latinos and other minorities in the teeming ghettos of Harlem, Brooklyn, the Bronx — that even reporters hostile to the "looting" that occurred when the lights went out in New York, July 13, at 9:34 p.m., were forced to call attention to the unending unemployment and unceasing poverty, even as compared to 1965, when the lights last went out in New York. And as staid a publication as *The New York Times* entitled a report on the New York uprising on its commentary page, "Time Is No Longer Running Out; It is Gone." ¹ (See our lead article, p. 3).

Capitalism has obviously reached abysmal ultimates when such contradictions tearing at its system become very nearly "secondary," compared to the death-ray-type of new weaponry touted both from the White House and the Kremlin.

Nothing in Hitler's Germany, from the "secret weapon" with which Hitler threatened world destruction, to the actual genocide he practiced within his domain, is any match for the actual military technology now in the hands of the superpowers, U.S. especially. What dehumanized creature could compete with the super-scientist-military-industrial complex of State Planners which dares describe a bomb as "clean" because, though this neutron bomb can mass kill by radiation it leaves property intact!

Nor is this dehumanized thinking characteristic only of the powers-that-be. While fear has dulled the senses of some of the "New Left" so that they are willing to reduce Marxist philosophy of liberation to a gabfest about "tactics," the extreme Right think-tank in a famous French university calls its anti-Marxist, anti-Socialist, anti-left views the "New Philosophy" because it is so "total" that it describes capitalists approving of detente as having "capitalist bodies with Marxist heads." ²

(1) Interestingly enough, the report on the "Op-Ed" page of the Sunday New York Times, 7-17-77, was by one who teaches African studies—Clayton Riley.

(2) The "Barbarism with a Human Face" calling itself "The New Philosophy" by its guru, Bernard-Henri Levy, hails from the same famous university that produced Althusser in the early 1960s, and in the mid-1970s had produced this Solzhenitsyn-inspired elitism with the ex-Althusserite, Andre Glucksman, who now calls Solzhenitsyn "the Shakespeare of our time." Their works have

To think that one can laugh off the latest appearance of retrogression by such supercilious remarks as, "You can't refute a joke" ³ is to allow one's senses to be dulled while shaking off the revolutionary intellectuals' responsibility for unfurling a Marxist banner that would unite philosophy and revolution and thus lay the ground for a new society on truly human foundations. Time would indeed be running out not only objectively but subjectively, were we to bow to an attitude that would accept a "lesser evil" — as if state-capitalism calling itself Communism is the only alternative to decrepit private capitalism.

Marx's Humanism expressed itself unequivocally also on the question of time when it defined "Time" as "space for human self-development." The very urgency of time's "running out" demands concreteness on all matters, subjective as well as objective, beginning with facing the alien reality as is, as rooted in economic crises and in political crises. The lunatic fringes feel thoroughly at home in these crisis-ridden times, as witness the brazen, open appearance of the KKK and the Nazis joining forces in anti-Semitic and anti-Black pogroms in Georgia, in Ohio, in Chicago. The fact that militant counter-demonstrations stopped them in their tracks does not mean they will not reappear — especially when the very day before the lights went out, the President at his press conference spoke out so vehemently against abortion rights and showed such indifference to the poor and to segregated education.

I. The Sick Economy

That this, the fifth post-World War II recession, is so hard to come out of, has brought the capitalists themselves face-to-face with the reality, that the overriding fact of present day capitalist economy is stagnation. Thus, the only two "healthy" economies in the West — the U.S. and West Germany — are in an investment slump. Thus, the mightiest, the U.S., which is experiencing a 5 percent growth, is finding it is barely keeping up with population growth, that is to say, it is at a standstill.

The answer the capitalist ideologists themselves give to the question "Why Does a 'Healthy' Economy Feel So Bad?" ⁴ is that there has actually been a fundamental structural transformation of the U.S. economy. First, the longest period of stagnation since the late 1950s demon-

not yet appeared in English, but a preview of them can be read in *The Manchester Guardian*, 6-26-77, "Despairing Voice of France's Lost Generation," by Walter Schwarz. As against this critique, the "Le Monde" section of the 7-10-77 issue of *Manchester Guardian* published a panegyric by Philippe Sollers.

(3) The author of the statement is Regis Debray (*The Manchester Guardian*, 6-26-77).

(4) *New York Times*, Sunday, 7-10-77, Section 3, "Business and Finance."



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strates these hard facts: (1) slower growth, (2) lower investments, (3) higher unemployment, and (4) hard-core inflation of 6 percent as against the 1-2 percent inflation characteristic of most of the 1960s. Moreover, this "hard-core inflation" is actually not what it is, but what it is hoped it will be brought down to. It is true we are no longer in the two digit inflation of 14.6 percent rise in 1974, and 13.5 percent, in 1975, but we are not too far behind the 9.3 percent inflation of last year.

Secondly, and inseparable from that pivotal "investment drought" even when there is some growth, is the rise in energy cost which means that, along with the rising cost of automated equipment, too much value is invested, compared to labor productivity, when so little living labor is being used in production. The capitalists may not be ready to "agree" with Marx that the supreme commodity, labor-power, is the only source of all value and surplus value, but they do see that there is such a decline in the rate of profit compared to what they consider necessary to keep investing for expanded production, that they are holding off — so much so that now their ideologists are saying low investment is by no means a temporary factor that the capitalists would "overcome" with the next boom. **There is to be no next boom.**

Thirdly, they, on the one hand, keep complaining about the workers', especially the young workers', attitude to labor — "the blue collar blues" ⁵ — and, on the other hand, admit that, with a massive 34.1 percent youth unemployment, the very survival of the capitalist system is in question.

It was not only an academic — the serious bourgeois economist, Simon Kuznets — who, ever since the end of World War II, maintained that the "emergence of the violent Nazi regime in one of the most economically developed countries of the world raises grave questions about the institutional basis of modern economic growth — if it is susceptible to such a barbaric deformation as a result of transient difficulties." ⁶ It was a high Western governmental leader, Giscard d'Estaing, in 1977 who questioned the survival of the capitalistic system. Solzhenitsyn-inspired, retrogressionist intellectuals complain that capitalism has seen the emergence of a "strange siren whose body is Capital and whose head is Marxist."

But governmental statistics show good cause for those capitalistic headaches: the biggest increase in poverty since 1959 occurred in 1975 and has persisted. No less than a rise of 10 percent in the number of poor, totalling now 25.9 millions, are below poverty level. That means that no less than 12 percent of all Americans had an income of less than \$5,500 annually.

When this pervades the richest country in the world, consider the irony that a famous Trotskyist economist is so bent on selling us state-capitalist monstrosities as "not yet fully fledged classless, that is, socialist societies: the USSR, the People's Republics of Eastern Europe, China, North Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba," that he perverts Marx in his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, as allegedly holding that, without an unemployed army, "capitalism cannot survive." ⁷ As we

(Continued on Page 2)

(5) See *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1977, "A Troubled World Economy."

(6) Simon Kuznets, *Postwar Economic Growth*. See also his *Capital in the American Economy*.

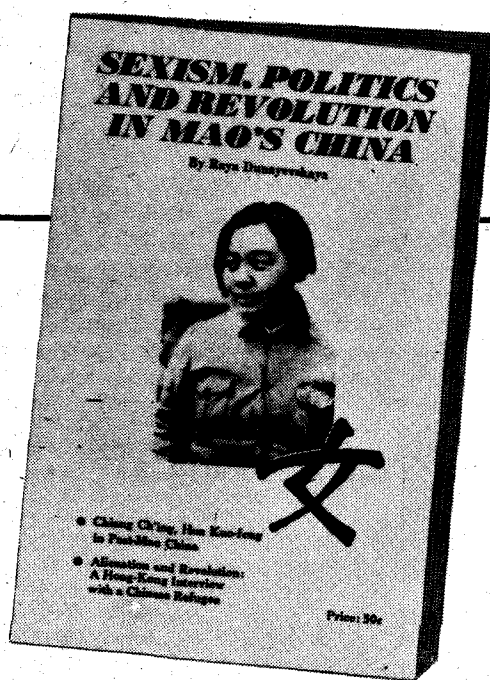
(7) See Ernest Mandel's Introduction to the new English (Pelican Marx Library) edition of Marx's *Capital*, as well as his analysis "A Hesitant, Uneven, and Inflationary Upturn" in *Intercontinental Press*, 11-29-76.

Just off the press! *Sexism, Politics and Revolution in Mao's China*

By Raya Dunayevskaya

- Chiang Ch'ing, Hua Kuo-Feng in Post-Mao China
- Alienation and Revolution: A Hong-Kong Interview with a Chinese Refugee

Price: 50¢ (plus 15¢ postage)
Order from: News & Letters
1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, MI 48207



DRAFT PERSPECTIVES THESIS, 1977-1978



Students show their rage as police shoot tear gas at mourners leaving a church in Soweto in June.

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wrote, "The point is that, even if one didn't wish to accept our analysis of state-capitalism as the total contradiction, absolute antagonism in which is concentrated nothing short of revolution, and counter-revolution, one would have to admit that the totality of the contradictions compels a total philosophic outlook . . . Therein is the genius of Marx who, though he wrote during a free enterprise, private property, competitive capitalist era, saw that, instead of plan vs. market chaos being the absolute opposites, the chaos in the market was, in fact, the expression of the hierarchic, despotic plan of capital at the point of production. 'Materialism' without dialectics is 'idealism', bourgeois idealism of the state-capitalist age."⁸

Such Marxist revisionism, like anarchist total rejection, not just of "vanguardism", but of all organizational forms (See Part III), can only make room for outright retrogression that has yet to complete any of the revolts and near revolutions that have spontaneously arisen in the movement from practice these past two decades.

II. Political Crises (Sino-Soviet Conflict included) in Our Age of State-Capitalism

The Plenum Call, in recalling past Middle East crises and wars, including the critique of the UN Resolution "Zionism is Racism", pointed to the tentacles of U.S. imperialism globally:

Take but a single paragraph from our very first critique of the UN Resolution on "Zionism is Racism" and you will see what the REB had in mind for opening the discussion as of today on the question of the totalitarian agency proposed for Energy and how that relates U.S. imperialism's hand from the Middle East to Africa:

"In fact, detente or no detente, B1 bomber or no B1 bomber, does not mean the U.S. will stop its imperialist drive. Or that the U.S.'s imperial hand will not be present in Angola. Or that it has forgotten the Arab Mideast oil, or Israel. In this, the over-riding goal of U.S. imperialism, whether it acts 'for' Israel and threatens Mideast oil kingdoms with invasion, or the opposite, 'capitulates' to them and pressures Israel into concessions, is but one thing. It has no intention whatever of letting the world's main energy source run out of total control of American oil companies."

With that in mind, it is necessary to take a second look at the latest and most volatile spark to yet another Middle East war that the electoral victory of the extreme-right Likud produced. Nothing more reactionary has occurred in Israel, then called Palestine, since the Likud leader, Menahem Begin, led his terrorist organization, then called Irgun, into the perpetration of an Arab massacre in Deir Yassin. Just as the genuine Jewish revolutionaries, then fighting for independence from British imperialism, considered Begin a racist counter-revolutionary (though both were fighting Britain for a new homeland for the Jews),

(8) "Today's Global Crises, Marx's Capital, and the Marxist Epigones Who Try to Truncate It and the Understanding of Today's Crises" (The Political-Philosophic Letters of Raya Dunayevskaya, No. 9-10, Dec. 15-30, 1976). This, as well as the Special Editorial, "Carter Recreates Sedative for Nuclear Proliferation and Economic Crises," (News & Letters, June, 1977), are considered integral to the Perspectives, 1977-78.

so now the Jewish masses must fight him to the end.

No illusions can be entertained such as are now being fed by the daily press, that supposedly power will soften the Likud's aims to prepare Israel for another holocaust. With sober senses, the truth must be faced:

Nothing could better have fed the most extreme factions in the PLO that oppose Israel's very right to exist than Likud's victory. And nothing could have been thought up by the most rabid anti-Semites that would have been more provocative than Begin's appearance at the ultra-rightist Camp Kadum in the Israeli-occupied West Bank of Jordan, near Nabulus, the very place where most militant Palestinian anti-Israeli demonstrations have taken place. If that was Menahem Begin's very first action as soon as he smelled victory, what can he have in store for the Israeli masses other than war?

Since the fratricidal Lebanese war, nothing so heated up the volatile situation as that extremist victory in Israel which showed that state-capitalism there, as everywhere, has as little use for its laboring masses as for the Palestinian masses. The retrogression is on every front, from attitude and preparations for war over occupied territories to the backwardness in attitude to women and education. At the same time, the U.S. is looking at the Arab potentates to see if they could not as well protect "Western" rights in the Middle East. It brings the situation as close to war as it has been since 1973.

There are already signs of restlessness in labor, especially rank-and-file, since Menahem Begin is as anti-labor toward Jewish workers as he is politically and globally reactionary towards the Palestinians. Here too, however, the U.S. is sure to play its most reactionary role. **In the erratic tilting back and forth ever since the 1973 war — made even more ambivalent with Carter's speaking out of both sides of his mouth when he meets Arab potentates and when he meets Menahem Begin — there is only one thing that is clear, and that is that U.S. imperialism's aims come first and last, with no in-between.**

No one can possibly know when the final confrontation, the nuclear holocaust between the two superpowers — U.S. and Russia — for single world control, will explode. One look at the latest, tiny, decolonized country — the Republic of Djibouti — and one can easily see that, even before the new independence flag was raised, not only were the countries in the immediate region



— Ethiopia, Somalia — looking hungrily at it, but the super-powers as well. Russia, in this case, was ready to align with the most reactionary military regime in Ethiopia to have a foothold from where it can meet both the challenge of Arab potentates and the beady eyes of the U.S. and Western imperialism. In a word, even the little value of Djibouti's "national economy" is disregarded as the strategic geography is looked at for control of the Red Sea.

Gone are the mid-1950s and early 1960s when Western Europe deluded itself that with its economic growth in that decade, it could outdistance the U.S. Gone is Mao's China's illusion that the superstructure (especially his Little Red Book) is superior to any new weaponry.

For that matter, gone also is Russia's delusion that because it is catching up with the U.S. in military might, it can make that be the economic superpower U.S. alone has. By now, so wobbly is the foundation of global capitalism that the global titan itself, U.S. capitalist imperialism, has to fight for its life against its own masses, Black especially. **The ideologues themselves have begun substituting "balance of weaknesses" for "balance of terror", which was supposed to be what will keep us from the final holocaust.**

The serious capitalist ideologues know that it is impossible indefinitely to "stabilize" the shaky system as the two nuclear giants keep girding for the final holocaust, and the North-South "imbalance" finds no "adjustment." That message came through loud and clear from the latest inconclusive conference between the industrially developed countries and those technologically less developed lands. Which is why not only U.S. "diplomats" who worked for detente with Russia, but West Europe (especially West Germany) is trying to prod the Carter Administration not to be so "naive" as to let the crucial detente with Russia come unglued over some abstract "human rights" issue when everybody knows that there is no lack of violation of human rights in each of their own domains, the U.S.'s most of all as it collaborates most profitably with all counter-revolutionary regimes, from Chile to South Africa.

Even so totalitarian a regime as Russia can ask — and this time be listened to because that is a question it is correct on — "How can one pose as a champion of human rights and at the same time brandish the neutron bomb that threatens the lives of millions of people . . . (What) revolts the reason and conscience of mankind must evoke a feeling of delight among the 'lovers of man' in Washington."

Naturally, the fact that Russia calls itself Communist cannot possibly eliminate its own class, state-capitalist class, nature, either in its exploitation of its own proletariat, or in the many crises that beset it as it competes with "the West," which now includes Japan as honorary member. But that is not what prompts Western Europe to prod the U.S. to cool off on the question of "human rights." Quite the contrary. What worries them is fear of revolution in their own countries; none has ever forgotten Paris, May 1968. Because that is so, they are trying to buy

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News & Letters

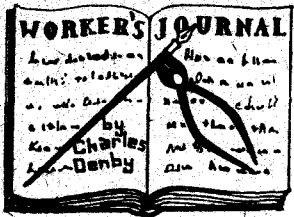
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Congressman Diggs and corruption

by Charles Denby, Editor

The papers exposing the plight of Black Detroit Congressman Charles Diggs, Jr., have been saying he is broke and in debt. The Black community has not been too concerned about it, although some Black leaders have come to his support.

About 15 or 20 years ago, his father said that the Diggs organization, which was a number of funeral establishments, was worth one-and-half million dollars. The community is asking how Congressman Diggs could throw away in such a short time, all the wealth that his father had accumulated and left him.

The Black community says there is so much corruption in Washington, from the highest office to the lowest, that absolutely nothing has been resolved about the Achilles heel of American capitalism — *Talibus*. This is the reason why some Black leaders, though well aware of Diggs' high living, have come to his defense.

BLACK AND WHITE CORRUPTION

Congressman Diggs supposedly doubled the salaries of his staff, and they in turn turned over their raises to him to pay off his debts. But as one Black said, some of the white congressmen are hiring women who cannot even type and putting them on their staff just for sexual purposes.

The truth of the matter is Congressman Diggs would never have gotten elected to Congress if it wasn't for the Black vote and his father's reputation. The UAW leadership tried to defeat Diggs, but the Black community was solidly behind him. After the UAW could not beat him, they got together with him.

The whole decade of the 1960s, which saw so much bloodshed as the masses tried to uproot this racist, capitalist society, got the powers so scared that they thought they better allow some Black voices to be heard. They were so scared, even the Ku Klux Klan didn't appear as openly as they do now.

Even back in the 1940s, when Diggs, Sr. first became rich, he surely knew enough of the masses and their suffering and their revolts — especially in 1943 — and workers' mass strikes directly after World War II ended, that he did try to maintain some relationship to the Black community.

DIGGS, JR. IGNORES MASSES

On the other hand, Diggs, Jr., since he has gone to Washington and begun speaking for and representing the big corporations, has so far removed himself from the Black community and the mass movement that made it possible for Blacks to get to Congress, that he has accumulated and cheated a million dollars worth. This is chicken feed to other millionaires, but not to the unemployed, or the employed on or off relief who wonder what has happened and where did he spend that million.

Meanwhile, President Carter says that rich women
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NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1977

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Page 3

Blackout illuminates the crisis of New York's poor and unemployed

by Kevin A. Barry

At 9:34 p.m. on a hot July night, New York experienced a total electric blackout. Con Edison, which had just stated that a repeat of the 1965 blackout was "impossible", claimed that its Indian Point Plant was "struck by lightning".

All over the city the lights and burglar alarms and electronic locks went out, and within seconds, thousands of Black and Latino youth were racing through the four major ghettos of Bedford-Stuyvesant, the South Bronx, Jamaica, and Harlem—as well as more "downtown" areas such as Times Square and the upper West Side. In Times Square someone shouted "we're all Black now" as they headed for the stores.

LIGHTNING STRIKES TWICE

If the blackout showed the limits of American technological organization (the Indian Point facility also houses Con Ed's supposedly "safe" nuclear power plant), the massive social eruption by Blacks and Latinos which followed showed that the poor and unemployed can also "strike like lightning" at the far more vulnerable social fabric of American society.

In the ghettos, the youths, followed by the entire community, made the streets and the racist rip-off businesses their own. They dubbed it "Christmas in July" as they smashed into the stores and took what they needed.

Shoe stores were a frequent target and many were completely cleaned out. A Brooklyn store owner who wasn't hit, nevertheless complained later that there was no business because "everybody's wearing new shoes". Places like the audio centers, "Crazy Eddie's" and "Leo's Sound Room," which advertise heavily over WBLS ("stereo in Black") to audiences, few of whom can afford their merchandise, were special targets in the Bronx, as was a car dealer.

On upper Broadway and in the Bronx, banks were smashed, possibly because they have become a symbol of the red-lining and cutbacks in social services and



jobs which have been termed the New York "fiscal crisis". The banks, which are now openly running the city and telling the elected politicians what to do, saw their outposts in the ghettos come under attack, including one very near to the CCNY campus.

All kinds of stores were hit in spontaneous, yet in many cases, highly organized and orderly fashion. Sometimes tow trucks were used to pull down the burglar gates, and there were often lines, just like at a sale. Stores selling TV's, furniture, clothing, and food were the major targets. Sometimes there were so many involved that the cops just stood and watched. In other more middle-class areas such as the upper West Side, a child would often keep lookout while parents or older youths would do some "shopping".

POR QUE?

The Spanish-language *El Diario* ran the headline "Por Que" (Why?) the next day and stressed the high
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Time is running out . . . an urgent appeal!

The Carter Administration's insanity of daring to matter-of-factly test death-ray weapons and neutron bombs must be stopped by the widest possible activity — demonstrations, exposes, analyses and mass protests must challenge and uproot the barbarism of this racist, sexist, exploitative society.

Toward this end, we are appealing to you for two things at the same time. We again publish the Draft Perspectives Thesis for our coming national gathering directly in the pages of our paper . . . which still remains to be done by any other organization. By doing so, we are asking you to join in an urgent discussion with us between now and Labor Day, when we meet to concretely work out our tasks for the coming year.

Secondly, but most important, without your aid we cannot financially carry out these tasks. We are therefore asking you to join us in raising the funds we must have to expand our work and see to it that the time that is running out is for capitalism, and not for humanity. The barest minimum we need for a **SUSTAINING-ORGANIZING-PUBLISHING** fund is \$15,000.

All our work is voluntary. We have no paid functionaries. The funds are demanded by our organizational work and includes paying for printing our paper and our projected pamphlets, for rent, for postage, for supplies. Here are our immediate tasks:

- To join with the activity of the elemental Black revolt upsurging from Soweto to New York City, we propose to publish a new pamphlet, **Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought**, by April, 1978.

- Along with our work in the Women's Liberation Movement and our continuing activities with working women, from the ARA here to the domestic workers in Portugal, we have just published **Sexism, Politics and Revolution in Mao's China**, which we want to distribute widely, as a contribution to the ongoing international discussion on women's liberation.

- In keeping with our activities with rank and file workers at the shop level, we plan to issue a joint British-American pamphlet on **Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crises**, to reaffirm the continuity with Marx's Humanism against the vulgarity of that vision by today's vanguardists.

- The new editions of **Philosophy and Revolution** in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, German and Japanese are an expression of a deepening world view that a growing number of others share with us. As one more expression of our international solidarity with the revolt against U.S. imperialism's oppression of Latin America, both here and abroad, we want to issue a **bi-lingual pamphlet** that will carry both the voices from below and the philosophy of liberation that unites all the struggles for a new world.

We ask you to contribute as much as you can to the 1977-78 News and Letters **SUSTAINING-ORGANIZING-PUBLISHING FUND**. Please fill out the form below to let us know how much you will contribute now or will pledge to be paid by Dec. 31, 1977.

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I pledge \$..... toward the 1977-78 Fund. I enclose \$..... toward the 1977-78 Fund.

NAME ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

Filipina nurses' trial—showcase for U.S. racist 'justice'



Leonora Perez and Filipina Narciso.

Detroit, Mich.—More than 300 supporters of Filipina nurses Leonora Perez and Filipina Narciso gathered outside the Federal Courthouse on July 13 to await the outcome of their trial. Disbelief and shock immediately turned into angry protest as a nine-woman, three-man jury handed down a guilty verdict, having decided on the flimsiest evidence that Ms. Perez and Ms. Narciso were responsible for several breathing-failure deaths in 1975 at a Veteran's Administration hospital in Ann Arbor, Mich.

Rampant racism has been a part of the case since the death of the patients over a year ago. A former VA patient had stated last year he believed there was a nation-wide conspiracy of 1,800 Filipina nurses to kill patients. In Detroit, after the verdict was announced, two patients in two different hospitals refused medication from Filipina nurses.

But there has also been a spontaneous and widespread wave of support for the nurses. On July 17, 800 people, at least half of them Filipino, gathered in front of the Ann Arbor VA hospital to demand justice. Many on the VA hospital staff have resigned in protest of the verdict and the hospital administration's complicity in persecuting Ms. Narciso and Ms. Perez.

On July 27, over 600 people—many of them Filipina nurses—demonstrated their support in downtown Detroit. One of the speakers at the rally, Bill Loesch, a former VA patient whom the nurses were convicted of poisoning, said that the nurses were innocent, and in fact had saved his life.

At a meeting of Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees in Detroit, a spokeswoman for the Philippine Nurses Association of Michigan spoke about

Carter's anti-abortion stance hits poor and minority women

Los Angeles, Cal.—The recent Supreme Court decision against federal funding for abortions, with Carter's approval, has been a racist decision from the beginning to end, and as a Black woman, I would like to speak on the issue. When the abortion-funding issue is anti-poor, it is anti-minority—against those who are on the bottom rung of this incredibly unequal ladder of society.

There is no doubt that abortion is a reality that cannot be ignored or "outlawed." But the recent actions of the Supreme Court, Congress, and President Carter have tried to do just that — outlaw abortion for Black, Brown, Indian and poor white women.

The lack of funds for decent abortions is, to my mind, even worse than forced sterilization. Forced sterilization means the prevention of any future children. But what happens when there are no funds for decent abortions? What about a mother with lots of mouths to feed — who is on welfare, or has an income so low that it is not noticeable? What if she has another child on the way?

Believe me, she will do anything in her power to prevent this child from coming into the world, even if it's at the risk of her own life — which is highly probable when future mothers will try to self-abort! This means not only the death of children, but the death of mothers and children. The idea is horrendous, but it is surely a fact.

And this fact does not effect only a few, as many daily newspapers are trying to say. This issue is universal. On April 3 of last year, 100,000 Italian women marched for the right to safe abortions and for a "life worth living."

The greatness of their thought and action showed us the deadly contradiction of the anti-abortion law where "the unborn are protected — the living are exploited." The call for a "life worth living" transforms the issue of abortion into a multi-dimensional drive for a human society — for decent housing, a different way of working, new human relations.

I'm speaking about a certain part of humanity, women — in particular, Black women — fighting for a "life worth living." We will rebel against Carter, the Congress, and Supreme Court in their racist activities which treat women as objects to be manipulated. We are not objects and will show that to the Carters of this world.

the verdict and the need for public support for the nurses:

"I'm here speaking not only because I'm a Filipina and a nurse myself—I'm speaking for human rights. What is the effect of this verdict on human rights? This blaming of deaths can happen to any hospital worker who was the last one at the patient's bedside.

"The nurses will appeal for a new trial. It is unlikely to be approved, but with public support, we have a chance. We have heard from support groups everywhere—Chicago, New York, California, Pennsylvania—despite the limited news coverage outside Michigan.

"The Michigan Nurses Association is requesting a Congressional investigation. There are plans for a nationwide rally to let the court know that not only are Filipinos concerned, but the general American public. There has also been a follow-up on the case internationally—in several UN conferences and in nursing groups' conferences."

Your support is the only way Ms. Perez and Ms. Narciso will get justice. For more information write to the Philippine Nurses Association (PNA), Room 316, Fisher Building, Detroit, Mich. 48202.

—Detroit Women's Liberation-N&L

Right-wing packs IWY meetings

Hawaii

Kauai, Hawaii—On Friday, July 8, 14 school buses, cars, and vans brought 1,700 Mormon women and men to the Hawaii International Women's Year conference. By 6:30 a.m. on Saturday, the entire auditorium was filled with Mormons, and the Mormon men and the police were refusing to let anyone else in because of fire regulations.

The Mormon women were not sent by their men; they were brought by them. Evidently the men could not trust the women to vote as directed, so a number of them accompanied the women — to signal them when to stand up, when to remain seated, when to raise their hands and when to keep them folded.

The women sat patiently through the opening meeting, watching the men and obeying their hand signals. The strategy of the men at that session was to disrupt the preliminary business of setting up the rules for running the meeting.

I asked one of the women why they were voting against things that had nothing to do with philosophy or policy, and she said, "I don't know." But she continued voting as she was directed to. I have labelled these women zombies because they seemed to be there in body only.

When the votes were counted on Sunday, the advocates of women's rights were outvoted on all resolutions. During the voting, men stood beside women, pointing to those names for whom they should vote.

Even if the conference had gone as planned, it would not have been representative of the women of Hawaii. There were thousands of Japanese women and women of other ethnic groups who could not attend because their husbands would not allow them to, and many of them do not speak English. In order for the conference to have been representative in Hawaii, it would have had to be conducted in English, Japanese and at least two Filipino dialects.

— Maggi Soleil

Montana

Missoula, Mont. — Montana's International Women's Year statewide meeting took place July 8-10 in Helena. At least here in western Montana, it was predictably organized by and spoke only to white, middle-class women.

When I arrived, I found there were 1,000 people registered, including 300 men. About 800 of them had been organized by the conservatives (Mormon Church, John Birch Society, "Right to Life" etc.). They came with sheets telling them what to say, how to vote and who to vote for.

Leaders, many male, with walkie-talkies, told them where to sit, what workshops to attend, and to yield their chairs and microphones to their leaders. In workshops, chairpersons were elected by majority vote and those with opposing viewpoints were sometimes not permitted to speak, or were shouted down.

There were 250 of us who knew that if we continued to remain in the meeting, we would never make our voices heard. We staged a spontaneous walk-out on Friday, the first day of the three-day conference. From 10 p.m. Friday to 9 a.m. Saturday, we organized an entirely separate conference where all voices would be heard.

Women from the original IWY organizing committee asked that the group return. The vote to return passed, and Saturday afternoon many women returned to try once again to speak. They walked out again Saturday night, and the two Native American women who had managed to get token elections as alternate delegates withdrew their names.

I feel good only because that power that people have when they take self-determination for themselves will be an experience and reality the women who participated in the alternate conference will never forget.

— B.B.



women- worldwide

The October and November, 1976 issues of the British feminist magazine, *Spare Rib*, containing a "letter from a South African Sister" in support of Soweto youth, and an article on Asian reaction to racism in Britain, have been banned in South Africa.

Four members of the Westside Mothers Welfare Rights Organization in Detroit have won their suit in federal court to stop public school officials from disciplining students by denying them liquids and federally-funded hot school lunches.

A director of the U.S. Agency of International Development reported that the U.S. is seeking the means to sterilize one-fourth of the world's fertile women to protect U.S. commercial interests in the countries of Latin America and in Puerto Rico. He said that scarcity caused by overpopulation could lead to revolution in those countries.

Feminists in Japan were disheartened by results of the nation-wide Parliamentary elections of July 10, in which not one member of the Japan Women's Party was elected. It was seen as an attack on the women's movement and a reflection of deeply-rooted male chauvinism in Japan's social and political customs.

Several hundred gay men and women, joined by feminists and members of an anti-repression collective, demonstrated in Paris, June 25, in solidarity with American homosexuals and against Anita Bryant.

Women as source of ideas can overcome right offensive

by Ann Molly Jackson

The state conferences for the national International Women's Year convention to be held this fall, sponsored by the federal government and intended as vehicles for women in Democratic Party politics, have suddenly become battlefields between feminists and reactionaries.

An increasingly well-organized right-wing movement — against the right to abortion, against the Equal Rights Amendment for women, and against equality for gays — has seized the occasions to attack the women's movement. As a result, the IWY conferences have had trouble passing the most basic resolutions and electing women's movement delegates for the national convention.

In Mississippi, five actual Nazis (male) were elected among the state's delegates. In Florida, there was such fighting and chaos that not one resolution could be passed or delegate elected. In Utah, out of 14,000 delegates (2,000 were expected), 12,000 were Mormons and voted the Church's anti-ERA, anti-abortion "principles."

In New York, 13,000 women came to the IWY conference in July, even though it was held in Albany, far from New York City, and only a paltry number of scholarships for expenses were given out. Around 3,000 delegates were right-wingers, but there were also many unaffiliated women who had never been to a women's event before.

A busload arrived from Chinatown in NYC. Many working class women came, some from the Congress of Neighborhood Women, and many others who came on their own. A minority coalition, spearheaded by Latina women, was attempted. A large number of women in their sixties and seventies were there, as well as women from every corner of the state.

Due to the structure and purpose of the conference, the workshops as well as ballot boxes were battlegrounds for voting resolutions, so the best talks about what really mattered to people were the individual discussions held while waiting in line to vote — for six to eight hours! (The planners had expected only 3,000 to attend.)

The IWY conferences have shown that the right-wing is extremely dangerous in its attack on the women's movement. But to me the critical aspect is not which side can win at playing bourgeois party politics, but the lost opportunities to transform the massive gatherings of women into sources of new ideas for the women's movement.

The huge turnout, at least in New York, means that women have not given up hope and are still fighting, in spite of the fact that after ten years, things are as bad or worse than ever for the majority of women, especially Black and working women.

I do not mean that enlistment in IWY conferences is all that's needed to change our lives for the better. If there is one thing we should learn from the fact that women are clamoring to meet together, it is that they have a passion for philosophy and a vision of total change in the way we live which cannot be stilled.

If you have a story, or want to contact News & Letters Women's Liberation Committees in San Francisco, Detroit, Los Angeles or New York, write to the addresses in the box on page 5.

Legal bureaucracy can't use truthful auto worker

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

I've been a working man all my life, a lot of that time in the shop. But recently I got the chance to see another part of this bureaucratic monster at work when I got called for jury duty for a month.

Picking a jury seemed like assembling a car. One lawyer was trying to build a Chevrolet, while the other was trying to build a Pontiac. So they inspect the jurors to see whether they are a part which fits their car. I must have been a Buick to them both, as I didn't sit on a jury during the whole month. I think it was because I insisted on telling the truth each time I was interviewed.

The defense and prosecution attorneys use their game plan to eliminate anyone who might go against them for any reason. The judge is there to make sure that everything goes according to the rules of his or her court. Basically this whole game of the judge and the attorneys is to make the jury come up with one of only two choices — convict or acquit — all according to the rules.

I couldn't see any value in it. It is not the jury system I am opposed to, but the tremendous waste of life and material going into huge court buildings, lawyers, judges, bailiffs and everything else. All of this is set up to judge whether or not a worker broke a

rule of this society.

How can you make such a decision if you really don't know what this society is about, if you don't see that it is the workers who built this courthouse with their surplus value taken from them in the form of taxes. But that same worker ends up breaking some rule that has been set, and finds that all the value he has produced is used against him. The jailhouse becomes the dead end for workers.

Those who serve on the jury also get trapped in this game. A Black woman was trying to explain to the judge that she didn't mind sitting on the jury if she did not become jury foreman. The judge kept questioning her and she kept saying, "I have to be me."

A production worker was trying to explain to the judge that his jury duty was up in three more days, and he had called his foreman who told him to be back at work. The prosecuting attorney kept saying "the company won't mind." The worker kept saying his job would be in jeopardy. The lawyer couldn't see that there is a difference between wage labor and a salary.

I have done my "patriotic" duty and served my 30 days. But I don't feel very patriotic in sitting in on society's games which come off the sweat of my fellow workers. I can see that we have to replace this system with a new one where these games can't be played.

Fires in steel wool plant are ignored by bosses, union, OSHA

Chicago, Ill.—At James H. Rhodes where I work, you could get hurt very easily. They make steel wool and it burns because of the oil on it. As it comes out of the machine, if there is a little nick in the knife or the wire it catches on fire.

You have to run over with a hose and four people have to get out of the way at the same time. If a garbage can catches on fire, there is only one way to get out. There are about three fires a day.

The last place the company had burned down. Once the whole front part of the building caught on fire. They did not call the fire department even though there were boxes of steel wool there.

The union, an AFL-CIO local, doesn't do anything. The union steward is a guy who's been there for 20 years and wants to keep it that way.

One worker I know was running the machine with the foreman standing there. Something happened to the machine and the worker turned it off. The foreman was looking right at where the machine was broken, but he ordered this guy to go ahead and run it. The worker

ran it and then was fired.

The union steward never went to the office with the worker until after he was written up. Then it is too late because it's already in writing in your file.

I got a skin rash all up my arm from the oil and didn't get any medication.

When you go on break the supervisor, Pat Callaghan, is always around. He wants to make sure he hears what anybody says about him. He even brought in a guy with a stop watch to time people on their 15-minute break.

I think the company owns the people from the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). If they are walking around and see a fire start, they don't say anything. But the minute a worker takes off his glasses or something, they are right there saying he did something wrong. If your heels are over an inch high, that's something they complain about. If you're wearing any jewelry, they tell you about it. You get three chances and then you're fired. For all this we get \$3.28 an hour to start, and after six months a whole \$3.68.

— Rhodes worker, day shift



Auto plant heat sparks walkouts

by John Allison

(I gladly turn my column over this month to a Chrysler worker involved in recent heat walkouts.)

Chrysler plants all over Detroit — Lynch Road, Dodge Truck, Chrysler Jefferson—shut down when we refused to work in unbearable heat during July.

At the Lynch Road assembly plant, Chrysler retaliated to a walkout on July 6 by firing three workers. One of those fired was on his job at the time of the walkout, when a foreman approached him and took down his badge number. They discharged him by telegram, simply on the basis of having his number.

When the Lynch Road workers found out about the disciplines, they wildcatted again, over that as well as the heat. (See From the Auto Shops.) Lynch Road Local 51 vacillated between backing the workers and ordering them back to work while negotiations proceed.

Dodge Truck workers saw no show of support from Local 140 after two shifts walked out five times. When all the motor station workers on the afternoon shift stayed home one hot day the company notified their committeeman that he would be disciplined if that ever happened again.

This was some kind of attempt by Chrysler to bring the union reps and rank-and-file closer in order to get us to listen to our reps and do as they say. But we had already walked out several times in hot weather, and the plant bargaining committee allowed the company to offer to install ice machines and to cancel the ninth hour of work on hot days.

As far as we're concerned at Dodge Truck, if Chrysler is so nice, why don't they drop the disciplines — a dozen firings and 400 written disciplinary warnings — and settle all the hundreds of outstanding grievances?

When we left work early this month, people talked about the other poor conditions which need attention also. For instance, a chassis line worker told me the foreman needed two new people to fill every job vacated by workers who walked out because the speedup is so bad.

There probably isn't a worker in Detroit who didn't hear and talk about the Ford worker who died of heat stroke. On the other hand, on the last hot day we had, Dodge Truck plant manager Kahle personally supervised the free distribution of ice cream to the workers to keep people from leaving. Many workers were outraged and everyone was insulted at this. For many of us, it was the first time we had gotten any kind of response from management.

Heat impossible at Uniroyal

Detroit, Mich. — Here at Uniroyal we have just had our vacation-maintenance shutdown during the middle two weeks of July, and it's a good thing it came with the heat wave. It becomes almost impossible to work in that kind of heat, but the company doesn't care — you still have to make the same production as always.

Before the maintenance shutdown it was so terrible that in some departments the fire alarms and sprinklers even went off.

I heard that a young worker died from the heat over at Ford a few weeks ago, and I'm just wondering how long it'll be before that sort of thing happens at Uniroyal. The tension has really been high this summer and everyone is on edge from the pressure. One day seems like forever, and it's hard to get up the energy to do anything at all.

This is the worst summer in a long time, and the company just doesn't care about what it's like for us to work in this suffocating heat. The management all have air-conditioned offices. Nobody should have to put up with working in that heat.

— Uniroyal worker

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — We worked ten hours at Fleetwood on the hottest day of the summer. The plant was running out production before changeover, so we had no limit on hours under the "voluntary" overtime part of the contract. Working in that heat was inhuman, especially in the paint shop. All the company did to improve conditions was to offer free drinks off the lunch wagon.

On other hot days, so many workers stayed off the job that the company had to shut down production after four hours. The day it was 102 degrees, the company got some workers from the day shift to work a double shift and kept production going all ten hours.

As far as a walkout goes, many workers remember the firings after last year's walkout. Ten workers still haven't got back on the job. But on that last hot day, if we had stayed away, there would not have been production.

— Second shift worker

Lynch Road

Detroit, Mich. — With the temperature outside reaching over 100° in the last few weeks, the temperature in our Chrysler Lynch Road plant reached nearly 130° in some areas. There is no ventilation and very few fans. The only relief is a cheap sweatband. Chrysler offered no relief in the heat; so the workers made their own and walked out eight times in the last three weeks.

The company didn't respond with more fans, but with firings. On July 15 three workers were fired by telegram in their own homes, with no union representation. In response to these firings, the shop committee held a rally July 20 in the union hall. The hall was packed with workers from both shifts, determined to force Chrysler to back down.

That evening the afternoon shift shut the plant down! The next day the day shift stayed out and the afternoon shift walked out at lunch. In the evening the workers stayed out and picketed the plant. The police riot squad was called in to keep things cool.

Lynch Road UAW Local 51 asked the two shifts

to return to work beginning with the day shift on July 22, and said they would negotiate the reinstatement of the fired workers. We returned to work and the local is negotiating. If the three workers are not reinstated we may walk out again.

These walkouts are very significant. Lynch Road hasn't been shut down by a walkout since the '60s; so the walkout itself was a show of militancy. We let Chrysler know they can only push us so far. The walkouts were also a sign of unity and strength, something long overdue at Lynch Road, something that needs to be developed much more.

There are bound to be more 95 degree days this summer. If Chrysler refuses to install more fans, give longer reliefs and slow down the line in the heat, then once again "Enough is Enough!"

— "Diver Dan", Lynch Road worker

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — A few weeks ago, the company started a weekly contest, the Customer Acceptance Audit Contest. The department that builds jobs with the fewest mistakes in a week wins. There is one giant scoreboard each in Compact and Main Buildings with the rankings of the departments in the contest.

When the foreman gave one worker the company's leaflet announcing the contest, he said not to read it until she left the area. When the worker snatched it from him and read it, she told him, "You got to be kidding!" The prize for everyone in the winning department is a hamburger and a coke!

The contest is insulting because this is how they expect us to bust our asses more than we already do. Half the factory are Black workers. So I find this, contest particularly insulting to Blacks. It's like telling you, "be good n - - - rs and do a good job, and we'll give you your hamburger and coke for lunch." It's not even a cheeseburger.

This place is run just like a plantation system. Our foreman is the overseer. I ain't going in for any of this "Massa Cain" stuff.

— Black worker, Main Building

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

DETROIT: 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207 (259-0404)

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

LOS ANGELES: PO Box 29194, Los Angeles, Calif. 90029

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

CHICAGO: PO Box 11865, Chicago, IL 60611

FLINT: PO Box 3384, Flint, Mich. 48502

Readers' Views

TIME RUNNING OUT

The neutron bomb is just one small aspect of the total barbarity of disintegrating capitalism. I personally am scared stiff of the maniacs who hold the power in today's world, and who, in my opinion, quite seriously and soberly think in terms of obliterating civilization. There has never been a weapon developed in history that hasn't eventually been used.

Bob Potter
England

At our last union meeting there was discussion on the neutron bomb. A young white worker spoke in favor of the bomb for defense. As soon as he was finished, other workers, both men and women, hit the floor. All were saying that the bomb would be used against workers in Europe, England and in this country. People saw the government being willing to use it against unemployed, those on welfare and others. The motion made and passed at our meeting was for the UAW International to bring pressure on President Carter to stop development of this bomb.

Auto Worker, Local 216
Los Angeles

The anti-nuclear protests are truly international. But you have to dig to find out. Buried on the obituary page of the *New York Times* on July 16 was a tiny item about a demonstration of over 150,000 in Bilbao, the Basque capital in Spain, protesting plans to build a nuclear plant in neighboring Navarre Province and demanding the ouster of all municipal and provincial officials who gave the green light to the project. For this, the world's biggest anti-nuclear protest ever, the tiny headline read "Large Crowd Protests."

Activist
New York

We are holding our 15th International Anti-War Assembly on August 7 (Hiroshima Day) at six main cities in Japan. An endless, fierce armaments race is on between imperialists in power, headed by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet or Chinese stalinist bureaucrats, and they involve people all over the world in war crises.

We concretely fight against: 1) acquisition of new armaments, such as a sub-spotting plane and fighter from the U.S.; 2) reorganization of the Self-Defense Force of Japan into an imperialistic force; 3) Japanese assistance in modernizing the Korean force; and 4) production and export of arms by the munitions monopoly of Japan.

We have also fought for the abolition of all military bases in Japan. The U.S. is withdrawing troops from Korea according to their new world strategy. To compensate for it, some troops to control nuclear bombs are to be newly stationed in the U.S. military bases in Japan.

Let us fight against both imperialist and stalinist war policies, strengthen our international solidarity, revive proletarian internationalism!

Kakumaru-Ha, Zengakuren, and
Anti-War Youth Committee
Tokyo, Japan

I think the reason the government won't pay for abortions for the poor is because they need a new crop of cannon-fodder for the next war.

Angry Black
Bay Area

When the lights went out in the black-out, all I could think about was that New York City would look like this after the neutron bomb fell.

When I got home I cried about the destruction of the world, which I hadn't done in more than 15 years, since I was a young ban-the-bomber. I remembered growing up with constant thoughts of nuclear war, air raid drills at school

where we sat in the halls with sweaters over our heads. We were the first generation to live our whole lives so close to total extinction of the human race.

Born in 1945
New York

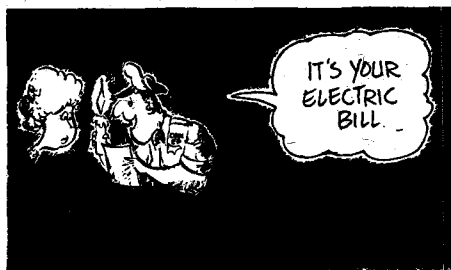
Carter told us at his press conference that he doesn't consider it his business to eliminate the vast difference between the rich and the poor, but the next day the poor Blacks and Latinos in New York made it clear they were willing to tackle the job.

Observer
Detroit

The total gulf between two different worlds was never better demonstrated than by President Carter's talking about a "humane bomb" that only kills people, but leaves commodities intact, and the Blacks and Latino masses in New York who only appropriated commodities, but injured nobody.

Observer
Los Angeles

THE BLACK-OUT



The day of the black-out, I received a \$40 bill for one month's electric and gas for a three-room apartment. And now Con Ed is asking for a rate increase, hinting at future black-outs if it's denied. I'm not surprised all those unemployed youth expropriated goods during the darkness; I'm just surprised more of the "working poor" didn't join them.

Supporter
New Yorker

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

I've read your *Marxism and Freedom* and found it an inspiration and guidance, especially the aspect that treats people as if we/they are capable of all kinds of changes—ordinary working people.

New Reader
Saskatchewan, Canada

I am a Black prisoner, though all minorities here speak of themselves as Bronzemen first, revolutionaries second, and their race last. In fact, we are one race, tribally united as Indian, Black, Chicano, Korean, and more to come. We are for the political and social advance of all Bronzemen and poor whites. We are seeking to expand our Bronze concept to the "free" society and to select our officers and secretaries from them. Could you print a notice that our "Bronzeman Federation" seeks interested parties to contact us for further information? We (nearly 30) constitute a revolutionary studies group... and we believe in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution as it was originally.

Prisoner
Kansas

Ed. note: Readers interested can write Bronzeman Federation c/o News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, MI 48207.

Michael Connolly's lead article last issue provides only a top-down view of the situation. He describes the company, the government, the company-union. All radical publications have ignored the opposition to the Reserve Mining Company. In the year of revolt, 1968, the "Save Lake Superior Association" was founded. I participated with them in street-demonstrations, pickets, protests which finally forced the government to take the company to court. During the endless litigations, which are not over yet, there were a number of militant protests, in-

cluding some by young scientists of the National Water Quality laboratory in Duluth. About a year ago, a campaign of civil-disobedience began. Scores of people refused to pay their water-bills, etc. There has been a lot of intimidation and a lot of public outrage to defend the victims. The real fight against Reserve begins now!

Ecology Activist
Duluth

In the Los Angeles area two school districts are now charged with having segregated systems. The judge in the Los Angeles City schools rejected the Board's so-called desegregation plan and they all are under court order to come up with a new plan, but whether they will seriously do so remains to be seen. Meanwhile the Pasadena school system, which has been under court order for several years, is trying to get relieved from any orders. They have put almost every obstacle in the way of integration, and now they are using the "climate" of the country to do even less. The backward steps being taken at this stage are frightening. We need a movement that once and for all deals with this society, otherwise we will keep having leaps forward being driven back.

Teacher
Los Angeles

I support and participate with the anti-Nazi movement in Chicago but am disturbed over the language in the leaflets and speeches. Nazis are referred to as scum, slime, filth, etc. The rise of anti-Semitism is not a question of "slime" or "filth" but a world stage brought on by capitalism's inability to solve the economic crisis which N&L pointed out in the May editorial. With the election of Begin in Israel and the right-wing JDL's appearance in Chicago, Jews must strike an independent direction, fighting not only the Nazi right, the anti-Semitic left, but also the anti-labor, anti-woman, anti-Black, anti-Palstinian Jewish right, be that Begin in Israel or the JDL in the U.S.

Jewish Feminist
Chicago

What a "sign of our times" that Anita Bryant's rally in West Virginia was officially guarded by the KKK — and that Eldridge Cleaver now supports Bryant.

Disgusted
Bay Area

TWO URGENT APPEALS

All hell broke out here. They took 18 of our sisters to Ohio men's prison in Columbus, after they were beaten for a peaceful sit-down. They got no medical treatment and we have not been showered or exercised. Can anyone get the media to look into our conditions here at Ohio Reformatory for Women?

Women Prisoners
Cincinnati, Ohio

Marlene Roan Eagle is Oglala Sioux and lives in Waubay, S.D. with her two sons. At the age of 19, she protected herself and her unborn child from an attack by her husband, who was drunk and was beating her with a broken broom handle. She faces a charge of first-degree murder.

I urge all of you who believe in the truth — self-defense is not a crime — to show your concern for a sister in need. She goes to trial July 26, 1977, and is greatly in need of funds for her defense.

Since I don't have any money to contribute, I have done an ink sketch of her and her older child. Copies of this picture are available for \$2 by writing to me. I will forward the money on to Marlene's counsel.

Yvonne Wanrow
Box 49
Inchelium, WA 99138

HUMAN RIGHTS

We are on strike for human rights! Help us win seniority and dignity. Help us stop the polygraphs and forced physicals. You can help in our fight against Joe Coors—a John Bircher and leader of the union-busting National Right to Work Committee. Boycott Coors beer! For more information readers can call us at (303) 278-9906 or write to:

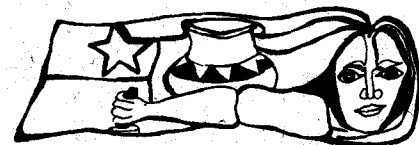
Brewery Workers Local #366
4510 Indiana St.
Golden, Colorado 80401

As Chairman of the Board of Directors of U.S. imperialism, Carter, in his first six months in office, has sent his son to China, Mondale to Europe, his wife to South America and countless others to Africa and the Mid-East. But who has he sent to Savannah, Augusta, or Athens in his own densely Black-populated home state to promote "human rights"?

In August, Carter is sending Secretary of State Vance to Peking — supposedly to discuss prospects of full diplomatic relations, something he could do by phone from Washington. With the money he would save from the trip he could visit every Black ghetto in the North. But Vance is no different than the secretary of any institution, whose job is to help protect it — in this case, to protect the market strong-holds of Taiwan, Seoul and Tokyo and negotiate with other countries in the interest of U.S. business.

Yendor Baki
Chicago

CHILE



*And you, O fallen brothers, out of your silence
Your voices will rise in the mighty shout of freedom,
As the hope of the people, flames into poems of joy.*
Pablo Neruda

I want to spread the word about Artesania — items made by prisoners in Chile, proceeds from which help widows and families of junta victims. Information and prices are available from OPHRICH, PO Box 40605, S.F., Ca. 94190. I am writing on a card produced by the National Chile Center, 156 Fifth Ave., Rm. 231, NYC 10010. The illustration is characteristic of wall murals in Chile during the Popular Unity government.

Supporter
Detroit

ALEX LANG

Could you make space for an obituary of my brother, Alex Lang — socialist, Wobbly and supporter of women's liberation, who led me on the road to change a destructive system to a system with human values? He was the son of a socialist barber, and through reading his books became a committed Marxist. His political opposition to WWII put him in Federal prison, where he refused all conditional discharges, but was released anyway and told to visit a parole officer. He never did. He returned to his machinist trade, and gave full time to organizing with the Wobblies. Dead of a heart attack at 58, he had succeeded in living a life of dedication to the highest aspirations of Marxian Socialism. He was not only my brother—he was my friend and comrade.

Chuck Lang
McKeesport, Pa.

TWO WORLDS

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

Part II

(Continued from last issue)

Chiang Ch'ing rode the crest of the so-called Cultural Revolution, as autocrat over the arts, directly into the very core of Party-Army-State power—membership into the Politburo. By the time of Lin Piao's downfall and Mao's complete reversal of Sino-American relations when he rolled out the red carpet for Nixon in 1972, Chiang took advantage of the presence in China of the host of U.S. journalists, scholars, and what not, to seek out one Sinologist, Roxane Witke. Professor Witke had been commissioned to report on "Chinese female masses", and Chiang asked her to record her solo flight to the echelons of power. The fact that Ms. Witke held that Chiang had "inspired" (5) the "Cultural Revolution," held leadership in her own right in a "very patriarchal society", surely did earn Chiang a sympathetic ear.

Unfortunately, the wheels of bourgeois research and publishing grind very slowly. By the time—five years!—the "weeklong interview" was expanded to a 550-page book on what Professor Witke fancies is "a history of the revolution largely from Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's point of view" (p. 14), Chiang Ch'ing had been arrested, vilified as a "traitor", not to mention a "maggot". When the "Cultural Revolution" first unfolded in mid-1966 and catapulted Chiang front center stage, she seemed to have no historic past. Whether it was to right the record, or to invent an unwarranted high niche in Chinese history, the truth is that the height of power was, indeed, the beginning of the end for Chiang.

The first flurry of mild anti-Chiang posters appeared in 1973-74, when Mao was still alive and when rumors first surfaced about the biography she was recording via a bourgeois writer. Whether or not Mao inspired those first attacks, Hua now claims that Mao saw through her "wild ambitions" and warned her against her "faction of four" in 1974.

A new period had begun at the 10th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, when the undercurrent of revolt in the military following the downfall of Lin Piao compelled the rehabilitation of many of the former

(5) For a more comprehensive view of the "Cultural Revolution" see both the chapter on Mao Tse-tung Thought in *Philosophy and Revolution*, and my essay, "Post-Mao China: What Now?" in *New Essays*. For a view of China's foreign policy, some ten chapters devoted to that are well worth reading in *The Chinese Party in Power, 1949-1976* by Jacques Guillermaz.

A new book by Phyllis Ntantala

African women's struggles against apartheid

by Tommie Hope

An African Tragedy, by Phyllis Ntantala, Agascha Productions, P.O. Box 38063, Detroit, Mich. 48238. \$3.50.

As I heard the news about the latest mass demonstrations in Soweto and Alexandra townships, and even in the downtown section of Johannesburg, I also received a copy of a new book called *An African Tragedy: The Black Woman Under Apartheid*. The author is Phyllis Ntantala, a South African now living in exile in the U.S., who was active in the great Black African resistance movement of the late '50s and early '60s. She writes with the sincerity and real feeling for the movement that only a participant can articulate, and this she does beautifully.

In the Introduction, she describes her work with the Institute of Race Relations, fighting for information about political prisoners: "It was my duty in the office where I worked to trace these people who had disappeared into thin air. At first it seemed like a hopeless task, for we could not get any information from the police precincts in and around Cape Town . . . All we had were the names of those who had been put on board the train from Cape Town to some unknown destination. We followed every lead, checking and rechecking every bit of information . . ."

When they finally got some information, she took it to the women who "sit alone waiting." This is how the five essays in the book were written. Ms. Ntantala writes with both information and emotion as she explains how the Black women of South Africa fought to try to change the dehumanized ways in which they are forced to live. Families are uprooted from the country and forced into slum townships to live in poverty, often with the man separated by hundreds of miles from his wife and children on the reserves.

The two essays that struck me the most were "Pass Laws" and "They Sit Alone, Waiting." The pass laws prove that, for the African, no man, woman or child is free in their own native land. If you didn't have the pass booklet in your pocket, you were thrown in jail or shipped off to work on a farm for weeks, without your family knowing your whereabouts. Yet and still, women by the thousands marched against the pass laws and burned their passes in public, or collected them in heaps to give back to the government. When the Pass System was extended to all women in 1952, protests broke out

Chiang Ch'ing, Hua Kuo-feng in post-Mao China

Communist Party leaders who had been removed from their posts during the Cultural Revolution. Where Mao did it reluctantly, Chou hailed it as a sort of "savior" for the development of the national economy. Indeed, he raised Mao's main "enemy", Teng Hsiao-ping, to Deputy Prime Minister. Mao could not have been all that hostile to Chiang in 1973-74. And 1975 proved it.

What was at stake was something greater than Chiang. It was a possible global realignment. First, Mao absented himself from the Fourth National People's Congress, which drew up a whole new Constitution as well as both a Five and a Twenty Year Plan for the development of the national economy. Mao did not attend that Congress. Instead, he was meeting with every reactionary world leader, from Franz Josef Strauss of West Germany to the disgraced ex-President Nixon, not to mention taking any side, any side whatever, including apartheid South Africa's role in Angola, so long as Russia was recognized as "Enemy No. 1".

The year 1975 had revealed great unrest in China. There were many strikes and bank robberies. At the same time Russia was winning victories in Africa, especially in Angola, but also in Europe. China felt "surrounded." The climax came in the first spontaneous, genuine mass demonstration at the grave of Chou En-lai in April 1976. Instead of facing the reality that it was a spontaneous outburst against the regime — the ruling "radicals" controlling the mass media—Mao Tse-tung moved, this time with the great aid of Chiang, to remove Teng: Hua was to replace him. That was Mao's last hurrah. It was not exactly an anointment of Hua as Chairman, but that top cop knew how to take the "interim" position, and so organize the Party bureaucrats, the military and state bureaucracy behind him, as to need no more than a month after Mao's death to displace in toto all those who had control of mass media and may have opted for total power.

His preemptive coup succeeded so well that there is no doubt whatever that, whether or not Mao meant to cut Chiang's "wild ambitions" as far back as 1974, Hua surely had it all planned long before Mao died. Why then is he still so preoccupied, in 1977, to totally smash "the gang of four"? Well, it isn't the "four". It is the Chinese masses who are asked to produce more and ever more as China rushes to "overtake" the U.S. by the end of the century. It is Hua's "interpretation" of Mao's "Ten Great Relationships."

HUA EDITS MAO AND DISCIPLINES WORKERS

Editing may not have as sinister a connotation as DeMaoisation, but then DeStalinisation likewise did not mean any genuine uprooting of Stalinism, that is to say, state-capitalism, just some of its "excesses." The same is true in post-Mao China as the wheels are rolled back

everywhere, and the marchers sang: "U thint' abafazi, uhint' imbokodwe" — "You strike at women, you have struck a rock."

It was the same in the rural areas, like Natal where women who herded livestock while the men were away in work centers (disinfecting the pass laws by refusing the dipping tanks) of cattle, since the government was stealing the cattle. Finally they filled the dipping tanks with rocks and set the farms on fire. They just would not take it any more.

The last essay is "They Sit Alone, Waiting." Ms. Ntantala says "it was written on the night of the day I received the news of the Rivonia Verdict." This was the infamous trial which sent Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela and nine other leaders of the African National Congress to jail on framed-up sabotage charges. The essay not only details the number arrested for political revolt, but also the variety — student discussion groups, unionists, members of the Peasants' Resistance Organization, as well as members of the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress.

Ms. Ntantala tells how she went to see Veronica Sobukwe, wife of Pan Africanist Congress president Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, after he was sentenced in 1960. This was right after the Sharpeville massacre, during the State of Emergency, as thousands were arrested. Seventeen years later he is still under "house arrest," confined to a ghetto in the town of Kimberly.

No one should miss reading these moving tales of suffering and revolt of African women. I have only one criticism to make. Since Ms. Ntantala is not only a renowned journalist and for long years an activist in the Liberatory Movement in South Africa but a profound thinker, I wish she had let us hear the ideas of freedom these women discussed. I felt the lack especially in the stories in "They Sit Alone, Waiting" that related to Veronica Sobukwe and Winnie Mandela, who is the very one who was detained once again in 1976 as a member of Black Parents Association in the Soweto revolt. It is not only the ideas of "their men" but of the women that we need as much in Detroit as Soweto for the world struggle for freedom.

Copies of AN AFRICAN TRAGEDY can be ordered from News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, MI 48207 for \$3.50 plus 30 cents postage.

to the mid-1950s before the Great Leap Forward, when Stalin's mistakes were judged to be only "30 percent" while his achievements were rated as "70 percent." While the doors to any Sino-Soviet entente are definitely kept closed, and the doors to the "West" kept open, what predominates over all foreign affairs is what happens at home—building up the economy, especially industrialization, especially militarization in modern weaponry, and above all, getting the workers to produce more, with perhaps, a little incentive in differential in wages added (6).

With this in mind, Vol. V of Mao's Selected Works has been published and everywhere the study goes forward of Mao's text. "On Ten Great Relationships" as edited by Hua. Thus, when the Mao speaks abstractly of "mistakes of some socialist countries," Hua leaves no doubt that China has "done better than the Soviet Union and a number of the East European countries." Thus, of the ten dichotomies—between industry and agriculture; between economics and defense; between central and local authorities; between Revolution and counter-revolution, etc.—there is no doubt that what has replaced all is that economics is in command . . .

It all spells out state-capitalism entrenched and looking for a global role. It isn't that Chiang Ch'ing had fundamentally any different perspective, but she surely had greater belief in "superstructure." It is this fetish that sealed her fate . . .

One famous Sinologist, Simon Leys, attributes part of the emptiness of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing to the author's being "somewhat blinded by her feminist" (Continued on Page 8)

(6) See "A Great Leap Backward" by Fox Butterfield, N.Y.T. magazine, 6/19/77.

Reports from London

Grunwick strikers inspire mass nationwide solidarity response

London, England—For the past month, Grunwick has dominated British politics. Grunwick is a film-processing factory in Dollis Hill, North London, struck since Aug. 20 last year over the issue of union recognition.

Recently the striking workers had enough of "legal" discussions and appealed for more positive support from other trade unionists. An immediate response came from the postal workers in Cricklewood sorting office. It was a tremendous solidarity action by 137 postmen. At the time of writing, the mail remains blocked. Mountains of it have piled up. The Post Office has suspended the Cricklewood sorters.

As part of the call for support, the strike committee asked for one week's mass picketing at the plant. The response has been magnificent, with thousands turning up each day to demonstrate. The stupid and barbaric behavior of the police has caused even more to join the picket line.

On June 13, the first day of the mass picket, 308 police arrived, and 84 pickets were arrested. Police numbers swelled daily, and by June 27, no less than 1,356 were on duty to control an estimated 900 pickets and supporters.

On July 1, the Sun newspaper appeared with a "brink" leading article. Print workers had refused to print an outrageous attack on the strikers, entitled "Now Call Off the Mob."

A victory at Grunwick depends on extending the strike, more actions like those of the Cricklewood postmen and the Sun compositors; and not by "legal battles" in bourgeois courts. — Bob Potter

London, England — Britain's largest union, the Transport and General Workers, has voted against allowing any continuation of the Labor Government's wage-restraining "Social Contract." During the big debate, one delegate mentioned the Grunwick strikers. "Unlike us," he said, "they've got no muscle but plenty of guts."

Those diminutive Asian women who have been picketing Grunwick's film processing plant for almost a year, fighting for the right to belong to a union, have had quite an effect on the British labor movement.

In recent weeks, thousands of trade unionists and socialists have been battling it out with the police who have prevented the strikers from speaking to the daily busloads of scab labor going into the plant. Several hundred have been arrested and beaten up, including Labor Party M.P.s and union leaders.

On July 10, 18,000 people, including thousands of miners from Yorkshire and Scotland, answered the call for a day of solidarity and surrounded the plant, shouting "The workers united will never be defeated."

The fight is far from over. The Grunwick boss, George Ward, is a reactionary obstinate Dickensian who is being aided by the right-wing National Association for Freedom, whose sole purpose is to bring private prosecutions against trade unionists and so strengthen anti-labor legislation.

As the Grunwick struggle continues, the important point is that it has given a tremendous boost to rank-and-file activity in the labor movement. It is precisely this militancy from below that will be all important in post-"Social Contract" Britain. — Dave Black

Thousands march for human rights in SF parade

San Francisco, Cal. — More than 300,000 people marched in the Gay Freedom Fifth Annual Parade on June 26, and jammed the streets here from the Ferry Building to the Civic Center Plaza. There were men and women, gays and straights, disabled and athletes, workers and unemployed, professionals and politicians, and children with parents and grandparents, determined that the bigots of "dear Anita's" ilk were not going to get away with their hysterical witch hunts of the 17th century and of McCarthy's 1950s.

Solidarity and support for the struggles against sexism, racism and class exploitation were clearly stated in the banners, leaflets and picket signs. "Human Rights Are An Absolute" was the major theme, and included support for the ERA, paid abortions for poor women, busing for integration, disability for pregnant women, prisoner rights, opposition to the Bakke decision in the California courts.

Every civil and human struggle was proclaimed as part of the concrete agenda of the day, with clear op-

Nazis attack Chicago Blacks

Chicago, Ill. — Nazis were scared away from their well planned and publicized march July 4th by the anger and revulsion of masses of protesters. They had first demonstrated against the spread of anti-Semitism and racism in Chicago on April 30. The Nazis claimed the issue was "free speech," but have now been revealed to have murdered their latest victim, Sidney Cohn, with cyanide.

In southwest Chicago, there has been a wave of violence by Nazis and other white racists. In April, half a dozen Nazis succeeded in starting a race riot at Curie High, while Marquette Park Nazis bombed three homes in neighboring west Englewood. On May 17, they dragged a Black man from his car, burned it and beat him almost to death.

The latest sickening incidents include mob attacks on M.L. King Movement marchers as well as passing Black motorists on July 24, and a vicious rock-throwing assault on a picnic group of grade school children in Calumet Park. The whites yelled that they wanted Calumet Park to remain "white-only," like Marquette Park.

It was the spontaneous anti-Nazi sentiment that caused Rabbi Meir Kahane of the para-military organization, Jewish Defense League, to come to Chicago and attempt to build his organization. His July 4 rally brought out over 1,000 people who listened to his speech and watched his 30 black-helmeted members — brought to Chicago from around the country — march in formation.

Another demonstration of about 50, held in front of Skokie City Hall, was called by a coalition of left groups; while at the Nazi club house, Black and white Leftists marched and traded insults with head Chicago Nazi, Frank Collin, and a handful of his followers.

Many participants came to the demonstration looking for an independent direction and many more stayed home knowing that the Nazis would not march and not wanting to support the likes of the JDL.

— Marxist-Humanist participant

Former Canadian immigration officer exposes racist policy

Toronto, Ont. — I was a Canadian immigration officer from 1972 to 1975. Any liberal ideas I had about working with people were soon dispelled by the knowledge that I was working for the government and against people.

At Toronto Airport I helped preserve Canada's status as a rich country by keeping out the poor and unemployed. They came as tourists, but we suspected them of wanting to stay and work, and sent them back. To save time, we talked most of them out of their right to a hearing. If they insisted, they got a kangaroo court in which one officer was judge, jury and prosecutor, using the flimsiest of evidence. I conducted some of these hearings. And since most of the world's poor are Black or Asian, there was plenty of opportunity for racist officers to find legal reasons for deporting people.

I learned also how Canada chooses immigrants. No crude, politically sensitive quotas for us. We simply adjust the number and location of visa officers so that, for instance, an Englishman can have his visa in a month, while an Indian waits two years.

As economic conditions grew harsher, so did the regulations, and the informal policies that really govern most enforcement work. By the time I left, there was talk about a completely new immigration act. It arrived in late 1976.

Immigration officers will be able to arrest, without warrant, people suspected of overstaying their visas or working illegally. They could be jailed for two years, fined \$5,000, and then deported. There is provision to require anyone except Canadian citizens to carry identification, including fingerprints and photographs.

People could be deported on suspicion that they may commit a crime. Those suspected of subversion will not even get formal hearings. They can speak in their own defense, but without hearing the evidence against them. This repressive law has not yet been passed, so it is important to oppose it. — Roy B.

position to the right-wing attempts to destroy the gains of human and civil rights won after 200 years of struggle.

The brutal murder in San Francisco of a young homosexual by four straight youths, drunk and doped, intensified the seriousness of this demonstration and produced tremendous community participation.

Absent from the rally were the elitist cheerleaders for Russia and China. Many gay men said bitterly that "these so-called Marxist countries ruthlessly persecute and oppress homosexuals," and welcomed hearing about Marxist-Humanism and its philosophy of totally new human relationships.

The lesbian women, active for many years in the women's liberation struggles, were very receptive to News & Letters and expressed favorable comments about the women's section. After the demonstration about 500 young people, mostly gay, but with some straights, formed the Bay Area Coalition for Human Rights, an ongoing organization.

In San Diego a gay coalition demonstration has forced the city council to investigate discrimination against hiring homosexuals, and in major cities all over the country creative actions for all human rights are taking place.

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 7)

bias." (7) In truth, however, it isn't Ms. Witke's "feminist bias"; it is her petty-bourgeois kitsch that kept her from penetrating what was actually happening among the masses, women included. Thus, as part of her 1972 assignment, she interviewed women other than Chiang Ch'ing, but, again, it was the pseudo-leaders, rather than the masses, as was the case with her report, "Wu Kuei-hsien: Labour Heroine to Vice-Premier." (8) Here she becomes so great an apologist for Mao's China that she designates the case of that Chinese Stakhanovite thusly: "In today's China she represents women in total control."

And how did that display itself? Well, she quotes Wu Kuei-hsien as saying that she prefers to remain with her First National Textile Mill of Hsienyang rather than go to the center of power because of the work she puts in. Thus, "I have one child born last year. That kept me away from work only one month; I did not need the usual 58-day leave..." (9)

That, dear reader, is not the product either of Ms. Witke's "feminist bias," or Chiang Ch'ing's "wild ambitions." Rather, it is the product most directly of Mao's retrogressionism which, sans its poetry, is now practiced in full by Hua Kuo-feng in post-Mao China.

(7) See "China's Fallen Empress" by Simon Leys in *New Republic*, 6-25-77.

(8) *China Quarterly*, 12-75, "Report from China," pp. 730-740.

(9) As against Ms. Witke's apologia, see my Hong Kong interview with Jade (printed in *News & Letters*, June-July, 1966), and Jade's report of the achievements and retrogressions since the Chinese Revolution (included in *Notes on Women's Liberation*, available from *News & Letters* for \$1).

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Leonard Peltier, Filipina nurses and U.S. system of injustice

by Shainape Sheapwe

The recent conviction of the two Philippine nurses on charges of poisoning patients at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Ann Arbor, Mich., (see article, p. 4) made me see similarities between their trial and the conviction of American Indian Movement (AIM) activist, Leonard Peltier.

On June 1, Peltier was convicted of first degree murder of the two FBI agents killed on the Pine Ridge Reservation, June 26, 1975. He got the maximum sentence of two consecutive life terms even though he was convicted only on circumstantial evidence, just like the two nurses were. They had tried to convict three other men before Peltier, but those cases were thrown out.

In March, John Trudell, the chief AIM spokesman now, said that Peltier and his lawyers were confident that the prosecution could never convict him on the evidence they had. And yet they did — mostly on the basis that Peltier was there, on the reservation at the time of the killings. It was the same with the nurses.

What Trudell was saying was that the FBI needed to convict an AIM activist. It was their way of telling the American public, "We've got somebody" and it was a way of covering up the fact that many Indians on the reservation were carrying weapons and feeling the need to fight for their lives most of the time before that even happened. It could have been anyone who did the shooting.

Peltier said that the court wouldn't allow his lawyer to give pertinent information in his defense, but did allow the prosecution to bring in any criminal offenses he might have been involved in, even though they had nothing to do with the case. They refused to allow the defense to show the misconduct of the FBI during that period — the way they tried to force people to talk and say things they knew were not true.

In the nurses' case, they did not allow the jury to hear evidence about a nurse who had confessed to the poisonings and who had later killed herself. When we heard that they had been convicted, we felt the same kind of shock as when Leonard Peltier was convicted.

It was railroading in both cases — a pure and simple need to find someone and convict them because the idea of someone being killed without people knowing who did it is too disturbing to the American people, so they used the same kind of racist tactics as they did in the Peltier case.

Finding the similarities between these two cases makes me know more than ever that minority groups need to be working together and supporting each other's movements so there can be a way of fighting the oppression we all face.

In a statement after his conviction, Leonard Peltier said, "My conviction under what you call 'the democratic system of justice' is not a victory for you, it is a victory for me because it only makes my people stand and fight harder until the yoke of oppression is removed from our shoulders."

For more information, or for petitions to be sent to the Attorney General, write to the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 522, Suquamish, WA 98392.

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Kent State spirit still lives

Kent, Ohio—Blanket Hill is a magnet, drawing everyone to it, to talk about what happened here in May 1970—and in July 1977. In the parking lot nearby stands a small monument that reads: "In living memory of Allison Krause, Jeffrey Miller, Sandra Scheur, William Schroeder"—murdered by National Guardsmen on May 4, 1970 for protesting Nixon's invasion of Cambodia. But the real living monument is the determination of the new Kent State University students not to allow a new gym to obliterate the meaning of their martyrdom.

The very first person we talked to at the Hill was one of the Guardsmen who had been at the rear in 1970. He said he had joined the Guards in '65 only to avoid going to Vietnam. He recalled students putting flowers in his gun barrel, his superiors ordering him to put tape over his name tag, hearing the shots and hoping it was firecrackers, the students calling them murderers. He had come back this time to join the students' protest. The day he climbed under the ropes and got arrested he wore the same uniform he had worn in 1970.

Sandy Scheur's parents came by and talked with us. Sandy's mother showed us a hate-letter they had just received, that had been addressed to their dead daughter, care of them. It wasn't the first. They live in another city, they said, but their hearts are here, and they pointed to the Hill.

A student told us, "Just wait until the other students come back on Sept. 1 and see what they've done to this Hill. They did it in summer because they knew if they had tried in September they'd have had 4,000 students storming the fence!" The bulldozers are quiet now, the result of a temporary restraining order against the construction, but in less than six hours after the Board of Trustees had given the go-ahead, they had ripped out the top soil and dumped it on the very spot where one of the students was killed.

There have been three sweeping arrests already: 194

Latin American student revolt

by Jim Mills

Students in Brazil have begun a wave of protest against the dictatorship of President (General) Ernesto Geisel. During the week of June 6, officials suspended classes at nine universities across the country after student protests against poor university services turned into anti-government demonstrations.

In the "showcase" capital of Brazil, classes were suspended at the University and police were called in to occupy the campus to prevent 16,000 students from demonstrating and to prohibit any signs of anti-government activity from reaching Rosalynn Carter, in Brazil under the guise of promoting "human rights."

Nonetheless, a letter was passed to her which stated: "The regime that has governed our country since 1964 may have guaranteed a certain degree of stability that may be beneficial to American interests, but this has been done at the cost of freedom of expression, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly."

In Sao Paulo, on June 15—a day of nationwide protest—students evaded police dogs, military police, and plainclothesmen to assemble in a designated location. A banner was unfurled which read, "Down with Repression," and students chanted, "It's the people's struggle" and "We want freedom," as they marched.

The Brazilian students are demanding the end of President Geisel's dictatorial rule, and a return to constitutional democracy, wiped out since 1964. The students have also been protesting the severe economic crisis in Brazil—the rate of inflation is 44 percent—and the government's proposed austerity plans, which include measures for an increasingly repressive control.

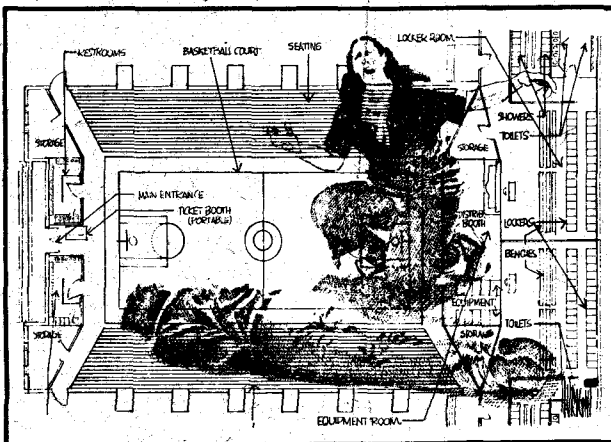
In Peru, students went into the streets on June 21, in response to the government's austerity measures (See *Our Life and Times*, p. 10). In Sicuara, students sacked the Agricultural Ministry's office, burned documents, and stoned the Mayor's office.

In Arquipa, students blocked streets and erected barricades. Secondary schools and colleges were closed. Protests swept the cities of Trujillo, Ayacucho and Cuzco as well, and hundreds have been arrested.

In Mexico City, 20,000 police invaded the Autonomous National University of Mexico (UNAM) on July 7, arresting over 1,000 workers and professors who had been on strike since June 20 over the central issue of recognition of the Workers' Union (STUNAM).

On June 19, the day before the strike began, well over 75,000 strike supporters marched through downtown Mexico City. Police agents moved in and abducted the strike leaders. Following the July 7 police invasion of the university, STUNAM requested that a press conference be sponsored by the independent group, CENCOS, to denounce the Portillo government's repression. The same day, police raided CENCOS' offices, and eight members were arrested.

In spite of all the repressive measures taken—arrests, torture and killing—as each government tries to contain the new wave of student protests in Latin America, there is no doubt that the world has just begun to hear the response of Latin American youth.



were arrested when the Tent City the students had erected to protect the site was torn down on July 12. Later 27 were arrested at several road blocks. And 61 were hauled away when they occupied the site again on July 28 in front of the bulldozers. At the booking, when one Black student was asked his occupation, he stated, "Philosopher." Another student said, "Radical."

"They think they can stop us by arresting our leaders," said one protester, "but they can arrest all of them, and we'll get new ones tomorrow." It seemed true. Everyone we met could be a spokesperson for the movement—the May 4 Coalition—and could fill you in on everything. The early Task Force had taken as its responsibility telling everyone all the facts so the students of 1977 will know their history, even though many were only in elementary school when the May 1970 events took place.

One of the most impressive actions of all, to us, was the evident wish of these students not to let their movement be separated this time from the Black dimension, as it was in 1970, when the massacre at Kent State shut down no less than 426 campuses on May 4, while ten days later none protested the killings at Black Jackson State in Mississippi. The protesters of 1977 are wearing bright red T shirts with white letters: "Remember the Spirit of Kent and Jackson State."

The students feel that the Federal Court decision was a victory, even if a temporary one. They are heartened by the help they are beginning to get from other students at campuses across the country. At the moment there are still 22 people left in jail, and they are very short of money. Bail for some was set as high as \$2,000. They are asking all those who can, to send financial help to: Kent Legal Defense Fund, Box 366, Kent, Ohio 44240. For information on what other help you can give, contact the May 4 Coalition, Kent State University Student Center, Kent, Ohio 44242 (phone: 216-672-3207 or 673-4719).

—Wayne State University N&L Youth Committee

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Practically every university or college that, a decade ago, placed Black Studies and other ethnic courses in their curriculum as a result of the impact of the Black revolts, has now placed these studies under financial propaganda and political siege.

Black Studies has been under this "state of siege" for several years. The authorities of the University of California at Berkeley were among the first to exert strict control over the Black Studies department by making it a part of the College of Letters and Sciences, with the aid of some willing Black professors and despite much student opposition.

So far, at U.C. Berkeley, Asian and Chicano studies have escaped this fate, but since February, 1977, they have been faced with an uncertain future due to the reluctance of the university to guarantee the continuation of these programs beyond 1978.

Whether it is in the East, West, North or the South, the pattern of attack on Black Studies is the same. The entrenched educational establishment has shown a direct dislike for Black Studies as they are now constituted, by failing to give them either moral or financial support and by refusing to give tenure to outspoken Black professors, or simply by dismissing them from the university.

REACTIONARY WAVE

California has added its own unique efforts to this national reactionary wave trying to emasculate, if not to kill outright, Black Studies at the university and college level—notably the Bakke decision by the State Supreme Court which would invalidate any affirmative action programs that would admit a specified number of minorities and women to graduate schools. And, not so notable, is the move on the part of certain members of the Board of U.C. Regents to give an "aptitude test" for students who apply, regardless of the fact that they had met the required "B" average grade standard, the usual criterion for acceptance.

At this moment, the Bakke decision is a reactionary "time bomb" that may go off this fall, when the U.S. Supreme Court is scheduled to review this decision. If the U.S. Supreme court agrees with the California court that race cannot be used as the decisive element

The 'twilight of Harrington'

The Twilight of Capitalism, by Michael Harrington, Simon and Schuster, N.Y., 1976.

Michael Harrington is the National Chairman of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, a social democratic offshoot of the Socialist Party. He is probably the best known spokesman in the United States for social democratic reformism, and is also known for such obfuscating phrases as "the almost imperialism," "invisible mass movement," and "accidental century."

According to Harrington, the theme of his new book, *The Twilight of Capitalism* is, first, a discovery of the "real" Karl Marx; and second, a look at the relevance of Marx's analysis of capitalism for today.

Harrington says that Marx is anathema to bourgeois economists, but not quite as anathema to bourgeois sociologists. This is so, according to Harrington, because Marxian sociology by itself, without Marx's economic critique of capitalism, is harmless to bourgeois society.

It would be fair to say that Harrington's version of Marxist economics is equally toothless. While Harrington assails the vulgar materialism that is used to justify Communist totalitarianism, he also criticizes Erich Fromm for stressing the role of the human subject as the creator of history.

History for Harrington unfolds, not from the clashing of material factors alone, as with the vulgar materialists; not as the self-bringing forth of freedom by the human masses; but — by "accident." Thus, Marxism is abstracted into a purely economic critique.

While Harrington recognizes that the degree of stratification U.S. capitalism has undergone has not saved it, he sees the final result of stratification not as state-capitalism, but as "collectivism," a new stage of economy without the particular contradictions of capitalism.

The choices he leaves us for the future, then, are either "bureaucratic collectivism" or "democratic-socialist collectivism." Harrington not only removes the dynamic quality of the human subject, creating a new society in the process of creating history, but creates a "future" which he can protect from Hegel and Marx by claiming that they did not foresee "collectivism" and thus have nothing to say about it.

The truth is otherwise. Marx clearly spoke of the ultimate concentration of capital in the hands of a single capitalist, where appropriation of the surplus value created by laborers would still be the private property of the single capitalist and in no sense collective property. The single capitalist in the form of the state bureaucracy in the so-called Communist countries is the actual new stage of world economy.

The implication that one would draw from Harrington's book is that the relevant struggle is for the maintenance of bourgeois democracy and for social democratic reforms. The stratification will take care of itself and will ultimately resolve the contradictions of capitalism by transforming capitalism into "collectivism." *The Twilight of Capitalism* may become a new source of social democratic dogma, but does not contain a shred of a philosophy of liberation.

—Dan Ashbrook

Black Studies under siege

in implementing affirmative action in the selection of students who want to enter graduate schools, then all affirmative action programs across this country, which seek to bring more minorities into the circle of higher education, will be cast into limbo.

In tandem with this frontal attack on Black Studies is a well defined rumor and public relations campaign that, on one hand, implies that Black Studies are "mick" (not academically good and very easy to pass), and, on the other hand, says that the university is only trying to bring discipline and scholarship to Black Studies.

But this argument holds little water when one considers the long history of neglect and dubious "scholarship" that these institutions have given to the Black issues in this country. It was the biased "scholarship" of these institutions that Black intellectuals like W.E.B. Dubois and Carter G. Woodson had to combat for more than 50 years—without great foundation funds and government support.

The majority of Black people know damn well that they are not just talking about "scholarship and intellectual discipline" because for too long we have been on the negative end of American "scholarship." A "scholarship" that has devoted itself to hundreds of years of effort attempting to "prove" the "inferiority" of Black people.

BLACK REVOLTS

It was precisely this type of "scholarship" that was challenged by the Black revolts which compelled the universities to acknowledge the history and the achievements of Blacks in literature, in art, and in the sciences, as well as their role in history for liberation struggles in the United States.

However, we must be alerted to the fact that today capitalist United States is moving toward the right in all areas, and despite President Carter's speeches on "liberation" he is in reality one of the most conservative Presidents ever to hold office.

The attempts of the universities and colleges to rid themselves of viable Black Studies programs is only one step in the direction of trying to head off any movements toward real liberation by the masses of this country.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

N-Bomb

Buried in a \$10 billion "public works bill," under Energy Research (the annual pork barrel legislation), were funds to develop a new device to destroy humanity, the neutron bomb. As the facts began to slowly emerge from the military smoke-screen, this bomb would be a "clean weapon," killing only people while not destroying capitalist property, factories, cities, office buildings, records, deeds, etc., so necessary for the victors to continue "business as usual."

In theory, atomic weapons are guarded against misuse by a trigger that only the President of the U.S. can authorize. The neutron bomb, which kills by producing lethal radiation the same as an atomic bomb, does not cause the same extensive catastrophic property destruction. Originally designed as a warhead for the land-based Lance missile, the neutron bomb, in the hands of the military brass, was discovered to be adaptable as a warhead on an artillery shell for use in the field against "enemy troops."

The U.S. Pentagon is now proceeding on plans to mass produce these warheads. They will be produced to fit the 8-inch and 155-howitzers, of which over 1,900 are in the hands of U.S. and allied forces in Europe.

The bomb itself explodes on impact, causing a cloud of radioactive particles to fall on people, who die in agony as they did in Japan after Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The killer cloud is subject to the wind and the weather, killing men, women, children and even the troops who fire it, if the wind direction shifts.

It is a farce for the Carter Administration to discuss nuclear controls while matter-of-factly moving ahead to develop the neutron warhead.

OAU

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) held a summit in Libreville, Gabon, beginning July 2. Before the summit, a week of pre-summit meetings were held of over 40 foreign ministers. It was a luxurious extravaganza for the well-to-do leaders of a continent that has pervasive poverty. The estimated \$600 million President Bongo of Gabon spent

hosting the conference is half that country's entire gross national product.

What preoccupied the African leaders was not the problem of white rule in southern Africa that had been the basis for their unity since the inception of the OAU in 1963. Rather, it was intra-African territorial feuds — between Libya and Chad; between Somalia and Ethiopia; and between Algeria, which is supporting the Polisario guerillas in Spanish Sahara, and Morocco and Mauritania, who decided they would split up the Spanish Sahara when Spain pulled out. Kenya also accused Somalia of invasion.

President Mobutu of Zaire asked for a denunciation of foreign intervention, by which he meant not the massive aid he received from Western powers and from China — including a French airlift of Moroccan troops used to defeat the Katangese — but rather the Katangese attempt to take back their homeland in Zaire's mineral-rich Shaba province.

The summit did eventually vote to recognize the Patriotic Front of Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe as the sole liberation movement in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), after a plea to do so from Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, whose country is being embroiled in that conflict. But the biggest measure of what African leaders are most concerned with was the singular applause given to Uganda's Idi Amin, as a symbol of the raw use of power, all the while knowing full well that along with Amin's telling the rest of the world where to go is the mass murder of thousands of Africans inside Uganda.

Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka's 12-year old government of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who succeeded to office after the murder of her husband, suffered an overwhelming defeat at the hands of 70-year-old Junius Jayewardene and his right-wing United National Party in recent national elections. The victory of the U.N.P. was overwhelming, taking 139 out of the 168 seats in the National Assembly and leaving only 29 seats for all other parties combined.

In the early days of her regime, Mrs. Bandaranaike assembled a broad coalition of the Left, but as her regime over the past 12 years failed to solve the problems of Sri Lanka and she became more dictatorial, her support evaporated to the point that,

in the last election, her Freedom Party was almost wiped out, holding only eight seats in the new Assembly. This time not only did she lose the Left's support because of her moves against the Trotskyists and Maoists, but they, too, lost all the seats they had held.

Although the new Prime Minister, Jayewardene, campaigned on what he called a "Democratic Socialist" platform, he has been known throughout his career as a conservative. He has announced his intention of abolishing the British parliamentary system of government and adopting a presidential-type of government based on the French system, with himself as President.

High unemployment and the lack of foreign exchange are blamed for the downfall of the previous regime. Jayewardene's plan to set up a 200-square-mile "free economic zone" as the solution to the economic ills of Sri Lanka will provide at best a band-aid to the festering sores of the country.

While it is true that the corruption and anti-labor moves of Mrs. Bandaranaike turned the election to the right-wing, the truth is that the trade unions remain strong and intact, and will continue their opposition to both the old and new regimes.

Peru

Rebellions in Peru's major cities erupted after the military government announced on June 10 major price increases for food, fuel, and public transport. Students and workers struck and took to the streets in Arequipa, Sicuani, Ayacucho, Trujillo and Urubamba. By the second week of July, Huanayo became the sixth city under curfew, with police ordered to shoot anyone on the street from dusk to dawn.

In spite of the government's decision to cut back the price of bread, noodles, and flour, the strike spread to Lima, and 80 percent of that city was closed down on July 19. Workers burned buses that were used to violate the strike in public transport. The extent of the revolt is still unknown, but the government has admitted killing six people and has rounded up and jailed labor leaders.

Peruvian workers are not being taken in by their supposedly "progressive" military leaders, who are bowing to the international bankers who set the conditions for further loans to prevent Peru from defaulting on its five billion dollar foreign debt.

Blackout illuminates crisis of New York's poor and unemployed

(Continued from Page 3)

unemployment in the city. A young Black worker from Bedford-Stuyvesant told N&L: "In a class society you've got to expect this sort of thing. Some of the reaction is because the stores have been taking out of the community so long—you can't expect the people not to take it back". Black and Puerto Rican-owned stores that gouged were hit along with white-owned shops, while other white-owned stores were left untouched.

Or as a Black woman told the TV, the stores were such rip-offs that her last TV broke before she'd even finished paying for it. Youths shouted all over the city: "These stores rip off Blacks and Puerto Ricans". This is true especially of such a life necessity as food. Where ground chuck is a dollar or so a pound in Greenwich Village, it can be a dollar and a half a pound in the ghettos.

The high unemployment in the city, and especially in the ghettos, was the paramount reason for the explosion. Last spring, tens of thousands of teenagers lined up all night in largely vain hope of getting summer city jobs. A community worker in East Harlem estimates ghetto youth unemployment at 85 percent.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics, a federal agency, claims it doesn't have a figure on Black and minority youth unemployment in New York. Nationally, the BLS puts overall youth unemployment at 16.1 percent and Black and minority youth unemployment at 39.4 percent. In New York City they do admit that total youth unemployment is a staggering 33.9 percent, over double the national average.

Given that information, plus the well-known fact that the BLS doesn't record all the unemployed—eliminating so-called "discouraged workers" completely—the figure of 85 percent for ghetto youth unemployment may not be far wrong. As one Brooklyn Black youth shouted "We want jobs", across the street Mayor Beame was consoling the store owners and generally sticking his face into the TV cameras.

AMERICAN RACISM

The plight of the store owners who "lost everything" has replaced the staple diet on TV about the elderly being mugged and brutalized by youths. The result is a blanket racist hatred against Black and Latino youth, while ignoring the underlying causes. This time the politicians and newsmen are openly calling the ghetto residents "animals".

Though the outburst initially surprised the city government, within hours they had the police out, making massive arrests. Anyone caught carrying anything was liable to arrest. "In some cases, whole blocks were

cordoned off and everyone on the street arrested. Some Black and Latino storekeepers were arrested in their own stores. It was a totally racist thing," a Legal Aid lawyer told N&L.

If the police didn't shoot down the "looters" as the store owners and the right-wing press demanded, was it because Mayor Beame is running for re-election? Or was it because they were scared that the ghetto residents would go beyond looting if the police started shooting?

Over 400 cops were injured and nearly 4,000 people were arrested. People were jailed during 100 degree weather under the most barbarous conditions. "They have 10 to 14 to a cell and you can't sit down. Bail is being set very high. A 16-year-old caught with a suit and a stereo had bail set at \$50,000. After protests it was lowered to \$5,000 which they know people can't afford either. Normally two lamps would be \$100 bail, but one guy had his bail set at \$35,000. They're not allowing phone calls either, so how can you get out", a Black worker with knowledge of the courts told N&L.

All this was part of a deliberate strategy of revenge on those unlucky enough to be arrested, many of them taken in just for being Black or Latino and out in the streets of their own neighborhoods, and then beaten. But the worst part was the deliberate slow-down of the court system, orchestrated by Mayor Beame. Many prisoners were sent to the Tombs, a city jail long ago shut down as unfit for detaining prisoners. They got no medical attention for days and were given food spoiled during the blackout.

A NEW STAGE OF MASS REVOLT?

According to the government's own studies, the poverty and unemployment of 1977 are worse than at any time since the 1959 recession, which saw the beginnings of a mass unemployed movement before it was strangled by the labor bureaucracy, headed by Walter Reuther of the UAW.

The tremendous Black movement of the 1960s wrested some limited social programs to alleviate poverty and racism, almost all of which have been wiped out by Nixon, Ford, and now Carter. While the 1977 rebellion in the ghettos of New York might not equal 1967, which was the culmination of an entire decade of the Black movement, 1977 in New York may well have national and international repercussions.

As a West Indian Black worker from Bedford-Stuyvesant told N&L: "In Trinidad, like here, they had riots in 1970 and then some social programs. But now they've cut everything back, just like here. People down there will watch this on TV and it will give them ideas." If that's true as far away as Trinidad, then it's certainly

true for the other American cities.

In 1977 we have seen so far the Chicago Puerto Rican Day rebellion . . . and now New York. Whatever will come out of the new stage of revolt in 1977, it is certain that there will be new concepts and new forms of organization ahead.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 3)

may have no trouble getting abortions while poor women will have a harder time, but they should not blame it on the government. At the same time they are yelling about too many people on welfare.

Yet every day there is some head of state coming here to talk with Carter about money, and gets it — more than it would cost if every woman in this country had an abortion every year.

NEW YORK BLACKOUT

Some say the power blackout in New York was caused by the power company's greed for profit, but Mayor Beame wants to hit out at the poor people. One Black man said he had not been able to find a regular job in six years. The kids in his neighborhood had never had a new pair of sneakers on their feet before, but they do now. He said if it happened once a week it would not be enough.

Mayor Beame and the police are blaming the poor for the looting, but the facts are that the police stood by and did nothing while businessmen came in buying the looted merchandise by the truck loads. One man said he had even seen some trucks from Connecticut.

He said he took shopping carts and went up and down the streets passing out food to older people who couldn't join the young people in the streets. Someone asked him if he felt it was wrong to take what did not belong to him. He said no way, these people were starving; they need it.

He said he was not worried about small businesses that lost everything because they can get a small business loan. But the government doesn't care about poor people. There is nothing set up for them.

The core of the problem lies in this capitalist, racist, sexist system which is so corrupt and exploitative that all over again — over 100 years after gaining so-called freedom once slavery was abolished — the rise of the KKK is at the door of the White House. There lies the real source of imperialist exploitation, home-grown racism and all the other ills that have to be fully uprooted and a new foundation for human relations created.

DRAFT PERSPECTIVES THESIS, 1977-1978

(Continued from Page 2)

time in the continuation of detente with Russia, rather than rushing into any confrontation among the superpowers.

In a state-capitalist age, full state-capitalism has proven no more capable of resolving its crises than had private monopoly capitalism, either in the pre-World War I period, or pre-World War II. Capitalism in any form goes from crises to war and back again. World War III, however, threatens the very survival of humanity. Which is why everyone — from the Left, to the capitalist ideologues, to the mystics — tries to designate something as a lesser evil which is "preferable" to chose. But the truth is the lesser evil only brings on the greater evil.

Long before Solzhenitsyn discovered the Gulag Archipelago, we exposed the forced labor camps in Russia. Ever since the first workers' state was transformed into its opposite, we analyzed the class nature of Russia, declaring it to be state-capitalist. From early on, however, we stressed that Stalinism was but the Russian name of the new stage that world capitalism reached as the Great Depression sounded the death knell for private capitalism.⁹

The outright counter-revolutionary role of Stalin's Russia, far from ending with the Hitler-Stalin Pact (or even with the death of Stalin), first began confronting the revolution against its imperialism with the June 1953 East German Revolt.

Khrushchev's so-called de-Stalinization did not convince anyone in Hungary not to oppose Russian imperialism as they started an altogether new chapter in Marx's Humanism as the true classless society.

Brezhnev reached the apogee of counter-revolution when he tried to make a "universal" of this counter-revolutionary act in Czechoslovakia, 1968, declaring it a "socialist international right" of Russia to intervene anywhere. This, far from getting Communists to help his competition with the "West", brought about such disintegration in Communism as to produce, among "Western" Communists who were not in open rebellion against Russia, the revisionist phenomenon of Eurocommunism.

It is not that, however, which undermines Russian imperialism. What shakes it to its foundation are the outright revolts in East Europe, those

(9) *International Socialism*, No. 100, July, 1977, is opening a special discussion on the theory of state capitalism. Michael Kidron praises Tony Cliff to the skies as if he originated the theory, never once mentioning Raya Dunayevskaya who had made the study of the "Nature of the Russian Economy" from original sources as well as working out the theory nearly a full decade before the appearance of the book by Tony Cliff. At this late stage he has discovered that state-capitalism is a world stage. In introducing the discussion, the IS editorial is even more absurd both in its claims and its openness as it finally gets around to admitting that "it neglected the massive reality of the oppression of women and everything it involved—the whole gamut of sexual politics." How long before we can expect an acknowledgement that the state-capitalist theory, as originally developed in the U.S. in 1941, not only refused to be limited to the "Russian Question", showing it was a new world stage, but proceeded both to relate it to the dialectic of Alienated Labor, and to single out Women as a revolutionary force that was Reason as well? Too many, in Old and New left alike outdo even-capitalist ideologues both in one-sidedness in writing history, and wholesale revision in rewriting it.

The Political-Philosophic Letters of Raya Dunayevskaya

- Will the Revolution in Portugal Advance?
- The UN Resolution on Zionism
- Mao's Last Hurrah (As appendix: The Beria Purge)
- West Europe and its Communist Parties
- Two Summits: U.S. and Russian
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reported and those unreported, that have been continuous for two long decades. Moreover, the latest 1976 revolt in Poland has revealed that its dissidents, far from being mainly intellectuals, are **massively proletarian.**

When myriad crises beset each country and the world as a whole, it may be pointless to try to single out which one will explode first. But one thing is sure. The Middle East is not the only one, though it may be the most immediate one. **It may also come from the Panama Canal Zone. After all, that is a pure case of 19th century "in perpetuity" imperialism. It is there where there have been many revolts, and at this moment, it has the UN also on its side to try to end that vengeful, endless imperialism.**

For West Europe to glory in its being the key to the international situation means allowing the U.S. to continue its neglect of Latin America to the point where, not the Secretary of State, but Mrs. Carter, loudly calling the President "Jimmy," delivers the final snub of indifference. **In truth, it is neither the Middle East nor Latin America; neither Europe nor Djibouti-Ethiopia, which is likely to have the deepest, long-range effect of all the global crises this year. It is the death of Mao Tse-tung and the consequent reorganization of Chinese planning to more rapid industrialization and new weaponry that looms as most significant.** It is no accident that about the last person Mao arranged to see (and Hua saw just a few days after Mao's death) was Schlesinger, who was most against Russian detente and most "for" modernizing Chinese weaponry.

Whatever de-Maoization is to develop now, abolition of the Sino-Soviet conflict is not one of those "principles." The border incidents in 1969-70 that nearly catapulted into an outright Russo-Chinese war encouraged U.S. imperialism to learn to take advantage of that conflict it so long had ignored. In the midst of the Vietnam War, Kissinger-Nixon taught the U.S. to take full imperialist advantage to get both Russia and China to help the U.S. get out of the Vietnamese War on its terms. **U.S. imperialism was appreciative of such collaboration because at the very moment, the internal anti-Vietnamese War movement and Black Revolution in the U.S. were shaking it up so massively that it couldn't possibly have won without Russo-Chinese aid!**

Naturally post-Mao China's present preparedness to intervene in a global way is not a matter of it being "for" the West, but of its aims that China itself become a global power. Russia, to it, is "Enemy No. 1" and this concept (which became dominant during the Cultural Revolution) is the one solid piece of Maoism they all adhere to. This has already led to such fantastic counter-revolutionary positions as to be very nearly with South Africa in opposition to the MPLA's victory of Angolan independence with Russian-Cuban help. While calling the Cubans "mercenaries," China did nothing short of opposing the Portuguese Revolution to the point of being for NATO.

Such imperialist collaboration Schlesinger naturally prefers to detente with Russia. This is the same Schlesinger who, as Secretary of Defense, gave the go-signal both for the neutron bomb and B-1 bomber, and who is now head of the new totalitarian monstrosity called Energy Research and Development Administration. It is necessary, therefore, to take another look at the N-bomb, keeping in mind also the sneaky adumbrated one-liner, in the 1978 budget for ERDA (Energy Research and Development Administration) in which it was cited: "W70 Mod 3 Lance Enhanced Radiation Warhead." If doomsday weapons can thus be slighted over, if Russia can shout to the skies that it is not they but the U.S. that is in over its head with death-ray experimentations—even as we found some 15 years after the event that the CIA planted germ warfare in New York subways and other such "foreign" places—what fear need we have of a "foreign" enemy? The enemy is right here; it is our exploitative, racist rulers.

III. Dialectics of Liberation: "Ultra-Leftism," Apartidarismo, and the Politicalization of New Forces of Revolution as Reason

The Political-Philosophic Letters actually began in the special January-February, 1976, *News & Letters*, with "Will the Revolution in Portugal Advance?" By no accident, our activities likewise

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 a form 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 this 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.

expanded internationally and nationally and not only in class struggles with the ARA women workers or with Black struggles and in all strike actions, but also in unscheduled publications—*New Essays and Sexism, Politics and Revolution in Mao's China* . . . that will actually initiate new activities this year, again both nationally and internationally. The new international relations established from England to Portugal, and from Italy to Mexico, may also extend to China, to which subject we will return as we formulate the conclusion at the end of our Perspectives, 1977-1978.

Because politicalization had, in the hands of the Old Left, meant vanguardism and program-hatching, we have kept away from the very word. It is high time not to let "the vanguard party to lead" appropriate the word, politicalization. **The return is to its original meaning in Marx's new continent of thought as the uprooting of the capitalistic state, its withering away, so that new humanist forms like the Paris Commune, 1871, emerge.** Marx himself was so non-vanguardist that, though "his" first International had dissolved itself, he hailed the railroad strikes spreading throughout the U.S. (climaxed by the 1877 St. Louis General Strike), as both an elemental "post festum" to the First Workingmen's International Association, and point of origin for a genuine workers' party.¹⁰

Naturally, this does not mean living in the 19th century. Rather, its recreation for our day is rooted in what has been original with us from the start, i.e., 1953, when, at one and the same time, we broke through on the Absolute Idea as a movement **from practice**, and an actual eruption—the very first revolution from under totalitarian Communism—did occur in East Germany. Both movements, in thought and in practice, compelled a working out of so new a relationship of theory to practice, that, with it, came the task of singling out new forces of revolution as well as **unequivocally articulating those forces of revolution themselves as Reason, instead of the come-from-above vanguardist party "to lead."** Though to most others in the U.S. the 1950s was

(Continued on Page 12)

(10) Marx's statement, dated July 25, 1877, is to be found on page 42 of *Then and Now: On the 100th Anniversary of the First General Strike in the U.S.*, by Terry Moon and Ron Brokmeyer, recently published by *News & Letters*.

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DRAFT PERSPECTIVES THESIS, 1977-1978

(Continued from Page 11)

the quiescent decade with its own "beat generation," while women, at best, were looked at only if they "made it" in a man's world, we singled out women as one of the forces of revolution, along with Blacks, labor and youth. From this followed not only activities in struggles at the point of production as well as in all freedom movements, but breaking with the concept of "vanguard party to lead" as well as all prerogatives of elitist leadership. Not only was **News & Letters** established as the forum for voices from below, but we chose as its editor a Black production worker, Charles Denby, and as West Coast editor another production worker, this time white, Felix Martin. While the principle of decentralization is carried throughout the paper, there is no division between theory and practice, as both are integral to the paper and its readers-writers. Though, by choice, we are **not a Party**, but a Committee, we are active participants with a unique Marxist-Humanist philosophy in all class struggles as well as Black revolts, in Women's Liberation as well as anti-war movements. (See Kent State article, p.9.) The intensification of these struggles this year goes hand-in-hand with the internationalization of **Philosophy and Revolution** — Portuguese, Italian, Japanese and German editions will be published this Fall and next Spring. The Spanish edition is just off the press (see ad this page).

When compared to the turbulent decade of the 1960s, the 1970s seemed at first to be a comedown, practically like the "quiescent" 1950s—so much so that even the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal in 1974 was at the beginning looked on as if it were no more than the substitution of "democratic" capitalism for fascist capitalism. With the overthrow of Spínola, however, not to mention the world economic crises of 1973, the whole of the Left, Old and New, flocked into Portugal in recognition that a new age of revolutions had started.

The shock of recognition, moreover, was to the new, to the fact that something revolutionary was happening at one and the same time, in Europe and Africa. From Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola, new international relations were established.

From Portugal a new word was born, **apartidarismo** (non-partyism), a new philosophy articulated of freedom in a new organizational form, with totally new elemental revolutionary forces. The non-partyism was no aberration away from the need of organization. **Rather it was a rejection of the vanguardism that has destroyed so many revolutions — and not only by totalitarian Communism, but also by the elitism that stifled revolutions even before they self-developed.**

The fact that the Portuguese counter-revolution of Nov. 25, 1975, could not, **could not** fully destroy the ongoing revolution, the rethinking in the country, as well as in the world Left, shows that it is not just a question of a word, **apartidarismo**, but a matter of facing anew the relationship of spontaneity to organization, of theory to practice, of philosophy to revolution.

The international event this year that made the greatest impression in the U.S. because of its affinity to the Black Revolution here is Soweto. From Soweto came the most profound and most crucial Black Revolution in the most virulent racist regime in the world—apartheid South Africa. High school youth, who read Frantz Fanon and Martin Luther King, look more to the Black Revolution in America than even to the revolution that started so new a global decade with the

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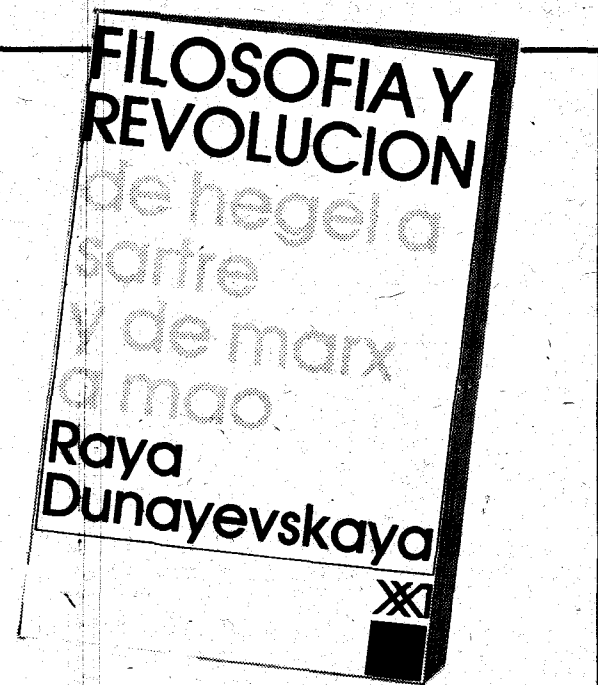
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1960s' revolutions in West and East Africa. It is this relation to the Black Revolts here that gives a totally new aspect to the Black Revolution in the U.S. Though it seemed to have stopped, it actually continued in a new form, trying not only to do, but to think, and to work out the very same type of relationship of philosophy to revolution as is characteristic of, on the one hand, Portugal, and on the other hand, China.

It is this which makes our tasks all the more urgent, because the time that is running out is for capitalism, the time that is coming is for a total uprooting of that which is. With that in mind, we project the following tasks (all of which will be fully developed in the Organization Report):

● First, a new pamphlet, **Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought**. The publication date is to be April, 1978. April is important to African Liberation, which from the start actually meant Black Revolution in the U.S., in the Caribbean, as well as in Africa. The draft of the pamphlet will not only be available for discussion at the Plenum to non-members as well as members, but, far from being "literature", it will be a basis for new activities with other groups.

● Secondly, new international relations must be further concretized, and not only for Europe and Africa, but with China. The good beginning that was established in 1966 has clearly had its ramifications into the 1970s.

Along with the translation into Chinese of the chapter from **Marxism and Freedom**, on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung", has come the chapter on "The Cultural Revolution"—published by an anarchist group, **The '70s**, which compiled "Ultra Left" writings in **The Revolution is Dead—Long Live the Revolution**. The most exciting parts of that book are the voices from mainland China. It is clear that ever since the Cultural Revolution, many of the Chinese youth took Mao at his word that it was "right to rebel," that the Party headquarters must "be bombarded," and "capitalist roaders" stopped from introducing Russian "revisionism", and instead, have the Paris Commune put into practice. The fact that Mao and his Little Red Book promptly declared the Sheng-Wu-Lien "ultra-left" and imprisoned its leader¹¹, simply drove the movement underground, but did not stop its further development. Quite the contrary. They arose again during the anti-Confucius, anti-Lin Piao campaign, and once more in the spontaneous mass demonstration in Tien An Men Square April 1976. The fact that many of these youth have a passion for a philosophy of liberation as well as actual liberation opens the debate on an altogether new level.

To this end came our two unscheduled pamphlets. The first—**New Essays**—has not merely "updated" **Philosophy and Revolution** with the

(11) An interview with an "ultra-Leftist" published in **Undergrad**, No. 15, 1974-75, and republished in **The Revolution is Dead—Long Live the Revolution** (p.245), states that "Yang Hsi Kwang's 'Whither China?' had brought him 20 years of imprisonment and actually no one really knows whether he was alive or dead."

essay on "Hegel's Absolute Idea As New Beginning", but made its entry into the battle of ideas in a new field. The essay, "Leon Trotsky As Man and As Theoretician", anticipates the 100th anniversary of Leon Trotsky's birth in 1979, with a more challenging balance sheet than Trotskyists, orthodox and split, can ever meet, for it relates Marx's "New Humanism" with the revolutionary philosophy of our day that opened up with the Hungarian Revolution.

The other unscheduled publication, **Sexism, Politics and Revolution in Mao's China**, which the Women's Liberation, News & Letters Committee brought out, not only meets the challenge of the most current event—the fall of Chiang Ch'ing—but raises the questions left unanswered by the Women's Liberation movements today, Marxist as well as anti-Marxist, apolitical as well as "strictly" feminist. This, likewise, will aid in the establishment of relations with Chinese revolutionaries.

● Thirdly, nothing is more urgent in this neutron bomb age than the continuity with what was Marx's new continent of thought and the discontinuity with all attempts to degrade Marx's Humanism as well as Lenin's philosophic reorganization to no more than a tactic for vanguardists' narrowing of the global crises to some sort of welfare-statism, capitalist-style, as in the case with the Trotskyist Ernest Mandel's "Introduction" to a beautiful new translation of Marx's **Capital**. This sets another task, the British-American decision to publish a joint pamphlet, **Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crises**. This will be introduced by Harry McShane and will reproduce the four chapters on **Capital** from **Marxism and Freedom**, placed in the context of a critical analysis of the present global crises by Raya Dunayevskaya.

● Finally, we can under no circumstances limit our opposition to the neutron bomb to analyses, but must undertake activities with all other movements wanting to make sure that the rulers are not permitted to really set off that nuclear holocaust, be it with neutron bombs or cruise missiles or death rays or whatever insanities the exploitative, racist, sexist rulers devise for purposes of single world control to put an end to civilization as we have known it. In that respect, nothing is more important than continued proletarianization as well as maintaining and expanding **News & Letters**, which has always been a forum for all voices from below, as well as theoretical development not isolated from proletarian voices. **Because we feel confident that our readers feel this same urgency, we are appealing to them to help us raise this year the barest minimum — \$15,000 — for the News & Letters Sustaining-Organizing-Publishing Fund.**

The new urgency, for work here as well as internationally, demands the working out of such a new relationship of philosophy to revolution that its very philosophic articulation as well as the elemental revolts from below will produce totally new organizational forms with which to realize socialism on truly human foundations.

—The Resident Editorial Board
June 28 - July 17, 1977

**THE REVOLUTION IS DEAD
LONG LIVE
THE REVOLUTION**

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