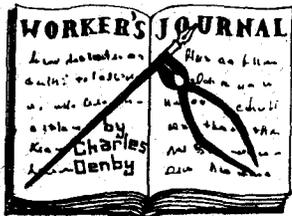


## ON THE INSIDE

Black dimension in Women's Liberation  
by Raya Dunayevskaya ..... page 5  
China-Russia conflict a drag on freedom  
See Editorial ..... page 4  
Fanon and Dialectics ..... page 7



## Labor author ignores Black role in UAW

by Charles Denby, Editor

I have just read the book, *An Auto Worker's Journal: The UAW from Crusade to One Party Union*, by Frank Marquart (Penn State U. Press). It contains a world of information from 1914 until he retired from the International UAW Education Department in 1963.

I knew Marquart for some six or seven years while he was Education Director of Local 212. Now he has written this book critical of the union and how it has changed into its opposite. But I never saw him oppose the UAW in any way while he was a director of the local. He seemed to agree with the bureaucrats more than he opposed them.

Marquart described his first job in a Ford metal shop paying ten cents an hour. He experienced the Palmer Raids, joined the auto workers union and the Socialist Party.

Workers were striking all over long before the union was organized. Auto workers demanded action on a national scale and agitated for a general strike to force union recognition.

A. J. Muste claimed that by 1933 over 60,000 were enrolled in federal locals in Detroit and 150,000 elsewhere. This shook the nation and President Franklin Roosevelt soon intervened. But his "auto code," which was supposed to help workers, instead resulted in a system of labor espionage under which thousands of workers were fired.

### EARLY STRIKES LED TO UNION

The workers learned from that experience that they could not depend on the "White Father" to hand down to them on a platter what they had to fight for themselves. In the spring of 1934, the federal labor union directed a strike against the Auto-Lite Company in Toledo. It did not end until 10,000 people had battled with militia, private guards, deputies and state troopers. Marquart says the AFL leaders gave no help.

A. J. Muste's American Workers Party and the Lucas County Unemployment League reinforced the picket lines and set up relief committees. Two workers were killed and scores were injured, but they won despite all the injunctions against them. The Communists did not lift a hand to help, either. In fact, they called the Musteites "Left Socialist Fascists."

In his book, Marquart strangely does not mention the role that John L. Lewis played in helping to organize the union. He only mentions A. Philip Randolph once, and he does not seem to think that Blacks played any role at all in the building of this union. On the jacket cover of his book, where there are workers' pictures all over, there is not one Black face.

He writes about workers striking at Chrysler Jefferson, and taking over the plant by locking themselves in some crucial position until the company gave in, and the leadership of the union was furious because the company gave in. Those were Black workers. At Chrysler Mack, it was Black and white that took over the plant, until the union sent its goon squads to crush the workers.

I think this is what he learned as a Norman Thomas socialist — that there is no Black question outside of the class question. This is what none of the white union (Continued on page 3)

## Rank-and-file leaflets blast plant oppression

### AT FLEETWOOD

Detroit, Mich. — All through the month of March, leaflets written by a group of Fleetwood paint shop workers have been shaking up the plant. The reason is very simple. The leaflets are doing what the company and the union never do at Fleetwood—tell the truth.

It all started on March 4, on the afternoon shift. A leaflet appeared in the plant. It told about how one woman new hire was persecuted and fired by a vicious foreman named Weaver, and how the company was made to take her back. It told about the anti-corrosion spray fumes and the noise from the blowers in the paint shop. And it asked why a Black college graduate, laid-off from salaried at another GM plant, has worked a year in production and can't get promoted, while a white woman who was "popular" with supervision was made a foreman — and she didn't even have her 90 days in yet.

So much hell was raised about this leaflet that Arnold, the paint shop superintendent, accused the brother who was denied a promotion of writing it, and threatened him. The workers who did write the leaflets got mad, and a couple of days later they put out another leaflet. They said:

"Listen, Arnold — the man you are accusing did not write a word of our leaflet. You do not know who wrote (Continued on page 3, col. 1)

### AT UNIROYAL

Detroit, Mich.—"We've been hearing about you all day," said a worker on midnights when handed a shop leaflet. Her response was indicative of the plant-wide impact at Uniroyal that resulted from a leaflet written by a rank-and-file tire builder and passed out by News and Letters Committee on March 16.

Even before they got to work, workers on the afternoon shift heard about the leaflet being passed out that morning and called to express support. News and Letters Committee got reports from the millroom and the press-room saying that problems in those departments are similar to the situation in tire building described in the leaflet.

An unemployed Uniroyal worker got a copy of the leaflet and called from a carwash and raised the issue of so much overtime being worked and people out on the street while those with less seniority are working.

"What happens now? Did we get six days off for nothing?" read the leaflet questioning the situation of a six-day suspension of tire builders for sitting down and refusing to go along with the company's arbitrary change in production standards.

Pete Swider — the committeeman the leaflet named who worked a fantastic pace a single day, building 500 (Continued on page 3, col. 2)

10¢

# NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

VOL. 21—NO. 3

27 Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

APRIL, 1976

## Miners, teamsters, auto workers

# Kentucky coal disasters throw light on deadly working conditions everywhere

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

Twenty-six men were murdered at the Scotia Coal Co. No. 1 Black Mountain Mine near Oven Fork, Kentucky in two methane gas explosions. Murdered? Yes, that is what I write and feel. The night before the first explosion the company had been cited for not having the required



The Mountain Eagle, Kentucky

The real cost of coal

amount of air in the area where the blast occurred. Scotia had previously been cited for methane levels of five to fifteen percent, where a level of more than five percent is considered dangerous. The company "corrected" the problem and led 15 miners to their death the next day and 11 others, including three federal inspectors, two days later.

We are now witness to a barrage of statements by spokesmen from the Kentucky Bureau of Mines and Minerals, from the U.S. Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration, from the Undersecretary of the Interior, from Kentucky Congressmen. They are asking how it happened, are stating theories, are preparing investigations. But there are those who do know, who have witnessed this before, who have experienced the near misses, the mangled hands and crushed legs, the black lung and silicosis — the working miners. To them the reality of unsafe working conditions is as much a deadly weapon as any shotgun. It is a shotgun in the hands of management.

### DEATH RATE THREE TIMES HIGHER

It is a continuous thing. Each day, week, month, workers are giving their lives. Deaths in Kentucky coal mines doubled in 1975 over 1974. The causes? A gas explosion, the face of a tunnel collapsing, a roof giving way. Yes, but more deeply it comes from the drive for more and more production with less and less caution for working peoples' lives. The miners, whose death rate is the highest in the nation, three times the average for all other industries, know this well. It was for the right to be able to close an unsafe mine that they went on wild-cat strike against company and union last year.

It is not only in the mines and it is not only in the United States where we are dying. I recently read about the nearly 3,000 work-accident deaths in France in 1975. In the shop we know this disregard for human life does not stop at national borders.

In auto where I work, we also face these questions of health and safety found in the mines. Speed-up through automation means fewer workers in my plant. But it also creates a situation where the men left often have a number of different jobs to perform at each work station, using a number of different tools. Each worker has to complete his assignment in a very short period and with all of these different jobs to do, workers don't have time to be careful.

Within production we are becoming more and more a part of the machinery we work with, and are treated as machinery. The result is the hundreds of thousands who become injured on the job each year.

### THE PRICE OF AN ARM

When an accident does occur, the state industrial welfare board has a book with a price list which pays you so much for a lost hand, or arm, or broken back, or loss of hearing. It is in keeping with looking at a worker as a machine. If the part is beyond repair, you are paid so much for the loss. If life is lost, your insurance pays double.

The workplace, whether in the mines, in auto, or in many other places where we labor, is unhealthy. New reports keep coming out relating different cancers to where people have worked. I believe that there is a link

(Continued on page 8)

# Working women go beyond single issue of abortion

by Molly Jackson

Three years ago, the women's movement forced the Supreme Court to "find" a right to abortion, but the right is still not real. One-third of all women cannot get abortions when they want them, and many others cannot afford abortions or are subjected to unsafe ones. In New York City, the health personnel who policed commercial establishments were among the first laid off in the budget crisis. We still have no safe, easy, cheap contraceptive that could make abortion unnecessary. The movement was never expanded to include these problems, which affect poor and working women the most.

The abortion situation today reveals the limitations of a single-issue, legalistic campaign, just as the ERA will prove a meaningless abstraction—or may actually be used against us, as it is used against women in the factories—unless a mass women's movement forces the courts to give it life.

Now we find ourselves on the defensive against a vicious campaign to take away any freedom of choice. The anti-abortion and anti-WL campaign in general are in the hands of the most rabid reactionaries. The new law on child care before Congress is being opposed by the same well-financed right-wing lobbyists, who call it "breaking up the family."

The narrowing of issues is stifling to a vibrant movement for liberation. It comes from the elitist view that you have to simplify Women's Liberation for the masses, when in fact, the opposite is true. I remember a meeting of the Women's Liberation Coalition of Michigan in 1970, at which a woman who opposed the YSA-SWP plan

to limit our many other activities, asked if we wanted to be known 50 years from now as "abortionettes."

The reference to the women of the suffrage movement, called "suffragettes", was apt. When the first American women's movement got narrowed to the single issue of the vote, it also separated itself from the Black and working class women, who had helped to found it. Indeed, one of the most well-known, Lucy Stone, showed herself to be an out and out racist, who said she didn't mean to have the vote for the "dregs of society" by which she meant Blacks, workers and immigrants. In the end, it took 50 years just to win that hollow right.

It is only the ideas of the workers, the poor and the minority women, developed through their daily struggles against this oppressive society, which can give the women's movement new direction. The Black dimension,

## Crimes Against Women meeting shows horror more than revolt

New York, N. Y.—The Crimes Against Women Tribunal held here, Feb. 27-29, brought a lot of information to some 500 women in attendance, but its purpose remained unfocused, and the final session failed to produce any action.

The session on women political prisoners was filled with gasps of horror, as women described tortures in the jails of Chile, Iran and elsewhere. A Russian woman told of visiting her half-dead husband in a Siberian slave-labor camp and his later suicide. After hearing about the atrocities in other countries, Elier Moves Camp, a Native American activist whose son is in jail for refusing to testify before a grand jury, was so upset she could only say, "Don't think it can't happen here."

Another session consisted of moving personal testimonials about the oppression of lesbians, of children born out of wedlock, and of their mothers. There was a session on medical crimes against women, and a film on the Nestle Chemical Company, which is pushing its powdered formula on African women and causing the malnutrition and death of babies.

At the session on economic crimes, three New York women detailed their fights to get equal pay with men for similar work: a Columbia University maid, a now black-listed college professor, and an office cleaning woman who sued the Building Service Employees Union over its sex-segregated locals and pay scales.

Although individual discussions in the halls took up questions of theory and revolution, the conference itself failed to present women's oppression as a totality, and the totality of its opposite, the world-wide struggle for freedom. Jennifer Davis of the American Committee on Africa had to remind the horrified audience at the political prisoners meeting that each of those jailings reflects a revolutionary movement against the rulers in that country.

An International Crimes Against Women Tribunal was held in Brussels the following week. One woman who attended said it was exciting, but few women there were not either European or American whites, and there was little opportunity for them to actually discuss their struggles together. —Participant



News & Letters photo

Pro-abortionists protest Catholic church's stand in N.Y.

especially, has been crucial throughout American history (see "Two Worlds", p. 5).

It isn't a question of "learning" from history, whether that is of yesterday or today, nor is it a matter of talking about a needed unity of theory and practice. It is a matter of working it out by practicing it.

The truth is that working women's campaigns to organize themselves have been erupting across the breadth of the land, fighting not only the bosses but the labor bureaucrats, male and female, and creating new ideas for organization and new concepts of "women's work" everywhere—from nurses to cleaning women, from foundry workers to telephone operators, from auto factories to "factories in the field." And they are concerned about every aspect of life.

They are telling their stories not only "like it is" but as they'd like to uproot this racist, sexist, exploitative system. And they are Black and White and Chicana and Oriental and Native American. They are putting out shop leaflets asking "Can Women Be Liberated at Uniroyal?" And newsletters like "Women For Freedom", where employed, unemployed and welfare mothers all tell their stories together.\*

It is their voices you will be able to hear, their new actions you will be able to witness being initiated, and their new thoughts, original thoughts that go to the very root of our task, that you'll be able to share in our new pamphlet on Working Women, which is just now going to press and from which we will carry excerpts in our special issue of News & Letters next month.

\*If you'd like to see a copy of this newsletter, send a self-addressed, stamped, long envelope to Women's Liberation—N&L Committees, 1900 E. Jefferson, Det. 48207.

## WL NOTES

At the International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women held in Brussels, March 4-8, women from Israel, Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Syria issued a joint statement that said: "We understand that our oppression is by men and not by opposing nationalities." While the Left gladly accepts the UN resolution that Zionism equals racism, it is these women who refused to accept state-capitalism's ground and have shown themselves as true internationalists recognizing the two worlds that exist within every country.

In Portugal, Ms. Maria Antonia Palla is on trial because she authored a recent T.V. program called "Abortion is Not a Crime" which showed an abortion done in a medical setting, pointed out that more than 2,000 women die every year from illegal abortions, and ended with information on family planning. She has no support from the Portuguese Left. Ms. Palla next plans to start a petition drive for legalizing abortions.

In Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, at least nine women, wives of men who are in prison, were arrested as part of a general crackdown in late February. The women were bringing food to their husbands in prison.

## Hear Raya Dunayevskaya on Tour

### ● CHICAGO

Wed., April 7, 11:30 a.m.  
Wed., April 7, 4 p.m.

Thurs., April 8, 1 p.m.

Fri., April 9, 12 noon

Sat., April 10, 8 p.m.

### ● WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mon., April 12, 3:30 p.m.

Tues., April 13, 7:30 p.m.

### ● BOSTON

Tues., April 20.

### ● NEW YORK

Thurs., April 22, 1 p.m.

Mon., April 26, 7:30 p.m.

Thurs., April 29, 8:15 p.m.

### Loop YWCA Talk-In

Catholic Theological Union (Windemere Hotel Ballroom): A Dialogue Between Marx's Humanism and Religion

Roosevelt University: U.S. Policy in Africa

De Paul University, Schmitt Academic Center: Women as Revolutionaries

IWW (Holy Covenant Church): Economic Crisis and Forms of Workers Revolt

George Washington University, Alumni House Lounge: Women as Thinkers and Revolutionaries

National NOW Action Center, 425 13th St., N.W.: Working Class, Poor and Third World Women: Where do we go from here?

Boston University, Colloquium for Philosophy of Science: Marx's Humanism and Science

Queen's College, Philosophy Dept.: Philosophy and Revolution

News and Letters Committees, at Martin Luther King Labor Center, 310 W. 43rd, NYC: Portugal and Angola: Where to Now?

The New School, Graduate Center, room 210: Women as Thinkers and Revolutionaries

## WAY OF THE WORLD

### Miners' control can end deaths

by Ethel Dunbar

The tragedy that happened in eastern Kentucky several weeks ago, when 26 miners were killed, was shocking. After the first 15 miners were killed in an explosion, the owners, Scotia Coal Co., were so bent on getting their profits that they closed the mine for only one day and then re-opened it. Eleven men went in, and they, too, were killed.

These miners' deaths seem so senseless to me. Why didn't they close the mine down before the last 11 were sent to their death, too?

One must put the blame where it belongs, on the mine owners and the government inspectors that are supposed to look out for safety violations. The owners had over 300 safety violation charges against them when the first explosion happened — and the inspectors knew about these hazards. Now there is so much methane gas in the mine, that miners on the outside are saying it is too dangerous to try and get the remains of the dead miners out.

Here in Detroit, too, the concern of workers is over safety and working conditions. Every day, in any auto shop, you can hear of workers getting hurt. Some injuries are so bad that they never return to work, although it is not the same as a mine explosion, and miners being buried miles underground.

I have listened to miners trying to breathe. Most of them have lung trouble, and trouble walking. We know that people have to make a living, and someone will have to mine the coal. But the companies and the government inspectors continue to allow conditions that destroy healthy human beings.

There is no way the mines can be safe until the miners themselves are in charge of their own safety.

## Black woman officer victim of racist Flint police practices

Flint, Mich.—Madeline Fletcher, a 20-year-old Black police officer, will be going to trial here in May for "assault with intent to do great bodily harm less than murder" as a result of a shoot-out with several white male officers behind the Flint police station last December. She also has been suspended from her job. The white officers have had no criminal charges brought against them, nor have they been suspended.

The immediate cause of the shoot-out was alleged to be an argument between Ms. Fletcher and a white male officer named Walter Kalberer, assigned to ride with her, as to who would drive the patrol car.

Supposedly Ms. Fletcher fired the first shot, into the leg of her assigned "partner." However, she was hospitalized for several weeks with multiple gunshot wounds, while the white officer was merely treated for his wound and released.

The Black community in Flint does not view the case the way the media does. People in the Black community charge racism and sexism in the Flint Police Department as the cause of the shooting incident. They say that Ms. Fletcher's assigned "partner" had boasted that he would never ride with a Black or a woman. He then tried to make good on his boast by pulling her from behind the wheel while other white officers watched.

Ms. Fletcher is claiming that she fired first, in self-defense, because she believed she was in danger. Judging by the extreme reaction of the white officers (some 14 shots were fired), her fear does not seem unreasonable.

For about four years there has been tension in the Flint Police Department because of the increased number of female and Black officers hired. The shooting incident is viewed in the Black community as merely the latest example of a long history of racist and sexist attitudes and practices in the Flint Police Department.

—Activist, Flint

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

## Rank-and-file leaflets blast plant oppression

(Continued from page 1, col. 1)

it. The leaflets were everywhere Thursday night. In the men's and ladies' rooms, in the locker rooms — even coming down the line on the bodies.

"There are 200 or more paint shop workers on afternoons. They all know the truth about this brother's case, how he was treated unjustly by General Motors. They all know about the noise and the anti-corrosion spray. Do not add injustice on top of injustice by falsely accusing people!"

That night the whole paint shop and most of the plant was talking about Arnold. All of a sudden the company seemed to change its tune. They decided that this brother had been overlooked for a promotion after all. And the committeemen started making promises about eliminating the fumes.

Nobody was fooled by the promises, but new people were raising new questions about conditions. They asked News & Letters to help put out another leaflet, and they called it: "We Have No Health and No Safety." It said that two women had collapsed in the last two weeks in the paint shop. One lay on the floor for almost half an hour before the ambulance came. The night the second woman fell out her foreman, Charlie Faulk, refused to stop the line even for a minute for the stretcher to get through to pick her up. The leaflet went on:

"Are we going to do something about health and safety now in the paint shop, or are we going to wait until we lie down on the floor — and maybe die?"

Something new is beginning at Fleetwood. News & Letters is receiving reports from all over the plant. Whether the reports come from the body shop, paint shop or trim, it is clear that workers not only have a lot to say about what is wrong, but plenty of their own ideas about how to change it. The pages of this paper are open for that discussion.

## Strikes sweep Italy facing economic and political crises

Milan, Italy—There have been two national general strikes in the last few months in which, in Milan alone, at least 100,000 workers marched. There have also been continual demonstrations by thousands of unemployed workers in the south's only industrialized city, Naples.

High school and university students in Milan went on strike because of the unemployment of youth, while on the same day workers in numerous occupied factories in Milan literally assailed the regional government headquarters—an action condemned by all of the unions.

Since the June elections, the economic crisis in Italy has deepened to such an extent that it would be impossible to predict the consequences. The closing of Leyland-Innocenti Company has been used as an example by the unions to try and force their line on the government. But, unfortunately, the line of the unions is anything but clear.

The unions have insisted that no workers are fired, but that the government continue to pay lay-off benefits until the factory is reorganized and modernized. The Innocenti was producing mini-cars that are considered about five years out of date. It is a bit difficult to imagine how one can modernize a factory—that is, automate it—without causing some unemployment. There is also the problem of how to encourage new investments in a company during an economic crisis, without a decrease in wages.

The Leyland has, by now, left Italy, along with four other foreign companies, one of which is the

Continued from page 1, col. 2)

tires that the company used as a standard for all workers day in and day out — came out and said, "The only reason I'm here at all is because I'm for the workers." Though he said he would write a reply, nothing has been received.

"If we get a raise in April," read the worker's story in the leaflet that every tire builder we talked to said was also their own story, "and they keep the new standard, we'll never see it. Why keep letting the company take raises away year after year? After ten years and ten 'raises' most workers aren't making any more than they started with. And this is when we've had the most increases in the cost of living. Everyone wants to get rid of the pay system where 'raises' are never added to the base pay but are tied to the incentives system."

An agreement reached when workers refused to work after returning from the suspension set a higher pay rate if a minimum average of 400 tires is produced.

Workers said very few will actually get the new rate, that "the union jumped at the first thing the company offered" and that 400 tires is a "woman killer" as the job women are assigned to in a team of three is impossible at 400.

"None of the union men who made this agreement actually work in tire building," said another worker. "That they agreed to build so many tires when the company is stockpiling tires shows just how seriously they are taking the contract negotiations."

Everywhere workers expressed total disgust with the "do-nothing union." The new level of discussion among rank-and-filers reflects a new commitment to work independently, convinced, as one worker said, that "if anything is accomplished, it will be the workers who will do it."

enormous Singer complex which employed 1,800 workers in Italy. The government has recently guaranteed six months of layoff benefits for the workers of these plants.

Yet, the Innocenti plant does not even as yet have a buyer. The Innocenti workers have continued to occupy the factory since it was closed down in September and have demonstrated on the railway tracks that go from the factory to the city, as well as on tracks in the center of Milan.

Political instability, in general, and fear of a Communist takeover have had a strong influence on the economic scene. At the same time the Italian CP's "historical compromise" with the Catholic Church is not resolving anything. The fall of the government on Jan. 8, immediately followed by a monetary crisis which, in turn has already caused a new wave of price increases, has left Italy in more than chaotic conditions.

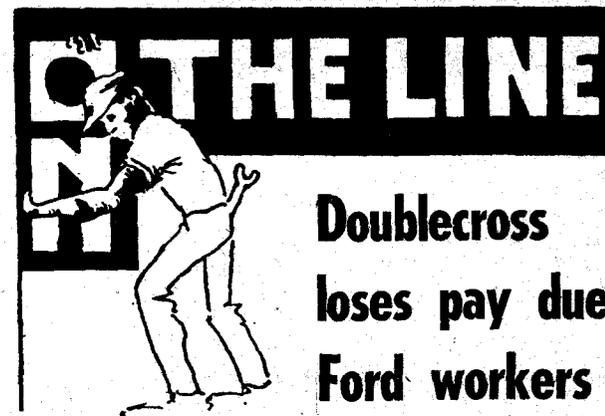
Local News & Letters Committees can be contacted directly in the following areas:

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

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

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

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



by John Allison

"We don't know all the ins and outs about the case, or what kind of shenanigans the company and international union pulled, but we do know that we got the old double-cross," a rank-and-file Ford Rouge worker said about the outcome of the appeal the Rouge frame plant workers made of the decision by the company to tack on a floating holiday to a week the workers were laid off.

This arbitrary action by the company cost each worker \$52 that they should have had, as reported in this column in our last issue, and involved the Supplemental Unemployment Benefit (SUB) provision in the contract.

When the workers made their stand known, they got a lot of smooth talk from top Ford Local 600 bureaucrats that they were going to fight for the money due them. But between the time the workers filed their appeal and the appeal hearing a couple of weeks later, a lot of water went under the bridge.

The Black 1st Vice President of Local 600, Buddy Battle, would have been in line for the union president in the next election. But meanwhile, Marcellus Ivory, a Black UAW International Executive Board member and District Director, retired, and Battle was appointed to replace him.

It was at this point that the appeal hearings were held. The workers who appeared at the hearing, instead of getting the backing they expected, were told that the international would not support them, and the best thing they could do was drop their appeal.

To try to smooth the ruffled feathers of the workers, the company and union said that the whole SUB provision would be the first thing on the negotiating table when the contract talks open up, and questions raised like the pay issue would be ironed out in contract language.

The workers said they knew they were right, and wanted to take Ford to court, but without the backing of the union, they knew they couldn't afford the cost for legal fees. They finally backed down and the appeal was denied. "We were there willing to fight," a worker said, "but had to depend on help from someone else that we didn't get. It shows all over again that workers can't depend on anyone but themselves if they're going to win anything."

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from page 1)

leaders wanted to admit, that Blacks have many problems that whites do not have, in and out of the shops.

At one period in those bygone days, an order came down from the union for every worker to boycott the lunch wagon. We did for two days and on the third day three Blacks went to it and started buying some lunch. The white chief steward yelled "Put down that damn stuff." But the Blacks continued to get what they were buying.

### BLACKS REFUSED SERVICE

After yelling a second time with no results, the steward looked at me and said, "Go over there and see if you can stop them."

I asked these workers why they were buying from the lunch wagon, and they told me there was only one place that Blacks could eat around the plant — White Tower. So many were there to get food you couldn't get into the place. So for two days they went without food. Whites could go in any restaurant around the shop.

I walked back to the chief steward and explained why they were buying from the wagon. I told him if he wanted to stop it, he should call the union hall and tell them to have some people out here tomorrow, and we would go together to every eating joint around this plant and tell them we want all our union members served. But he would not do it, and the lunch wagon strike was broken. This chief steward had been a Norman Thomas socialist.

Marquart's book tells how many different elements contributed to the process of molding the union — including radical parties, independent militants, and careerists. It also talks about how the rank-and-file acted in the early days when they controlled the union.

Now the '30s are gone, but the work and the grievances are the same or worse, because the union was sidetracked from what it set out to do — make socialist changes in the country for its workers.

## FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—A new "underground" newspaper has been appearing inside the Fleetwood plant. It has stories about incidents in the shops, but also says things like "Support Local 15" or "Attend your local union meetings." Or there will be a "rank-and-file" report on the last union meeting which says that everything was cool there. This paper looks like an attempt by Local 15 leadership to copy rank-and-file leaflets that have been in the plant.

Some people think that this paper is put out by workers and they say it couldn't be put out by the union. But the fact is that there is only a post office box listed to get in touch with the paper. It says to send in any stories we have against our foreman. It doesn't say a word about sending in any stories about lack of service by committeemen, and it leaves the union out of any criticism.

—Dept. 11 worker

### Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich.—Ford workers are a little leery about the contract negotiations coming up this year. We hear rumors that Ford is going to be the strike target for the next contract, and we don't know what the international union has up its sleeve this time around.

We can't exactly say that Ken Bannon (UAW Vice President in charge of Ford operations) has got a negotiating track record that we have a lot of confidence in. The last time he led things off, he negotiated a cap on the Cost-of-Living formula that cost all UAW workers about \$1,000 in lost pay.

We had to take on Chrysler and strike there to get the cap taken off, and we sure don't want to have to go through that kind of situation again. The only trouble is that workers don't have much to say about the negotiations.

—Rouge worker

**EDITORIAL****China-Russia conflict drags down all freedom movements**

The 25th Russian Party Congress finally adjourned after 11 days of speeches, filled with the greatness of all its "victories." Among its 5,000 party delegates in the audience it had seated Castro, to stress its international victories, in Angola especially. Brezhnev's five-hour speech trotted all over the globe, and Kosygin's even claimed that Russia already surpassed the industrial countries in current economic growth.

Aside from the fact that the Russian figures failed to take into account all the unused capacity in America due to the present Recession, it was only because the economic crisis in the "capitalist West" is so severe that Brezhnev could point to that in an attempt to hide the true disasters of the Russian economy.

**RUSSIA—DISASTERS AND DISSIDENTS**

The 21,000 words of the new Five Year Plan for 1976-81, can do nothing to convince the Russian workers that there is anything ahead for them but greater hardships than they are now enduring. There are already grave shortages of everything from sausages to tires, and this year's disastrous harvest resulted in an 83-million-ton grain shortage, which means even worse shortages of the most basic foods—bread, meat and milk. All the shouting in the world from the 25th Congress that consumers' goods must get attention means nothing; the attention will go, as usual, to the massive military budget—\$140 billion last year and guaranteed higher this year.

The simple "prescription for the economy" proposed by Kosygin—increased productivity—which every worker knows means that the workers will be made to work harder, was the true measure of the 25th Congress, just as the so-called "low productivity" of the Russian workers is the true measure of their revolt.

When you add to this kind of workers' dissidence, the better-known opposition of the writers, the scientists who rot in mental institutions, the Jews, and the Underground that continues to publish their samizdat, you get the true picture of Russian reality.

Judging by the ferocity of China's attacks on Russia, they—and Henry Kissinger—are the only ones who really

believe Russia's claim to victories. They believe it because they all disregard the decades of struggle the African masses waged to win their own revolutions, which they have no intention of turning over to anyone.

In 1969, a major review of the U.S. southern Africa policy concluded that the insurgent movements were totally ineffective. Kissinger questioned "the depth and permanence of Black resolve" and "ruled out a Black victory at any stage."

So convinced is he that Russia has all of Africa in its hands, that not only did Congress have to stop him from sending troops to Angola, but he is now threatening to blockade Cuba—as if Cuba's intervention in Angola is the equivalent of Russia bringing missiles 90 miles from the U.S. shore.

As for Mao, it has been the objective developments outside China, that have helped to trigger the new "mini-Cultural Revolution" inside. What worries Mao is not only that the whole of Vietnam seems to be with Russia, but that even China's building of the Tan-Zam Railroad—hailed as the largest aid project ever by anyone in Black Africa—could not supercede Russia's military assistance in winning an actual revolution in Angola.

**CHINA—RECTIFICATION AND REVOLT**

At the same time, the true reality of China is, as with Russia, seen at home. Within the past year, reports have revealed a wave of working class struggles in China. Troops have been sent into steel plants and coal mines in several areas; 10,000 were sent to Hangchow to restore production in 13 factories, and 6,000 sent to a big silk-dyeing plant to repair damage from sabotage. Special Communist Party "activists" had to be sent to persuade railway workers in Inner Mongolia to give up their "troublemaking." And the labor unrest which also permeated the countryside was revealed when the new Constitution, adopted last year under Chou-Teng's direction, was forced to grant not only the right to strike, but some livestock and "small plots of land for personal needs" for the peasants.

When Mao launched his theoretical campaign allegedly to study the significance of the "dictatorship of the proletariat", it turned out, instead, to be an attack

on what he called "economism"—by which he really meant workers asking for an increase in their miserable wages. There is no difference between Mao and Teng—currently being denounced in wall-posters as the foremost "unrepentant capitalist roader"—in their fundamental concern with always getting more and more production out of the Chinese masses.

The only difference is that Mao thinks he can get it by "rectification" and by demanding "revolutionary energy" instead of "giving in" to "material incentives."

That is, fundamentally, what is behind the new mini-Cultural Revolution Mao has unloosed, precipitated by all the objective world developments where Russia has been "surrounding China" everywhere.

The Sino-Soviet struggle threatens the true independence movement everywhere, as the tug-of-war for influence over Africa makes all too clear. But the totality of the crisis of the existing world, state-capitalist calling itself Communist as well as private capitalist calling itself welfare, has produced not only repression but revolt—in China and Russia, just as in the U.S. Those are the struggles that will be decisive.

**News & Letters**

Vol. 21, No. 3

April, 1976

News & Letters is published ten times a year, monthly except for January-February and August-September, by News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207. Telephone: 259-0404. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman  
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby ..... Editor  
Felix Martin ..... Co-Editor  
O. Domanski ..... Managing Editor

Second Class Postage Paid at Detroit, Michigan

**CRISIS AND PROTEST**

The forces of reaction in the U.S. are basing themselves on both anti-woman and anti-Black appeals. Rizzo in Philadelphia recently closed Philadelphia General, the only remaining city hospital. Young doctors and nurses had smuggled a reporter into the hospital, who got wide coverage exposing the horrible conditions there. Instead of making improvements, Rizzo just shut it down. The next day 3,000 marched in protest and sanitation men wildcatted in West Philly near the hospital, but apparently Rizzo has won for now. This type of defeat is possible because of the racist and sexist appeals the Right has been making. Three years ago to have predicted that all the Presidential candidates would be arguing over who was more anti-Russia and strong on defense would have seemed ridiculous.

Taxi-Driver  
New York

The same day the last issue of N&L arrived, with the human story of the unemployment picture in this country and throughout the world, the news reported that the unemployment rate had gone down—but for the Black community it had gone up. It was just reported as a sign that "things were getting better." I couldn't believe my ears. Not because the Dept. of Labor statistics are totally distorted to hide how bad things really are—that's no surprise, because everybody knows that. It was that they just completely disregarded their own report that conditions for Blacks are worse than ever. That was, apparently, just a "fact of life."

White Worker  
New York

Those who had an income last year on which they had to pay taxes (I didn't) must be thrilled to know their taxes are going to support dictators like Park Chung Hee in South Korea who lured big U.S. corporations with low wages, no unions and strikes in their sweatshops.

Unemployed  
Michigan

Unemployment is so bad in Puerto Rico that a friend of mine from there says people don't use cash, just food stamps; since that's the income most of them have. The grocery stores don't keep change, just stamps. In New York, they keep saying it's improving, but they keep laying people off. Zenith just laid off 75 to 125 employees. That doesn't get headlines.

I think it's the economic crisis that helps keep women in the kitchen, because a man can make twice as much. I'd like to see the WL movement in New York fighting these class questions, especially in the garment shops. Women there are treated like they are nothing. But if you're an "illegal" it can seem like you have everything to lose if you fight back. I think if they knew the women's movement would back them, these women would fight against both the industry and the corrupt unions.

Male Garment Worker  
New York

**WOMEN'S LIBERATION**

I was so glad that a Michigan woman was recently found not guilty in the stabbing death of her husband, when he attacked her and tried to force her to do oral sex. This case raised a challenge to the Michigan law which says that a husband cannot sexually assault his wife. In other words, if you are married there is no legal protection from your husband.

The struggle for the right to control our bodies is just beginning. This was brought into sharp focus by the conviction of two Black women, Sheryl Todd and Dessie X. Woods, in Hawkinsville, Georgia, for shooting with his own gun a white man who tried to rape them at gun point. There was wide support for these two women both in Hawkinsville, Atlanta and the Women's Liberation Press. This is probably why the state was unable to get a conviction of murder and had to settle for manslaughter.

I can't help but wonder in this state capitalist world, where sexism and racism go hand in hand, if the Michigan woman would have been found not guilty if she had been Black. Those on the

Left who would try to limit the right of women to control our bodies to the one issue of abortion fail to see the depths of sexism where women can be used by any man, and if they dare to fight back are punished for it.

Feminist  
Detroit

International Woman's Day brought several events, but nothing like last year's march of 5,000 women. On March 8, NOW sponsored a lively demonstration of about 200 in front of St. Patrick's Cathedral, to protest the Catholic Church's campaign to make abortion illegal again and to restrict access to abortions in the meantime.

According to NOW, "In open defiance of the principle of the separation of church and state, every priest in the country has been ordered to organize his parishioners into a lobbying group." Unless we defend our right to choose, the politicians may be influenced by the Church in spite of the fact that the vast majority of Americans support the right to abortion.

Other International Women's Day events included an unpublicized meeting where a small number of radicals talked to themselves, and a small "anti-imperialist" march where the signs denouncing Russia and Israel prevented one from even telling the demonstration was in support of women's rights. The failure to have one major event was due to the inability of various Left groups to get together.

Feminist  
New York

**STRATEGIC DEFEAT?**

March 31 had been set by the Federal Government as the date for all men, 18 to 26, to register if they had not already done so. Alerted to this remarkable "one day registration," many groups began to mobilize and urge mass non-cooperation. Then in mid-January the

government announced they were not sure of the date. Later they said budget cuts had reduced the Selective Service staff to a handful. And finally they announced men would no longer be required to register for the draft because the skeleton crew left could not handle them.

It is hard to believe it was just economic factors, in a year when Ford has demanded more than a hundred billion dollars for military spending. Just possibly it was a hasty "strategic retreat," in the face of feared mass non-cooperation.

Karl Bissinger  
War Registers League  
New York

**CLEANING WORKERS**

They just gave the cleaning women where my mother works, a bigger raise than women in union buildings got. But they said that because of this "big raise" they will have to reduce the work time from five to four hours a night. They put out a big announcement that the cleaning women who were making \$91 for five hours will now get \$105 for only four hours. They don't mention that they will have to do the same amount of work in that time. In the shops, where I come from, that's called "speed-up."

Working Woman  
New York

The head custodian at our school, who often makes time to talk with students, told me the following story about negotiations a few years ago. The management put forth a contract option that said the staff could either officially get the terminology changed from "janitorial" to "custodial," or receive a raise in pay, but not both. The staff voted the name change because "a janitor is an old stereotype of a man shuffling around with a greasy rag in his back pocket, whereas a custodian is a person you

**Reader**

## TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION**  
and **Marxism and Freedom**

(Editor's Note: The following excerpts are from speeches given by Raya Dunayevskaya over the past year to audiences ranging from Union W.A.G.E. in San Francisco, to the University Center for Adult Education of WSU/U-M Detroit, Hunter College in New York, De Paul University in Chicago, Cal State in L.A., and George Washington in Washington, D.C. They show the direction that has been taken up in our new pamphlet on *Working Women*, which is just going to press, and will be highlighted in our special 12-page May issue of N&L.)

We may think we know at least two names from the past—Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman. But do we really know them not only as Black liberationists, but as leaders, as inspirers of the first women's rights convention of white middle class women and ready to break with their Black male leaders, even those as great as Frederick Douglass, when it comes to the struggle for women's liberation after the Civil War? To grasp the Black Dimension is to learn a new language, the language of thought, Black thought. For many, this new language will be difficult because they are hard of hearing. Hard of hearing because they are not used to this type of thought, a language which is both a struggle for freedom and the thought of freedom.

Take the question of the language of activity in the Underground Railroad where Harriet Tubman was one of the greatest conductors. She didn't just escape from the South. She returned 19 times, and she brought out 300 people—and there is more. In a few books you will find her name and they will acknowledge that she was a conductor and a great one. But do they speak of all the creativity that goes into being a conductor of the Underground Railway, that you become a guerrilla fighter as well as a conductor, that you're a leader of men and women? Just look what it means to know your country, the South, so that you not only bring out Blacks, but are the leader of a battalion of whites.

## The Black dimension in Women's Liberation

Or take the language, the creativity, the idea of freedom involved in the very name of Sojourner Truth. The "Ain't I A Woman" speech, great as it was, was by no means the only outspoken and creative talk. Think of the originality in the way she approached the white clergymen heckling her and not allowing her to have her say. She turned to them with the question of whether they believed in Jesus. Consider the self-righteousness with which they replied, and her come-back reply: "Jesus is the son of God and Mary, and man had not a thing to do with it."

**WHEN WE MOVE** to the period after the Civil War when slavery was abolished we see that even such greats as Frederick Douglass—who had been with the women in their battles before this struggle for the 14th Amendment—now was willing to drop the demand for the inclusion of the vote for the women; and we find that Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman separate from Frederick Douglass. They insist on continuing the struggle for women's liberation.

Listen to the poetry of Sojourner Truth's prose: "I am coming from the land of slavery." This is after the Civil War was won by the North. She turns to her own Black people, appealing for continuation of the struggle for women's vote: "I hate to see my Black man being as bad as the white man." Then turning to the greatest of them, who are stepping aside, she says that it is "short-minded" to stop the struggle at getting the vote only for Black men.

**IN THE CONCENTRATION** or the struggle of freedom, the Black dimension in women's liberation extended the whole philosophy of human liberation. Now if we jump to the early 20th century we find the same thing. A much under-rated woman in that sphere is Amy Jacque Garvey. She wasn't just the wife of Marcus Garvey. She both edited the women's page in *Negro World*, and edited Garvey's works after he died, giving to them a great name — "Philosophy and Opinion of Marcus Garvey."

Here she is, speaking in 1925: "A race must be saved, a country must be redeemed. And unless we strengthen the leadership of vacillating Negro men we will remain marking time. We are tired of having Negro men say that a better day is coming while they do nothing to usher in the day. We are becoming so impatient that we are getting in the front ranks and serve notice on the world that we (she is talking about Black

(Continued on page 6)

### WHO WE ARE

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

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

## Views

expect to keep your workplace sanitary," he told me. The management knew how important the image was. He also told me the custodians are the only workers at school who not only have to be fingerprinted when they begin working, but must have a clean police record and a "decent family structure" before they are considered for employment.

Appalled Student  
Detroit

### THE INDIAN PEOPLE

It is important that N&L gives prominence to the Native American viewpoint. It is easy for others to write about Indians. Ultimately that becomes reactionary, unless you provide a vehicle for Indians themselves to express what they think.

By and large, I think it fair to accuse the Left of having ignored the Indian people and their problems. Even now, when things are changing, I think this accusation is often true. I'm glad that N&L is an exception to this, and hope Shainape Schapwe's column continues. I would like also to see N&L give some attention to the Indians of South America, where "Wild West" type extermination and genocide continue to this day. These Indians are in a truly desperate situation and need our support. Their very lives are at stake.

Anthropologist  
Manitoba, Canada

### NEW UNION

125 out of 298 California Rehabilitation Workers turned out last month to ratify their Constitution and nominate Officers. The amazing turnout was facilitated by the union paying plane fare, hotel and dinner for all members, not just delegates. CRWU, an affiliate of AFSCME, is the first meaningful professional union of California state employees. This department helps disabled persons attain employment.

Approximately 50 percent of Rehab workers are women and one of the major issues today is that the women want to have a 50-50 chance of being promoted to Senior Counselors. Under a new reorganization there will be about three times as many male Senior Counselors as female. This union is still new and getting it together and I hope that the women will see that it doesn't go the route of the old male-dominated bureaucratic unions, either on the job, or in the officers elected.

Dee  
Bay Area, Cal.

### THE MIDDLE EAST

When you're not based on a philosophy of liberation, you can take any facts you want, combine them in any way you want, and support any position you want to take. Part of the Left's problem is they will take any position they think is opposed to the USA. But the main problem is that they think the masses are backward. They don't see the Palestinians as capable of self-determination, and wind up in an alliance with sheiks straight out of the Middle Ages.

Working Woman  
New York

I appreciated the Political-Philosophic Letter on the Middle East, and the way Dunayevskaya refused to take either Arab or Israeli "ground for argument". The Left is killing itself by uncritically embracing the PLO as though that was the Arab revolution. As she pointed out so long as they agree Israel is the enemy, the PLO allows its adherents anything, except a revolutionary class struggle within "the Arab nation."

Then you turn on the news and see Israel acting like any despised occupier, beating and killing the Arab youth on the West Bank. All it proves is that there is plenty of opposition to the Israeli occupation which is genuine and has nothing to do with the PLO.

Politico  
San Francisco

It was wonderful to read Raya Dunayevskaya's article on the Middle East. It is disgusting to see the so-called Left falling for the use of the word "Zionism" to hide the same old anti-Semitism that has been with us for hundreds and hundreds of years. It makes you feel relieved that the Left in this country is so tiny. It terrifies me to think what life could be like if we had a CP as strong as they have in European countries like France and Italy. Thanks for a breath of sanity!

Student  
Detroit

Editor's Note: See ad for new series of Letters by Raya Dunayevskaya, p. 6.

### LEFT IN DISARRAY

Italy is again in a state of total chaos. The economic, political and social situation is always worse. It would seem that things in one way or another would have to change, but the only thing sure is that the Communist Party will not be the instrument of change.

Correspondent  
Milan, Italy

The Officials of the IRA have suffered disintegration of all their factions. And the splits, Officials-IRSP, IRSP-PLA, etc., usually presented as right-left splits, may have been so, but the other way around. The Officials themselves seem to become more and more Vanguardist, as a substitute for Thought. During the cease-fire last summer the younger leadership of the Provisionals, though their ruthlessness can never be justified, seemed to be looking for some socialist ideas. But with things heating up again I think that chance is lost. Military action has a habit of getting in the way of the dialectic.

Observer  
Minnesota

Wilson's resignation was put down to the claim that he has been Prime Minister longer than any other person this century, and the fact that he is now 60 years old. The truth is that the promises he made in the general election

have not, and could not be fulfilled, which has caused a widespread feeling of disillusionment in the ranks of the working class. Despite all the claims that he has kept the Labour Party together, the very opposite has been the case. The Lefts in Parliament let him be defeated by refusing to vote for the cuts. A Scottish Labour Party, composed of blatant opportunists, has been formed. Two Labour MP's are in it. The rank and file members are, in most cases, bewildered. Denis Healey, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has used gutter language in dealing with the Lefts.

Correspondent  
Glasgow, Scotland

The Japanese new left power has long been split into many factions, and some of them have been terrorist groups. The notorious "United Red Army" group collapsed because of mass murder among their members themselves in 1971. Some factions have supplied terrorists to Arabian movements. Within Japan two factions called Kaku-Maru and Chukaku have continued to kill each other. Recently Kaku-Maru declared they would stop violence toward Chukaku except for self-defense, but Chukaku still insists on revenge with blood. Many leftist intellectuals have appealed for an end to the blood-letting on both sides.

Correspondent  
Japan

### PRAYERS FOR THE LIVING

Mother Jones is supposed to have said, "Pray for the dead, and fight like hell for the living." But I think the ironworkers in Erie, Pennsylvania took her one better. A number of serious injuries had occurred at one hospital construction site, but they were prevented by law from picketing or striking to protest the unsafe working conditions. So they just stopped work 15 minutes every hour and prayed "to thank the good Lord they had got through the hour without a serious accident" and ask that the next hour be safe. The contractors agreed to a settlement the next day.

Reader  
Pennsylvania

# Native American speaks Banks supporters rally

by Shainape Sheapwe

(I am pleased to turn my column over this issue to a participant who reports on a rally to support Dennis Banks.)

Oakland, Calif.—Over 100 people held a rally on Friday, March 12, to support Dennis Banks and Lehman Brightman, and to call attention to the murders and harassment carried on by the government-sponsored goon squads in South Dakota on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.

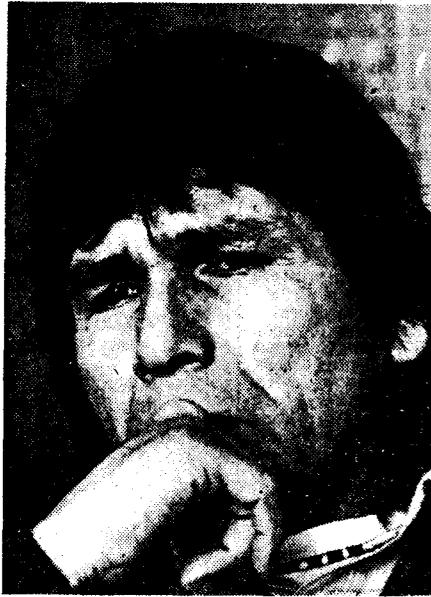
Dennis Banks is a leader of the American Indian movement (AIM). He was convicted in Custer, S.D., of "armed rioting" after he defended himself when police attacked AIM members. He went underground before sentencing and was arrested Jan. 24 in El Cerrito, Cal., at the home of Lehman Brightman, a Native American leader in the Bay Area. Now they are trying to extradite Banks to South Dakota, while charging Brightman with harboring a fugitive.

Banks said at the rally that he would be killed in prison if he were sent back to South Dakota.

That is not an exaggerated claim, considering that over 30 Native Americans have been murdered at Pine Ridge since 1972, the latest of whom was an AIM woman leader. The FBI wrote "overexposure" as the cause of death, but later had to admit they "overlooked" a bullet wound in her skull.

South Dakota is one of the most racist states in the country against Native Americans. The state Attorney General who prosecuted Banks, William Janklow, had

Dennis Banks, AIM leader and target of oppression



raped a 15-year-old Indian woman at gunpoint while he was a legal worker on the Pine Ridge reservation. He got away with a mild probation and was hailed as a hero by many whites, which is probably why he's Attorney General now. He had been quoted as saying "the only way to cure these people is by putting a bullet through their heads."

Dennis Banks is taking that statement at face value, and so are the many different people who formed the Dennis Banks Defense Committee to keep him from being extradited. Brightman called for all people to come together, Blacks, Chicanos, Asians, and whites, to help Indians in a common struggle.

That's just what's happening in the Bay Area. The Committee is planning a march in San Francisco before Banks' extradition hearing April 7. With Governor Brown now looking toward the White House, the betting is that he will sign the extradition paper if it gets to him. That will surely mean the death of Banks and more repression at Pine Ridge. We must support Banks and Brightman!

## In California, Florida, Michigan

### Farm workers back union drives



News & Letters photo

Pickets support UFW and supermarket workers

Detroit, Mich.—Strike activity of farm workers and their supporters all over the country has not ceased despite the defeat of re-funding for the election process caused by grower pressure—especially by the Sunmaid and Sunsweet cooperatives—on key California legislators.

Over 2,000 farm workers currently harvesting asparagus in the Imperial Valley are threatening a strike. They had been eagerly awaiting the setting up of elections for union representation at their farm by the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB), when the elections board ceased operation on Feb. 3. Gourmet Harvesting which employs 33 crews during the six-week harvest, has had wildcats over reductions in the piece rate at two of Imperial Valley's biggest vegetable farms.

In the absence of the election board in the fields (where it supervised elections and contract negotiations), the Teamster-grower alliance has returned.

The Bruce Church Ranch, where the United Farm Workers won the election two months ago, staged a heavy-handed lock out. Farm workers were literally dragged out of the fields by Teamster goons who also injured several UFW organizers.

In Florida, a UFW organizer reports that the workers all over the state have heard of the vastly improved working conditions and wages at Coca Cola-Minute Maid which has the only contract in Florida with the UFW. Workers want the union and at many groves have been signing authorization cards for the UFW.

Here in Michigan, UFW supporters picketed Meijers Thrifty Acres supermarkets throughout the state on Feb. 28. About 200 supporters including representatives and members of Detroit-area AFL-CIO unions held a solidarity picket at the Meijers in Plymouth. Meijers is the largest carrier of UFW-boycotted products here.

Also, Meijers has resisted efforts by their own retail clerks and meat cutters to organize other than through the company union. One of the Meat Cutters Union members on hand to support the UFW and the store employees remarked, "We have to support the farm workers in their efforts to unionize, because if they can't survive, we won't either."

Without free, secret-ballot elections, the fight of farm workers for the right to organize has returned to "the law of the jungle." The economic pressure of boycotts are the means for restoring the elections.

**BOYCOTT GRAPES, LETUCE AND GALLO WINES.  
BOYCOTT SUNMAID AND SUNSWEET.**

## Anna Mae Pictou Aquash

We mourn the death of Anna Mae Pictou Aquash, a Canadian Indian, 31 years old and the mother of two daughters. She was a participant in the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, an AIM member in Los Angeles, St. Paul and on the Pine Ridge Reservation where her body was found on Feb. 26. Neither her murder nor the grotesque attempts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and tribal and federal authorities to cover it up can change the fact that she spent her life fighting for freedom, like the 30 other Indians killed on Pine Ridge since Wounded Knee.

On March 9 the traditional leaders of the Oglala District said: "Anna Mae worked hard serving her Indian people and assisted us in our efforts to shed the shackles of government paternalism. She was with us in the past and we are concerned because we feel her involvement as our ally probably caused her death."

## TWO WORLDS

(Continued from page 5)

women) will brush aside the halting cowardly Negro men, and with prayer on our lips and arms prepared for any fray, we will press on until victory is ours. Mr. Black Man watch your step. Ethiopia's queens will reign again and her Amazons protect her shores and people. Strengthen your shaking knees and move forward or we will displace you."

OR TAKE THE African continent where, again, it was not the educated men, but illiterate women who added a new page to history, when, in 1929, the British imperialists in Eastern Nigeria decided to tax the women. They got so furious they went on spontaneous strike—which was, of course, called a "riot." The great Aba riots. It was not only spontaneous, it was against all the advice of everyone, including the educated males. It was not only against British imperialism, but against their own African chiefs, who had not defended them. Above all, they crossed all tribal lines. And they won, though not until after 40 women were killed and countless others injured . . .

What happened right here in the U.S. in 1960? It is true it was the wonderful North Carolina youth who sat-in at a restaurant lunch counter and started the magnificent Black Revolution. But the fact is that, five years earlier, one solitary woman, Rosa Parks, a seamstress, refused to give up her seat on a bus, and got arrested, and the incident so aroused the youth that the entire Black population behaved in a different manner than they had ever dreamed of. They decided they would all go to the courthouse; they organized their own transportation and boycotted all the buses; they inspired Rev. King to be with them, and they kept all decisions in their own hands by meeting three times a week. The new stage of Black revolt began there.

RIGHT UP TO OUR own period we find there is a double rhythm in revolution. The overthrow, what is called the first negation, is saying No to what is. But the second negation, the creation of the new, is harder, because you want to have entirely new human relations. In addition to all the great Black women I have mentioned, there is another in the new WL movement, Doris Wright, who raised exactly this question when she said, "I'm not thoroughly convinced that Black Liberation, the way it's being spelled out, will really and truly mean my liberation. I'm not sure that when it comes time 'to put down my gun', that I won't have a broom shoved in my hands, as so many of my Cuban sisters have."

She was not putting the question down as a condition—"I will not make a revolution unless you promise." She was posing the question of what happens after. That is what we have to answer before, in the practice of our own organizations, our own thought and our own activity.

### PUBLICATIONS OF NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

- 1—American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard  
Includes "Black Caucuses in the Unions," by Charles Denby ..... 75c per copy
- 2—Notes on Women's Liberation—  
We speak in many voices ..... \$1 per copy
- 3—China: Voices of Revolt  
Excerpts from Sheng-wu-lien ..... 35c per copy
- 4—Russia As State-Capitalist Society  
By Raya Dunayevskaya ..... \$1 per copy
- 5—Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution  
Report direct from Prague ..... 50c per copy
- 6—U.S. and Russia Enter Middle East Cockpit  
By Raya Dunayevskaya ..... 50c per copy
- 7—Dialectics of Liberation  
By Raya Dunayevskaya ..... \$1 per copy
- 8—Rosa Luxemburg: Revolutionary Theoretician  
By Lee Tracey ..... 35c per copy
- 9—France Spring 1968  
Eyewitness Report by Eugene Walker. 10c per copy
- 10—Mao's China and the 'Proletarian Cultural Revolution'—  
By Raya Dunayevskaya ..... 25c per copy
- 11—Workers Battle Automation  
By Charles Denby ..... 50c per copy
- 12—Black, Brown and Red  
The movement for freedom among Black, Chicano, Latino, and Indian ..... 75c per copy
- 13—News & Letters—  
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year ..... \$1 per sub.  
Also available by Raya Dunayevskaya:
- 14—Marxism and Freedom  
Includes preface by Herbert Marcuse ..... \$5 per copy
- 15—Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao ..... \$2.95 per copy  
(Also available in hardcover ..... \$8.95)

#### MAIL ORDERS TO:

News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Det., Mich. 48207

Enclosed please find \$ ..... for the following:  
Please add 15c to each order for postage and handling.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15  
(Please circle number corresponding to literature desired as listed above)

Name .....  
Address .....  
City ..... State ..... Zip .....

### Subscribe now!

A new series of Political-Philosophic Letters  
By Raya Dunayevskaya

All 10 letters for \$5—postage free

Individual letters 50c per copy plus 15c postage

Letter #1: The UN Resolution on Zionism

Letter #2: Mao's Last Hurrah

Don't miss these important analyses of the objective situation as it develops through the coming year.

## AMERICA'S FIRST UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

by M. Franki and J. Hillstrom

The untold story of the Blacks, women, native Americans and workers—and the international ramifications in France and Santo Domingo.

Price: \$1 (Plus 25c Postage)

Order from: News & Letters,  
1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, MI 48207

## 8,000 students protest cuts in CUNY's 'expendables'

**BULLETIN:** As we go to press (March 30) a call from Queens College campus reports 4,000 students demanding to occupy the Academic Building, after it was shut down on a call of the Student Government, were dissuaded by promised concessions, but that Hispanic students at Hostos were reported to have taken over their campus. There has been a news blackout on these developments. Watch for a full report next issue.

New York, N.Y.—Over 8,000 angry students rallied in Albany on March 16 to meet head-on the new offensive of the city and state to curtail admissions and cut educational programs to the bone.

The Albany rally was called partly in response to a new plan outlined for City University of New York (CUNY) by the politicians and administrators who are using the deepening economic crisis as an excuse for the closing of two schools, the near-elimination of two others, abolition of so-called "unnecessary" programs (like ethnic studies), and a 20 percent reduction in admissions.

In the past three weeks, there was a CUNY-wide rally of 4,000 protesting plans to close colleges, followed by a walkout at John Jay Community College, a protest at York College, rallies at City and Medgar Evers, a rally of 2,500 at Queens College and protests at Hostos and Richmond Colleges.

### 'They listened...' in chains

Detroit, Mich. — I am a fan of the TV show "The Streets of San Francisco." However, the other night I saw an episode which upset me. I happen to also be a high school student and that was the subject of the show.

The story began with a fight in the school. One student had a gun and when a teacher tried to break it up, he was shot by mistake and died. As soon as the shot rang out, all the kids in the entire area ran. This is ridiculous. To think that not ONE student would stay and try to help is, well, is just unreal.

As the story goes on a friend of the dead teacher decides to avenge the death. He will take former students of his (he is now retired) that "had the potential but refused to learn" and chain them to desks in an abandoned school in order to force them to learn.

He believes in physical punishment and threatens to beat the students if they "won't" learn. The man is obviously deranged, a nut, a kook. However, in the end he dies and the students are freed after a struggle in which one of the two main officers in the program is himself chained to a desk while this disturbed person is "teaching."

In the epilog of the story the officer makes the remark "You should have seen those kids. They were really listening" . . . as if this "teacher" was a good model or that's the way kids had to learn. Obviously, the students were listening. They were chained to desks, trapped with no help and told they would be beaten if they didn't listen. What else were they going to do exactly?

This segment was simply stupid. It was just another example of how students are seen as dumb sub-humans with no consciences and can only be taught by brute physical force or punishment and not with reasoning. I mean, after all, how can you reason with someone who has no brain? Right? Wrong.

We are people and deserve to be treated with respect just as any other adult and don't like being treated otherwise. Many of my peers are much more adjusted to the world, with good heads on their shoulders, than a lot of teachers — and in some cases their own parents.

## Students at Western HS are threatened by hall guards

Detroit, Mich. — At Western High School, there are a lot of problems with security guards. Most of them are hired off the street. They really don't have the authority to be doing the things they do.

They are supposed to be there to protect us and keep outsiders out, which they really don't do. They just harass the students.

One of the women security guards told us that if a student was causing trouble, or if she had reason to believe he was, she'd ask him to stop. And if he didn't, she wouldn't chase him if he ran. The first thing she'd do is pull out her gun and blow him away.

Some students might be skipping their classes and don't want to get caught. They'll start running; she just might take out her gun and shoot.

The security guards aren't interested. All they do is sit around in the study hall or the lounge and drink coffee. That'll be their job. They do get along with certain students. The male security guards will sit around and talk to the young ladies. They might even have a couple of young ladies in the lounge talking with them.

When I have a pass, a security guard will stop me four or five times. She could see me and know that I have a pass. But if I come back, she'll want to see it again.

Another one of the hall guards has chosen certain

By now the administrators are openly displaying the nature of these cutbacks. AT CUNY Open Admissions may end this year due to the creation of math and reading requirements for admission. Even the Chancellor admitted that this will drastically reduce the numbers of Black and Hispanic students at CUNY.

One of the schools scheduled to close, Hostos Community, is 98 percent Hispanic and offers the only bilingual education program in the country. Severe cuts in CUNY's SEEK program have already gone through, and plans for a 50 percent reduction in financial aid, elimination of some graduate studies, and shortening of the school term are already in the works.

Added to the Hostos closing is the planned conversion of Medgar Evers College and York to two-year colleges, both of which have large minority enrollments. As if this weren't racist enough, the Chancellor drew up a list of "expendable" programs, ranging from all ethnic studies to even anthropology!

The cutbacks, directed mostly at the poor, the Black, the Hispanics who have never been given a fair chance in American education to start with, are not a question of money. One student said, "If we all walked out tomorrow, they'd get the money in a week. They're riding high now and they want us to suffer for what we've won."

The brunt of the cuts, however, will not come until late this spring or next year. In preparation for more rounds of attacks on the right to an education, some students said they could do without the student government "leaders" who claim credit for the demonstration. They were inside the state office buildings at Albany trying to woo the support of state legislators while everyone was chanting out in the cold.

With or without those "leaders" or the legislators, it's clear that the fight against the cuts will continue in the next weeks.

—City University student

## Youth in Revolt

Bolivian students at the Universidad Mayor de San Andres in La Paz, after organizing support for the striking Manaco shoe workers, called for "a dialogue" with government-appointed education officials when the workers triumphed.

When their request was refused, they threatened on Feb. 18 to strike, demanding release of political prisoners, return of recent exiles, and an end to persecution on campus. President Banzer responded by closing the campus, invading it and arresting 300.

The strike was soon joined by students at universities in Potosi, Oruro, and Cochabamba, and on Feb. 21 by the 30,000 members of the Trade-union Federation of Bolivian Mine Workers, and then by the Manaco shoe workers in Cochabamba.

Early this year, hundreds of Parisian students, teachers and employees demonstrated against living and working in asbestos-contaminated buildings at the University complex at Jussieu in Paris. Fire-proof construction with asbestos, used extensively in the eight-year-old university buildings, is unrestricted in France. Some portions of ceilings are crumbling and fans disperse dust.

Native American students occupied an office at the Milwaukee Area Technical College for almost three months. The occupying National Indian Youth Council College Chapter listed 16 demands covering financial aids, establishment of Native American studies courses, and affirmative hiring policies.

ones that he'll show favor to, and as for the other ones, if he says do something, you better do it, because he has that title of being a security guard, and he just wants that power.

The students get along together, and they want to be treated like adults. Bringing in adults to watch them makes them feel like children.

The discipline inside the classroom is tight. If a student asks you for a page number of a book and you tell it, the teacher will take a letter off your grade for telling.

And some teachers feel they can slap you around and talk bad things to you, just because they're the teachers. They don't treat you like a human being.

Everyone I talked to is against one teacher; everybody wants her out because she acts like she's in the wrong profession. She has even said that she doesn't like children. I've seen her slap a lot of students around, and she has put students out of her class when they won't let her do it.

When the students try to change these things, certain teachers tell them they might get kicked out. A lot of kids are afraid their parents will find out they're getting into something they might get kicked out for. There's a handful that are willing to go all the way to change these things, but you need more than a handful to get anything started.

—Western student

## BLACK-RED VIEW

### Author grasps Fanon dialectic

by John Alan

"The average African . . . probably thinks self-determination is something on the menu." Uttered March '76, by Foreign and Defense Minister of Rhodesia, Pieter van der Byl.

"I don't know the world he lives in, but in the one we live in, we know what it's all about. The Black man in this country is determined to have self-determination."

Reply by Dr. Elliott Gabellah, leader of Rhodesia's Black African Nationalists.

Four biographies have been written about Frantz Fanon, but Irene L. Gendzier's, *Frantz Fanon, A Critical Study* (Vintage Books), is the most penetrating and definitive. She has grasped the philosophical basis of the thoughts and practice of this great Black theoretician and activist who emerged from the revolutions of Algeria and all of Africa.

At this moment, the African revolutions still raging in Angola, Rhodesia, and Namibia, shows signs that neither colonialism nor neo-colonialism can be tolerated by the African masses.

#### LIVING ACTIVITY

A "new" understanding of Fanon becomes an imperative at this time, not as past history, but as living activity. Irene Gendzier's biography is a good starting point to gain a deeper understanding of what Fanon was all about philosophically, both in the Algerian and Black African Revolutions.

The real "essence" of Fanon came to fruition under the direct impact of the Algerian and other African Revolutions—that mass movement for freedom which is still keeping the African continent in turmoil. Yet, already in his early work *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon had grasped that colonial domination of the Third World peoples meant not only economic domination but also the destruction of the spirit and the personality of the oppressed people, and that the logical development of this total inferiorization of an exploited people is racism: "a perfect harmony of economic relations and ideology."

The perils of domination are two-fold, striking with equal ferocity at both the body and the mind of the persecuted and the oppressed. Fanon understood this subjectively as a Black colonial from Martinique. But he also understood it philosophically through his mastery of Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind*, most particularly the section "Lordship and Bondage."

*Black Skin, White Masks* was far from being dominated by the existentialism of Jaspers and Sartre (the very title of the book carries within it the reality of Hegelian dialectics), as claimed by Fanon biographer Peter Greismar.

#### SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS AND RACISM

In the chapter on "The Negro and Hegel" in *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon is at his exciting best. What appears at first glance as a summation of the Lordship and Bondage section of the *Phenomenology*, is a brilliant exposition of the dialectical inter-relationship on the independence and dependence of self-consciousness to the Black situation in a racist society.

Here Fanon stresses the phenomenon that the self-consciousness of Blacks has been sublated by oppressor and that the other (white oppressors), do not regard Black self-consciousness as real but see in Black only their own self-consciousness.

As long as Black self-consciousness is not recognized by the other, "the other will remain the theme of his actions." If there is no reciprocity between the real self-consciousness of Blacks and the other, the circuit is closed and ultimately Blacks are deprived of Being for themselves.

This deprivation, however, causes resistance. Fanon sums it up this way: "This human reality-in-itself-for-itself, can be achieved only through conflict and through the risks that conflict implies. These risks mean that go beyond life toward a supreme good that is the transformation of subjective certainty of my own worth into a universally objective truth."

Black people, in negating their living for the other do not simply substitute white self-consciousness with their own—that is, simply taking the place of the master—but move from one way of life to another, instead of one life to another. This was crucial for Fanon, because the role of the Black and colonial revolutions is not perpetuation of the old in "Blackface," but says "No to the exploitation of man. No to the butchery of what is most Human in man—FREEDOM."

### High School Blues

We are students working to bring about an end to high school oppression and to create a totally new human society for all human beings. For a free copy of HIGH SCHOOL BLUES send fifteen cents for postage to:

Detroit N&L Youth Committee  
1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

# Wilson leaves an England bordering on collapse

The resignation of Prime Minister Harold Wilson in England highlights not only the disintegration of the British empire, but also the European farce that calls itself socialism.

Since before World War II, England has been slowly slipping from a commanding position as a world leader in industry, finance, commerce and statesmanship, into a fourth class power scarcely able to keep its head above water.

Over two million of its workers live in dwellings like those of the characters of Charles Dickens, draw water from a tap in the courtyard, and have no central heating. Some textile factories still operate on steam engines that are museum pieces in the U. S., with machines running from shafts and belts that were abandoned in the U. S. in the early 1900's.

The "upper class" solidly maintains its way of life from the days of Queen Victoria, its capital safely invested abroad. Class consciousness divides the nation like a sharp knife. Each individual clear-

ly knows what class he or she belongs to, fights for that class and rarely escapes it.

Wilson's party, which proclaims itself "socialist," in fact abhors Marxism, paying it only lip service. It prides itself on the number and scope of its "nationalizations", while the essence of Marxism—workers control of industry—exists nowhere in the country.

The middle class, squeezed and unable to exist in the manner in which it thinks it is entitled, is leaving the country in increasing numbers. Over 2,000 doctors recently took exams that would permit them to practice abroad.

A Labor Party study shows that if a worker were to have his pay increased from \$50 to \$112 per week, 83 percent of it would be extracted in taxes and the net increase would be a mere \$12.

The proud label, "Made in England," that used to represent quality merchandise throughout the world, is now lower than the "Made in Japan" that appeared on toys before WW II. Three out of four

cars being driven in England today are made abroad and British Leyland has absorbed the majority of the old respected car lines.

The British pound has fallen below \$2 for the first time in history. One-and-a-half million workers are unemployed, and those who are employed exist on a standard of living lower than East Germany.

Compared with other European industry, British Railways was last among eight, British Gas last among ten, the National Coal Board last among five. British shipbuilding cannot compete with Norway, Japan, Germany or Holland.

The resignation of Wilson, both as Prime Minister and as leader of the Labor Party, in no way signifies a victory for the Tories. It does open up the flood gates of dissention within the Labor Party itself. The left wing of the party stands little chance of taking over, and the likelihood is that another centrist of Wilson's type will succeed him. Socialism is a long way off.

## Spain

The movement among different sectors of the population in Spain for a free and open society continues to persist and deepen. The strike movement that was well under way during 1975 has already, in the first few months of 1976, seen hours of work lost due to strikes double the figure for all of 1975.

Following the strike wave in Madrid and protests in Catalonia in February, strikes erupted anew in March in the Basque region, almost totally shutting down one of Spain's most industrialized regions. The Basque strikes, which are also for national autonomy, broke out when police murdered four demonstrators in Vitoria. After the Vitoria killings, a weekly newsmagazine openly called on the government to resign.

In Portugal the rank-and-file in the military became an important part of the movement when they were inspired by the African revolutionaries. In Spain it is the members of the Democratic Military Union, which is said to have 400 to 500 active members mostly in the ranks of captain and major, that have been speaking out for "liberty and social justice," inspired by the revolt of Spanish workers. Nine officers were sentenced to two-and-a-half to eight year prison terms on March 10 for supposedly conspiring to rebel, in the first political trial involving the Spanish military since the Civil War of 1936.

The movement among students, too, has taken on a new character. The Minister of Education closed the University of Zaragoza in the second week of March for an occupation of a building for

non-educational purposes. After police had withdrawn two weeks earlier from the campuses, demonstrations broke out at universities throughout Spain over the future direction of the whole society, and in particular the right to a free and independent labor movement.

With each day, the Spanish masses are making sure that the day is gone forever when the fascists who still make up the government can re-institute a totalitarian control.

## Libya

There has been little except officially-sanctioned news from Libya since Colonel Gadhafi assumed absolute power there in 1969. At the beginning of this year, however, one story could not be concealed.

The students at Benghazi University had enough of Gadhafi's secret police, who came in and beat up several students when they refused to go along with the farce of a new student government election. It seems that the ten students elected to the student government were rejected because they weren't members of the Arab Socialist Union, the only political party allowed.

Students were fired on, with at least one killed, when they protested the return of five secret police to make arrests. The students chased the police off campus and marched through the city to the military call up headquarters. A huge crowd held a meeting there about the lack of freedom in Libya and was addressed by, among others, several women students.

Following more demonstrations, including 300 high school students, a huge procession with four

students carrying a coffin at its head and demanding an inquiry into the killing was broken up by police. The rebellion spread throughout the city. At least ten more students were murdered and many more arrested, but not before the local headquarters of the Arab Socialist Union went up in flames.

Like the other oil dictators, Gadhafi, who is Russia's new favorite in the Arab world, has used his new oil wealth to erect an elaborate police state against the Libyan people. The measure of Gadhafi's repression of the social revolution at home, like so many Arab leaders, is the degree of single-mindedness with which he pursues the break-up of the state of Israel. The Libyan masses, however, have their own answers to Gadhafi's talk about revolutionary struggle.

## Labor Toll

More than 5,900 dead, 5,900,000 injured—was it war, earthquake, a nasty revolution? No, it is the official U.S. government statistics for the number of workers killed or injured in job-related accidents for the year 1974 in the U.S.

Only when 26 workers are killed in a double explosion, as in the recent non-union coal mine in Kentucky, do industrial accidents draw national attention. Despite several years of OSHA, the so-called stiff safety law, the slaughter and mayhem goes on.

In England and France, plant managers have been arrested and jailed when fatal accidents occurred. Laws have been introduced in France to "make the man responsible who makes the profits." Perhaps that is what is needed here.

# Kentucky coal disasters throw light on deadly working conditions everywhere

(Continued from page 1)

between the callous disregard of the environment in which women and men labor, spend a third and more of their day, and the pollution of everything around us.

- A few years ago a report showed that 40 percent of New York-New Jersey asbestos workers died of asbestos-related diseases including cancer. A new study has just showed the presence of asbestos fibers in approximately half of the baby and body powders tested.

- In our plant the body shop workers are concerned with breathing the dust raised from grinding the solder. We have had an uphill fight with GM to do anything about it. At the same time GM is leading the fight with the rest of the auto companies to weaken the auto pollution standards for cars.

- I read an article by a rubber worker (March, N&L) which stated that rubber workers have a shorter life span than the average industrial worker because they use so many chemicals. When I drive to work everyday, I am constantly breathing the smelly output of various industrial plants along the way.

- Recent studies have indicated that a high percentage of cancer may be caused by the ever increasing amount of chemicals we are putting into our environment. Can this disregard of our environment as a whole be unrelated to the fact that occupational injuries and illnesses have been increasing? (See Our Life and Times, above).

- Three engineers involved with nuclear power plants at General Electric resigned saying such plants are unsafe, and there is real danger of a devastating nuclear accident. G.E. hotly denied it. But I thought of a story a young G.E. worker told me of a terrible accident in which a worker was badly burned at his plant because G.E. management had allowed barrels recently emptied of a vaporous flammable liquid to be used as supports in a welding area.

The owners of mines, mills and factories often try to get workers not to fight for health and safety by threatening to close the workplace. There was a recent

report of a steel mill in Ohio which has been found polluting. Naturally, when the plant is threatened with being closed the workers don't want to lose their jobs, and talk against anti-pollution measures.

The coal miners in Kentucky feel that certain mines should be closed as death traps, but they also ask: where are we going to work? The fact that people will risk their lives to make a living shows how desperate the situation is. At my plant I have had foremen tell me to stop writing grievances on health and safety as GM will close the plant if we keep that up.

### PLAN TO OCCUPY GM PLANT

This past month we were faced with a long lay-off and possible closing of the plant. Workers at our union meeting voted to elect a committee to take over our plant if GM decides to close it. This was done in opposition to the union bureaucrats, whom none of the rank-and-file trust. Workers are saying that to get something done we have to be the ones to do it.

Since the resolution on possible plant occupation passed, there has been a lot of discussion from workers on how to do it and many want to be on the committee which plans for the occupation. There was so much discussion that the company came out and posted its propaganda on the bulletin board.

They first stated that "build out" for this model year would be based on the buying public and gave a tentative start-up date for the 1977 model. Then a second statement "leaked out" saying they would take work from Canada and give it to us and keep us working until June. But how will that help Canadian workers? Is GM greasing the squeaky wheel? Everyone knows that all these statements mean less than the paper they are written on. And why are the union bureaucrats working so closely with management on all this?

### RANK-AND-FILE TEAMSTERS

While what is happening right now at our plant occupies a lot of discussion, it is not the only thing we are concerned with. There are many issues nationally

and internationally that we talk about. And we are always trying to see what is happening in other industries. Thus some of us have been watching the recent upsurge in the Teamsters Union, with Teamsters for a Decent Contract. It is one sign that working people are determined to take matters into their own hands on health and safety and all other conditions of their labor.

Several workers from auto, including myself, participated in one of the Teamsters for a Decent Contract rallies in Los Angeles. It was part of a 17-city nationwide demonstration of Teamsters against the Fitzsimmons leadership and for rank-and-file control. Their demands include both wages and working conditions, especially the end of forced overtime and Wednesday through Sunday work week. Their newspaper *Convoy* has documented such things as the heart attacks drivers have suffered when forced to be on a 70-hours-in-eight-days work schedule.

The fact that such a rank-and-file movement can arise within the Teamsters, where opposition has often been crushed by the fist and the gun, is significant. It is the first time in many years that there has been such a widespread rank-and-file group within the Teamsters. Whether or not they can force Fitzsimmons to take a militant stand in negotiations with the trucking industry, the sign has been given of the workers' opposition to both the company and the union bureaucrats, and for something entirely new.

Each day seems to bring new crises which we have to deal with. Whether we are in coal, steel, auto or Teamsters, we are trying to take matters into our own hands. I don't see any solution in terms of fighting solely to keep one plant open, or in a way which makes workers have to accept dangerous, deadly conditions in order to make a living. But I do see the unity of working people in many plants; in many industries; being the type of force which can change what is going on; which can provide ideas coming from the rank-and-file themselves for taking control of their life and labor.