

los chicanos/los latinos (EN ESPAÑOL)



BLACK, BROWN AND RED
the movement for freedom
among black, chicano
latino and indian

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A NEWS & LETTERS PUBLICATION

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George Jackson



CHILE Free All Political Prisoners

Introduction

Who doesn't know that in this racist USA Blacks are still the lowest paid and get the dirtiest jobs inside the shops, while outside the shops the rate of unemployment among Blacks is still twice that of whites? Who doesn't know that Black women "have a double dose of it because they are Black workers and because they are women, exploited both ways"? Who doesn't know that the Chicanos are in the same rut in the areas where they constitute the largest minority, and their culture counts for nothing in white society? Who doesn't know that the only true Americans—the Indians—are the most exploited, the most degraded, the most ignored, the most abandoned of all?

What isn't known is the multitude of ways that all these exploited forces fight the system every day of their lives, what they feel and what they think — especially what they think. It is these voices of revolt, these new passions for a different life, these new thoughts of what to do, that this pamphlet is all about. To listen to them is to enrich your own life so that we can work out together what to do and how to do it.

How not to divide up our forces, with each acting separately, is the real problem. The question is how, in uniting, to make sure that we do not once more separate thought from deed, or the passion for change from the forces that will do the changing.

In the voices that you will hear in this pamphlet you may recognize your own — not only as something that you have experienced, but also as the hunger for a philosophy of liberation that is as strong as the desire for freedom itself. It is this total opposition to the racist and exploitative society we live in that is the key to the problems in society as a whole. It is a cry against a society which refuses humanity its human quality. This need is not a desire for some shadowy abstraction, but has taken the form of a universal movement that would make freedom and reason the reality of the day.

In a most concrete and dramatic way, this seeking for a philosophy of liberation, is expressed in the new consciousness of self that has come into being among Blacks, Chicanos, American Indians, women, production workers, students, and prisoners. By their activity they have forced the country to recognize their existence and thereby have made their cause the paramount political and the philosophical question of the day.

Soledad brother, George Jackson, in the crisis of his imprisonment discovered himself, his mind, and the world. He wrote in *Soledad Brother* that he and other Black inmates were "attempting to transform the Black criminal mentality into a Black revolutionary mentality".*

Let us look at the tragedy of the death of George Jackson. As against Che who became a martyr while sowing illusions of shortcuts to revolution, this revolutionary was forced to his actions by that Devil's prison run by Reagan. Anyone who heard the warden of that infamous penal colony knows the dangerously armed moron is like. And to think that so sensitive and profound a man as Jackson had to bow and be brutalized by such a monster makes one's blood boil, and know in his heart of hearts that he or she would have preferred death. Without a shred of doubt, that characteristic state institution of Reagan's California harbored the murderers, the political assassins matched only by Nazism. And no one would dare to have told Jackson he should have done this, and not that, to remain alive.

But for us to really tear down that Bastille, something more — a great deal more serious than either the Black Panther's gun manual or the Weatherman Underground's bombs — and even a great deal more than prison rebellion — is needed. Whether they delude themselves that thereby they "make" the revolution, or not, it is hardly what Jackson — who discovered Marx in the hell-hole — would have considered the proper tribute to his aspiration for remaking the world, and not just its prisons.

Listen to the Soledad Mothers speak for themselves, as they appealed for people to attend the trial of the two remaining Soledad Brothers:

*See *Soledad Brother* by George Jackson, Bantam Books, New York, 1970 and *If They Come In The Morning* by Angela Y. Davis and other political prisoners, The Third Press, New York, 1971.

Mrs. Inez Williams:

It looks like a prison camp. Everyone in there is grinning while holding shotguns and belt sticks. There are men walking around with machine guns. It's frightening. If my son wasn't there I'd stay away. I can understand why people are not coming.

But we've got to show them, that they are not going to stop us. They want to do their dirty work so no one knows what they are doing. I'm begging for your support; we need your dollars, but more than anything in the world we need you. We need people in that courtroom and I don't mean 18 and 20 year olds. We need some 45 year olds and 65 year olds in that courtroom, adult citizens. My son's life is at stake!

Mrs. George Jackson

We cannot let these two men, and all the other men in prison go quietly to the gas chamber, to their death in prison, because prison is a living death. Prison reforms, and prison law schools and anything connected with the prisons is not going to make it! The only thing to do with the prisons is to tear them down, because they are not there to help anybody. If anybody wants to help me tear them down, I'm willing.

I can't understand how people will go into their house and sit down and rationalize all this mess away. This country belongs to the people. When are the people going to stand up and say, "This is my country, and I don't like what's going on?"

How many more people do we have to have killed? How many more of us have to go to prison and live a living death? How many more of us have to go home and turn away our heads and try to forget what's going on and what's happening to us?

The crucial point is not that the Blacks at Soledad and Attica consider themselves "political prisoners", but that jails and penitentiaries are now included in the totality of the American capitalist crisis. And at the very center of this prison crisis, as in other facets of American life, is the Black Dimension with its consciousness of the need for radical social change.

The Panthers electrified the American Black youth by bringing in the new category of self defense. In 1967 the Black Panthers (BPP) went up to Sacramento to lobby, with their guns, against a bill that would prohibit carrying firearms within the limits of a city. They walked in with their guns and frightened the hell out of the legislators, who immediately passed anti-firearm

laws. Of course this was great publicity, and many Black youth who saw this on TV said, "Wow! Right on!" and went out and joined the Panther Party. They did not join the BPP because of Mao's little red book, but because of the BPP's direct dramatic action against an institution of capitalism. This eagerness to join the BPP came from a far deeper experience than just that dramatic show of weapons. It was drawing upon the past eleven years of the historic Black liberation struggles, beginning with the Civil Rights Movement of 1956, through to the Black Power movement and reaching a high point in 1967, the year the nation "discovered" the BPP, when the spontaneous uprising of the Blacks in Detroit ceased to be just a struggle between Black and white, but bore a class character as well.

The enthusiasm that the Black youth had for the BPP has been hopelessly dampened by the structure and the "philosophy" of the Party, both Huey Newton's and Eldridge Cleaver's brands which are counter to the native grounds of the Black revolution. Here is how an ex-Panther, a young Black woman who still has great respect for the Panthers and is still active in the Angela Davis Defense Committee puts it: "We would read Mao by paragraphs and the Minister of Education would explain it to us. I dug this education, reading from Mao, but somehow it didn't seem to relate to our condition. We began to think that all of this was just a front for doing nothing revolutionary. We would talk about this among ourselves but would not go to our leaders and tell them this."

This is not an opposition to theory, but rather a desire for total revolutionary change. Her simple statement goes far to explain the central crisis of Black liberation in the U.S. The need for a philosophy of revolution, connected to Black existence, and the Black struggle for liberation, instead of the backwardness of the masses of Black people as indicated by Huey Newton who believes the masses have to be spoon-fed on a survival program.

Marx long ago pointed out that man's consciousness is determined by his social existence, but at no time did Marx construe this to mean that man could not, by his activity, change both his consciousness and his existence. If, by achieving self-consciousness, man becomes aware of his oppression, he also becomes aware of its opposite, freedom. And it is this, the very idea of freedom, that has spurred men into both practical and theoretical activities toward that end.

The Black mass movement toward liberation always carried with it a movement toward "totality", that is to say, not only a change in the relationship of man to man, but a change in the very quality of man himself. Franz Fanon

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saw the purpose of the African revolutions as, not to create another state, another Black bourgeoisie, shaped like the European bourgeoisie, but to create an entirely different man. What Fanon was getting at, in the context of the African revolution has been the crucial problem facing both Blacks and whites in this country.

See if you do not recognize our problem in the way Fanon expressed it in *The Wretched of the Earth*:

The consciousness of self is not the closing of a door to communication. Philosophic thought teaches us, on the contrary, that it is its guarantee. National consciousness, which is not nationalism, is the only thing that will give us an international dimension ... The responsibility of the African as regards national culture is also the responsibility with regard to African-Negro culture....It is at the heart of national consciousness that international consciousness lives and grows.

This is true both negatively and positively. We see the Black dimension as a revolutionary, international dimension. Racism, like imperialism, is also an international phenomenon. In the struggle against it, the way the workers unite—whether they be the shipyard workers of the Clydeside in Glasgow, or of Nagasaki; whether they be auto workers of Detroit, or of Toyota; whether they be African women or the American Women's Liberation — shows that we are living in one world. It is one world divided in two — but the division is within each country, between the wretched of the earth and those who rule over them.

The red thread of self-activity, self-development and self-organization that has run throughout history, has shown the Black masses as vanguard, and has expressed itself in the last decade at every stage of development — from the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, to the Fleetwood Revolutionary Committee in Detroit, Mich. The movement is revolutionary by its very nature, so revolutionary that even its leaders have had to recognize it.

This shock of recognition was described in these terms by Dr. King: "The Negro masses in the South began to re-evaluate themselves, a new process that was to change the nature of the Negro community and doom the social patterns of the South. From this point on, the South's terrible peace was rapidly undermined by the Negro's new courage and thinking and its ever increasing readiness to organize to act."

It is not by accident that from his jail cell Soledad Brother George Jackson opposed the wild use of anti-white epithets and demanded that Blacks recognize that there are revolutionary allies among the whites. As he put it: "Who is the Black working for, who does he love when he screams 'Honky?' He would throw us into a fight where we would be out-numbered 1 to 14 (counting the Blacks who would fight with/for the other side in a race war). War on the Honky, it's just another mystification..."

What this pamphlet aims to do is to bring the philosophy of revolutionary Marxist-Humanism into a direct dialectical relationship with the movement for liberation which is coming from Black people and other minorities, women, colonial peoples, and above all, the working masses who are the power that will decide the birth of the new world of men and women.

Black people today are living in the age of Nixon. Nixon is attempting to turn back the clock, attempting to re-segregate the schools, leading the most racist attacks against Black people on the welfare issue. White labor is also living in the age of Nixon, feeling the weight of all his anti-labor attacks, and angry enough to act.

This pamphlet does not pretend to have all the answers. What it does hope to show is the direction needed to work out the answers. The worker who tells of "A Black Worker's Life" wants to know: "What are we going to do about the things that are happening? We've been talking about organizing some kind of caucus. What we need is for the worker to feel that somebody is behind them."

What we hope is that this pamphlet can become part of the mediation between the Black caucuses, the Chicano organizations, the associated Indian committees, the youth, the anti-war forces, the women's liberation groups — all directed to uprooting capitalist society, root and branch — and creating, at the same time, a new truly human society.

John Alan
Black-Red View Columnist News & Letters

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Black Workers

Four years have passed since the 1967 explosions. For a few months it looked as if Whitey had got the message. Young Blacks were hired at many plants. All kinds of committees were formed--like the New Detroit Committee that was supposed to see about retraining and changing conditions within the unemployed ranks and in the shops.

Everyone, from the newspapers to the politicians, from the company presidents to the union leaders, wants to speak for the workers. Let's listen to them speak for themselves.

I work at a Chrysler plant outside Detroit. In the past month they have been hiring. Hiring nothing but white people. They have hired two Black guys and got one from the pool, out of a total of about 75 new people. They hired new women--but only white women. Black women came out there, and Black men too. One Black man I know went out there and the guard told him that they weren't taking any applications, but at the same time white boys were driving right through the gate and putting applications in.

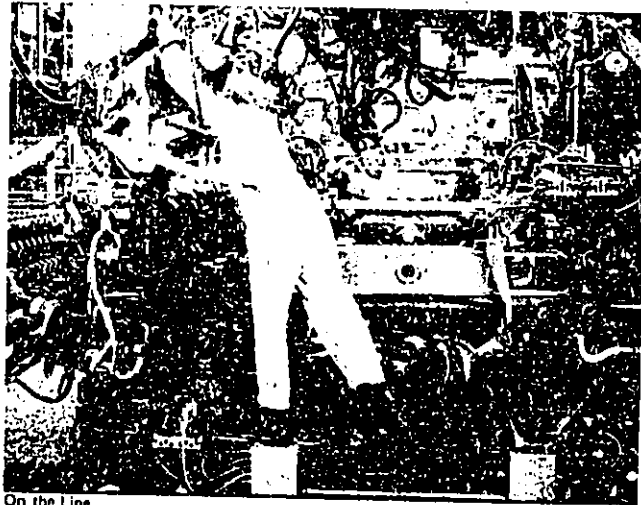
The same sort of story comes from another Black UAW member in Los Angeles.

I have worked at a couple of aircraft plants in the past few years. At one, I had to go down five times after applying for the job to get in. Each time I was supposed to take welding tests, but the man who was to give them wasn't around. Finally, another worker said, 'Are you going to hire him or not? He has been here five times.' So they hired me as a maintenance welder.

In another place, I was the only Black welder. After working there a while, I was transferred out to another job. While I was gone, everyone got a raise except me. I asked about it and they said it was a paperwork bottleneck and would be fixed. When I asked again, they said I was a troublemaker. Soon after, they laid me off.



Black Workers Wildcat at Ford Plant in Mahwah, N.J.



On the Line

The workers feel that the union never does anything for them. A Black worker in Detroit put it this way:

It is impossible for Black workers to get any satisfaction from this union. It has gotten to the point where some workers are saying that if the union won't fight the company, we should get some shotguns and rifles and go take over our local union hall and hold it until we get to talk to Woodcock.

Some are also questioning seniority, which they claim is run by the book when it benefits whites, and thrown away when it would help Blacks. Black caucuses in California aircraft plants, where Blacks were hired only recently, and wiped out with the first cutbacks, have been calling for 12 percent Black, 14 percent Chicano, in all departments no matter what cutback.

A 63 year old woman, who has been active in the NAACP and a worker all her life, says:

I was a janitor in Seattle. Many Blacks were janitors, and when they became organized into a union, Blacks were compelled to join. But none of them had any power in the unions. It seemed that as the white working brothers were able to secure shorter working hours and higher wages and more fringe benefits, we were pushed out more and more. There is a kind of feeling I sense today that we are not really going to get the better society we are working for by working with other workers.

A Black worker in Detroit, just retired, disagrees.

Something has to be done about the racism in the seniority system, but it's dangerous to say just throw out seniority. There are a lot of Black workers in the UAW today who wouldn't be there if it weren't for seniority. There's a lot of maneuvering and collusion, but to throw it out would mean hell.

Black Workers Question the Union

When the CIO was born, in the 1930's, it was Black and white together that seized the plants and forced the company to treat workers like human beings instead of just so many pieces of machinery. But today many workers, Black and white, feel that the union isn't the same, that it is the disciplining agent of the workers, that it sides with the companies, that it has been transformed into the opposite of what it was when it started.

I work in the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) at Ford Rouge. I'm paying \$7.98 a month in union dues. Our whole building pays about \$28,000 a month to the UAW. The DAP is predominantly Black, and yet we see little or none of our money invested for the betterment of the Black community or for Black workers in the shops. All we get for our money is excuses. One Black brother in our building was given 30 days off for absenteeism. He brought in a doctor's letter, but it was refused. This happened several times. The bargaining committee refused to appeal his grievance.

Another worker got 30 days off for being late. He had a family emergency. This brother asked his committeeman, who is white, to write a grievance. It was never written. After two weeks, the committeeman told the man to come in. He took him to see this foreman and told him to beg and apologize so he could get back to work.

Even Black committeemen don't escape racist treatment. In the DAP, a Black committeeman who had filed many grievances was told to meet with a bunch of department heads alone. He refused to go unless a bargaining committeeman accompanied him. They all said they were too busy. When he didn't show up, Ford management gave him a week off.

Here is the way one young Black worker at Fleetwood views the union, where he feels it has gone:

They have many racist foremen and general foremen at Fleetwood, mostly from Kentucky, Tennessee, South Carolina—all over the South. They came up North in the late 40's and early 50's and now they are in controlling positions in both the plant management and the union. Their views and attitudes haven't changed. They hate all Black people, but especially the young Blacks who will stand up and fight for their rights. I foresee that you will have a revolution in the auto industry in the near future, in the ranks of the union.

"Hot, Heavy, Dirty"

In every plant and mill in auto and steel where more than a token few Blacks are employed, there are some departments that are virtually all-white, where the work may be a little easier, a little cleaner, or a little safer; and there are those departments called "HHD—hot, heavy, dirty", where Black workers are concentrated.

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Listen to the voices of workers from just one predominantly Black department--the Fleetwood body shop. Not every worker in it is Black, and the whites there are in the same boat, but it is a typical "Black Department" in the auto plants.

I have been in the body shop for nine long years, and I know some brothers who have been there a lot longer than me. One older worker I know was working on the wheelhouse job. The way this job is set up now, you have to lift the wheelhouse off hooks and put them on the table. Then you put on a strip, weld them, take them off, and you still have to catch the line. If the line runs 400 jobs for eight hours, you weld 200 jobs and load 200. As fast as this man can weld, the line goes faster. You don't even have time to catch your breath or go to the bathroom. My job isn't much better than his. I am missing one or two days nearly every week. I can't afford to be missing days, but I have to or I'll drop dead.

A man I know in department 3 (body shop) was burned by welding sparks twice in one night. He went to medical. The second time the nurse called labor relations and they took him to the blue room. They told him he was taking too many medicals, and accused him of 'wasting the company's time.' The committeeman said there was nothing he could do to stop it. One worker brought a note from his doctor that his back was bad and they transferred him the next day--to the heaviest job in the department!

We are working five guns each where I work. Last year they worked 'only' two guns. No one can keep up. There is no more 'going in the hole'. You start in the hole and finish in the hole. The speed is so bad that accidents are coming more and more often. Any time a man has to work more than eight hours, he is a safety hazard. One worker was hit in the head with a gun reel for this reason. He could have been killed, and if things don't change someone will be.

Once a Black worker has been placed in an HHD department it is nearly impossible to get out. The company and the union combine to make the transfer an endless series of stalls, red tape, "procedure" and outright discrimination. Here is one man's tale of how not to get out of the body shop:

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I have had a 63B (transfer form) in for months to get transferred to a checking job. One time I went to see where I stood on it and I was 11th from the top. One month later I had the committeeman check the list again, and he said I was 7th. Then I heard that two or three guys went into checking--so I figured I was close to getting out of the body shop after all these years.

Well, I asked again another month later and they said: 'You're 15th now.' I would like to know how they're dealing the cards, from the bottom? Everyone knows they have whites in checking with less seniority than I have, and they've gone on checking recently.

A younger worker commented:

I know checking in that department. If they have 15 or 20 whites there, they'll let in two or three Blacks so they can say 'Look, we've got your people there.'

Black and White

There is a lot of discussion on the relationship between white and Black workers.

The company believes that Black people can always do just a little bit more than white people. Whites will say: 'I can't do that job!' And the foreman will go along with them. But if a Black man can't do the job they get rid of him. Any job I don't keep up, whether it hurts me or not, they say 'keep it up or you're out!' The general foreman told my foreman that the first time my job is in the hole, to send me upstairs and I'll be on the street.

Another worker had a different viewpoint:

When the union was formed, quite a few white workers understood what it meant. They couldn't be so easily used as they can today. The production process--the grind--is so bad today that it forces some workers, Black and white, to accept from the company some way that he can make his day easier. There are some whites who have always been company supporters.

But on some jobs there are white workers that are catching hell, just like the Black workers in their group. These whites on my job are young; they didn't come up through the union movement, and

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two of them are Southerners, but they are just as close with the Black workers on issues like speed-up as anybody.

In the mills and in the auto shops, Black workers have taken actions in support of white workers' demands, and have tried to open a dialogue with them. At Bethlehem Steel's mill near Baltimore, they formed a group called the Committee for Equality, outside the union. They knew the government gave the mill about \$50 million a year in contracts, so they tried to expose the illegal racism and threatened the company. It worked; the company began to make a lot of changes to let Black workers get out of the all-Black units of the mill. A white steelworker there commented:

A lot of white guys who had grievances against the local union began to think differently about the Black workers. Now they want to join them so they can get their own problems settled.

And a worker in Detroit put it this way:

Whether you are Black or white, if you work in the body shop you are in danger of losing your life. Working in the body shop is like combat in Vietnam. You work like a slave in there.

I would like to say something to the white workers at Fleetwood. Many of them have run to Taylor and Southgate to live in all-white neighborhoods. The real estate men charge the white workers top dollar for the promise that no Blacks will move in.

I know many white workers who are buying houses out there that they can't afford; the payments are too high. They are in such a spot financially that they can't strike, even if the company works them to the bone. This makes life harder for all the workers, Black and white. The only people it helps is GM and the real estate men.

You can't escape Black people forever, so why hurt yourself and us by trying?

A Black Worker's Life

We have quite a problem out at my plant and at most factories around here in Flint. We're fighting the age-old problem of racism and low work standards. I can tell you about my experience and it'll be enough.

My problem started a year ago, right after the strike. I was doing a job on one side, and a white worker was doing the job on the other

side. It was too much work. We couldn't keep it up. The foreman and the general foreman were complaining, and they would always tell me; they would never say anything to the white boy. Sometimes they would harass me for maybe 20 minutes at a time. This went on for something like 3 or 4 months. It come to a point where I couldn't take it any more, where I was about to explode and I was afraid that I would hurt someone in there. I went on sick leave.

Before I left, we had a grievance on the job. And when I came back it wasn't really a killer job. You would still put in an honest day's work, but you didn't have to work your head off. But the minute I got this job, the general foreman started complaining that there wasn't enough work on this job. And he started the whole process again. They switched the whole job around, and added more work on it. He comes to me again and threatens me. The only time he said anything to the white boy, he would be talking about fishing-but they were steady harassing me. I didn't want to go on sick leave again. I couldn't run. The general foreman told me personally, I'm going to put you on a job where when you do get a decent job, you will appreciate it. He broke the job up; he gave part of it to one person, a little bit to another person, and scattered it around. He put the white boy on a job where most of the time you walk around with your hands in your pockets. I'll give you a brief description of the job he gave me.

I had a wrench, a drill and a bag of screws hanging around my waist. And I would have to jump up in the back of the car, tighten two bolts, shoot two screws, knock out 5 holes, put the insulation in, straighten it out, collect all my scrap, pick up my wrench and my drill and jump out of the car, throw the material in a basket somewhere along the line. We were running 72 jobs an hour. I felt I couldn't do this either. I went on sick leave again.

During the time I was on sick leave, I ran into News & Letters. The UAW couldn't help me. The UAW is weak, I think it's more or less a traditional thing. My friends at N & L put me in touch with some people, and I filed a civil rights complaint against this general foreman, for harassment and discrimination. Finally the civil rights people started investigating. When I went back, they put me on the same job, but I wasn't harassed like I had been. The general foreman was afraid to say anything to me. He would just stand and look. But it had gotten to the point where he didn't have to say anything. I just looked at him and I wanted to kill him.

I was trying to get them to fire me, because if they fired me, then I could make it. I could draw compensation or unemployment.

But they wouldn't fire me. I tried with all my might. I would come in come day and take off two, come back the next day and take off the next two—but they never said anything to me once.

Then I fell and hurt my back. They're trying to say now that I did it intentionally, but I really would like to work. It's disgusting to know that a man can't go to the job and be happy. I don't mind working; I'd really like to work. I have a family to support and everything that goes with that. But I'm not going to do a job this man has put me on for punishment. I'm not going to kill myself, just to satisfy someone else.

There are alot of people in there who are having trouble. They will go to the UAW, and the UAW will say: 'Don't worry, we'll take care of it after awhile, sooner or later'. They are dead right then. The problem is, what are we going to do about this sort of thing that is happening?

A trick that they use to keep the Black workers contained is that if a Black is complaining about the job, they will take a white guy and put him on the job and tell him, 'if you do this job for me, for a couple hours or a day, I will give you a good job. But I've got to have you do this job so I can keep this nigger straight'. The next day or even that afternoon, he'll put you right back on that job and you'll be stuck there.

We've been talking about organizing some kind of caucus. We passed out some leaflets that had quite an impact on the workers. What we really need is to make workers feel that somebody is behind them; that they've got somebody to fall back on.

Otherwise, I'm afraid that what's going to happen is what happened in Detroit, at Chrysler—somebody is going to get killed. In the last couple of months, the doctor has been beaten up; a couple of general foremen; a couple of foremen. It's getting to the point where people are beginning to get violent. With me, every time that they get me to the point where I feel as if I'm getting riled up enough to fight, I leave. But I don't know about others.

I don't think people realize how workers are being treated in the auto shops. I think we're forgotten. They feel that 'they've got the UAW to take care of them.' But the UAW is not taking care of us. The UAW is taking care of itself. The company and the UAW have air-conditioned offices. They provide them with a coffee pot and they sit back all day with their heels propped up on the desks, while we are out there working like dogs.

Management seems to be able to buy anybody they want to. I don't think a company should be allowed to get as big as General

Motors. They have too much political force. When it really got bad in the factories was when Nixon took office. Tricky Dicky's their boy.

Revolt in the Shops

There is rebellion in the shops every day against racism and the conditions of work. The rebellion takes many forms: from attacks on foremen to opposition electoral campaigns; and from Black caucus activity to wildcat strikes. No one can possibly predict from day to day what new forms workers will create to express their total opposition to the factory-jail. The one thing every worker agrees on is that revolt will go on because there is no alternative to revolt.

Last year at Chrysler's Eldon Axle plant, a Black worker named Johnson actually did kill two foremen and another worker. During his trial, one young worker said:

The people in my shop talk about the Johnson trial. They say the same thing is going to happen one day in this plant. Everybody has sympathy for the man, even though they don't think he's a hero or anything. They know you can be pushed to the point where you are not responsible.

Sometimes the fury of the workers comes out in local union elections. In the 1971 local elections, many presidents were kicked out by the membership. One worker explained:

The main thrust of local union rank-and-file members this year seems to be aimed at poor working conditions and union misrepresentation. So far, without exception in Chrysler plants, the same pattern shows up in plants where unrest led to wildcat strikes. The wildcat strikes had to be called because the United Auto Workers Union will not authorize a strike unless they want something from the corporation.

For example, Eldon Axle had a wildcat and UAW bureaucrats ordered the striking workers back to work.

This same Chrysler plant was the scene where two bosses and one worker were shot to death in the plant by another worker who had been harassed by management and then sent home for disciplinary action. This trial recently ended, with the jury judging the worker innocent of murder for reason of insanity--after they visited the

plant and saw the conditions the workers had to work under, and this was after management had been working night and day for weeks to clean up just the filth in the factory, to say nothing of the speed of the work.

The rank-and-file of this troubled plant defeated the president on the first ballot.

Next door, at Dodge Forge, there had been a strike over poor working conditions. There was the same script: the president went along with the UAW bureaucrats in ordering the men back to work. The membership defeated this president on the first ballot.

Sterling Stamping plant had a wildcat strike. The UAW said 'Return to Work!' The president of the local union said 'Hell No!' Result: the president was re-elected by a big vote.

Chrysler Centerline parts plant had a wildcat strike and many young workers were fired. The UAW said to return, the president said hell no. The president was re-elected.

Absent from these elections was the question of race. Whites replaced some Blacks, and Blacks replaced some whites—where it took the votes of all to win. The workers were looking at the records of their officers, not their color this time as much as they have in recent years.

The disgust with the old leadership is so great that even scare tactics don't work anymore. At Ford Rouge's Dearborn Assembly Plant, a Black worker ran for unit president against several "leaders" who already held office. The membership was just fed up; they didn't want any of the old crowd. In the run-off election, the white ex-president tried to turn the white workers against the Black candidate by a whispering campaign that said he was a "Black Panther" and that if he was elected, white workers wouldn't get any help. It didn't work.

Black Caucuses, Black Shop Paper

1969 was the year in which Black caucuses, Black wildcats and Black shop newspapers really exploded in shops across the country. At the Ford plant in Mahwah, N. J., Black workers shut down their plant after repeated racial insults against Black workers. They formed an opposition group called the United Black Brothers (UBB). In Detroit, the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) was born; thousands of workers at Dodge Main plant walked out to support a list of demands against racism. The very word "revolutionary" attracted workers. Unfortunately, DRUM, and its affiliates at Eldon

Axle and Ford Rouge, did not sustain the great excitement that they created in the UAW. Their attempt to cram Mao's "little red book" down the throats of workers cost them the mass support they had in the beginning.*

Black shop papers began appearing in dozens of plants in 1969. At the Mack Ave. Chrysler plant in Detroit, the Black editor of the Mack Ave. Stinger pointed out that white workers read and liked their paper because they raised not only the questions of racism, but also "the question of inhuman conditions of all workers in production: automation, speed-up and the inhumanity of the company and union bureaucrats against workers as a whole."

Although some of the organized Black caucuses have folded since their upsurge in 1969, the revolt in the shops is as deep as ever, and the anger against racism by the companies and the unions is no less intense. A year after the ELRUM strike against racism at Eldon Axle, workers walked out again when a worker was attacked by a foreman, and the company fired the worker for defending himself. Eighty percent of the workers there are Black, and the plant is known as one of the worst in number of job deaths and injuries.

New activity is taking place in steel, too. At U.S. Steel's Clairton, Pa. mill, Black workers organized an Ad Hoc committee to fight racism. A Black steelworker tells the story:

In the Clairton works many of the Black workers were put in the department where the coke batteries are. This department was nearly all-Black, and the conditions are terrible. They get the coal to a certain temperature and then they have to quench it. All the dust and soot from the coal blows up there. There is so much acid in the air there that the regulators and torches they have turned totally black in six months. If it does that to metal, you can imagine what it does to a person's lungs.

The guys in that department have been trying for six or seven years to get out of there, but they weren't getting anywhere, so they organized a group. In fact, there have been Black caucuses springing up all over the valley. At Clairton, the main problem was getting the union to support them,

*See *American Civilization on Trial, News & Letters, 1971.*

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because if they tried to get transfered one by one, all they got was a lot of harassment. Finally they had some protests at the union and got some publicity, and now the company is changing its policy. Quite a few workers are getting out of that department.

Crisis Is Everywhere

Be it New York or Nashville, be it Atlanta or Newark, be it Pittsburg or Detroit, the sanitation workers are not only striking for better conditions, but also using totally new tactics, which show them to be aware of their problem as both a national one and a Black one. Thus, the Detroit workers called in Ralph Abernathy and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to help them in their struggle.

A Detroit DPW worker tells his own story:

We went out because we knew it wasn't fair for the city to lay men off and then ask the rest for overtime. There were two layoffs: 250 men lost their jobs in May and June. This was in addition to the first layoff. There is no such thing as 'too much work' when there are enough men to do it, and then there is no need for overtime. This is why we held the slowdown and this is why we struck.

The public was with us this time. This is something new that we never had before. The public knew they faced the same thing where they worked.

We're supposed to be getting \$4.00 an hour retroactive to when the strike ended, starting August 20. We have a three-year contract this time. When you spread out the money we won over three years, it isn't anything. It's just enough to keep up, but no real gain. Our contracts never used to be three years. They were always one. It's the worst deal I've ever seen.

They've been pushing for overtime ever since we got back to work. There are a few workers who will give the boss overtime. Some men will work from 7:30 in the morning till 9:00 at night when the sun is down. They are crazy.

I've heard that there are city men following the trucks and watching to see who works overtime. They are going to bring in bigger trucks in October which will hold more and will only need two men instead of three to run them. I'm just

waiting for more layoffs. They see how much work they can get out of us, and then they turn around and lay off some more men off.

When a quarter of three comes around, whether you finished your assignment or not, you can say no and head for the yard. That's the one thing we've got. The men I work with, the whole crew, we decided This truck don't work no overtime. Everybody knows it. The foreman doesn't even bother to ask us any more.

On August, 1971, a group of Black workers at GM's Fleetwood plant got together to put out leaflets. They chose for the name of their group, "Fleetwood Revolutionary Workers Committee". Here is what they said:

"WE CAN'T DO ANYTHING FOR YOU UNTIL AFTER LABOR DAY"

That's what the president of our local union says. That's what the committeemen say; that's what the zone men say. They know because the International told them so.

The men from the International came to the body shop, looked at the jobs for a few minutes and went back to their air-conditioned offices. Then you get the word: "Walk with the foreman, like you're walking on eggshells until after Labor Day." It's not just the body shop, either --it's the whole plant.

We wonder --if Local 15 and the International is willing to let us suffer until Labor Day, what is going to be different after Labor Day?

When we came back off the stike, every job had more work put on it. If you had to put in a detonator on the forth floor, now you got four other jobs besides. If you had two guns in the body shop, you got five. Then we supposedly got everything "settled."

But as soon as the jobs were settled, the company broke the settlements and added more work again. How many people who are reading this had your settlement broken, and more work put on? How many have been out on sick leave or missed time because if you didn't you would drop dead? And what about the job they have on the forth floor that is impossible to do, and when they want to get rid of a brother they put him on it?

How many have seen your committeeman given time off

if he fights for you, but if he is no good he can sit up in the committee room all day, or even get a foreman's job? How many of the women have been forced out of the plant, made to take early retirement or disability because of harassment by management and poor representation by the union? How many people have seen on paper the local settlement on your job on the production line? All our local agreements are just talk, you never get anything in writing.

Do we have to call on SCLC and Rev. Abernathy to come down here to Fleetwood to help us the way the sanitation workers did?

DO WE HAVE TO GO ON WILDCAT THE WAY THE SANITATION WORKERS DID?

WE ARE THE ONLY PEOPLE WE CAN COUNT ON TO LOOK OUT FOR US. That is why we have to stick together. If we don't, we are going to be in chains for the rest of our days. Even our children will be in chains.

—Fleetwood Revolutionary Workers Committee

No one can predict where the Black worker's movement will go from here. But in every plant and mill, workers are questioning everything, searching for new ways to drive racism and anti-human conditions out of the shops. As one worker said: "We've got no place to go, so we might as well fight right here."



James Wells, Shipyard



Women from National Welfare Rights Organization Picket Depart. of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington.



Leslie Bolling,
Washerwoman

Black Women

Black women have given an added dimension to the determination to "fight right here."

A young Black intellectual in New York says:

I'm not thoroughly convinced that Black Liberation, the way it's been spelled out, will really and truly mean my liberation. I'm not so sure that when it comes time to put down the gun, that I won't have a broom shoved in my hands, as so many of my Cuban sisters have. I, and I alone want to be the one to decide my life style now and tomorrow; that's why I see Women's Liberation struggle, as a necessary and crucial co-existent struggle. I want to be sure that when the great day of liberation comes, I won't then have to start my own struggle for autonomy.

By fighting for my liberation as a woman, I'm not draining away anything from the Black Liberation struggle, because any gains made by me in my behalf, and on behalf of half the Black population (women), is automatically a gain for the entire race.

An older woman worker in Detroit puts a different emphasis on the question:

It appears to me that we put too much concern on the Black woman's liberation as if the Black man has been liberated the same as the white man. He hasn't even been liberated equally with the white woman. I think this is what we have to work out first. Take the Woman Suffrage movement. It was mainly a white woman's movement, struggling for the right to vote, although it had got its inspiration from the Black women and men in the Abolitionist movement. After they won the right to vote, those white women seemed to have forgotten the Black struggle for liberation.

That doesn't mean the Black women shouldn't fight against their men. I don't think Black men should boss women any more than white men should. The reason Black men want to be boss over

their women is because that's what white men do.

It was the slave master who instituted the pattern of housework for women, and mainly for Black women. Even though she worked in the fields with men all day, it was the woman who came home to do all the cooking, washing, and keeping house. The slave masters had shown this was the woman's job, so it became a part of all men's thinking, and it was accepted by most Black women in those days....

Back in the old days when the white man kept the Black man under his control, Black men were kept working so hard and paid so little that they couldn't treat their wives like the white wives were treated. And the white man was glad to make his wife think he was treating her so much better than the Black man treated his wife.

I felt the white women were more oppressed along social lines in the South than anywhere in the world, and they still are to some extent.

To a domestic worker at Berkeley, the most important thing is the conditions of work:

We are in a struggle to get equal pay for equal work. We do the same work as a custodian or a janitor and we are asking to be reclassified as matrons and the janitors as custodians. The University don't want to do this; they are trying to pretend that we don't do the same work. The whole system reeks with racism. All the managers are white. The white workers who are hired are put in a position where they can make it all year around. They aren't given the part time work. We had a couple of white maids. But they have always managed to put them in a position where they oversee the Black worker. There seems to be no end to the cutting of the number of Black workers and load the work onto those who stay.

I think the Women's Liberation movement could play a heavy role because the establishment wants to exploit the woman worker and this is the way they have of doing it. We have a double dose of it because we are Black workers and we are Black women. They exploit us both ways.

Black Women A Special Problem

Almost 58% of all domestic workers are Black, and domestic work is not covered by minimum wage laws in the majority of states. Other jobs in the

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so-called service industry, are exempt from labor law legislation. Thus, the massive campaign for unionization by hospital workers in both New York and Charleston, had to deal not only with "winning" union recognition from the employer, but also with fighting the state government to be allowed to have a union at all.

The unemployment rate for Black women runs to 30% and 40% for certain age groups. Young women, between the ages of 16 and 24, have it the worst. In Detroit, the unemployment rate for them runs over 50%! Many women who are able to find jobs are forced to work part-time — because that is all that's available for them.

Here is the average income for Black women as a group, compared to other groups in the labor force:

White Men	\$7,080
Black Men	3,829
White Women	3,380
Black Women	1,688

Many of the jobs which Black women can get pay so little that being on welfare makes better economic sense. The following is the story of a welfare mother in Detroit who took a job as a hospital aide.

I got off ADC (Aid to Dependent Children) when I got the chance to get a job in a hospital here as an aide. My first day at work was supposed to be spent observing and getting acquainted with the hospital. But when the week was out, I was still confused about what my routines were supposed to be, because there was so much I was expected to do, I could never seem to catch up.

When the hospital is short of help because of absenteeism, which is most of the time, those who come in are supposed to make up the work of those who haven't. The work is very hard.

Right after I hired in, I asked an aide who had been there longer if there was a union in the hospital. She said there was supposed to have been a union coming in since March and that when she had hired in at \$1.60 an hour, they had promised her a raise in two months. But it never came. We aides still get \$1.60 an hour.

I left ADC to take this job and my check isn't much more than when I was on ADC. I used to get \$112 every two weeks; at the hospital I get \$115 every two weeks after deductions. With three children and myself to take care of, that doesn't go very far.

ADC mothers have special problems everywhere they turn:

In the Detroit area there has been a big scandal about the way the FHA inspectors approved homes at prices that are five times or more what they are worth. The real estate companies have been buying old houses for \$2,000 and reselling them to ADC mothers for \$10,000 or more, in slummy areas. After the family moves in they find out the wires are bad, the furnace is bad, the roof leaks, the basement floods. Most of these women just don't know what to look for ... The real estate people know they are easy victims. And now that the scandal has been exposed, they will probably just stop the ADC mothers from being able to buy homes. This is something Women's Liberation should work on.

Hungry in Every Area

Black women have had to be more aggressive than white women because we've often had to be the head of our families. But the welfare system has really put Black families in a bind. Many of the poor Black men, even though they work, cannot support their families because they make so little. Their wives usually have to go to domestic jobs to get work. Even though the Black woman is also poorly paid, she often brings home more than the man, and she will be considered the head of the family because that's what she's been forced to be. The welfare system has made it even worse. The man has to move right out of the home so the women can get more money for the children. All this has put Black women where they are. It is not good when all the responsibility of rearing a family is on the mother.

Black people need to set up a different kind of structure for family life than what we've seen the white people have. Because their children are telling us that the white structure has failed them. We need to have man and woman as equals, not one dominating the other. And we don't need domination over the children, either. Nobody can develop that way.

Racism is still the worst problem the Black man or woman has. The Black woman can't forget the Black man, because he hasn't been liberated either.

Our people are hungry in every area.

Listen to a Black woman tell of the time she was in the Black Panther Party:

In this particular Black Panther chapter in which I was a member, we sisters had a great amount of love and respect for each other. This cohesiveness was detectable during drill practice. When a sister misses or takes too many steps, or when some sister is out of order, the squad leader orders her to drop, and commense to do push-ups or sit-ups. Other sisters would respond and drop too.

Love and respect was expressed in other ways, i.e., before drill practice sisters would be sitting on the steps and our sister who was considered head of the women would sometimes greet us by kissing all of us on the forehead. You may ask if the captain or squad leaders ever showed this type of affection. The answer would be no, not in broad daylight, and in the open air where their chauvinist nature could be exposed.

Drill practice was a challenge for both brothers and sisters, but more so for the sisters. Drill practice required a tremendous amount of discipline. This society hasn't guided her in this direction as well as it has men. It's more of a natural conditioning for men because some of them have served in the military, and as Black men they have toiled with the everyday problems of survival. Discipline, I feel is a necessity in the Black Panther Party. Many of my sisters have had to toil twice or sometimes three times as hard as the brothers to achieve this Utopia.

One afternoon during drill practice, the captain confronted the sisters and told them his was informed by the brothers that many of the sisters within the chapter were only there to find themselves men and weren't dedicated to the cause. He went on to say that many of the sisters were 'paper tigers' (Mao's definition of a counter-revolutionary), and to go look somewhere else for husbands. This was painful. Along with many of the other hang-ups within the chapter from a sister to brother perspective, for the captain and brothers now to caricature our devotion to the party and Black people in general, was disheartening as well as chauvinist.

Later on that evening several of the sisters got to rapping and expressing their feelings about what they were accused of. The sisters knew that these accusations were prejudiced and that they did no such thing to discredit their obligation to the party. Several of the sisters took it very personally and resigned from the party, saying that they were unable to keep-up with the male to female confrontations existing in that chapter. After that incident one by one, sisters were

resigning from the party.

Henceforth, I can conceive of a Black Women's Liberation, but keeping in mind that the criteria needed for initiating this would be different and separate from the white feminist groups. This would be more of an awareness, a dialectic cohesiveness. It should not consist of just a vanguard group of women telling other women how they should feel, but a conglomeration of Black women expressing themselves and their problems. And by doing this, it should bring about the love and respect we have lost or never had for each other as sisters. You can see how easy it is for the brothers to enhance some type of rapport among themselves i.e., handshaking and the everyday rhetoric that they use.

We sisters need to stop looking and reacting to each other in a defensive or offensive manner and bring about some type of rapport among ourselves by necessitating our love and respect for each other. This is one way and the most important way in which a Black Women's Liberation organization can achieve its fullness of purpose.

Write on, Right on, and Fight on for Sister Love!

Not Black or White - All Human

A high school woman in Los Angeles puts it this way:

I disagree that Black women should be ever yielding and obedient to their men because this makes life 'simpler'. And I don't think it is the 'nature of women' to be submissive...

George Jackson wrote that the concept of the emancipated woman is a white concept, but I think the idea of delegating women to child-rearing positions is more closely emulating white society. In this society people are delegated to positions regardless of their personal aspirations: Blacks are delegated to manual labor jobs, women are delegated to child-rearing and housekeeping, and these positions disregard the abilities of people as human beings.

It is dangerous to state what the function of a human being is going to be without considering what that human wants to be.

I think a society, in order to be free, has to be based upon the ideal that every human being is going to be encouraged and allowed to develop his or her potential to the fullest.

A woman in San Francisco speaks to white women in the WL movement:

People have asked me, as a young Black revolutionary woman, why Black women and third world women are not responding to

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the middle class Women's Liberation movement, or why they aren't in this movement. I would like to tell them that Women's Liberation was invented by Black women and third world women - only it hasn't been called Women's Liberation. It's just been called our daily struggle.

Where we are in the revolutionary movement is very out front, and clearly defined. We're in the movement, always have been, always will be. And the next time you ask yourselves why you are not reaching Black women and third world women, ask yourselves also why you're not reaching the everyday working white woman in that sweatbelt factory. Wow, will you be in for an eye-opener.

Black women have varied opinions on the issue raised by the W L' movement. Perhaps most controversial are the questions of abortion and birth control. Some Black organizations have labelled these as genocide, as have some women, but most women of both races are demanding the right to decide for themselves if and when to have children. One Black woman writes:

We believe that it is the inalienable human right of every woman to control her own reproductive process. If she does not have this right, then her other rights of being a human being, a self-determining person, have been violated. Just as Black people have been invisible people in the U.S., women have been invisible people all over the world for centuries.

The following excerpt from the Statement on Birth Control by the Black Women's Liberation Group in Mount Vernon, N. Y. is addressed to their "brothers":

Now a lot of Black brothers are into the new bag. Black women are being asked by militant Black brothers not to practice birth control because it is a form of Whitey's committing genocide on Black people. Well, true enough, but it takes two to practice genocide, and Black women are able to decide for themselves. . . . For us, birth control is the freedom to fight genocide of Black women and children . . . Having too many babies stops us from supporting our children, teaching them the truth, or stopping the brainwashing as you say, and from fighting Black men who still want to use and exploit us. But we don't think you're going to understand us because you are a bunch of little middle-class people and we are poor Black women. The middle-class never understands the poor because they always need to use them as you want to use poor Black women's children to gain power for yourself. You'll run the Black community

with your kind of Black power — You on top! The poor understand class struggle!

International Black Women

There is no problem on the world scene — whether it relates to former African slavery, current literature, unemployment, conditions of labor, the family, the community — that doesn't enter into this continuing dialogue among Black women, and that doesn't concern itself with what is the future. When the first woman we quoted raised the question of brooms and guns, she was rightly critical of the Communist societies who talk a lot about freedom, but don't practice it, especially to women. The women have wound up asking whether we won't need a second revolution to achieve real liberation.

As one young woman put it:

Most of the current literature on the Black revolution has been centered around the Black male. He wants to share power with white males. So what about the fate of Black and white women? Are we to retain a secondary status? Take *Ebony* magazine. They had a special issue on the Black woman. A number of the articles presented the contributions of Black women as heroines in Civil Rights, in the arts, and professions. However the *Ebony* editorial must have felt they had to remind its readers that 'the past is behind us, the immediate goal of the Negro woman today should be the establishment of a strong family unit in which the father is dominant'. Nonetheless, other Black militant writers have not felt at all inspired to even mention the contributions of their women. They always refer to Black Power in the terms of Black males.

We have lived under an international caste system at the top of which is the ruling class, and at the bottom of which is the non-white female. A good example of this caste status of women would be what happened at the end of African slavery in the U.S. When the slaves were given their freedom after the Civil War, the female slaves were included, but when the right to vote was in question, the Black females had to take a place beside the white females who were not allowed to vote.

The real liberation of women is to see them become active, to see them express their determination in society, to see them attain their full dignity and to see them take responsibilities and obtain decision making positions. More and more women are awaking everyday to find that collective strength and action will allow us to be free to build a totally new, truly human society.

South and North

The racism that prevades the shops pervades every aspect of American society. The question of busing has exposed how deep the cancer penetrates North as well as South. Indeed, the North by now appears worse than the South, because to its racism it has added a total hypocrisy. Though the South has made all too little progress, the North has actually retrogressed.

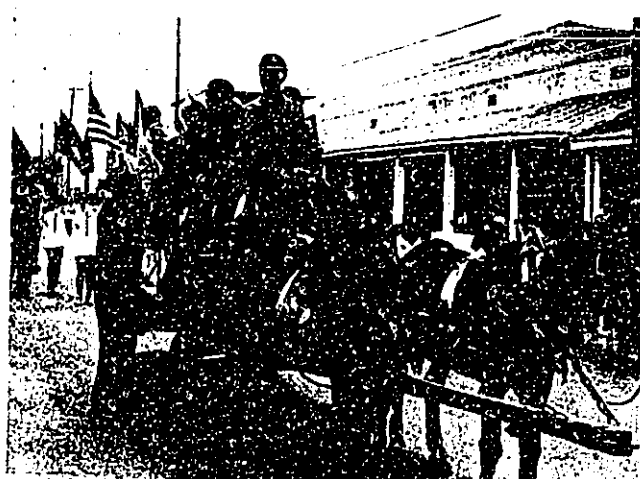
A Detroit worker from Alabama says this:

I read an article in *Ebony* in which the writer was reporting a survey he made of the South. He felt nothing had changed. All the things that the Blacks have gone through for the past 10 or 12 years haven't fundamentally changed anything. Well, we know that there hasn't been a total change. It hasn't been a real revolution. But I think if we don't recognize the changes that have been made through the struggle of the Blacks and the whites who supported them five or six years ago, we're missing something. To really get an idea of the changes that have been made, you have to understand how oppressed the people there were.

In Alabama, Lowndes County is one of the last places where Black people were able to go to the polls to vote. Now they are beginning to feel their strength in terms of voting and running the county. In the elections last November, Blacks ran four candidates and three of them got elected. This was the first time in history that any Black person was ever elected to any county position.

John Hulett, the newly elected Black sheriff of Lowndes County, spoke of that election and the future:

We organized a political action committee to go into the community and seek people who could possibly win. I was asked by the committee to run for sheriff. Blacks also ran for coroner, Circuit Court clerk, and member of the state House of Representatives. We won the first three positions. Our candidates for the House carried Lowndes County by a large margin but lost because of the vote in the neighboring county.



Inauguration Day, Green County, Ala. A Black Sheriff and Judge Take Office.



Robert Blackburn,
The Toiler

We were able to bring people together in our own area who were willing to go out and do the leg work that was needed in our county. Before the elections we had a hundred people working full-time in the community, especially at night, holding meetings, giving educational classes, conducting voting education projects to try to muscle up enough strength to win the election. We were able to arouse some of our students who encouraged our adults to go to the polls on election day. We organized car pools to carry people, babysitters, and people who stayed at home to make telephone calls.

Now that we have won the election, the people who supported us are looking for changes, especially in law enforcement. I feel that we will have to produce, in order for the Black people and the white people to continue to support the Black leadership.

There are going to be some changes as far as having a Black coroner is concerned. I can remember a few incidents where we knew people had died accidental deaths, but the coroner refused to sign the papers that they were accidental. We think he was tied in with the insurance companies.

As for the clerk of the Circuit Court, Black people don't have too much contact with the court, but I feel just the idea of having Black people in the courthouse is going to make a change. Blacks will feel freer about coming to use it. And the white courthouse personnel will realize they have to change their treatment of Blacks or risk not being reelected.

Conscious Black Force

It isn't the "vote" that has become so important. It is that the vote made Blacks conscious of their strength as a Black force which they are only just beginning to exercise.

From a student in Nashville, Tennessee, comes this report:

The Black students at Fisk and elsewhere in Nashville have formed an off campus school called the 'People's College' which serves the purpose of politically educating Black college students and providing a place to analyze and participate in the movements in the community.

Originally designed only for college students, plans are now to include political education classes for high school students and local workers. Eventually we hope to form a United Black Student Front encompassing all Black college students from local colleges, Black and

white students from the local high schools.

As for the community itself, Black people in Nashville are presently boycotting white business as a lever to alleviate some injustices suffered by Blacks in this city. The Black Community Conference (a coalition of organizations) is spearheading this struggle and has held Saturday marches for four or five weeks. Students have participated vigorously in these marches and have gained some valuable practice.

The emphasis of progressive Black students is to become involved in the community and its struggle and not to become divorced intellectually and spiritually. The present boycott gives us a chance to do just that.

Meetings have been held this year to organize local Black workers in area plants as part of the nation-wide revolutionary Black workers' movement. This is new in Nashville because previously Black workers haven't been organized.

Students here feel, however, that Black workers should organize independently at first because of the peculiar position Blacks as a community occupy in this society.

As for the movement itself, I can't claim to speak for everybody at Fisk, but there seems to be a need nation-wide for a uniting of revolutionary theory and practice to move the Black masses as during the early '60's.

The Panther split is a case of the lack of this merger and an elitism that moved away from the masses and engaged in a dangerous worship of charismatic leadership reminiscent of the 'cult of personality' of Stalin. The belief in a Messianic-type leader in the Black community is a hang up from the movement of the '60's that the Black masses cannot afford. I for one hope that progressive Black workers' movements do not engage in elitism or vanguardism. Progressive students here will support the workers movement whole-heartedly and will participate in their struggles.

The Black youth columnist for News & Letters wrote from his campus at East Lansing to a Black student at another university:

Last spring, during the anti-war protests, we should have had a display of unity, but it fell apart, because the white students went to one or two people in the Black organization and asked them what they thought thought the masses wanted to say about Cambodia etc. The white students never bothered to ask the mass of Blacks what they wanted to say, all because these brothers let themselves be used as 'token Negroes'.

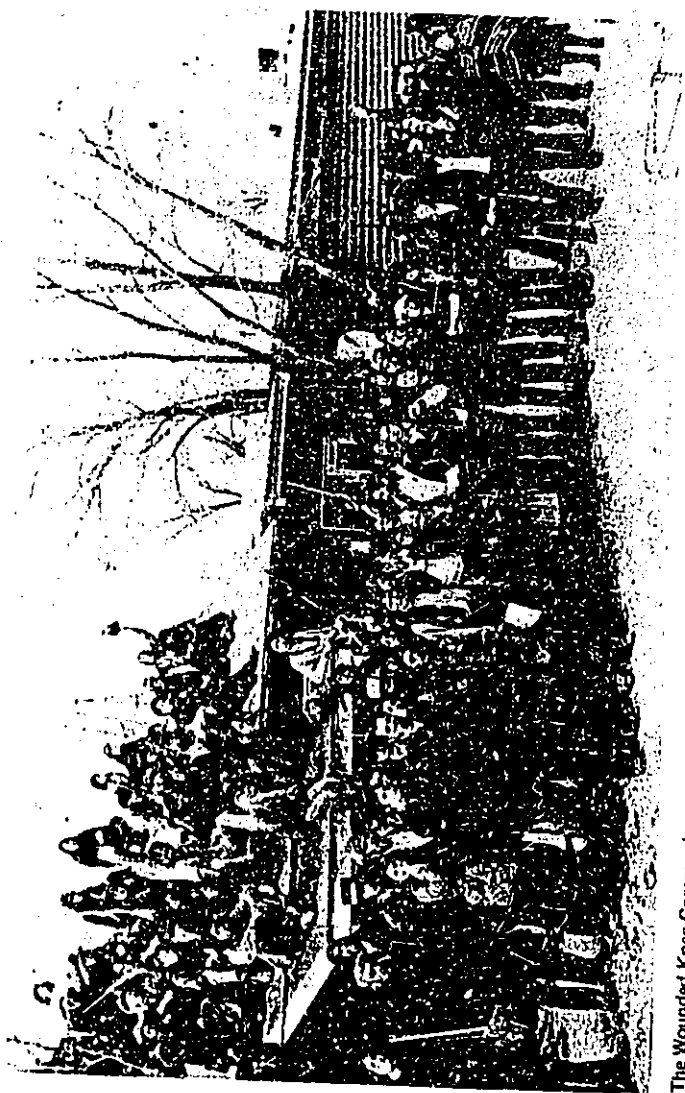
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From last year up to now, it's been all downhill. The Black United Front (BUF) together with the Front to Combat Fascism (which is Maoist), sponsored Huey Newton and the Panthers last fall. Not only was the organization of the talk washed up (the security was tight enough to keep you from going to the bathroom, and it was not revealed until the day itself on stage-- that most whites paid more than Blacks for the tickets), but both Blacks and whites walked out on Huey, partly in protest of the above and because of disagreement with Huey's piece. The BUF hasn't gotten mass support since that day in November, although they still exist as the 'vanguard of the people' on this campus, along side of several other groups of Blacks, all playing polemics with each other instead of the Man.

I don't know whether you happen to have read the history of that total liberation philosophy Marx originated in his day when he participated in workers' revolutions as well as helping the Abolitionists and Black labor in the Civil War in our country. But Marx worked out his philosophy not only against capitalism and racism, but in distinction from all other so-called communist and socialist ideas. The first thing Marx did was to make a distinction between vulgar communism and genuine liberation which meant being whole men and women. This is why he called his philosophy originally 'a new Humanism.' How right he was! For we now see that the vulgar communism has become the state-capitalism of our age in Russia as well as in America and China where the ruling bureaucracies sit around and figure out countless ways to talk out of both sides of their mouths while extracting more surplus labor from the workers, giving out a measly 12 cents to equate the 'cost of living', and continually wave the spectre of unemployment, concentration camps and bombs and death in your face.

This is one of the many reasons why News & Letters is unique. The fact that we advocate Black and white solidarity in labor and in having seen Black masses as touchstone of American civilization does not behoove us to chant songs as the Panthers, Maoists, Communists, Trotskyists and other factions. Why not, instead of quoting from 'the little red book', not read Marx himself and on that foundation work out for our age, on native soil as well as with world ties, and by listening to the voices from below, the unity of theory and practice, philosophy and revolution, so that thinking and doing will never again be separated and we will all live truly human lives?

Elliott Douglass



The Wounded Knee Community

The Indian Movement

From the invasion of Alcatraz in 1970 to the liberation of Wounded Knee in 1973, the Indian movement for freedom and dignity has awakened the whole world. Today there are the new voices of Indian factory workers occupying their reservation sweatshops, and of urban Indians demanding a new kind of education. It is time the voices of this movement were heard in their own words.

Wounded Knee--'Why We Are There'

An Oglala Sioux woman, a resident of the Pine Ridge reservation on which Wounded Knee is located, left the occupation there in April 1973 to raise support on the outside. Here is her story:

The Federal government has 14 Armored Personnel Carriers (APC's) blockading Wounded Knee. There are close to 500 marshalls now. The APC's come up and shoot right into these houses, where there are little children that play in the streets. The old man who has the serious head wound was unarmed, probably sleeping, when he was shot.

A couple of residents of the village, John Husman and Woody Richards, set up their own personal roadblock, in addition to the Federal roadblocks. They claimed they represented the residents of Wounded Knee. They were stopping medical supplies and food. A woman there with sugar diabetes needs insulin, but refuses to leave because it's her home and she is behind our occupation. We want people to know that the residents of Wounded Knee do not back John Husman and Woody Richards. All families on the outside trying to get back into Wounded Knee have written a petition stating that. The only one who is really backing their roadblock is Dick Wilson, the tribal president.

Dick Wilson is trying to say that the American Indian Movement (AIM) is outside agitators, when it is the Oglala Sioux people who are trying to be heard. We are all in support of Wounded Knee. The first time the Oglala Sioux people knew anything about AIM was when Raymond Yellowthunder was killed in Gordon, Nebraska. After that, we knew that if we ever had any trouble we could ask them to support us.

Our civil rights movement called in AIM. They were trying to get Dick Wilson out. The tribal council's hands were tied because of intimidation by Wilson and his goons. We met with the tribal elders and district presidents, and everyone voted for AIM. We needed a bigger place to meet, so we went into Wounded Knee and took over the trading post and the church. That's how it started.

I was in Pine Ridge back on the day of Wilson's election. He furnished free booze, cars and gas to people that would vote for him. Even then he had a goon squad, saying, "You better vote for Wilson or else." Wilson has never done anything to create employment for the people to help themselves. He is sitting up there like a dictator. None of the things he has done were passed by the tribal council. To me, Richard Wilson and Richard Nixon could be the same person.

When we came out of Wounded Knee we were picked up by the Bureau of Indian Affairs police. Two of them tried to serve me with a court order to get off the reservation. It said: "All non-residents of the Pine Ridge reservation..." They were going to serve me with it and I'm a resident.

The government is trying to smother why we are there. They say the leaders are fighting among themselves. What leaders? We're all there together. We feel they are our spokesmen, yes. But leaders—like somebody who stands there and says "do this, do that"—no.

All these years they've been pushing us into a corner. They can't really push us any further. All the people who believe something should be done about the injustices are finally uniting. We are fighting for the treaties that have been broken through the years; and not only trying to get Dick Wilson out, but all the Dick Wilsons throughout the country.

'The First Time We Ever Knew Freedom'

In May 1973, after the occupation ended, a Lakota woman who participated in the liberation of Wounded Knee told what it meant to her:

The longest war that the U.S. government has ever waged has been against the American Indians. The war has never ceased. In the year 1973 from February 27 to May 8 there was the Independent Oglala Nation, established within the boundaries of the State of South Dakota, U.S.A. No United States officials had any power within

the borders of this new nation. This tiny piece of land was surrounded by United States troops, armored personnel carriers, helicopters, a daily barrage of bullets, and a blockage of all medical and food supplies.

For the first time in many years, the Oglala people could organize themselves according to their ancient spiritual values and ways of life- the Indian way. We were free! It was the first time we had ever known freedom. We ran a hospital, a school for our children; we had a common commissary, and we ran our own security force to enforce our borders. For 71 days there was power in the hands of the Indian people. Men and women stood side by side in the kitchen, in the bunkers, on patrol, in the hospital and in the constant negotiations with the United States government. The governing body of the Oglala Independent Nation consisted of every resident.

'Forced to Become Like White People'

The new Indian revolt that reached its high point at Wounded Knee sparked new activity among Indians in the cities as well. An Ojibway who lived most of her life in Detroit spoke to a Civil Rights group there on the Indian condition:

What we contend with in Michigan, Wisconsin and Ontario is because we assimilated a very long time ago here. Our minds are not Indian minds anymore. This is what our young people are objecting to. My mother brought us from the reservation to Detroit when I was four years old because she felt we would have a better chance. She could not foresee the unhappiness and rebellion we were going to go through in not knowing who we are.

American Indian people living in urban areas identify very strongly with what is happening with the Alaska pipeline or the Black Mesas of the Southwest. Black Mesa is on the Navajo reservation. Some years ago land was leased to a mining company. At that time an agreement was made that they were only to stay there so long. Now they won't leave. They are killing all the plant life. The sheep, cattle and the fish can't live there.

Now there is talk of building industrial plants there. The Indian people just have to get out of the way. To construct these things shows the misplaced values of the general society today: love your brother, but step on him when it's convenient to get what you want.

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We have seen priests and missionaries, by their very presence, divide families. We have seen structures built—churches that cost millions—and our people are hungry and children die of malnutrition. Many Indian families were torn apart as children were forced into mission schools 300 or 400 miles away, to become like white people. This is why, while we feel that education is helpful to a degree, we don't feel we should be forced into it at the price of our own culture.

**Shiprock—Sweatshops on the Reservations
by Shainape Shcapwe, Yankton Sioux**

In the 1950's there was a move to relocate Indians to cities where they could be trained for factory jobs. The idea was to get rid of the reservations. It didn't work. Indians started coming back to their reservations. They couldn't see any good coming from working in sweat shops for very low wages in big cities. It was too much to ask us to leave our homes and change our way of life for virtually nothing.

Then they tried the idea of developing small factories on and around reservations. The Fairchild Camera and Instrument Plant in Shiprock, New Mexico was the model by which other smaller factories were built. The BIA told my family that we could make as much as ten thousand dollars a year. We and a lot of other families thought pretty seriously about moving there.

In the beginning Fairchild hired about 1500 people. Then they started laying them off. The pay turned out to be between \$2 and \$3 an hour. Working and living conditions were bad and the hours were long. With the last layoff of 160 people, the workers at Fairchild took the plant over. This takeover couldn't have happened before Wounded Knee. The awareness that the American Indian Movement brought us by helping us to organize and work together has made it possible for Indian workers to strike.

Workers at other small factories like the one on my own reservation at Fort Totten can learn from the close of the Fairchild plant. The federal government subsidized the wages, and when that subsidy ran out the plant was going to close and the work moved to another facility in Korea where they pay 12 cents an hour.

The strike at Shiprock was a new expression of our unwillingness to put up with the unfair treatment that we have received at the hands of the white man. The owners of the Fairchild plant closed it rather than deal with the workers. But we need to remember

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that by working together we have created a force that has to be listened to. We have strengthened our pride in ourselves.

Where Do We Go Now?
by Shainape Shcapwe

From the time that I was a child I was taught by my teachers in boarding schools to act, speak and to think like a white man. The reservation Indians were used as examples of how hard it could be if I did not assimilate.

I left the reservation when I was 19. I didn't keep in touch with people or happenings there, so that when my relatives started to talk about different tribes of Indians banding together to deal with problems, I didn't realize this was a serious move toward working together. But this was the real beginning of the American Indian Movement.

At the time of the occupation of Wounded Knee, most Indians were feeling a new sense of self-respect and a pride in our heritage. The spirit of togetherness at that time will go a long way toward keeping the movement alive. The American Indian Movement brought both urban and reservation Indians together in the struggle at Wounded Knee. It brought men and women together not only in doing the work but in making major decisions.

Now AIM is in trouble. There are problems in communication. Members of AIM are complaining that it's hard to get in touch with the leadership. Sometimes we've been made to feel that our ideas are worth very little.

When we learned in the newspapers that Douglas Durham had been working as an agent for the FBI for over two years, many of us were shocked that it had gone on for so long. But it is not surprising that the government would choose this form of oppression.

Durham said that in order to get through to the AIM leadership, people had to go through him first. I think it is wrong for any movement to make one man so important to it. We have to let our leaders know that we won't become involved in the kind of intrigues that Durham described to the press.

In the early days of the Black civil rights movement, Indians were encouraged to be a part of it. Robert Burnett on the Rosebud Sioux reservation, in particular, felt that we could learn by participating in some of the civil rights activities. When I was 12, my sister and I were part of a delegation from North Dakota who went to Montgomery, Alabama to support the bus boycott. Years later,

there were Black people at Wounded Knee, and it was good to have their support. They, of all people, know what it is to fight for freedom and civil rights.

Where do we go now? Since there is a trend toward building small factories on and around reservations, I would like to see AIM encourage and assist the workers in the struggle for the rights we know they should have. It won't be an easy task. Some of the initial enthusiasm that was felt at Wounded Knee is gone. That's natural, but we can't allow that reaction to keep us from fighting for our wants and needs.

Today, two years after Wounded Knee, Dick Wilson is still in power. There have been 14 murders on Pine Ridge and people are afraid. This is one reason why we have to keep the movement going. I think the most important accomplishment we have made is not that we have found ways to make the white man listen to us, but that we have created a new awareness of our own strength and ability.



The Chicano/Latino Struggle*

For the Latino in the U.S. whether native born, from Mexico or other Latin American countries, or from Puerto Rico, the question of freedom has the dimensions of culture and language as well as labor in factory and field, of a relationship to a continent as well as to a barrio.

In the Southwest the Chicano Moratorium of 1970 and the early farm-worker struggle have been landmarks in the movement for self-determination.** But their full richness has been as prologue for what has been happening over the past five years. The new thought and activity they set in motion are everywhere. The manifold new voices are speaking out in Spanish and English.

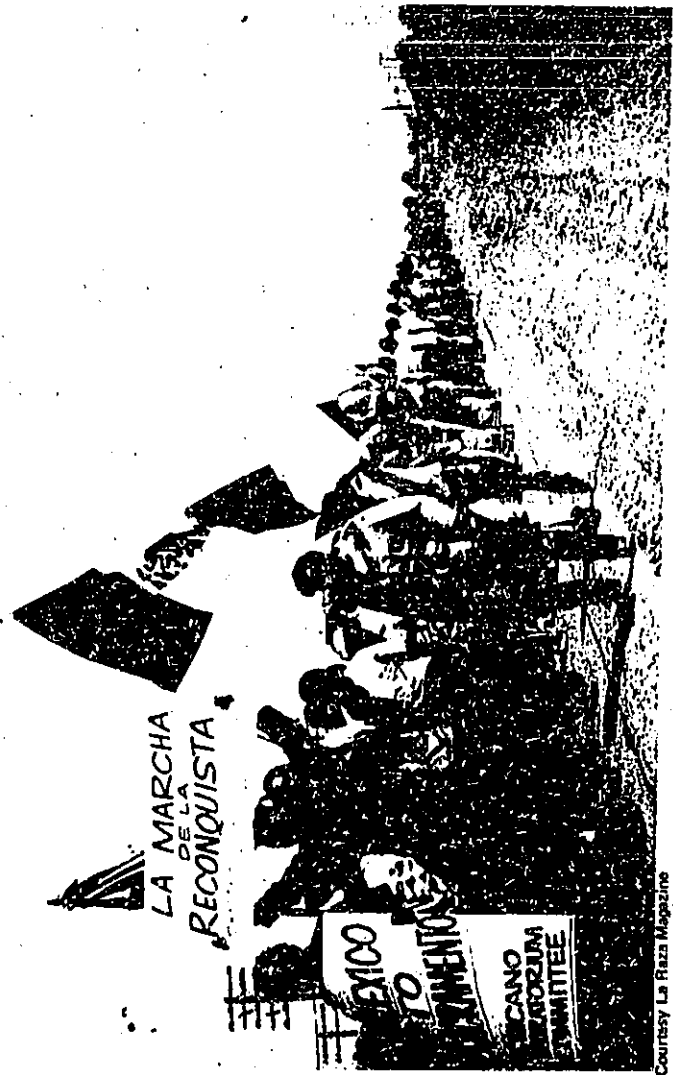
The Recovery of Culture

Many Chicanos feel that their culture, which Anglo society has for so long tried to degrade and keep hidden, is central to their movement. Thus alternative schools, such as Casa de la Raza and the Emiliano Zapata Street Academy, which emphasize Chicano culture, have been established. A young Chicano who participated in such a school speaks of how he sees culture as a unifying force:

The Chicano movement without its culture would be nowhere. I consider the start of the movement when Cesar Chavez started organizing farmworkers, and it then spread to the schools and the community. What moved it was precisely culture. There was a great loss of self-concept among Chicanos and Mexicanos. The schools were teaching acculturation into the white culture, and young Chi-

* In the Southwest one hears the words Chicano and La Raza. In other areas the word Latino is often used. We are using Chicano/Latino to speak of that movement for self-determination both within the U.S. and in Latin America.

** For a discussion of these events see the first edition of *Black, Brown and Red News & Letters* (1972)



Courtesy La Raza Magazine

canos weren't learning Spanish, and were losing communication between grandparents and their heritage. Many Chicanos started seeing that this melting pot theory wasn't working for Chicanos, that their very color was a point of reference for racism against us. So our race and culture became a bind that brought us together. I became active in the movement because of my culture.

The fight for rediscovery of culture has brought the Chicano movement into a clash with white society including white academia. At a number of colleges demonstrations by Chicanos have taken place. A young instructor at California State University at Los Angeles details a recent fight over threatened cutbacks in the Chicano Studies program:

There have been many special ethnic study programs and centers that have had their funding cut recently. At Cal. State it came in a slightly different form. We have had a number of independent programs such as the Economic Opportunities Program (EOP), the PINTO program, which enrolled ex-inmates who are Chicanos and helped them survive academically and financially, and Model Cities, taking students from the community who do not ordinarily qualify academically and giving them special help. Up until now many of these programs were student initiated and student controlled. But suddenly the administration decided to umbrella these programs into a single program controlled by an administrator selected by the university. This was a step in getting control of all the student programs which they could then direct and eventually could even cut them out.

We began a fight to keep control; to have the students and not the administration control the programs. We had several rallies and demonstrations. There was a kind of sit-in at the last and most important demonstration, with fifty students going upstairs into the president's office and refusing to leave until they got a meeting.

The president agreed to speak with representatives of the student programs but the issue isn't settled. In fact we were somewhat disappointed with the first meeting with the president and other administrators because they didn't seem to really listen. There was never any commitment, never any drawing back from their previous position of seeking to control those programs. This is where it is now.

It involves more than Chicano education. Previously many of the minority organizations on campus were rather separate. In EOP

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there were two components, Black and Chicano, which worked rather separately. For the first time it was all ethnics really joining in the common issue. It was not just Chicanos demonstrating, or Blacks; it was other ethnic groups and that was a growth in political sophistication to me.

You know, several years ago the Watts Riot and the Chicano Moratorium uprisings occurred. It was this community activity that carried over to the university. After some of these upheavals, the administration saw that it had to grant some of the requests that the students were making like for the Equal Opportunities Program. So these were granted. Now we haven't had a Watts Riot or another Chicano uprising in quite a while. So what is happening is that the gains made because of the people's activity are now cut back by the administrators who no longer feel threatened. This is an attempt to take back some of the gains that the people had gotten and that is why it is so important to maintain some of these programs. They are not the ultimate answer, but they are important steps.

In the Chicano community words like revolution and Marxism are trigger words. One of the ways to start a fight in the community has been to mention a word like Marx. Maybe some of this is because of the influence of the Catholic Church and old dogmas. And also the way some who have spoken of Marxism have interpreted it. So I see that there is a need to clarify what Marx is because it has been so purposely misconstrued. The education that has to take place in order to clarify a person such as Marx is not so much this question of anti-religion, as I and many others are anti-institutionalized-religion, but to redefine Marx as a humanist. Chicanos are basically humanists.

La Raza Women

The humanism of the Chicano movement has brought forth many new voices, among them La Raza women. A young Chicana speaks:

La Raza women are very obscure within what is already an obscure minority. It is difficult to tell you specific things that La Raza women have done, for just as the women's movement had to find its heroines under the dusty pages of history, La Raza women have had to do the same thing.

Recently there has been the Farah strike. The fact that most of the workforce was Chicano and women and that the strike was so

effectively waged is a matter of pride. The cannery workers have always included many Chicanas. There have always been a lot of active women in the farmworkers.

There are several reasons why as La Raza women we've decided to organize separately from the men. For instance, I've read articles on the Farah strike written by La Raza men who said absolutely nothing about the preponderance of women in that strike--and we resent that.

To organize separately also gives us a better bargaining position. If you have a solid base and some show of strength you get a lot farther than by just asking. We asked already and it didn't happen. When people have been robbed of their identities they get together with themselves until everyone can develop so they don't get stepped on.

There is a certain brand of machismo that everyone knows exists in La Raza households that's very difficult to break out of. I'd like to say that this is on the decline, but I don't see it. I think it's becoming much more diplomatic and covert, but it's not leaving.

We also organize separately from the women's movement because we don't want to get lost in there either. In the women's movement we all understand each other to a certain extent, but on the other hand the Anglo feminists haven't all lost their vestiges of racism. I have always felt the little bit of condescension they have toward La Raza women because of the family issue, because of the machismo, and because many of us still hold to traditional cultural things.

You might have heard some La Raza and Black women say, "We can't join the feminist movement, we have to struggle along side the men we're related to in terms of race and culture."

I had to go through a lot of things to get that together in my mind. In one sense that's true and easy to understand, for La Raza organizes around the whole culture, but it doesn't make any sense that there isn't enough room for us. To say you can't be a La Raza activist because you're a feminist or vice versa is doing a great disservice. I think you can make a stronger commitment in terms of where you think you might be most useful, but if you're contending with one oppression over here and yet allowing another one to exist over there, it is not intellectually honest or even useful.

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In Field ...

The voice of the Chicana has also been very important within the United Farmworkers Union struggle to organize. Two women members speak of the fields and the union:

My father joined with Cesar Chavez before there was even a union and we became members in 1963. We fought from 1965 to 1970 when we won our first contract. When we got the contracts we noticed a lot of difference by having the union in the fields. The foremen have to respect the union. If they were to lay off some person now, they have to tell the union officer the reason. Before they would just say, "No more work for you."

Before the union the pay was \$1.05 an hour. With the union it is \$2 an hour, but still with only one working we could not make it. When we didn't have a union, even the kids had to work in the fields. At five years old they were in the field already. The union has a regulation now that says they have to be 16 and over to work in the fields. Now there are children again working in the scab fields.

The scab people working with the Teamsters Union are going to be the same as before the UFW. They do not get paid what they are supposed to get. Those Teamsters don't care about those people. They only cared about them when we were on the picket line. That's when they protected the people. They told us not to talk to them.

When we were working by contractors--men who get contracts from people to work in the field--if they liked one of the women, they went after her. The women had no freedom. If a contractor liked a woman and she didn't listen to him, do what he wanted, he wouldn't give her any work. There are no contractors with our union. There are going to be a lot of contractors back with the Teamsters. That is one reason we fight them.

A young Chicano currently working in the city further documents the "Factories in the Fields":

I've worked in the fields since I was 14, harvesting lettuce, celery, strawberries, green beans, tomatoes, apples, artichokes, chives, potatoes, and others. The majority of time I worked in lettuce and celery around the Watsonville-Salinas area of California. I worked for the infamous Bud Antle, who at one time was the largest lettuce grower, and who has always been a big scab against the UFW.

I recently found out that they had the Teamsters there ever since I worked there, but we never knew it. It's like being in the union without ever knowing you're in it.

The company had what they called "bonuses," which meant if you worked five days a week or more, you'd get \$1.50 per hour, but if you worked less than five days, you'd only get \$1.40 per hour. I think the minimum at that time was \$1.45 per hour, so I don't know if that was legal. I did as much work at 14 as adults did. There were many young kids working in the fields, because the family had to exist. I'd get out of school and go straight to work, and work full-time in the summer.

I remember one old man I met in the fields. He had used el cortito, the short-handled hoe, all his life, and he was about 70 years old then. He stood and walked with a stooped posture, he could never straighten up. I worked with el cortito when I was a youngster, in the prime of life, and I was exhausted every day after work, yet this man was still out in the fields in his seventies. I think of this man whenever I hear about farmworkers.

I started working at the tail end of the Bracero program, which was bringing Mexican workers in to pick crops. I remember when they brought Braceros into our field, they would move them to the opposite end from where we, the locals, were, so we wouldn't talk to them. They would push these people to work faster than us, being very cruel to them, and they'd get paid half what we got. We all thought "I'm sure glad I'm not a Bracero."

The people in the labor camps, who came from other parts of the state, were also treated unjustly. The locals and the labor camp people used to ride together and work together. One day when we were taking a lunch break, after thinning and hoeing lettuce, the labor camp people were taking the bag lunch that the company prepares. When they opened the bag, all there was was two slices of bread with a piece of lettuce in between. We told them, "Look, they're taking money out of your check for room and board, you should complain to get a better lunch." Afterwards they went to the manager and complained, so the man took them out to lunch and promised things would be better. From then on they got a slice of baloney in between. It makes me mad to think of all the money the company was making off the labor camp people. We locals had it better, but conditions were still bad. Bad equipment, no sanitary facilities, and if you stood around or talked, they'd get on your case.

At that time you didn't distinguish between Chicano workers and Mexican immigrant workers. La Migra, the Border Patrol, was

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always coming around to the fields. You could always tell when they were coming, since you could hear the helicopter, and see the green trucks moving up the road. There was a lot of solidarity between the U.S. citizens and the undocumented workers. If there were undocumented workers in the field when La Migra came, they would run and jump between the rows of celery, where they couldn't be seen. The rest of us would gather around, and when the man asked to see our papers, somebody wouldn't have theirs on them and everybody else would start joking "Take him, take him!" That would relax the tension and take the attention off the undocumented workers.

Undocumented Workers

With the active organizing of a farmworkers union the position of undocumented workers has become a raging dispute both within the farmworkers' union, where many have openly urged calling in the immigration officials—La Migra—to clear the undocumented workers out of a field during a strike when other tactics do not work, and in the Chicano movement as a whole where activists working to protect the rights of undocumented workers against police-state tactics of La Migra, are refusing to work with the farmworkers union. To these activists, calling La Migra means that one part of the Latino movement is using a police agency against another part of the Latino community. Two Chicanos, one working with the farmworkers during a strike in the lemon fields of Arizona, and one experiencing La Migra in his neighborhood, give their views:

The strikers have been stationing themselves at various places to talk to workers crossing from Mexico. They can't see at night, but they keep on shouting about not breaking the strike. In one case, 16 people did not cross, but waited until morning because they wanted to find out what was happening. The strike was explained, and they didn't take the jobs. They were willing to go to another place to try and find a job.

When I went to help in the strike, I didn't want to be in the position of a "pig," but to explain the situation to people coming across the border. Many had come from way south in Mexico after they had heard that there was good work. We talked about the whole struggle and all the time it had taken to try and get decent wages and decent working conditions. I pointed out that I don't care if a person comes from north, south, east or west. A person who crosses the picket line is a scab, and I hoped many of them would

not play that role. Those who turned away said that it was great that we were getting together and could stand up to the police.

I blame the government of Mexico for not saying there is a cause, a struggle over there that we should help. I feel that the Mexican Revolution has been betrayed, and that is why the government is not helping in these strikes. The people are coming from far away to be exploited. They are jumping from the frying pan into the fire. We should not be dealing with this as Chicano vs. Mexican, but with the smuggler, the grower, the government.

* * *

Harassments by police and Immigration officials occur every day in one barrio or another. People are often stopped on the street and questioned about their citizenship status. La Migra's style of questioning is usually aggressive and abusive, making a person feel like a criminal. La Migra often detains and deports people who are legal citizens of the U.S. In my neighborhood a young man who was born in the U.S. was arrested and deported because he couldn't speak English. Immigration agents asked for identification papers, and then arrested him when he didn't present any. The young man's mother appeared on both Spanish- and English-language television to explain the situation before her son was eventually returned.

The most devastating experience for the immigrant is the raid—a common occurrence in my neighborhood. One particular incident took place during a massive immigration sweep. I saw several car-loads of immigration agents stop at an apartment building, rush into an apartment, and within minutes, whisk away about seven persons. I can understand the terror many people feel after witnessing the Gestapo-like tactics of that raid.

I personally believe that the so-called "problem" of Mexican aliens will never be resolved until the economic systems of both the U.S. and Mexico are so transformed that there will be no need for existence of an "illegal alien."

Within the confines of a farm strike in progress, of a difference of wages between the U.S. and Mexico of five and ten to one, of a technologically underdeveloped land and a capitalist giant, *but most especially within the*

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confines of the unfinished revolution in the U.S. and in Mexico, there lies no simple solution. It requires a more comprehensive answer which we shall return to later in this chapter and in the appendix to this pamphlet.

.... and Factory

It is not alone in the fields where the dimensions of class and race and sex come together to make a leap forward in the movement for freedom. The Latino struggle is now recognized as being in the factories too, as with the Farah strike where the workers were 85 percent women and 95 percent Chicano. The super exploitation of documented and undocumented Latino workers continues in the low paying sweatshops throughout the Southwest, in the hotels and in restaurant clean-up jobs. And it is not confined to the Southwest. The Latino dimension is nationwide. In New York it can be seen in the conditions that Puerto Rican and other Latin American workers experience. A garment worker in New York writes of the conditions in his shop:

Noble Knit Mfg. is corrupted. This is true in many different ways. When you've got a friend or a pretty face, the bosses protect you, and someone else has to produce for you. That's the story of our class, workers. We have to sweat while they are on Pompano Beach, and they blame us if they don't get millions in profits.

Noble is a corporation owned by white Americans. They try to keep all the foremen white so they stay in complete control against the workers. They don't want Latins to be in that position, as they might get too close to the workers.

And it's not just that they won't hire Latins with education. There are men who've been doing the job for many years and know it inside out, who could be put in charge. Instead, they hire some young guy who knows nothing about the job but is the same race, maybe a family friend, and is a slunky of the bosses and enemy of the workers.

The union, Local 155, Knitgoods Workers (JLGWU), works together with the bosses to exploit the workers. Generally they only want the dues every month. For example, they keep people working two weeks, then off two, instead of laying off, so they can keep collecting dues from each miserable paycheck, which is not enough to live on.

Conditions of work are very poor. For example there has been no hot water in the sinks since about 1965. They save money by

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this. They don't care about the workers. We want people to know the situation of how they treat us. They treat us like animals, or slaves. The wages are slave wages, only instead of working on a plantation, we work in a building.

Latinos and Latin America

Recently a Latin American socialist commented that he had seen in the U.S. a new dimension of Latin America when he saw first-hand the Chicanos opposing their position in the U.S., the most advanced capitalist country in the world. The other side of this dimension is the activity of Latin American masses to free their countries of both the octopus grip of the United States and their home grown ruling class. An Uruguayan woman writes of what is happening in her country:

Uruguay has been a dependent country almost all of its life. We were a former colony of Spain from whom we liberated ourselves after a period of revolution. Then came England, which controlled our economy and therefore our politics. Then came the United States. At first it showed a fake face of brotherhood. Our big brother was helping the underdeveloped countries to stand on their feet. This was and is a lie. Once the United States controlled our economy either by owning whole sectors of production or by lending money, its real face started appearing. As the post-war capitalist world developed, an economic crisis began.

Ten years ago the bus fare was approximately one-fourth of a peso. Today it is about 75 pesos. Together with the economic crisis came the political crisis. We now saw that the United States was not our brother and that our own ruling class was completely corrupt. Honest politicians started resigning and a new mass movement started—the Tupamaros.

The Tupamaros played a very important role in denouncing the corruption and organizing people in opposition to it. There were then years of fighting and organizing, of talking and suffering. But in some ways they separated themselves from strong contacts with the working class. Then they executed four members of a government-controlled execution group—Escuadron de la muerte—created by Dan Mitriane, an instructor in torture sent by the U.S. In response the government declared a state of war in order to crush the Tupamaros. The military coup gave the president the role of dic-

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tator, destroyed the remainder of "democracy," abolished the Senate and House of Representatives, closed newspapers and TV stations and declared unions illegal.

Thus today we face both a crushing dictatorship and continued dependency on the United States. The revolutionary forces have learned the need for new and living contacts with the working class from which the mass movement will arise. We also learned the necessity of a closer relationship with revolutionary movements in neighboring countries.

We have a message to the ruling class and to imperialism: No matter what, our desire for freedom will not die. Our militancy is going to double and triple and one day we will be free. Hasta La Victoria Siempre! Venceremos!

The world of freedom that the Uruguayan woman speaks of is what characterizes the desires and demands, activities and thoughts of all parts of the Latino movement. The farmworkers, the activists in the cities, the women, the factory workers have all found their own ways of struggle in a movement toward freedom. Through their separate experience each sees that its new world is opposed to the existing world of unfreedom. From the multi-faceted opposition to that unfreedom, and in the new world of freedom being born, the Latino movement finds the cement to unite here in the U.S. and to align their struggles with those of the Latin American Third World.



Chicanos at Rally in Fresno, Calif. Courtesy La Raza Magazine

Los Chicanos/Los Latinos*

Para los latinos en los Estados Unidos, ya sean nacidos en México, en otros países latinos o en Puerto Rico, el factor libertad tiene dimensiones de cultura idioma, así como el trabajo en las fábricas y los campos, relación que existe hacia un continente o hacia un barrio.

En El Chicano Moratorium del suroeste y el problema campesino anterior a esto han sido las marcas en el movimiento para una auto-determinación.** Todo esto ha sido un prólogo de lo que ha pasado en los pasados cinco años. Nuevas voces han hablado en español e inglés.

La Recuperación de la Cultura

Muchos chicanos sienten que su cultura, la cual la sociedad anglo por tanto tiempo ha tratado de degradar y de ocultar, es central a su movimiento. Así se han creado escuelas como Casa de la Raza y Academia de Emiliano Zapata, donde se ha enfatizado la cultura del chicano. Un joven chicano que ha participado en la mencionada escuela habla de cómo él ve a la cultura como una fuerza de unión:

El movimiento chicano sin su cultura nunca podrá avanzar. Yo considero que el principio del movimiento empezó cuando Cesar Chávez comenzó organizando a los agricultores, y después se extendió a las escuelas y a la comunidad. Lo que los motivó fue la cultura precisamente. Se había perdido el concepto de identidad entre chicanos y mexicanos. En las escuelas, los niños chicanos estaban gradualmente perdiendo comunicación con sus abuelos y su herencia cultural. Muchos chicanos comenzaron a ver que esta mezcla no era conveniente, y que su color era un punto de referencia de racismo en contra de ellos. De esa manera nuestra raza y nuestra cultura se convirtió en liga que nos unió. Yo me volví activo en el movimiento por mi cultura.

*En el Sur uno oye las palabras Chicano y La Raza. En otros lugares la palabra Latino se usa frecuentemente. Estamos usando Chicano/Latino para hablar de el movimiento de auto-determinación aquí en los Estados Unidos y en Latino América.

**Por un discusión de estos casos, vee la primer edición de *Black, Brown and Red News & Letters* (1972)

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La lucha por el redescubrimiento de nuestra cultura ha traído al movimiento chicano a una pugna en contra de la sociedad de blancos, incluyendo su cultura. Latinos han participado en demostraciones en números colégios. Un joven profesor de la Universidad de California en Los Angeles detalla la reciente lucha que amenaza acortar los programas en los estudios de los chicanos (Chicano Studies):

Han habido muchos programas especializados en estudios étnicos y centros en los cuales han recortado fondos para ellos recientemente. En la Universidad de California (Cal. State) fué de una manera un poco diferente. Hemos tenido un número independiente de programas como el Programa de Oportunidades Económicas (E.O.P.); el programa PINTO, que envuelve chicanos que son exconvictos donde son ayudados a sostenerse y educarse; Model Cities, tomando estudiantes de la comunidad quienes ordinariamente no califican académicamente y dándoles especial ayuda. Hasta ahora muchos de estos programas fueron iniciados y controlados por los mismos estudiantes. Pero repentinamente la administración decidió estratégicamente "proteger" estos programas en un solo programa controlado por un administrador seleccionado por la universidad. Este era un paso para conseguir control de todos los programas de estudiantes los cuales ellos podrían dirigir y eventualmente darles fin.

Comenzamos a pelear para conseguir el control: para que los mismos estudiantes y no la administración controlaran los programas. Tuvimos varias reuniones y demostraciones. Hubo mucha participación en la última y la mas importante demostración, con cincuenta estudiantes en la oficina del presidente rehusando a salir hasta conseguir una junta.

El presidente accedió a hablar con los representantes de los programas para estudiantes pero el tema de discusión no ha sido determinado. De hecho nos decepcionamos un poco con la primera junta con el presidente y los demás administradores porque realmente no se mostraron interesados. Nadie se comprometió ni hubo sorteos para buscar puestos para controlar los mencionados programas. Esto es lo que pasa hasta este momento.

Esto requiere más educación en el chicano. Anteriormente muchas de las organizaciones de las minorías estaban esparcidas dentro de los patios de las universidades. Había dos componentes en EOP, negros y chicanos quienes trabajaban separadamente. Por primera vez todos los grupos étnicos realmente se unían en un tema de discusión. No sólo eran chicanos o negros los que organizaban

manifestaciones sino también otros grupos étnicos.

Ustedes recordarán los hechos ocurridos hace algunos años durante el motín en Watts y el Chicano Moratorium. Fue la actividad de esta comunidad que los llevó hasta la universidad. Después de estos disturbios la administración realizó que tenía que conceder algunas de las peticiones que los estudiantes demandaban como por ejemplo el Programa de Igualdad Económica. Así que esto se había concedido. Por ahora no hemos tenido otro motín como el de Watts u otra revuelta de chicanos. Así que lo que está pasando en este momento es que todos lo ganado por la actividad de la gente está siendo recortado por los administradores quienes y a no se sienten amenazados. Esto es un atento para quitar nuevamente lo ganado por la gente por eso es de tanta importancia mantener algunos de estos programas. No ha habido una última palabra, pero hay importantes pasos a seguir.

En las comunidades de chicanos palabras como revolución y marxismo son palabras de alerta. Uno de los medios para comenzar una pelea en la comunidad es sólo con nombrar la palabra Marx. Quizá esta reacción es por la influencia de la Iglesia Católica y sus dogmas tan antiguos, y también de la manera que otros han hablado de Marx y lo han interpretado. Así que yo veo la necesidad de aclarar lo que Marx es porque ha sido malinterpretado. Así que la educación a seguir debe de ser para aclarar. Personas como Marx no son anti-religión, y así como yo hay muchos otros que van en contra de las formalidades de la religión y que definen a Marx como humanista. Chicanos son básicamente humanistas.

Mujeres de la Raza

El humanismo que existe en el movimiento chicano ha traído nuevas voces; entre ellas, mujeres de la Raza. Una joven chicana habla:

Mujeres de la Raza es un grupo formado por mujeres de grupos minoritarios y no muy conocido aún, por eso es difícil decir específicamente cuáles han sido sus actividades.

Recientemente hubo la huelga Farah. El hecho que la mayoría de los trabajadores eran mujeres chicanas y que dicha huelga fué ganada de una manera tan efectiva debe de ser materia de orgullo. Las empacadoras han siempre incluido chicanas. Y en el campo hay un grupo muy activo de mujeres.

Hay muchas razones porque mujeres de la Raza nos hemos

decidido a organizarnos separadamente de los hombres. Por ejemplo he leído artículos sobre la huelga Farah escritos por Hombres de la Raza (La Raza men) quienes no hablaron de la participación de las mujeres en esa huelga . . . y eso lo resentimos.

El organizarnos separadamente también nos pone en mejor posición al llegar a un convenio. Si ustedes tienen una base sólida y muestran fuerza, llegarán más lejos que nomás preguntando. Cuando se ha quitado identidad de la persona, uniéndose es la única manera en que no sea uno pisoteado.

Todos sabemos que existe mucho machismo en cada hogar de La Raza y que es muy difícil cambiar esto. Yo quisiera poder decir que esto se está acabando pero no es así. Se está volviendo más diplomático pero aún no se ha acabado.

También nos organizamos separadamente de las mujeres porque no queremos perdernos en su movimiento. En el movimiento femenino nos entendemos hasta cierto punto, pero por otro lado las anglo feministas no han perdido los vestigios de racismo.

Posiblemente ustedes habrán oído mujeres de la Raza y a las mujeres negras hablar, "No podemos unimos al movimiento femenino tenemos que luchar al lado de los hombres con los cuales estamos relacionadas por una raza y una cultura."

Tengo que pasar por muchas cosas para poder poner junto todo lo que tengo en mi mente. En un sentido eso es verdad y fácil de entender, La Raza se organiza alrededor de toda una cultura pero no tiene sentido que no haya lugar para nosotras. Decir que no se puede ser activo en La Raza por ser feminista o vice versa es hacer un gran perjuicio.

En El Campo . . .

La voz de la mujer chicana ha sido muy importante en el esfuerzo para organizar United Farmworkers Union. Dos mujeres miembros de la unión hablan del campo y de la unión:

Mi padre se unió con Cesar Chávez aun antes de haber un sindicato y luego nos hicimos miembros en 1963. Luchamos desde 1965 a 1970 cuando ganamos nuestro primer contrato. Cuando obtuvimos los contratos notamos la diferencia al tener a la unión en el campo. El capataz tiene que respetar a la unión. Si quieren despedir a algún trabajador tienen primero que comunicarle al oficial de la unión la razón. Antes únicamente decían "Ya no hay más

trabajo para usted."

Antes de la unión el salario era de \$1.05 la hora. Con la unión es de \$2.00 la hora pero aún así con uno solo trabajando era muy difícil sostener la familia. Cuando no teníamos la unión aun los niños a los cinco años tenían que ir a trabajar en el campo. Ahora la unión ha formado reglas en que no se permiten menores de 16 años trabajando en el campo. Ahora nuevamente se encuentran niños trabajando en los campos.

Con los obreros no agremiados que trabajan en la unión de camioneros va a pasar lo mismo antes de U.F.W. No les pagan lo que deberían pagarles. Esos camioneros no se preocupan por la gente. Sólo se preocupan por ellos. Cuando estamos en manifestaciones es cuando protegen a la gente. Nos dicen que no hablemos con ellos.

Cuando trabajábamos con contratistas, los hombres que contratan gente para trabajar en el campo, si les gustaba alguna mujer la perseguían. La mujer no tenía libertad. Si una mujer le gustaba a un contratista y ella no le hacía caso y no accedía a sus peticiones, a esa mujer no se le daba trabajo. En nuestra unión no hay contratistas. Pero va a haber contratistas con los camioneros, esa es una razón que peleamos en contra de ellos.

Un joven chicano que actualmente trabaja en la ciudad nos habla de "las fábricas en los campos":

He trabajado en los campos desde que tenía 14 años, en la cosecha de la lechuga, apio, fresas, ejotes, tomates, manzanas, alcachofas, chives, papas y otras legumbres. La mayor parte del tiempo trabajé en la cosecha de lechuga y de apio en Watsonville-Salinas, California. Trabajé para la infame compañía Bud Antle, que en un tiempo fué la más grande productora de lechuga y quien siempre ha estado en contra de U.F.W. Recientemente descubrí que tenían "camioneros" desde que yo trabajaba ahí pero nunca me enteré. Es como pertenecer a la unión sin ni siquiera saberlo.

La compañía tenía lo que llamaba "bonos," que quería decir que si uno trabajaba 5 o más días a la semana, ganaba \$1.50 la hora, pero si trabajaba menos de 5 días sólo recibía \$1.40 por hora, y creo que en esa época el salario mínimo era de \$1.45 la hora así que no sé si eso sería legal. A los 14 años trabajaba tanto como un adulto. Había muchos niños trabajando en los campos pues la familia tenía que sobrevivir. Tuve que salirme del colegio e ir a trabajar tiempo completo y en el verano.

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Recuerdo a un viejo que conocí en el campo. Había usado el azadón cortito toda su vida y tenía alrededor de 70 años. Se encorvaba al caminar, nunca se podía enderezar. Trabajé con el azadón cortito cuando era muy joven y acababa rendido después de cada día de labor, aun así este hombre continuaba en los campos cuando era setuagenario. Yo recuerdo siempre este hombre cuando oigo de los campesinos.

Comencé a trabajar ya al final del programa de Braceros, que se trataba de traer trabajadores mexicanos a pizcar los campos. Me acuerdo cuando trajeron los braceros a nuestro campo los mandaban trabajar al lado opuesto de donde nosotros trabajábamos para que no pudiéramos hablar con ellos. Los forzaban a trabajar más aprisa que nosotros, eran muy crueles con ellos y les pagaban la mitad de lo que nosotros ganábamos. Todos pensábamos lo mismo, "Que suerte tengo de no ser bracero."

La gente en los campos de labor que venía de otros lugares del estado, también eran tratados injustamente. Todos los campesinos solíamos llegar al trabajo y trabajar juntos. Un día cuando estábamos almorzando, después de trabajar con el azadón en el sembradío de lechuga, los campesinos abrieron las bolsas del almuerzo que la compañía prepara, todo lo que había era dos piezas de pan con una hoja de lechuga en medio. Nosotros les dijimos, "Miren ellos les están quitando dinero de su cheque para pagar cuarto y comida, se deberían quejar para tener mejor comida." Después fueron con el gerente y se quejaron, ese día los llevaron a comer y les prometieron que las cosas mejorarían. Desde entonces recibieron una rebanada de boloña con el pan. Me hace enojar sólo el hecho de pensar en todo el dinero que la compañía estaba haciendo con los campesinos. Aunque los trabajadores locales estábamos mejor todavía las condiciones eran malas. Mal equipo, no había facilidades sanitarias y si uno se paraba y platicaba se metía en problema.

En ese tiempo no se podía distinguir entre los trabajadores chicanos y los inmigrantes mexicanos. "La migra," la patrulla de la frontera, siempre iba a los campos. Siempre podía uno decir cuando venían ya que podíamos oír los helicópteros y ver los camiones verdes acercarse por los caminos. Había mucha solidaridad entre los ciudadanos americanos y los ilegales. Si había ilegales en el campo cuando llegaba "La migra" los ilegales corrían y se escondían entre los zurcos de la lechuga donde no pudieron ser vistos. Los demás nos reuníamos alrededor de ellos y cuando el oficial exigía ver documentos, alguno pretendía no tener sus papeles consigo y todos los demás comenzábamos a bromear y gritar "llévenselo, llévenselo."

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Con eso la tensión se aflojaba y distraíamos la atención de los oficiales para que no se fijaran en los ilegales.

Trabajadores sin Documentación

Con la organización activa de la unión de campesinos el empleo de los trabajadores ilegales se ha convertido en una lucha encarnizada entre los campesinos de la unión, cuando abiertamente han denunciado a los trabajadores ilegales a los oficiales de la migra quienes fueron sacados del campo de ilegales a los trabajos durante una huelga cuando otras tácticas ya no habían funcionado, y en el movimiento chicano en conjunto donde los activistas que trabajan para proteger los trabajadores ilegales en contra de las tácticas para amedrantar usadas por "La migra," están rehusando a trabajar con la unión de campesinos. Para estos activistas llamar "La Migra" quiere decir que una parte del movimiento latino está usando agentes de la policía en contra de la otra parte de la comunidad latina. Dos campesinos chicanos, uno trabajando durante la huelga en los campos de Unión en Arizona y, otro con la experiencia de La Migra en su barrio; dan sus puntos de vista:

Los huelguistas se habían estacionado en varios lugares para hablar con los trabajadores que cruzaban la frontera de México. No podían ver de noche pero seguían gritando que no se rompiera la huelga. En un caso, 16 no cruzaron, se esperaron hasta en la mañana porque querían primero ver que estaba pasando. Se les explicó la huelga, y no aceptaron trabajos. Estuvieron dispuestos a ir a otro lugar y tratar de encontrar trabajo.

Cuando fui a ayudar en la huelga no quise estar en la posición de "puercos" pero sí para explicar la situación de la gente que cruza la frontera. Muchos habían venido desde el sur de México después de haber oído que había buen trabajo. Hablamos de todo el problema y del tiempo que había tomado tratar de conseguir salarios decentes y decentes condiciones de trabajo. Les señalé que a mí no me interesa si una persona viene del norte, del sur, del este o del oeste. Una persona que evade y cruza el cordón de huelga es un ruín y quisiera que muchos de ellos no representaran ese papel. Todos aquellos que se regresaron dijeron que era grandioso que nos hubiéramos unido y de poder enfrentarnos con la policía.

Yo culpo al gobierno de México por no mencionar la causa, el problema en ese país donde nosotros podríamos ayudar. Yo siento que la revolución mexicana ha sido tracionada y es por eso que el

gobierno no está ayudando en estas huelgas. Esta gente está viniendo para ser explotada. Están saliendo de una olla hirviendo para caer al fuego. No deberíamos tratar esto como chicanos contra mexicanos, sino con el contrabandista, el productor, el gobierno.

Vejaciones por la policía y oficiales de inmigración ocurren diariamente en un barrio o en otro. La gente es detenida en la calle y es interrogada sobre su situación legal. El estilo de interrogar de La migra es generalmente agresivo y abusivo, haciendo sentir a la persona como criminal. Muchas veces La migra detiene y deporta gente que son ciudadanos americanos. En mi barrio un joven quien era nacido en lo Estados Unidos fue arrestado y deportado porque no sabía hablar inglés. Agentes de inmigración pidieron papeles de identificación y luego fue arrestado cuando no los presentó. La madre de este joven apareció en los canales de televisión, tanto en los canales de habla inglesa como en los canales de habla hispana, para explicar la situación de su hijo antes de que fuera eventualmente deportado.

La experiencia más atroz para un inmigrante es la invasión repentina, algo muy común en mi barrio. Un incidente en particular tomó lugar en una limpia masiva. Vi muchos carros llenos de agentes de inmigración pararse enfrente de un edificio de apartamentos, invadieron un apartamento y en cuestión de minutos sacaron siete personas. Entiendo el terror que siente mucha gente al ser testigos de la táctica al estilo Gestapo en esa invasión repentina.

Yo personalmente creo que ese llamado problema de los forasteros mexicanos nunca se resolverá hasta que los sistemas económicos de los estados unidos y México sean transformados que ya no exista la necesidad del "forastero ilegal."

Dentro de los confines de una huelga en progreso en una granja, la diferencia de salarios entre E. U. y México son de cinco y diez a uno, de una tierra no desarrollada tecnológicamente y el gigante capitalista, *pero más especialmente dentro de los confines de la revolución incompleta en los E. U. y en México, no es de simple solución.* Esto requiere una más comprensiva solución que mencionaremos más adelante en este capítulo y en el apéndice de este panfleto .

.... Y FÁBRICAS

No es sólo en los campos donde clase, raza y sexo donde se unen para dar un salto adelante en el movimiento por la libertad. El gran problema del latino es también reconocido y existente en las fábricas también, como en la huelga Farah donde 85 por ciento eran mujeres y 95 por ciento chicanos. La super explotación de obreros latinos legales e ilegales continúa en talleres donde son mal pagados, en todo el suroeste, en hoteles y restaurantes en trabajos de limpieza, y no está confinado solamente en el suroeste sino en todo el país. En Nueva York pueden ser palpables las condiciones en que trabajan los puertorriqueños y otros latinos. Un obrero de una fábrica de ropa en Nueva York da su opinión:

Noble Knit Mfg. es corrupto. Esto es cierto en diferentes maneras. Cuando se tiene un amigo o cara bonita, los jefes lo protegen y alguien más tiene que trabajar por una. Esa es la historia de nuestra clase obrera. Tenemos que sudar mientras otros están en Pompano Beach, y nosotros somos acusados si no sacan millones en ganancias.

Los dueños de la compañía Noble son americanos blancos, y tratan de que todos los capataces sean blancos también así mantienen total control de nosotros los obreros. No quieren latinos en ese puesto ya que podrían acercarse a los obreros.

Y no es que no empleen latinos con educación. Hay hombres que han desempeñado el trabajo durante muchos años, lo conocen a fondo y podrían obtener el puesto. Sin embargo emplean a cualquier joven que no sabe nada acerca del trabajo pero es de su misma raza, quizás un amigo de la familia y es servil de los patrones y enemigo de los obreros.

La union Local 155, Knitgoods Workers (ILGWU), trabajan junto con los patrones y explotan a los trabajadores. Generalmente sólo quieren las cuotas vencidas cada mes. Por ejemplo mantienen a la gente trabajando dos semanas, luego dos sin empleo, en lugar de suspenderlos, así de esa manera pueden seguir recogiendo cuotas de cada miserable cheque de pago, que no es ni suficiente para vivir.

Las condiciones de trabajo son muy malas. Por ejemplo no ha habido agua caliente en los lavabos desde 1965. Ahorran dinero de esta manera. No les importa los obreros. Nosotros queremos que la gente se entere de nuestra situación y de como nos tratan. Nos tratan como animales o como esclavos. Los salarios son salarios de esclavos, sólo que en lugar de trabajar en una plantación trabajamos en un edificio.

Latinos y Latinoamerica

Recientemente un socialista latino-americano comentaba que ha visto una nueva dimensión de Latino América cuando vió a los chicanos en primer lugar haciendo frente a su posición en los E. U. el país mas capitalista del mundo. La otra parte de esta dimensión es la actividad masiva de latino-americanos para liberar sus propios países de los tentáculos del pulpo de E. U. y de las reglas de la casta gobernante en su tierra natal. Una mujer uruguayaya escribe de lo que está pasando en su país:

Uruguay ha sido un país dependiente casi toda su vida. Fuimos una colonia de España de quien nos liberamos después de una revolución. Después vino Inglaterra que controló nuestra economía y por consiguiente nuestra política. Después vinieron Los Estados Unidos. Al principio mostraron una falsa apariencia de hermandad. Nuestro hermano mayor estaba ayudando a los países aún no desarrollados a sostenerse en sus propios pies. Esto fué y es una mentira. Los Estados Unidos controlaron nuestra economía adquiriendo grandes sectores de producción o prestando dinero entonces comenzó a salir la apariencia real. Al desarrollarse el mundo capitalista de post-guerra, comenzó una crisis económica.

Diez años atrás el pasaje de canión era aproximadamente de una cuarta parte de un peso. Ahora es como 75 pesos. Junto con la crisis económica vino la crisis política. Ahora vemos que los Estados Unidos no era nuestro hermano y que nuestra clase gobernante estaba completamente corrupta. Los políticos honestos comenzaron a renunciar y un nuevo movimiento en masa comenzó. . . . Los Tupamaros.

Los Tupamaros jugaron un papel muy importante denunciando la corrupción y organizando gente en contra de eso. Hubo años de lucha y de organización de platicas y sufrimiento. Pero de alguna manera se separaron ellos mismos de contactos fuertes con la clase trabajadora. Después ellos ejecutaron cuatro miembros del grupo de ejecución controlado por el gobierno . . . Escuadrón de la muerte . . . creado por Dan Mitrone, un instructor en tortura mandado por los Estados Unidos. En repuesta el gobierno declaró estado de guerra para aplastar a los Tupamaros, esta estrategia militar dió al presidente el papel de dictador, destruyendo los restos de democracia, aboliendo el Senado y la casa de Representantes, cerrando periódicos y estaciones de T.V. y declarando ilegales los sindicatos.

De esta manera ahora nos enfrentamos con una dictadura

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aplastante y con la continue dependencia de los Estados Unidos. Las fuerzas revolucionarias se han dado cuenta de la necesidad de contactos nuevos, vivos, con la clase trabajadora de donde el movimiento masivo se levantará. También hemos realizado la necesidad de una relación más cerca con movimientos revolucionarios en países vecinos.

Tenemos un mensaje para la clase gobernante y el imperia-
lismo: No importa qué, nuestro deseo de libertad no morirá. Nuestra
milicia será doble y triple y algún día seremos libres! Hasta la victoria
siempre! ¡Venceremos!

El mundo de libertad de que la mujer uruguaya habla es lo que caracteriza los deseos y demandas, actividades y pensamientos de todos los grupos del movimiento latino. Los campesinos, los activistas en las ciudades, las mujeres, los obreros de las fábricas todos han tenido grandes problemas en el movimiento hacia la libertad. A través de su experiencia por separado cada uno ha visto que su nuevo mundo es opuesto al mundo existente sin libertad. Desde la oposición multifacética hasta esa falta de libertad y en el nacimiento de un nuevo mundo libre, el movimiento latino encuentra el cemento para unir y alinear aquí en Estados Unidos sus esfuerzos con todos aquellos del tercer mundo latinoamericano.

Not an Ending/but a New Beginning

No one can give a blueprint for the answers to what is ahead for the 1970's, because the crisis is so deep and immense. There is such a crisis in labor, and outside of labor, that Black workers are searching every day for ways to meet the problems of society. That is the reason we have Black caucuses. Black workers have participated for years in caucuses led by white workers, and controlled by white workers, and it didn't get them anywhere near to the surface of the problems in production, and in life as a whole.

The economic situation today is in a worse crisis than ever in history, and it has everybody frightened. Workers are frightened because they don't know what the outcome is going to be. What we need is a direction --- not answers, but a direction wherein workers, welfare people, all kinds of people could see that this is the road they have to take, to find their own answers.

The intellectuals and analysts don't see what is really taking place. They don't recognize the seriousness of the crisis, which has gripped the whole country. If they would just look, they would begin to ask themselves what would have happened ten years ago to any Black in the South who would have dared to vote, much less run for office. Yet in the past few years Black have been able -- through their own activity -- to run Black candidates for local, city, and state office, without fear of getting killed. There may be some fear, and there is still much caution -- but they have made such great changes politically and economically that they can do it. It is not that any Blacks believe, even if they get the Black candidates elected, that this is the solution to all their problems.

They know that the crisis is of such a nature that the answer is not in just the ballot box. Black people are fully aware that we don't have the strength to elect Black candidates for President or Governor. But the fact that one has the ability to run, makes us feel we have to give our support.

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Even more, it's a question of opening up the whole American political stage on a new scene. When Evers runs for Governor, and Chisholm runs for President, something new has happened. It isn't a question of their winning, or even a question of whether Blacks prefer them to some other Blacks. It is that in asserting our Blackness, we are putting everything on a new beginning.

If most Blacks felt that the answer to the crisis they face would come through electing a white, they would just as soon vote for him as a Black. Here is where the Black extremists hurt the struggle more than help it, when they insist we have to vote for a Black, just because he is Black.

It is the economic crisis that's going to force the white worker to examine their prejudices. Neither Nixon nor any other administration can solve the economic crisis. I don't care how many abstract figures they give about unemployment "declining." Everyday the crisis gets deeper. And its going to hit white workers in such a way that they are going to have to forget their prejudices.

I also blame the union a lot for the white workers' thinking. The union leaders were always afraid to touch a lot of these questions; they always kept quiet. One reason for deep polarization in the labor movement today is that the leadership never came out fairly and frankly for open discussion. the divisions that were there between white and Black before the CIO, disappeared on the picket lines and in the shops as the workers fought together.

How can we unite around a philosophy — a Marxist-Humanist freedom philosophy? How can we make sure that we connect theory and practice?

This lack of connection is the trouble. This is the cause of the crisis, and why it is so severe — people have been looking for a direction, and everything they have grasped has led them to the stone wall at the end, instead of an open road. Because all these things are political questions, they have to have political answers. And the correct political conclusion.

Workers will know from their own experiences, and their own activities whether the conclusion is correct. This is how your philosophy is tested.

The point is, how do you relate what you have just read in this pamphlet to what you are thinking, to what you are doing, whether it is the factory, or on the campus, whether it is on the reservation or with the urban Indian

community, whether it is with the Chicanos in the cultural movement or as part of the anti-war movement, whether it is part of Women's Liberation or any other movement of opposition to this exploitative, racist society under which we all live?

How can we all unite our experiences in such a way that act and fact go in the same direction, so that finally society can be changed from the bottom?

It is long past high noon. There is no time to waste. We must work it out together - now, not tomorrow, but today. Together we will work out a unity of theory and practice so that freedom does not remain just an idea, but becomes a reality. We must begin at once to do things together by using this liberation philosophy as foundation for all else till freedom is achieved.

Charles Denby,
Editor, News & Letters

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Excertas de Filosofía y Revolución

Todo lo que no sea una reorganización total de la vida, unas relaciones humanas totalmente nuevas, era ahora retrogresionista. Esto es lo que había de nuevo en estas revoluciones en contraposición a las revoluciones que siguieron a la Primera Guerra Mundial, cuando parecía bastante derrocar lo viejo y no preocuparse acerca de lo que viniera después del triunfo de la revolución. Si aún quedaba algunas de estas ilusiones al acabar la Segunda Guerra Mundial y cuando las revoluciones de Asia, Africa, Oriente Medio y Latino America crearon el Tercer Mundo, los años cincuenta acabaron con ellas. Las nuevas fronteras se abrieron con el fin de estas ilusiones, con el comienzo de revoluciones *dentro* de las revoluciones que triunfaron, con la permanencia del desarrollo de sí mismo de forma que se acaben de una vez para siempre, la diferenciación entre lo Individual y lo Universal. El carácter especial que posee nuestra época le viene dado por su maduración filosófico-política. Se ha hecho real la necesidad de una "segunda negatividad," esto es, de una segunda revolución. . . .

Lo que hemos mostrado hasta ahora es lo siguiente: Hay una dialéctica del pensamiento desde la conciencia a través de la cultura hasta la filosofía. Hay una dialéctica de la historia desde la esclavitud a través de la servidumbre hasta el trabajo libre asalariado. Hay una dialéctica de la lucha de clases en general y bajo el capitalismo en particular y a medida que se desarrolla a través de ciertas etapas específicas, desde la libre competencia pasando por el monopolio hasta el estado, en cada etapa exige nuevas formas de rebelión y nuevos aspectos de la filosofía de la revolución.

Sólo un Marx podía completar este último aspecto. Lo que Hegel había mostrado era los peligros inherentes en la revolución francesa que no acabo en el milenio. La dialéctica dejó ver como la contrarrevolución existe *dentro* de la revolución. Este es el mayor de los desafíos con los que el hombre ha tenido que enfrentarse. Nosotros vivimos ese desafío hoy.

Ese desarrollo-de-sí-mismo, actividad auto-dirigida, movimiento auto-controlado de la dialéctica hegeliana que se convirtió en algo tan lleno de vida para Lenin en el periodo de 1914 a 1923, es lo que hizo que Stalin ordenara la exclusión de "la negación de la negación" de las "leyes" de la dialéctica, como si, por un fiat, el capitalismo de estado pudiera cambiar el curso de la historia. La falta de confianza en las masas es la raíz común de todas las objeciones que se hacen al "Hegeli-

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anismo místico e idealista." Eso incluye no sólo a los traidores declarados, sino también a los intelectuales dedicados a la revolución proletaria, a los extraños que, la contemplan desde el exterior, a los marxistas académicos que (aunque independientes de cualquier poder de estado) están imbuidos hasta el tuétano de los huesos del concepto capitalista del carácter retrógrado del proletariado. Los unos y los otros están ciegos a la relación de la teoría con la historia como una relación histórica *construida por las masas en movimiento*.

El único elemento de verdad que expresan todos estos detractores de Hegel es la necesidad de romper con el idealismo burgués, incluyendo el de Hegel. Porque sin el descubrimiento único hecho por Marx de los fundamentos materialistas de la historia, la dialéctica hegeliana permanecía prisionera de un idealismo lo bastante abstracto como para permitir su uso como apología del estado prusiano. Si Marx no hubiera roto con el idealismo burgués tanto en su forma filosófica como en su naturaleza de clase, no habría sido capaz de descubrir ni siquiera la fórmula algebraica de la revolución inherente en la dialéctica hegeliana, ni reformular la dialéctica que emerge de la actual lucha de clase y de las revoluciones proletarias, y hacer el esquema integrador de ese, *precisamente eso, el movimiento auto-generado dentro de la "revolución permanente"*. Sin embargo, en nuestra época, tenemos discutir las perversiones de la dialéctica hegeliano-marxista que proponen los comunistas y sus secuaces.

Evidentemente la humanidad ha llegado a un punto muerto, cuanto la potencia más rica y militarmente más poderosa de la tierra grita a los cuatro vientos, no acerca de las maravillas de su producción, su afluencia, o su gigantismo nuclear, sino "el extraño espíritu enfermizo que embarga todo el país." Esto no es solamente debido al "espíritu." Tiene unas raíces económicas muy profundas: ya nos fijemos en la crisis monetaria o en el desempleo que no desaparece: ya pongamos la mirada en la incesante militarización y el gigantismo nuclear, o en los abismos de la pobreza y su creciente color negro en el centro mismo de la afluencia del imperialismo blanco; ya posemos nuestros ojos en la conquista de la estéril luna o en el inmenso vacío de la llamada democracia americana. Pero el hecho incontrovertible es que el P.N.B. de los Estados Unidos que está en la frontera de los trillones de dólares, lejos de estar ganando la batalla por las mentes de los hombres, ha perdido no sólo la batalla sino su propia mente, su propio espíritu. . . .

Por supuesto es verdad—y realmente se perdería algo fundamental si fuera de otro modo—que Marx y Lenin resolvieron los problemas de su época, no los nuestros. Pero se han colocado fuertes cimientos para esta

época que sería nuestro riesgo no tener en cuenta, así como sería fatal no construir sobre el terreno humanista teórico práctico que fue redescubierto en la mitad de los años cincuenta, y que Marx en su día llamó "Humanismo positivo que brota de sí mismo." La reformulación por el maduro, proletario, autor revolucionario del *Capital*, de la exuberancia del joven Marx de 1844 demuestra más allá de toda duda como las revoluciones de la Europa de 1844, la Guerra Civil Americana, y la Comuna de París en 1871, verifican el "nuevo Humanismo" de Marx. Cualquier otro fundamento, cualquier otra base, ya sea la "nacionalización de la propiedad," con o sin "focos" militares, sólo puede conducir a una tiranía más....

No hay forma alguna de acabar con la reaparición de otra sociedad explotativa, alienada y alienadora si no es a través de la revolución social, empezando con las relaciones entre la gente *en el punto de producción*, y continuando como esa explosión elemental que arrastra a la población "a cada hombre, mujer y niño" y acaba de una vez para siempre con la dicotomía entre el trabajo mental y el manual de forma que "la individualidad queda liberada de todo lo que interfiere con su universalidad que es la libertad"....

El Marx maduro, lo mismo que el Marx joven, rechazó el materialismo feuerbachiano y en su lugar mantuvo que la dialéctica hegeliana de la "segunda negatividad" era el "principio creador", el punto clave que acaba con la división entre el trabajo mental y el manual. El Marx maduro, lo mismo que el joven, dejó bien asentado que "el desarrollo del poder humano que es un fin en sí mismo" en el "movimiento absoluto del llegar a ser." Sólo con una visión tan prometedora se puede estar seguro de que una *nueva* Comuna de París no se quedaría en "una iniciativa histórica—un París que trabaja, que piensa, que sangra... radiante en el entusiasmo de su iniciativa histórica"—sino que continuaría su desarrollo autónomo hasta que quedase establecida un orden social totalmente nuevo a escala mundial.

La *nueva* característica de nuestra era, el "principio emergentizante" que ha determinado la dirección de las dos últimas décadas del movimiento *a partir de la práctica*, rechaza simultáneamente la falsa conciencia y las revoluciones abortadas.

La realidad es frustrante. La transformación de la realidad tiene una dialéctica propia. Exige la unidad de las luchas por la libertad con una filosofía de la liberación. Sólo entonces la rebelión elemental desencadena nuevas sensibilidades, nuevas pasiones y nuevas fuerzas una dimensión humana completamente nueva.

La nuestra es una época que puede afrontar el desafío de los tiempos si desarrollamos una nueva relación entre teoría y práctica de

tal forma que la prueba de su unidad está en el desarrollo autodirigido del Sujeto. La filosofía y la revolución liberarán entonces, en primer lugar, los talentos innatos de hombres y mujeres que se convertirán en seres integrales. Ya sea que reconozcamos o no que esta es la tarea que la historia ha asignado a nuestra época, es una tarea que ha de ser cumplida.

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FILOSOFÍA Y REVOLUCIÓN

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por Raya Dunayevskaya

—autora de *Marxismo y Libertad*

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NUEVAS PASIONES Y NUEVAS FUERZAS

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"El último capítulo discurre sobre la Black Revolution en los Estados Unidos, la lucha contra la Guerra de Vietnam y el movimiento de Liberación Femenina . . . Dunayevskaya presenta críticas, entre las cuales está la de aquellos que quisieran hacer la revolución sin teoría alguna. La verdad es que la autora repudia tanto el activismo acéfalo como la teorización desvinculada de las masas. Lo que nuestros tiempos exigen . . . es una nueva relación entre la teoría y la práctica, una filosofía de la liberación que guíe e impregne la indispensable obra revolucionaria. El supuesto es que para esa tarea el pensamiento de Hegel y el de Marx son fundamentales.

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