

May Day 1976
-after 90 years
still no 8-hr day

by Charles Denby, Editor

The celebration of May Day, the first of May, began historically as an American workers' holiday. Not only have the American beginnings of the International Celebration of May Day been forgotten, but looking at it in terms of all the Bicentennial hullabaloo, we see that since all of history is the history of class struggles and the forward march against oppression and for human freedom, the American revolution is still unfinished.

In 1880, the working class in Europe and America began to organize both economically and politically. In December, 1888, at its St. Louis Congress, the AFL decided to launch a campaign for strikes to take place all over the country on May 1, 1890.

8-HOUR DAY PLAN

The plan was to strike a single industry, with workers in all other industries giving financial aid. Each industry would have its turn until the eight-hour day was won for all. Delegations were sent abroad to see if they could make this an international struggle.

The movement for the eight-hour day spread very rapidly from coast to coast here in America. It was not that anyone thought that all problems, either of the employed or unemployed, would be solved by cutting the work week, but it was a major historic beginning. Walter Reuther was great at talking on a shorter work week, especially at a meeting of unemployed workers. But at negotiation time he was quiet as a tomb.

The movement I am talking about was in 1895 and 1900. For many decades after this period, workers in this country looked forward to May 1. There were big meetings for the purpose of discussing May Day, but our labor leaders began to stop it by saying it was a Communist holiday. They tried to guide us into politics by saying we should vote for the person that will help labor. But labor was always double crossed and today they cannot tell us who to vote for.

NO CHOICE FOR WORKERS

They are so afraid of Wallace, and that white workers in this state will give him their support as they did in the last election, that some are supporting Carter, in spite of his recent "ethnic purity" remark and saying he would not send troops to insure that people could move into certain neighborhoods.

Workers in the shop today can't say that they have human freedom, and surely no one on the streets can yell about freedom, because the depression is so severe among millions of workers. Today workers cannot use the idea of the eight-hour day if management wants them to work longer. They can make workers work 12 hours a day or more, at the same time laying off and putting their brothers and sisters out on the streets.

The idea of the development of human power which is its own end is growing stronger every day, because the thought behind it, the development of human beings instead of greater and greater machines putting more and more out of work, is precisely what is preoccupying the workers today.

Automation has made everything worse. The whole question of the kind of labor that workers should do, which had been raised by the American workers with the introduction of Automation was made more concrete

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NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

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Kissinger's African Safari

U.S. imperialism seeks new ways to stifle true Angolan revolution

by Kevin A. Barry

Today (April 23), a full decade after the African revolutions reshaped a continent, Secretary of State Kissinger has just embarked on a much-delayed and never seriously considered trip to newly-independent African states. The Congressional Black Caucus helped put pressure on the State Department for this trip, lest all doors to Southern Africa be closed to the U.S. Kissinger's sabre-rattling against Cuba and Russia has only focused on American racism and hostility to the genuine Angolan revolution.

The U.S. has written a new chapter in international double-talk and blind racism. For example, while the Portuguese Empire tottered under the twin challenge of the African guerrillas and the resistance of their own Portuguese soldiers and civilians, Kissinger wrote in a secret 1969 memorandum on Southern Africa: "The whites are here to stay, and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them." As if that weren't racist enough a remark, white-oriented Kissinger proceeded to "rule out a Black victory at any stage."

FROM EISENHOWER TO NIXON-FORD

Despite talk of a new Africa policy with a "twin approach" on the eve of Kissinger's African trip, long-standing U.S. policies dating from President Eisenhower will no doubt continue to combine threats against Russia-Cuba with very mild and dubious pressure on Rho-

(Continued on Page 11)



—Africa Report

Angolans stage victorious revolutionary rally.

AN URGENT APPEAL TO OUR READERS: WE NEED YOUR HELP

In the myriad crises we face today, the only thing that matches an ever-deepening recession that has already seen over a million workers exhaust their 63 weeks of compensation, and a relentless inflation that continues to soar at the same time that more than 25 million Americans have been thrown below the official poverty level, is the ever-expanding militarization that threatens the entire world and is now demanding that we pay for more nuclear weapons, when the U.S. arsenal already has the power of 615,385 Hiroshima bombs.

NEVER HAS IT BEEN MORE URGENT TO EXPAND THE FORUM FOR THE VOICES FROM BELOW TO BE HEARD.

- That is why we are issuing this second 12-page special issue this year, where all the revolutionary forces—the workers and the unemployed, the Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, the women, and the youth—all speak for themselves and are not separated from a philosophy of liberation.

- That is why we have already published America's First Unfinished Revolution, which tells the untold story of the true creators of independence in 1776, not separated from the international ramifications, from France to Santo Domingo — and thus becomes a study of the

past that is a step toward the revolution-to-be.

- That is why we are now sending to press a second new pamphlet, Working Women For Freedom (see p. 5), which demonstrates not just that Women's Liberation is an idea whose time has come, but the development that has emerged out of it, and the struggles from below that are trying to transform this rotten, racist, sexist, exploitative and alienating society into a truly human one.

- That is why we have been helping to put out newsletters like "High School Blues" and "Women For Freedom," and shop papers that have helped to change the literally murderous conditions in the plants (See April issue).

* * *

We have existed for 21 years entirely on the sales of our literature and the contributions of our friends and readers. Never before has unemployment cut so deeply into our work; never has inflation increased our bills so relentlessly. We have no paid staff; all our work is voluntary. But the printing costs alone for this single 12-page issue come to \$1,021.65. We cannot continue without your help.

For 21 years News and Letters Committees have been developing the revolutionary body of ideas known

as Marxist-Humanism, seeking to work out the unity of worker and intellectual and of philosophy and revolution for our age, and tied to no state power, whether the U.S., Russia or China.

Nowhere else have the voices from below been consistently able to hear themselves speak. Nowhere else does a column by a Native American like Shainape Sheapwe appear regularly in the same pages as a "Two Worlds" column by Raya Dunayevskaya. Nowhere else do a Black production worker and a white production worker co-edit a paper dedicated to working out a philosophy of liberation. Nowhere else are women seen not only as a force of revolution, but as its Reason.

TO KEEP US GOING, TO HELP US EXPAND OUR WORK, PLEASE — GIVE AS GENEROUSLY AS YOU CAN!

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UFW ballot drive needs labor support

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

In response to the sabotage of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act by a minority of California legislators who refused to allow the act to be funded, the United Farm Workers Union (UFW) has begun an initiative campaign for Californians to vote to guarantee the right of farmworkers to have elections for a union and to bargain and win a contract.

It was the success of the United Farm Workers in winning the representation elections over the Teamsters and the growers—almost two-thirds of the elections, representing over 68 percent of workers, were won by the UFW—which made agribusiness and the Teamsters decide to cripple the new law. A two-thirds vote of the legislature is required for funding, and without funding there might as well be no law.

BLOCK FUNDS

A coalition of Republicans and rural Democrats has blocked new funds. The rural Democrats owe their seats to the growers and will not vote against them. Some of the liberal Democratic leadership, such as House Speaker McCarthy, have not tried to force the issue since they owe their positions of power to some of these same legislators. Even the Governor and now Presidential aspirant, Brown, seems unable to save his own farm labor act.

The legislative representatives of agribusiness and the Teamsters are trying to force changes in the law to greatly weaken its effectiveness in return for any funding. Already there have been changes in the make-up of the Farm Labor Board, making it more "balanced," in an attempt to get legislative approval for new financing. But the growers and Teamsters want total emasculatation of the law.

Faced with the impossibility of getting a workable agreement with the legislature, the farm workers are trying to get 350,000 signatures to put a farm labor act on the ballot. The act would bypass the legislature bottleneck, but a number of questions still remain be-

Detroit Teamsters defy union effort to ram through contract

Detroit, Mich. — Nearly 500,000 Teamsters under the national master freight agreement went out on strike April 1 after they overwhelmingly rejected the first agreement the union had negotiated.

On the picket lines in Detroit, strikers were saying that the economic package—wages and pensions which inflation had chewed up—was the key strike issue. Working conditions and grievances depended on how hard your shop steward went to bat for you.

An over-the-road driver said that the legal load limit for interstate runs had been raised from 73,000 lbs. to 80,000 lbs., and his company, Associated Truck Lines, (ATL), was experimenting with 40-40 boxes, which cuts one driver out on every run. But those job conditions were never part of Teamster negotiations. "GO BACK WITHOUT VOTE"

On Sunday afternoon, Fitzsimmons came on TV and announced that an agreement had been reached, and told everybody to go back to work on Monday. Not a word was said about exactly what was won. But he was sure that the mail-ballot ratification vote would approve the agreement "in a few weeks."

ATL, on Detroit's southwest side, tried to open at midnight. Some CB calls went out to other picket lines in the area, and soon there were almost 200 pickets in front of that barn. The cops came and tried their best to get ATL open. The union was also there saying "enough is enough, go back to work." But ATL remained closed.

Nearly every barn in Detroit was still closed by Monday afternoon, so the union called a meeting at Cobo Hall to "explain the agreement." They were very surprised when 3,000 members of Teamsters Local 299 showed up. Dave Johnson, local president, tried to defend the agreement, but it was no use.

People wanted to know why the union was trying to break the strike before a vote had been taken, and even before a meeting was held. Finally, Johnson got so mad that he said, "if you don't like it, you can go back to your picket lines"—and everybody cheered.

UNION VS. STRIKERS

That night, the trucking companies got an injunction against any picketing of the barns by anyone at any time. The police came around with the union representatives and said we had to break up or be arrested. But at a lot of places, the pickets just sat across the street in cars and waited to see if they tried to run any freight. At McLean, we agreed with the out-of-town drivers who were stuck there that they could bob-tail home, but no freight could leave, and no empty trailers either.

Finally, on Tuesday morning, everyone was exhausted and the companies, the union, the judge and the police had their day. One driver I picketed with most of the night said, "I will never forget what the union did to us in this strike, and I will never forgive them either." Everyone I talked to said they would vote "no" on the contract, but most said that it would probably go whatever way the union wanted it to go, since they are counting the votes.

cause the legislature would still have some control over purse strings. And the initiative campaign means the UFW is still very much trapped in the legislative process which has seen them win election victories, but obtain very few contracts.

11-YEAR STRUGGLE

As a worker I have seen workers struggle all my life for a decent society to live in. And I have been watching and participating in the farm workers struggle for 11 years.

Their struggle has done much for labor as a whole. It has shown to the rest of labor how powerful we can be if we would just come together. The farm workers are a small group who have united and challenged the real giants of business. But unless their unity can be matched by all of labor, they will end up losing because they are only a small part of labor. And it is not only they who will end up losing, but all of us in labor.

Some in auto—because our pay, with benefits, comes to over \$7 an hour compared to the less than \$3 that farm workers make, and because our union is in the hundreds of thousands, while the farm workers are much less—may feel we have nothing to gain from unity. But they are wrong.

UNITY CRITICAL FOR ALL LABOR

Many years ago white workers may have thought that they had nothing in common with Black workers who were in slavery. But no union movement on a nationwide level could begin until after slavery was overcome.

Today we as workers are under attack. And unless there is unity, especially with those who are organizing a union for the first time, we will all be dragged down. The farm workers are showing us how to fight. Not by big money, which is what the companies have, and which some of our so-called labor leaders think is the most important thing, but instead in the strength of workers coming together and fighting as a unit.

Within the UAW, I have found that the only time the members get anything done is when we act directly ourselves. And even those gains which we win are temporary unless there is an even broader unity with workers in many other areas.

That is why the farm workers are so important. It gives us a chance to show our unity and our strength. The United Farm Workers have made a decision to try and have a new bill enacted through the initiative campaign. I do not have a lot of faith in the legalisms of this country, but since they have made that decision I think we should support it in a way that renews our activity as workers for a different society.

NEED ACTION BY ALL

Recently several farm worker supporters were out in front of our GM plant gathering signatures for the initiative. It seems to me there has to be much more active participation of workers.

Why don't our union members take petitions right into the work place and talk to fellow workers at the lunch break and get them to sign? We need to be having discussions in the plant among ourselves as to why what the farm workers are doing is crucial. The UFW should be trying to get signatures from outside the plant, but also finding workers who work inside to gather the signatures.

In this way there is the beginning of the active type of support which will be needed not only to gather signatures but to win in November. And not only in the auto plants, but in many, many other factories.

Such a campaign would be a way to begin a renewal of activity and thought that is needed throughout the labor movement.



Unemployed challenge union to organize Illinois jobless

Chicago, Ill. — A group of unemployed workers, together with workers in unemployment compensation offices here, have made a proposal to the state workers' union—AFSCME, Local 1006—to organize the jobless throughout the state into neighborhood block councils for political and economic action.

The proposal was made when it was announced that almost 2,000 workers in the compensation offices would be laid off when the state switches to computer claims processing after the November elections. Nearly 500 have already been laid off and those still on the job are made to work faster in order to handle the claims of the nearly 500,000 jobless workers in Illinois. Union response to the proposal has been slow.

One key demand is directed toward young Black people, 16 to 22 years of age, who have never worked and have been locked out of jobs. It calls for the payment of regular unemployment compensation benefits until jobs can be found. Young Blacks have been very enthusiastic, feeling they have nothing to lose in such a struggle.

Opposition from the left, however, has been voiced over including them in an unemployed organization. They fear that "young, undisciplined elements" would have a de-stabilizing influence on the movement.

But one unemployed machinist said of this opposition, "Who the hell gave them the right to say who'll fight? Young Blacks have gotten a dirty deal all the way around — in school, in housing and in jobs. I welcome them as members. They're not afraid to stand up and fight."

The group of unemployed originally formed themselves into the Chicago Workers Council and the Unemployed Workers Alliance in January, 1975 when layoffs in the area reached an all-time high. The council developed in a Southwest side, blue-collar neighborhood surrounding a local unemployment office.

The population of the area is largely home-owning, 45 percent Black and 55 percent white, but not integrated. The Council membership is 70 percent Black, 30 percent white, 50 percent women and mostly union members.

Working with community organizations such as the Metropolitan Area Housing Alliance (MAHA), the council was able to reach an agreement with Carla Hills, HUD secretary, to have that agency pay the house notes for jobless FHA mortgage holders. Although Ms. Hills issued a directive in April, 1975 ordering the payments to begin, no machinery has yet been established to service the mortgages.

—Unemployed machinist

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

by the attempt to limit the time when workers must work for others and extend their time for their own thoughts.

It appears that every American labor leader has long forgotten about these concepts of what May Day can really mean to the American worker today, and has thrown out the door the concept of the eight-hour day. But after we first organized the UAW, we had it in the contract, and any worker we caught working more than eight hours was considered a scab.

Now if you do not work as long as the company wants you to, you are called a rebel, and are subject to being fired, and the union has gone right along with the company in this direction. But the workers are looking in the direction of the rebels.

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SF city craft workers strike against pay cuts

San Francisco, Cal. — More than 1,500 city crafts workers walked off their jobs April 1 in response to the Board of Supervisors' efforts to cut their pay. The maintenance machinists, plumbers, carpenters, electricians, gardeners, and laborers set up picket lines in front of the city hospitals, city hall, and the Municipal Railway lines, asking for support from all San Francisco labor to help them win. Only the Muni bus drivers, who are predominantly Black and have many of their own grievances unsettled, refused to cross the picket lines.

The Supervisors' attempts to cut the crafts workers' pay stems from a reactionary proposition passed last November to revise the crafts pay formula—a backlash from the police and firemen's strike last summer. The Supervisors are doing everything they can to divide the workers. They settled with the clerks and hospital workers before the strike, and now those unions are telling their members to cross the lines.

FEW FRINGE BENEFITS

The Supervisors claim the city crafts workers get paid much more than the same workers in private industry. However, as the workers point out, they don't get the many benefits that private industry gives, such as health insurance and unemployment compensation.

One striker walking the picket line at a hospital, said "If they succeed in breaking us now, then those who work in private industry will come next. They'll try to lower their wages, too."

Another said "The press is really biased. They've been printing everything they can to turn people against us." An example is the remark of a newscaster on a local TV station one night, "Bad news in San Francisco tonight, there's still a strike."

The bureaucrats in the Central Labor Council have been threatening a general strike since before the workers went out. Now that the strikers need help, the Teamsters, SEIU, and other unions—representing city and non-city workers—are reluctant to join the strike. The Supervisors have suggested submitting the pay increase to the voters in June, which would almost certainly be

defeated—a proposal the unions angrily rejected.

STRIKERS SEEK SUPPORT

The strikers are now looking toward a mediator and hoping other workers in San Francisco will support them by joining the picket lines. However, many San Francisco residents are either confused about why the strike is taking place, or are outright hostile to it. As one radical newsman pointed out, San Francisco is no longer a union town.

Longshore has become so mechanized that there are as many dock workers on the entire Pacific coast now, as there were in San Francisco alone 20 years ago. Factories have been moving out of the city and high-rise office buildings have been moving in, making the work force more and more white-collar.

The unions have become so isolated from people's everyday lives that workers solidarity has been reduced to a slogan spoken only at union meetings, which few workers go to. If the unions were a part of workers' lives, they would have been able to counter all the propaganda turned out by the bourgeois news media. One longshoreman even thinks that Bridges made a secret deal with the city not to call his people out, despite his big talk.

The crafts workers will settle this strike by themselves and still receive a decent contract. The question that will remain is: when the Muni bus drivers' contract expires in June, and other workers' contracts expire, who will be supporting them?

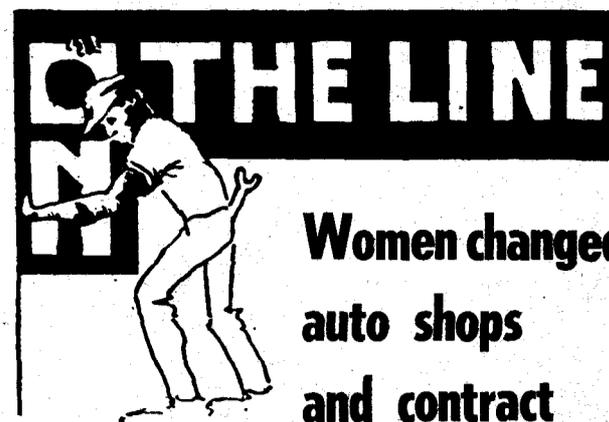
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Women changed auto shops and contract

by John Allison

World War II opened the door to industry for women and they changed the auto shops in America. They have had a direct bearing on everything from eating habits to safety, from personal hygiene to vacations and death benefits. And all of the changes required a lot of organization and working class struggle.

The smell of garlic and chewing tobacco for breakfast has disappeared from the shops. More wash-up time has been added for lunch. No longer do you get gloves or other safety equipment on Monday that has to last all week.

WON PRESS SAFETY DEVICES

Until the Second World War, women worked primarily in upholstery departments. Afterwards, they went all over, including the press shops. The company, and many men workers, figured that the loss of fingers was a part of the price you pay for working on the presses.

But not the women. When they worked on the presses, they insisted on safety devices to protect their hands. It didn't come easy. In my plant, a woman had to lose all of the fingers on one hand before the company would take action. But when that happened, the women agitated and threatened so strongly that almost overnight every press had protective safety devices put on them. Because the women wouldn't put up with this, you can see the results: for every 10 men you'll see with lost fingers, you'll see only one woman with a finger gone.

The women also brought both rest rooms and medical care facilities down to the first floor. Before women were in the shop, all toilets and medical stations were on the second floor. And to get to the second floor, you had such a small winding staircase that you practically had to squeeze your way up and down.

Before the women came in, the auto corporations sneered at the workers, claiming that if they couldn't go up and down the stairs, they had no business working in the plants. But the women changed that, demanding medical and toilet facilities on the first floor.

The women also made management realize the importance of having women doctors to examine women workers, because men doctors were causing too much trouble. The male doctors tried to treat the women the same brutal way they treated the men, but the women wouldn't stand for it.

CHANGE RETIREMENT, DEATH, VACATIONS

Women also changed the whole retirement picture. Before, workers were told by management that when they punched out on the last day that they were retired. Now there are retirement parties with retirees getting gifts and food, plus management now pays for the last day of work with the retiree just making his or her goodbye rounds. The women transformed retirement from a dismal event into one of paying tribute and bidding fond farewell to a human being.

And the same thing with workers' dying. The women taught the auto owners to respect the dead, so that now when a worker dies, a notice is put up on the bulletin boards announcing the time and place of the funeral. And flowers are now sent by both the company and union. Perhaps more important was the winning of bereavement pay for survivors of dead workers, and this eventually became a contract provision as life insurance fringe benefits.

Another big blow struck for all workers was the changing of the vacation clause in the contract. Since women were among the first fired during layoffs, they were always victims of getting no vacations when the contract specified you had to be working on May 1 to be entitled to a vacation or vacation pay. The company simply laid workers off for this period to make more profits. Women were in the forefront for the agitation and the successful struggle to assure vacations for everyone on the basis of seniority.

At one time, foremen had the gall to actually go into toilets to harass men and women to "get back to work." When a foreman interrupted one woman in the toilet, she got so mad she came to work the next day with a toilet seat around her neck. The workers called the press and such a fuss was raised over the issue that management ordered foremen to leave the workers alone in the toilets.

These are just a few of the many contributions the working women have made, and are still making, to try to humanize the workplace in the auto shops. At contract time, the union bureaucrats start talking about how important it is to humanize the working conditions, but seldom do anything about it until the rank-and-file workers put pressure on them—and then we get a few crumbs. But the women workers have been at it every day, and as a result the whole working class has benefited, as well as the rest of the nation as a whole.

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich.—The Dearborn Engine Plant has almost always worked forced overtime due to a union leadership that bends to the will of management. The company is showing its gratitude come July, when more than 1,500 Engine Plant workers will be phased out.

On April 4, a mass meeting was called by Local 600 for all units at Rouge, concerning the phasing out of the Engine Plant. This was the first such meeting, involving all units, in years. Over 500 workers came.

But absent from the meeting were any plans of action which would put the company on the defensive, rather than the Engine Plant workers. Such is to be expected, because we are a long way from the early days of Rouge unionization. We have to revive the power that was democratic and strong in defiance of company dictates.

When the company was questioned about the livelihood of workers losing their jobs, they replied that they may be absorbed into the Rouge complex, or they might be able to relocate in Cleveland where the engines will be built. Two questions arise from the company's action (the justice of the action is a question in itself): Will it be possible for the no-longer-wanted workers to be absorbed into the Rouge complex when there are already so many still laid-off? Do the ousted engine workers want to relocate when many have established roots and a feeling of permanence in this area?

But these questions don't concern the company any more than the act of relocating itself. The company doesn't care that we are people. Their concern is machinery, production and dollars. They expect us to have the same reverence for profits as they, when they decree nine hours, ten hours, twelve hours. They feel justified in locking us in their plants beyond eight hours, by reasoning that what more can workers want but a fat paycheck. What can workers complain about?

If only they would stand at their machines for 12 hours, maybe they would sympathize. But they never would. They're above that.

—Rouge worker

Dearborn, Mich.—Since the recall of some workers to increase production in the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) from around 40 to 50 cars an hour, management has not taken any work off of the jobs. They have also been scheduling overtime lately and rumors indicate it may prevail until our forced vacation during changeover.

We are presently putting in more than eight-and-a-half hours, but can expect to be forced to work nine

hours at the whim of management. The reason for this overtime is probably management's traditional stockpiling of cars to weaken our position in the fall negotiations.

In the event of a strike, the company wants to have plenty of cars to sell, giving them the financial upper-hand—which they already have to weaken and break the strike, thereby again negotiating another contract favoring management.

Management has posted bulletins saying the majority of workers prefer vacations during plant shut-down for changeover, the last two weeks in July. They pulled this same stunt last year, and in all likelihood will continue this year after year, until we demand our right to choose our vacations when we choose them, and not when management says we choose them.

—DAP worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—They have been hiring many new women into Fleetwood, and some women with only three to six months' seniority are being transferred into Dept. 21. Some of the workers with 63-b's (transfers) in for Dept. 21 have 10 to 12 years seniority, and they feel that they, too, should have a shot at the jobs off the line. Workers have been pushing the union, saying that the seniority system is the basis of the union. Start violating that, and you don't have a union.

Of all the women they brought into Dept 21, only two were Black and one of them had over ten years seniority. But the girl friend of the superintendent was newly-hired in onto a hi-lo, and is now floating in the department. Yet, you can see women hired onto other jobs around the plant that are so rough, they are forced to quit.

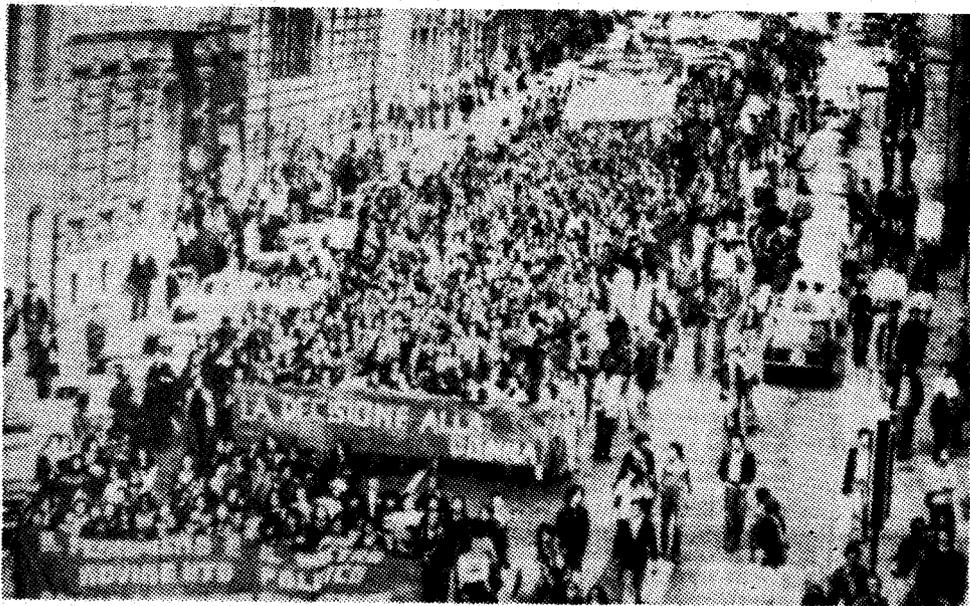
The company sends workers in Dept. 21 home without paying the full shift if the line breaks down or if it is stopped for relief time. If the line runs nine hours, they might start sending hi-lo drivers home after 7½ hours.

Hi-lo drivers are supposed to follow the line and make their own breaks. If your equipment breaks down and has to be repaired, you are still responsible for your work even if it means borrowing somebody else's hi-lo for a few minutes. Now if there is a breakdown, you can keep up with the line and still lose pay.

This is a clear violation of the contract and differential treatment of workers off the line, because if you're on the line and it breaks down, you still get paid. The superintendent who started this policy said that if the company loses and they have to pay back wages, he will be run out of there. That shows how much money is at stake by now.

—Dept. 21 worker, afternoons

100,000 Italian women demand abortion right



by Molly Jackson

Upwards of 100,000 women marched through Rome on April 3, demanding the right to abortion. It was the most exciting women's demonstration Italy has ever seen, not only because it was so massive and spontaneous, but also because it revealed women as "reason" in action.

First, the demonstration was against the ruling Christian Democratic Party, which opposes the legalization of abortion, and against the Pope. In the middle of the most Catholic country, in the Pope's own city, the women let him know what they think of his recently repeated, reactionary stands on birth control and sexuality, as well as abortion, which have contributed to so much misery all over the world.

SLOGANS EXPRESS PHILOSOPHY

The slogans the women shouted during the three-hour march, which disrupted Rome traffic, showed they demand much more than a change in the law. They attacked the Church's whole concept of woman: "The body is not to be managed by the doctor or even less by God; the womb is mine and I manage it myself." "We are not whores; we are not saints. We are all women."

Secondly, the fact that thousands of women came from all over the country, and on short notice, is a revolution in itself, for in Italy women do not easily leave the house without their fathers' or husbands' permission.

There had been smaller demonstrations earlier in Rome, during the abortion campaign; this one was hurriedly organized after the Church-backed Christian Democrats joined the right-wing party's attempt to limit the proposed abortion law to cases of rape or danger to the woman's life. It remains to be seen what law will be passed.

DENOUNCE COMMUNIST PARTY POSITION

Third, many demonstrators shouted slogans denouncing the Communist Party for its attempts to work out a compromise law. Although the CP backed the demonstration, the women are well aware of its record of class collaboration. Ever since the end of World War II, when the CP agreed to let the Church regain control

WL NOTES

Women in plants all over Britain are striking for equal pay for equal work to force their companies to comply with England's new equal pay law. Thirty-two women struck Cockburns Valve Hillington for over five weeks; 400 women members of the engineering union struck a factory in South Wales, as did 25 telecommunications workers in Coventry, and 44 women workers from Clarksons International Tools who closed the factory down. This self-organization makes it clear that it will be rank-and-file women, not the government, who enforce the equal pay law.

* * *

Yvonne Wanrow, a Native American woman, is now awaiting the decision of nine white men to see if she will be awarded a new trial. She was convicted in May, 1973, by an all-white jury, of second-degree murder when she killed a known child molester who was attacking her children. Support for Ms. Wanrow is growing among native Americans and women's liberationists.

* * *

In Portugal, Isobel do Carmo, the leader of the Proletarian Revolution Party and editor of the paper *Revolucao*, is in danger of arrest, and the paper in danger of destruction. The PRP has been accused of breaking the press laws because they wrote that the Nov. 25 coup was "reactionary."

Also in Portugal, 90 percent of the nurses have been on strike for over three weeks. They have met violence on the picket lines, and the official Portuguese press is against them. They are receiving support from both the general population and the Portuguese left. Besides asking for a higher wage, they are also demanding better health care for the people.

Italian women march in Rome to demand the right to abortion and control over their own bodies.

of education, Italian women have not trusted it, and now they served notice.

They were undoubtedly also thinking of the women's liberation demonstration in Portugal last year, at which CP men physically attacked the participants, and the attacks on earlier Italian demonstrators by some "Left" groups.

In contrast to Henry Kissinger, who is warning the ruling party not to ally with the CP in an effort to pull the government out of the current crisis, the women were attacking the CP from the true left. With an eye on Portugal, they are raising the question which is vital to women: what happens after the revolution?

In all, the abortion demonstration revealed that by demanding control over their bodies, Italian women mean to include their heads. Their ideas about new human relations are the "reason" of revolution, and cannot be separated from their activity. For a manifestation of this new, developing relationship between theory and practice in the U.S., be sure to read our new pamphlet, "Working Women for Freedom" (See page 5).

Protests against health care cuts hit Michigan, California

Detroit, Mich. — A group of 600 of us went to Lansing on April 8 to take part in a rally protesting the Medicaid cuts in adult services.

Considering the physical and economic problems for most of us, it showed me how seriously people felt about this problem.

Most were from groups who had previously formed a coalition to try to do something about getting the Medicaid cuts restored. There were some people — Medicaid recipients like myself—who came individually to support the rally. The group was made up for the most part of senior citizens, handicapped people, and other welfare recipients.

Petitions protesting the Medicaid cuts that were circulated throughout the state before the rally were presented to Gov. Milliken. There were over 30,000 signatures. He would allow only a small group to see him, and I was the only Medicaid recipient in that group. The rest were people representing Medicaid recipients. I'm glad for the support of these people, but they can't speak for us. Only we can speak for ourselves.

The Governor made a lot of vague promises to get the cuts restored, but he didn't say when. He stressed his "concern" and "understanding" of our problems, but then showed his complete lack of understanding by asking which of the cuts we would like to see restored first.

This is an impossible question to answer. One health problem is as bad for the person who has it as another is for somebody else. All the cuts must be restored as soon as possible.

I am a blind ADC mother; I am also a diabetic. Without the proper medication and equipment, I'll die. Before the cuts, Medicaid paid for the insulin and syringes I need. Now with our welfare budget so low, we will be making decisions such as whether to buy food for our families or to use the money for medication; whether to pay the rent or to spend the money to take care of dental needs.

And through all this, the welfare system has made us feel that if we don't "co-operate"—do it their way—we will be the ones to suffer.

We discussed these problems at the Women's Liberation, News and Letters Committee meetings where, unlike the welfare system, we feel that by talking together, we can come up with ways to deal creatively with them. This sharing of ideas for activity and philosophy is one of the reasons I went to the rally.

I think the rally was a good one, but it suffered from being planned by people who wanted to do things for us, instead of with us. The best kind of support comes from people who know what it is like when this type of thing happens to them. This is a good beginning, but that's what it is—a beginning. We must make sure that the people who plan this kind of activity in the future are the ones who are affected by it.

—Medicaid recipient

Brownmiller reflects racist tendency in WL movement

by Deborah Morris

The Joan Little case drew national attention and a massive amount of support from the Women's Movement. However, shortly after her acquittal, less than 20 people came to hear her speak at Berkeley on racism.

It was as though once the case was over, Joan Little had nothing to offer the Women's Movement from her experience — as though race and class were separate from her experiences as a woman. Such a narrow vision within the Women's Movement ends up being racist, for it never questions why a Black woman was in jail in North Carolina in the first place. Unfortunately, Susan Brownmiller's book, *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* (Simon and Schuster, 1975), is also very much within this racist tendency.

Brownmiller begins by seeing all of history as the history of rape. Rape, she says, is "... nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear." History becomes, for her, men's overwhelming power over women, particularly Black men's relationship to white women.

She does expose rape for what it is — not a sexual act, but an act of aggression — but once she explodes the myth that women "want" to be raped, Brownmiller begins her insidious attack against Black men.

Rape, she states, is done by "lower class" and Black men, cultivated within the "subculture of violence." In a chapter entitled "A Question of Race," she focuses on the rape of white women by Black men. Brownmiller will grant us that rape was often only a charge used by white men to lynch Black men. Yet for her, the main point is that the battle was really over access to women's bodies.

Thus, what the murder of 15-year-old Emmett Till, supposedly flirting with a white woman, Carolyn Bryant, exposes for Brownmiller is not lynch-mob racism, but the "group-male antagonisms over access to women."

Though she says we should be "rightly aghast" over his murder, she boldly states that Till "understood" his wolf whistle was "a deliberate insult just short of physical assault, a last reminder to Carolyn Bryant that this

(Continued on Page 9)

Los Angeles, Cal. — Nearly 200 employees, patients and community supporters of Resthaven Community Mental Health Center marched into the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors' chambers on April 8 with picket signs and angry chanting voices. They were protesting the recent government funding cutbacks that have affected nearly all human and social services nation-wide.

The first federally-recognized private community mental health center in the nation was Resthaven Hospital, and its significance is precisely the people who make it up—Latinos, Asians, Blacks, the elderly, the gay community, workers, and welfare recipients—who have demanded and struggled for responsive action.

In August, 1970, Resthaven community people called for the hiring of minorities and women, and the establishment of ethnic treatment capabilities (bi-lingual and bi-cultural services). This was won.

In June, 1975, both the community and workers there joined forces against a proposed eight million dollar cutback of preventative and community services in Los Angeles county. They succeeded in minimizing the cut to one-and-a-half million dollars. But the management, in anticipation of more cuts, began to systematically lay off personnel and cut back services. By March 1976, 70 out of a staff of 160 had been laid-off. In addition, the entire community program was halted, and a grant to provide services for the elderly was taken back by the county.

On March 9, Resthaven supporters went before the Board of Supervisors to present their case. In a statement to the Board, Shin'ya Ono, a community mental health worker, emphasized: "For our communities, things like outreach, culturally relevant services, bi-lingual capability, sensitive staff, community involvement, preventative programs, etc., are not luxuries (but) absolute necessities."

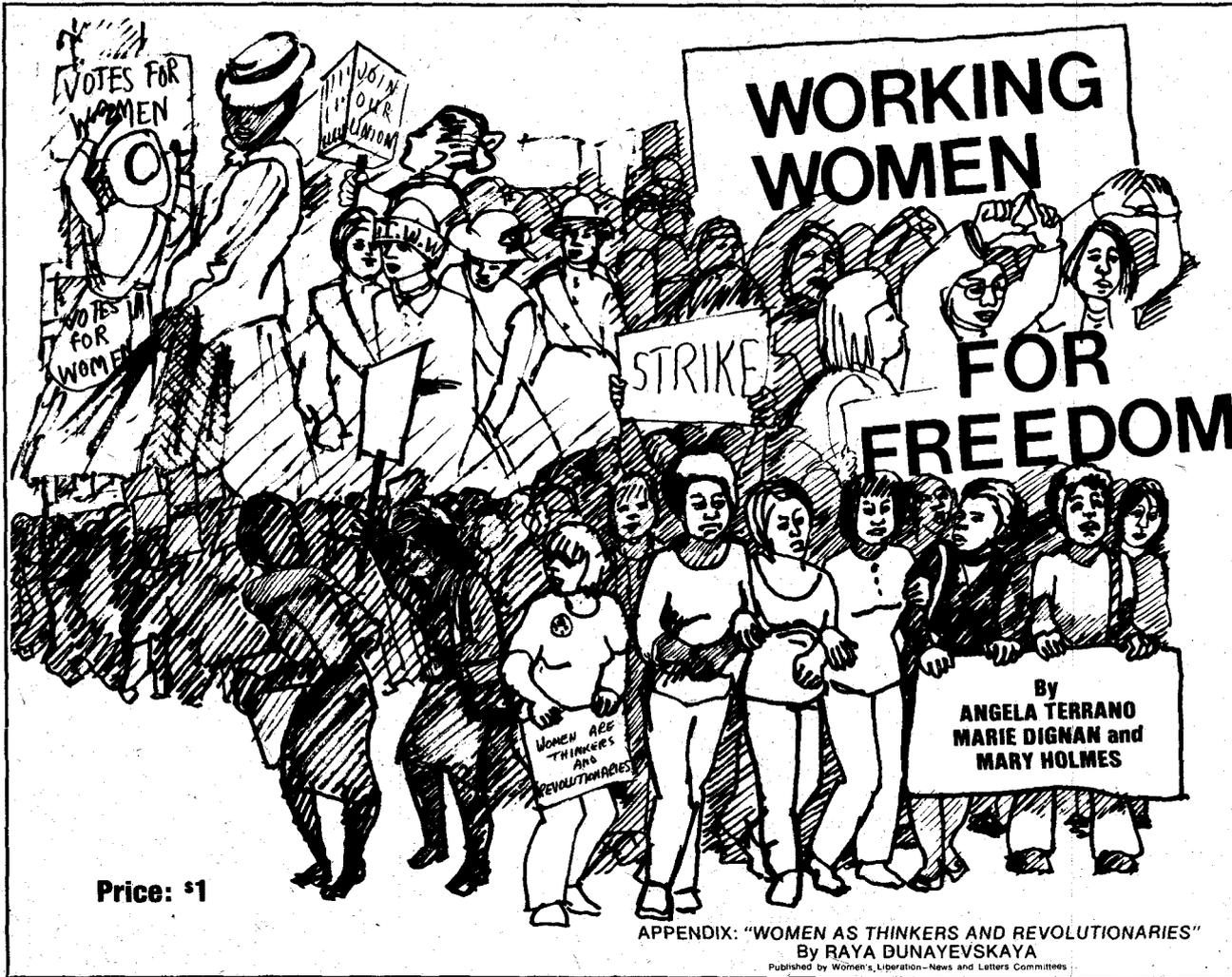
As a result of the April 8 protest, the county "awarded" \$40,000 for emergency relief funding, with a resolution supporting the extension of community mental health. But as one organizer put it, "It's that same feeling when you get your income tax refund — you're happy, but it was yours all along."

The hospital, however, is by no means out of danger. A meeting of the Central Region Health Council of Los Angeles County Hospital will concern itself with a proposed \$30 million in cuts of health services proposed by the same Board of Supervisors. This would disable not only Resthaven and other local mental health centers, but other public serving agencies, as well as drug and alcohol rehabilitation programs, youth programs, etc.

One small struggle was won, but the greater one continues.

—Resthaven supporter

Coming off the press!!



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APPENDIX: "WOMEN AS THINKERS AND REVOLUTIONARIES"
By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA
Published by Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committee

Order your copy now!! Price \$1.00

The following are brief excerpts from the four parts:

I
On the winds of freedom released by the Black Revolutions sweeping the world and this country, giving birth in the 1960s not only to the youthful Free Speech and anti-Vietnam war movements, but to a whole new generation of revolutionaries, the Women's Liberation Movement found it had to confront not only the Right but the Left who relegated "women's issues" to something that would get attention "after the victory of the revolution."

Despite all attempts to invalidate the need for an independent movement of women, the facts are that only with the birth of this, just this Movement, was it recognized that Women's Liberation is an idea whose time had come. The greatest achievement of the Women's Liberation Movement, which is active and vividly a part of our everyday lives, has been that it gave proof to the idea that none can "give" us freedom. We, and only we, can free ourselves. The idea that women's liberation is the task of the women themselves came out of the concrete struggles of the 1960s, reaching a crescendo today, in the 1970s.

Thus, although before the 1960s it was Rosa Parks, seamstress, who had initiated the whole Black Revolution in the South in 1955 by refusing to give up her seat on the bus to a white man; and although in the 1960s, before Mississippi Freedom Summer, Fannie Lou Hamer had not only initiated but been a leader in that movement — still, as women, they were treated as the exception, if not sheer "accident"

Above all, or more precisely put, from below — arose working women's struggles . . . Not all the struggles expressed explicit links to the women's liberation movement — but it was "in the air," whether it was the Welfare Rights Organization or the Black nurse's aids of Charleston who led thousands of people into the streets week after week; or whether, later, it was the Freuhauf office workers strike, which was kept alive by the Women's Liberation groups in Detroit joining the picket lines; or, most recently, the two New York cleaning women in their sixties and seventies, who complained that men were paid more and when asked what they thought about WL, declared, "We are women's liberationists!"

II
The question of putting work and thought together is the red thread that runs through the history of working women. Whether we take two pages from the 19th century — Flora Tristan in England, raising the question of a new international for working women and men, or Harriet Tubman, the Black conductor of the Underground Railroad and general in the Civil War — or whether we look at the questions that confront us today, we will see what Sojourner Truth was raising when she criticized men for being "short-minded."

Whether we go as far back as the very first recorded Maid's Petition of 1647 demanding from the British Parliament "liberty every second Tuesday" or whether we come all the way to the present-day Black Women's

Liberationist, Doris Wright, asking "when the time comes to put down my gun, will I have a broom shoved in my hands?" — there is a long tortuous trek to freedom in thought as well as in fact.

But we wish here to limit history to our own age and to take up only the last four decades beginning with the birth of the CIO . . . Although women were active in organization drives from the earliest days of the labor movement, this was the first time that even those not in industry were critical to the struggle and transformed entirely the concept of "auxiliary" into the Women's Emergency Brigade . . . It is fantastic to reduce this activity to being "just supportive." It was these women, as women, who not only helped to turn the tide toward recognition of the union, but also helped establish the unity of employed and unemployed, women and men, Black and white . . .

Finally, here is the story from an auto shop today: Today in our plant there is a lot of discussion about women's liberation. They are trying to take it and turn it around to use against the women. The main error NOW has made on the whole question of the ERA has been in not working it out with working women who know the real problems, and would know how to phrase it so equality would mean not taking away women's rights and protections, but expanding men's. Now that the most reactionary elements have gathered all their forces and money to defeat the ERA it is more necessary than ever for the middle-class women to begin to listen to us . . .

III
Listen to some of the new voices, Black, Brown and Red, speaking for themselves:

• . . . Women's liberation is said to be only a white woman's thing. There is a vicious rumor going around that Black women are already liberated because they work outside the home. We know that working outside the home doesn't mean you are free, especially under the conditions that Black women labor. Just as Black men, we are trapped into unskilled or low skilled jobs, the last hired and the first fired. And Black women earn less money than any other group in the nation. We reject the idea that women's liberation means a job outside the home just as we reject the ridiculous assumption that black liberation means getting a piece of the rotten American pie . . .

• It was 1973 when a lot of women got more involved in the UFW. We were on the picket line breaking the injunction. They kept jailing only the men and one day there were only women, so we all joined hands and they dragged us all in. When we got before the judge he said the women should be released because they had children at home. The women said, No, we're not going out. We want the men to go first, then we all go. The men have children too; it takes two to make a child. The next day they let us all go because the women refused to leave . . .

• Yvonne Wanrow faces the possibility of as much as 30 years in prison because she shot and killed the man who had more than once molested her children and those of a friend and neighbor. Her friend reported

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Back Home — Working It Out

APPENDIX: Raya Dunayevskaya on "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries"

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

In Armstrong County, Pa., Norma Jean Serena, a Creek Shawnee woman, not only had her three children taken away from her, but was sterilized without proper consent. The hospital reported the reason she was made infertile was a "socio-economic" one.

On reservations children are taken from their families, especially when the head of the family is a woman. They are placed in homes of white families and never know or see their mothers again.

Some people act as though these things couldn't happen to people right here in the U.S. To women who are either underprivileged or a minority, these things happen too often. Women from all walks of life are going to have to know that. The only way we can change this society is by uprooting the whole system.

IV
It was in the face of such total revolt, that the rulers had evidently decided, "If you can't lick 'em, join 'em" and toward that end the United Nations had declared 1975 to be International Women's Year.

The important voices heard at the Conference in Mexico were not the delegates all speaking for their particular state power. The Russian delegate and her male counterpart were among the most vulgar when they dared to declare all Russian women liberated — enhanced by the increased importing of washing machines to lighten the Russian women's labors!

The important voices were those like the Algerian woman who spoke of their revolution against France. Although the women fought alongside the men, as hard and as brave as the men in that struggle, the men wanted so much to break with all that is French and return to "Arab ways" that the women are now worse off than they were before.

One lesson that did emerge from the conference is that even within the two worlds of rulers and ruled in each country, the special oppression of women, both economically and culturally has existed from time immemorial and still exists today, in every state on earth. The women in the poor countries live in the most insufferable conditions. While state-capitalism, East and West can send men to the moon and land cameras on Venus, and while Indira Gandhi and Mao can exert all efforts to make H-bombs, women in many of the poor countries have to spend two-thirds of their day in the task of getting and carrying the most elemental necessity for life — water.

Women are abused in every facet of life. We see the women in the textile mills of China working the same kinds of machines as American textile workers and under similar conditions, and the Chinese grandmother left with the children so her daughter can work in Mao's factories — to say nothing of child labor itself, in China. We see the Russian women so overworked by their full shifts in the factory in addition to having sole responsibility for rearing the children and doing all the housework, that that it is clear the only thing the State has "liberated" them for is to be drudges. All are kindred souls to the American working women who have been speaking in these pages.



It was surprising to read the figures in your March issue on unemployment and inflation, and contrast them to all the bourgeois reports about how "things are getting better." The difference between N&L and the bourgeois reports is that you show the human dimension of all the "statistics." When some Marxists deal in economics it is only to prove that capitalism is a bad system, instead of because within the working place is where you find the revolt. The crisis by now has moved from economics to every stage of life.

Student
New York

It is hard to believe, I know, but the Welfare Department here has been trying to force men to take Work Incentive jobs that then turned out to pay them \$2 a day for transportation and lunch, and a "bonus" at the end of the month that amounts to 25 cents an hour. Among them are men who have been carpenters, truck drivers, mechanics and former coal miners, but haven't been able to find work. They were told they would be learning how to operate heavy equipment and acquire new skills to help them find jobs—but when they reported they were assigned to a highway crew to cut bushes and dig ditches.

Almost all of them have decided to fight the Welfare Department and walked off their "WIN jobs," despite the fact that they were threatened with being completely cut off their welfare payments if they refused to participate in the program. The Civil War may have ended chattel slavery but it sure didn't end slave labor in this country.

Observer
West Virginia

A group of laid-off Detroit city employees have been trying to organize to stop the city from subcontracting their work. The men want their AFSCME local to pursue the issue but it has a history of losing this type of grievance.

Contractors are supposed to follow affirmative action guidelines in hiring minority employees, but the complex enforcement process is worthless. Contractors pay half what the city pays and provide few benefits. Many firms are outside the city (at least two come daily from Flint—70 miles). The city loses because they pay a lower income tax and the citizens lose because their work is so shoddy. But the city administration goes right along with it because they get the one thing they want—quantity production—to make them look good on paper.

City Employee
Detroit

The unemployed migrant worker who seized a welfare office here in February when he became desperate about how to feed his family of seven, was just found guilty of seven counts of kidnapping and assault, and faces a possible 30 years in jail. He seized the office after a welfare worker told the family they didn't qualify for public assistance because they didn't have a permanent address. They didn't have a permanent address

because they were living in a school bus, selling their blood to pay rent to a trailer park and to get food to survive.

It was sickening to read how the welfare office bureaucrats and the prosecutor handled the trial—their complete lack of any humanity or even common sense is illustrated by what the prosecutor said to rebut the fact that all Boronson was doing was trying to make a protest: "If you want to make a protest, you can call a press conference. You don't have to do it at knife-point."

I think I pity the social workers who have to work under these welfare officials almost as much as the recipients. A group of them wrote a letter to a local newspaper, saying, "We are committing crimes far worse than Boronson's when we allow others to go unhelped and unfed in the richest nation in the world." Amen.

Reader
Portland, Oregon

In a newspaper put out by the GM plant in Fremont, it was reported that the morale of the workers coming back from a two year lay-off has improved and that workers were eager to keep up with production. Who wouldn't be happy to have a job after two years off! The article didn't say, of course, how the workers felt about having to face the production line once again. To see our "happiness" in terms of improved production just proves the only thing they are interested in . . . the amount of things produced, not what is happening to human beings.

Auto Worker
Los Angeles

On March 19, 80 unemployed workers marched into London after a 250 mile trek from Manchester organized by the National Rank and File Movement's Right to Work campaign. Entering London they visited a construction site to talk to the workers. They were provoked and attacked by the police. Several marchers received very serious injuries and 44 were arrested.

Released on bail the next day, the marchers proceeded as planned to a rally at the Albert Hall. By the time they arrived over 3000 people had joined them. Several marchers spoke of how they had gone into factories (including one that was occupied), joined strikers on picket lines, met miners at pitheads and spoke to them of the need to build a rank and file movement to link workers all over Britain. Harry McShane, who had been a leader of the Scottish Unemployed Workers' Movement in the 1930s, received a tumultuous reception. He spoke of the need for a social revolution from below through the self-movement of employed and unemployed alike.

A young woman worker brought fraternal greetings from the textile mills of Lisbon and spoke of the continuing struggles by Portuguese workers against the rightward-moving ruling class there. Her internationalism was a refreshing contrast to the labor and Communist union leaders who advocate solving the crisis by use of import controls that throw people in other countries out of work. Fifty percent of the Portuguese textile workers are now unemployed.

David Black
London

EDITOR'S NOTE: See p. 8 for interview with Harry McShane.

H-BOMB TESTING

In the wee hours of Sunday, March 14 I was awakened in Lone Pine, Calif. by an earthquake lasting many seconds. Having experienced several, including the major Spanish quake of 1969, I would call this one stronger than most.

Later I learned from TV news that this earthquake was the result of an underground H-bomb test in Nevada, and hit 6.5 on the Richter scale. Yet the Defense Dept. claimed that it was not an earthquake at all, only the "normal" result of detonating an H-bomb! Who or what could tell the difference, if DOD had decided to keep the test secret? A seismograph?

So much for the DOD's assault on nature. But what about the logical end result of testing these weapons, which already are stockpiled in superabundance to destroy civilization? It so happened that in Lone Pine that morning were two innocent visitors from Moscow. Had they inquired about the DOD's non-earthquake, the answer might have been: "They are perfecting means of incinerating your home town."

Alarmed
California

MAO'S CHINA

The New York Times and the Peking Review both seem to agree that the conflict in China is between a "radical" Mao vs. the "conservative" bureaucrats. Sending the youth to the countryside is somehow supposed to be revolutionary, along with Mao's other policies.

In the movement, he is currently under attack for his role in Angola, in Ethiopia, and at the UN regarding Puerto Rican independence. But Marxist-Humanists seem to be the only ones who look at the underlying class nature of China which is what leads to the reactionary foreign policy. It is the new revolts in China that are challenging the Maoist myths.

Recent statistics I read show the incredible wage differentials among workers — college professors, for example, make six times more than instructors. Even 19th century liberals opposed child labor, but Mao's China has 10 year olds doing it, which they call "learning while you work" and which they defend in Marxist language. And the life expectancy of the masses is only 40 to 45 today, while the leadership is the oldest in the world. The fact that managers work changes nothing of the class character of China, since the workers never manage.

Student
New York

What I disliked about China when I visited there was the Puritan atmosphere. Sex before marriage is strictly forbidden, and party members need permission to marry. That means men marry at about 30, women at 28. The Chinese are free and earthy people, but their functionaries are unpleasant men who have subjected themselves to the party line. When I asked one how come Mao could have a young, beautiful actress (now his wife) with him on the Long March but he couldn't have a girlfriend, he simply said the story about Mao is not true, it's Western propaganda!

City-dwellers with positions in the party structure also need permission from their factory or other committee to have a child, and they are usually limited to one. The factory committee decides on the basis of your "attitude" and whether they can spare the woman.

China visitor
New York

One problem for the Western intellectual is that when you look at China over the years and know how horribly they suffered under imperialism, anything can seem like an improvement. But anything that doesn't spring from the creativity of the masses turn into its opposite immediately. It was the same with the "Red

Reader

Sundays" during the 1930s in Russia. At first it was voluntary work to help build up Russia, but there comes a point when it's no longer really voluntary. Meanwhile all the "planners" are intrigued with the idea of millions of people they can move around. And the U.S. is about to get deluged with fine cotton from China below our market prices due to cheap labor. Sometimes it must seem that it is pretty arrogant to just sit back and criticize what is happening there from the allegedly "rich" USA.

Intellectual
New York

POLITICAL-PHILOSOPHIC LETTERS ON MAOISM, ANTI-SEMITISM

The new Political-Philosophic letter on China is excellent and the reprint of the Beria article was eye-opening. It's especially important to pay attention to China's domestic policy since this is currently and carefully being ignored. The Letter does a beautiful job of showing the external and internal contradictions of Maoism. I've sent a copy to an old Maoist-inclined friend who has recently split with the organized Maoist Left because of his disgust with China's foreign policy. Hopefully it will sharpen the contradiction in Maoism as a whole for him.

Student
Bloomington

The most powerful point in the Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya on Zionism and anti-Semitism was that you were made to realize that you could not look at the question in isolation from the whole world situation. It is not so simple these days as choosing the "good guys" against the "bad guys." And the reason we have to get the question straight in our own heads is because of the needed American revolution. It is a question that matters not only to the Middle East or to Africa, but to us, right here.

Student
Detroit

In '70 and '71 when the Palestinians really moved into Jordan, King Hussein killed more Palestinians than Israel ever did in all their struggles. They are allowed to be united as Arabs only if they fight Israel.

The same situation exists now in Lebanon. If you want to fight an Arab boss you will not get support from any of the Arab leaders. In fact you will get annihilated. The real Civil War was against the minority Christians who controlled Lebanon and discriminated against Moslems, but when the Moslem poor wanted to fight in Lebanon, Syria refused financial support. Now they are using troops and influence to try and impose their own solution. The Moslems will be supported only insofar as they will fight Israel, not in fighting the enemy at home.

Observer
Los Angeles

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Views

You're right that the UN's statement on Zionism resurrects an old ruling class game. Oil is what the capitalists are addicted to, but the real thing that all rulers—no matter where you go in the world—live off of is the laborer who with his sweat is the source of all value. That is why the Arab sheiks, rich with oil billions, have to point out to their poor people that Israel—not the sheiks—is robbing them, and that, if it weren't for the Israelites everything would be fine. In the same way this country has always pointed to Russia or China or Castro as the enemy, as if they are responsible for the starved and laid-off millions here.

So when a worker gets into politics, believing that either Democrats or Republicans are going to represent him he is playing into the hands of the real enemy! No worker has ever been represented by rulers since the first slave was taken to serve another man.

Factory worker
Los Angeles

EDITOR'S NOTE: A new series of Political-Philosophic Letters by Raya Dunayevskaya is available from News & Letters—individual copies, 50c each plus 15c postage; all ten, \$5 postage free.

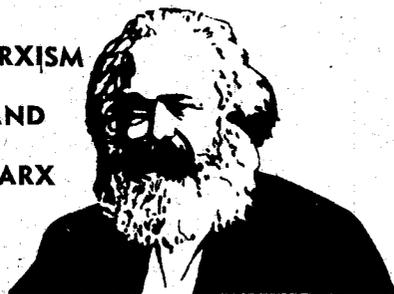
CHICANOS UNIDOS

Three Chicano activists, all from El Paso, were arrested and falsely charged by the police for firebombing a downtown store here. They had been working with the people in the barrio and had helped to acquire free health facilities for the poor, a multi-purpose center for the Lower Valley, an alternative school, as well as conducting voter registration drives and combatting the use of drugs. The police had threatened to bust anyone connected with Chicanos Unidos.

They were offered three years in prison for a guilty plea but intend to fight their case and have received enough national support to obtain three of the best lawyers in the nation — Kunstler, Cunningham and Coleman. But they need help in a letter-writing campaign. Could you ask your readers to write to Steve Simmons, District Attorney, and Judge Sam Callan, 205th District Court, both at City-County Building, El Paso, Tx. 79901, demanding that the charges against them be dropped?

La Causa Legal Defense Committee
PO Box 3537
El Paso, Texas 79923

MARXISM
AND
MARX



I've just read Raya Dunayevskaya's brilliant essay in Fromm's *Socialist Humanism* and I was deeply moved. This one sentence, especially, hit me like a bolt of lightning: "Marx concluded that only freely associated labor can abrogate the law of value; only 'freely associated men' can strip the fetishism from commodities." Enclosed is my check for the literature I ordered. I will anxiously await these books.

New Reader
Chicago

I really like your stuff. As an anarchist interested in Marxism and a veteran of the Paris uprising of May 1968, I find your positions usually very honest, open and undogmatic. Quite a change from most of my "Marxist" acquaintances who seemed to always just spout off platitudes . . . Keep up the good work.

New Reader
British Columbia

HIGH-SCHOOL RIP-OFF

My problem as a high school senior graduating in the class of June '76 is a problem my whole class is facing. Everyone I know is complaining about it. It's MONEY, or the lack of it. There are many myths about partying and having a great time through your last semester. Well, it's true the outings are all there, but too many times the mean green isn't.

So far we've been hit for: senior semester dues and pledges, senior pins, senior class pictures, a senior breakfast, cap and gown rental, senior picnic, senior mixes, the senior prom, college applications, college entrance exams, ACT and SAT. The one that really gets to me is the money we have to pay in order to apply for financial aid. My father has been unemployed for more than a year, and as each day goes by I get more and more disgusted with what is adding up to one big rip-off.

Cass Tech Senior
Detroit

SLAUGHTER AT THE WORKPLACE

I was reminded of what Felix Martin wrote in the last issue on the murderous working conditions workers face when I read that eight cases of leukemia have suddenly turned up in rubber factories in Texas and more in Ohio with the rate being way above normal. They assured the reader that there is no sign that the end products can cause cancer—as if we shouldn't care about the workers in these plants as long as we consumers aren't in danger. Who'd even believe that, considering Red II, birth control pills, etc., etc.?

Concerned
Detroit

Felix Martin's article on the slaughter of the workers in this country was excellent. Now I read in UE News that the Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OHSA) has decided to delay establishing new safety standards on many hazardous substances and working conditions until after the November election. It's a favor from Ford to the businessmen in return for their financial support.

OHSA was supposed to establish new standards for asbestos by July. Now the date has been changed to January 1977. New regulations for ammonia are postponed to Feb. '77, for lead to March '77, and for noise levels until April '77. The way they are acting, you might think OHSA rulings have had some impact, so far. The truth is that the fines for violations are so tiny most plants could just pay up and keep on violating. The average fine in 98 percent of the OHSA citations is \$19.18. In the other 2 percent of "serious violations" the average fine is \$606.37!

Disgusted
New York

RUBBER WORKERS STRIKE

When the national news reported on the impending strike by rubber workers, they said the United Rubber Workers union leadership was embarrassed by a report from Merrill Lynch, a stock brokerage firm, Merrill Lynch, in studying for their stockholders the rubber company figures for productivity, profits, etc., let the cat out of the bag by saying that the rubber workers would be justified in getting a 40 percent increase. The URW leadership then felt obliged to demand that much, after apparently being willing to settle for less. It says a lot about the sorry state of the unions when they have to take their cues for contract demands from the business world.

Disgusted
Detroit

Who We Are

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

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

FANON AND THE DIALECTIC

I was very impressed with John Alan's column in the last issue on Fanon and the dialectic. His quote from Fanon really brought home to me what the freedom movement is all about, i.e., "the transformation of subjective certainty of my own worth into a universally objective truth."

It is just this quality of an oppressed race or class that makes possible any breakthrough in the thinking of everyone and which appears to burst forth out of nowhere from the depths of this alienating society. I hope we see more of this kind of discussion in the paper as it really adds something to every other article in the paper.

Intellectual
Detroit

The Black-Red column on Fanon was very exciting. I wanted to go back and read Hegel when I had finished it. I re-read the column substituting "women" for "Black", and it held valid.

Old Politico
Oakland



WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I was very excited to read that at the International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women in Brussels, Marcia Freedman—who is a member of the Israeli Parliament and who ran on a Women's Liberation platform—called for Israeli and Arab women to recognize jointly that their oppression as women cut across the state-powers they came from. She got the backing from the few Arab women present. It isn't enough in times like ours to just wave a slogan of "Jew and Arab unite and fight." You have to be concrete. And I think somehow WL represented that concreteness at that conference.

When you read about the horrifying testimony given there, you could certainly understand why. People like Yvonne Wanrow and another woman from the National Welfare Rights Organization testified about conditions of women in the U.S. But the most sickening testimony came from the few women present from the Third World, including a report on the removal of the clitoris of young girls in many Arab and African countries!

Women's Liberationist
Detroit

Here's an "update" on my story about the "big hourly raise" they gave the cleaning women where my mother works (which turned out to mean they had to do five hours work in four hours). Now that they are making what looks like so much more money, they are not hiring any more women. Just men.

Women's Liberationist
New York

I read in the paper that India is seriously considering a bill that would throw people in jail who refuse to be sterilized after 3 or more children. It is an unbelievable travesty on human rights when even your reproductive organs be-

long to the state. I doubt that anyone believes this law would be enforced against the rich.

While some of us may like to believe that this kind of thing can only happen in "backward" countries, the fact that we do not own our own bodies just takes a different form in North America. One Canadian woman had herself sterilized so that she could keep her job at General Motors working in the battery plant. According to studies, the lead-oxide fumes could harm unborn children. The point is that no one should work a job like that, women or men. We are just beginning to learn of all the sickness and cancer caused by exposure to work-related chemicals, sometimes not showing up until 10 years later. I just can't believe that if something can harm a fetus that it doesn't do damage to an adult human being.

Certainly the Women's Liberation Movement was right when we demanded the right to control our bodies and refused to narrow that issue to only the right for abortion. For that we need a society that is based on new human relations and human needs, not this one we live in that is grounded in production of commodities.

Feminist
Detroit

A friend seriously into karate wrote that during the match to determine promotions at one of the Michigan State clubs, she was paired off against a man weighing about 100 lbs. more than she did who kicked her in the breast and floored her. No other member objected to either the vicious intent, or even the use of brute force instead of skill, so she wrote a resignation letter to the club and had it printed by the student paper. To me, she wrote:

"The two head instructors have been pulled on the carpet and asked to account for themselves. The other black belts are demanding that the contact rule be made clear to everybody and enforced. But I'm not stopping there. I'm going to approach the sports editor to do an investigation of the karate clubs on campus and ask one woman who was really hassled by one of those black-belted asses during classtime last term to make a statement."

Reader
Detroit

I think the ceremonial cutting of a ribbon of dollar bills autographed by "famous feminists" says it all on the opening of Detroit's new Feminist Women's City Club. The paper quoted the members of the Feminist Economic Network, who founded it, as saying this was "the first step in the feminist economic revolution," and proof that feminism and capitalism can exist side by side (!) It doesn't represent an economic revolution at all—it's only trying to beat the capitalists at their own game as Blacks have already tried. The important part—the social revolution that they're ignoring—is what would keep them from shutting out those of us who can't afford \$100 membership and \$75 fees. For us it might as well be the Feminist Women's Country Club.

Women's Liberationist
Detroit

McShane: 'The movement for change is from below'

(The following interview with Harry McShane, legendary Scottish labor leader who participated in every British working class struggle dating back before the first World War, was held in Canada, where he presented 10 Marxist-Humanist lectures in Saskatchewan. His lecture tour immediately followed his London speech given on March 20 at the end of the Right to Work March, which he had also launched with a speech in Manchester on Feb. 28.)



Harry McShane, left, at interview in Canada, described Right-to-Work march in Manchester on Feb. 28. Above, marchers clash with police.

In the trade union movement today in Britain, there is not the slightest semblance, in many cases, of political thought or political knowledge. On top of that, there is the desire of the top trade union bureaucrats in the trades councils not to worry about politics, but just to think about advancing themselves.

Harold Wilson has proved to be one of the trickiest prime ministers since Lloyd George. Wilson has shown an uncanny ability to get out just before a serious crisis hits the country . . . and this time it is no different, for Britain is in very grave economic and political crisis at this moment. Whereas Wilson has claimed that he is the one who has kept the Labour Party united, the fact is that he has overseen the complete deterioration of the party.

Far from moving in the direction of the working class, the Labour Party under Wilson has indeed been guilty of the charge that Tory leader Margaret Thatcher has levelled — that the Labour Party has taken over the platform of the Tory Party, and if there is one thing the Tory Party cannot be accused of, it is pro-labour politics, programs or principles. When Ms. Thatcher says that she is not against the unions, what she means is that she is not opposed to the likes of Jack Jones.

Of course, she would be against any strikes, against militant action taken by workers or shop stewards, and would not hesitate to use the law against them. But she is not a formidable type. Actually, Keith Jones is the one who does her thinking for her, and she carries out what he says. In reality, she is a poor specimen.

Jack Jones, of course, as the head of the British Trades Union Congress is an important power. He now considers himself a statesman, and wields great influence. All of his union officials are appointed by him, and in effect, become mouthpieces of Jack Jones . . . and this includes the Communist Party members he appoints.

CAREERISM, not working class principles, motivates most of the aspirants for political power, and political power becomes an end in itself. Never has this more clearly been shown than in the present austere economic situation in Britain. The Labour Party officials are acting just as their Tory counterparts — by cutting the social benefit programs of the people. Public toilets have been shut down in Glasgow; the libraries have been closed on Saturdays — the only day that workers have a chance to go to them; public baths and washhouses are open only a half day. And this is typical of what is happening all over Britain.

Callaghan, who replaced Wilson as prime minister, isn't as clever as Wilson, who always very deliberately tried to look like there was something very profound behind what he was saying. Of course, there wasn't anything profound at all in what he said. Quite the opposite. But he managed to look that way. Callaghan is a rather mamby-pamby sort of politician, and has lost his majority. But even if he had been able to keep it, there would

French students protest study changes dictated by business

Detroit, Mich.—Demonstrations by university students in France have forced the government Education Ministry to promise to consult with student and teacher unions before carrying out proposed reforms in the universities.

Over 20,000 students marched April 15 to oppose changes which are meant to lower the number of unemployed graduates through more selective admission policies and restructuring curricula towards science, technology and economics, and away from the humanities. The changes have been made to favor business and industry.

University students in Lille, Toulouse and Nantes—the last, where students stoned the Chamber of Commerce—marched against the changes.

The country-wide student protests were preceded on March 17 by a march and clash with police in Paris, a road block near Bordeaux, occupation of offices of the University of Rennes, the temporary detention of a university official at Clermont-Ferrand, and a sit-in at a state employment center in Lyons.

The government plans to reduce youth unemployment had been jolted by a march of 20,000 French unemployed youth in Paris on Oct. 4, 1975. The government fearing another student-worker uprising, has not been able to cope with the 1.2 million unemployed, half of whom are under 25, double the year before.

still be an election held in Britain before the year is over.

There can be no Labour Government unless a majority of Scotland's 71 Parliament members are labour, and there is no certainty about that at all because of the growing power of the Scottish Nationalist Party and growing dissension in the labour ranks. However, the Tory Party can't win a majority either, so the possibility is that there will be some kind of coalition government emerging in Britain.

AS FOR THE rank-and-file workers, they are showing a new determination to fight against redundancy (layoffs). One of the things we never succeeded very well with in the past was to create a unity between the employed and the unemployed. Now there is something new emerging. Workers are fighting together to save their jobs, not in the old sense of "To hell with everyone else, I'm going to save my job," but joining in common actions such as sit-down strikes, marches and other demonstrations. This is one of the most promising features of the present situation.

Unofficial strikes have decreased under the "Social Contract," but there is a serious contradiction in the Labour Party and bureaucrats where they say they are fighting against unemployment, but at the same time fight to keep workers' wages down. The workers know the issues aren't separate, and all of them have to be fought together. It is not a matter of a single-issue battle at all. The problems have to be fought on all fronts if there is going to be any solution . . . and the working class knows this.

There is one point that has to be made about the working class in Britain that all seem to be unaware of, and that is the relation of the miners to the rest of British labour. The miners brought the Tory Government down when the working class of Britain rallied behind the miners. They brought the Tory Government down, but they would never bring the Labour Government down. In Scotland, Wales and in some areas of Britain, the miners' union is controlled by the Communist Party.

But at issue is that the miners have always been supported by the rest of the British working class in their struggles. There have been all of these tremendous demonstrations of solidarity.

Most of the miners will admit that without the rest of the working class support they could never have gotten anywhere. The question that has to be asked is: how much farther could the other segments of the workers have gone in their struggle if they had the backing of the miners? And isn't it time for them to show the same kind of working class solidarity that has been shown to them?

THE RECENT March for Work, with at least 80 marchers, supported by many hundreds of thousands wherever they went from Manchester down to London, was another example, and a tremendous one, of growing working class solidarity. A scuffle with police in London over the route the marchers were taking resulted in focusing more attention on the march, so that when they all reached Royal Albert Hall for the rally, over 5,000 people jammed the meeting and contributed over 4,000 pounds to support the struggle. It was the most significant march in Britain since the 1930s, and emphasized that the working class movement for change is from below that will change the system from top to bottom.

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A right-wing group that is not a serious force yet in Britain, but is growing, is the National Front. They give the Nazi salute and are unquestionably among the most reactionary groups in Britain. Enoch Powell had been the most visible and vocal right-wing element for a number of years, but since he has obtained the parliamentary seat from Dublin, he has been relatively quiet.

THE SHOP stewards, once a tremendous working class movement, are now a part of the apparatus, and in many cases — but not all — they have become a shop steward's bureaucracy. It means that they have to be criticized, and the bureaucracy, whether high or low, must be exposed for their betrayals of the working class.

Another problem is that the political situation is dominated by top trade union leaders as well as politicians. Jack Jones, for example, while said to be of the left, has been the main force that is keeping the workers' wages down. Also, these top union and Labour Party bureaucrats are the ones who select the political candidates. They are hopeless cases and reflect the total deterioration that has taken place on the parliamentary movement level.

In local councils, this is showing up in the corruption that is being exposed. In Scotland, for example, one labour representative was recently sent to jail, and five others are awaiting trial. It means that the Labour Party is being disgraced at the same time that the Scottish Nationalist Party is gaining more strength.

But the position we must take is that we will not tolerate any separation of the English or Scottish working class. We're all victims of the same social order, and it is that order which must be changed.

ALL OF THIS, of course, is related to the importance of Marxist education. For many years, the Communist Party was considered the true representative of Marxist theory, but this is not the case any more, and there are other groups that now challenge the Communist Party. Some of them do a good job in teaching economics and monopoly capitalism, but they haven't gotten to the philosophy yet, and that's the bedrock of Marxism.

Marx's humanism is the core of the issue, and I am pleased to say that in talks I have been giving in both Great Britain and in Canada that there has been a growing response to the ideas in the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism as expressed in both **Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy & Revolution**. Many, many serious people have read **Marxism and Freedom**. Not as many know **Philosophy & Revolution** as yet, but I was surprised at the number of people in Saskatchewan who are thinking along Marxist-Humanist lines. Professors and students referred to both Marcuse and Raya Dunayevskaya, but spoke of Dunayevskaya more than of Marcuse.

One of the most interesting recent developments in the British Communist Party is the quiet following of the lead of the French and Italian Communist Parties, which have given up the revolutionary position of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are going around saying that the dictatorship of the proletariat means nothing to the workers. The simple fact is that without basing themselves on this principle, they are openly confirming that they have given up being either revolutionary or Marxist.

The Russian party has suddenly discovered these French, Italian and British Communist Parties to be "revisionist." The "revisionism" has always been there, of course, in Moscow and elsewhere, but nothing was said about it so long as these parties remained the agents of Russian foreign policy. I think we are not far from the point now that the European Communist Parties will be the defenders of Europe in case of a war.

There is no way of knowing for certain what the Russian masses are thinking. But there can be no question that there are thousands upon thousands of dissidents among the Russian people who are opposed to the regime. Certainly there is opposition to Russia in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Baltic states, as well as in Poland and the Ukraine inside Russia itself. It means that both private and state capitalism are in a very precarious position, and we will be seeing an important change take place under the impact of these forces.

TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

(Editor's note: The following excerpts are taken from a speech given by Raya Dunayevskaya last month on "Marxism, Culture and Revolution" at California State College in Los Angeles, and sponsored by ACCION, a student group for Chicano studies.)

The fact that Marxist-Humanism, which is what Marx first named his philosophy, as the dialectics of liberation, means both the philosophy and the actuality of it—the actual revolution—the fact that Marx had situated the centerpoint of historical materialism at the base in the economic relations, in the struggles between capital and labor, and seemed to have kicked culture upstairs into the superstructure, gives the impression that he had very little use for it. The truth is very much the opposite, because when fiction is great—and that "when" is very important—there is likely to be a great deal more truth in fiction than in fact.

Whether it's fiction or custom or language or even food—all of the elements of culture on the part of the people bring historic continuity to such a high level that imperialist oppression, even though it doesn't disappear until you actually destroy it, at least can't brain-wash you.

This is especially true in relationship to the Latinos and the Chicanos right here in the U.S. Because all was estrangement, the fact that they were so foreign was because they weren't foreign. We had taken their land. And they did not want to give up their language; they did not want to give up their food; they did not want to be naturalized. So all of those have kept up that historic continuity, whether we are talking only in fiction or about the actual lives of people, where the alienation, instead of being estrangement, is the very thing that would be the unifying force for national revolutions, for social revolutions.

The fact that the fiction and the customs and language get unified in a person and are not just floating in air, brings it straight back to the greatest force of Marx's philosophy of liberation—that you, the people, are not just the product of history, but the Subject which will recreate it and remake it.

LOOK AT HOW MARX expressed it in **Capital**: "My view that each special mode of production and the social relations corresponding to it, in short . . . that the mode of production determines the character of the social, political, and intellectual life generally, all this is very true for our own times, in which material interests preponderate, but not for the Middle Ages, in which Catholicism, nor for Athens and Rome, where politics, reigned supreme . . . On the other hand, Don Quixote long ago paid the penalty for wrongly imagining that knight errantry was compatible with all economical forms of society." (**Capital**, Vol. I., p. 94).

Marx had always considered Cervantes one of the greatest geniuses that ever lived, but here he is saying that **Don Quixote** was a product of its time. Its universality is so great because in this fictional form he was able to show what happens to you when you're trying to live as if your age hasn't passed and another age has come on.

WE WANT, THEREFORE, a unity of the culture, the philosophy and the actual revolution. I decided, instead of starting with the revolutions of 1848, to start with 1850 and the counter-revolution of that year because that's what we're all living with today. In 1850, when all the 1848 revolutions had been destroyed, and after the first Mexican-American war, in which the U.S. took over all that part of Mexico from Texas to

As others see us

Wobbly reviews 'America's First Unfinished Revolution'

America's First Unfinished Revolution, by M. Franki and J. Hillstrom.

This bicentennial pamphlet focuses on what working people were doing during the American Revolution, and especially on what their black fifth and female portion did . . . Five thousand blacks fought in the revolutionary armies, though Virginians would have nothing to do with them and the British promised them their freedom if they would change sides. These revolutionary armies consisted mostly of those who worked with their hands, an unruly lot who insisted on the guerrilla tactics that enabled them to cope with the British . . . After these forces had won the war for Washington and other gentlemen, the slaves continued in slavery, the farmers found their farms forfeited for debts incurred while they were fighting, and the wage workers soon faced judges who ruled that it was a crime for them to band together to raise their pay. Whose revolution was it?

The older socialist literature on the American Revolution, such as Simons' or Oneal's 1910 pamphlets, put the spotlight on how workers had been manipulated into fighting for that segment of the upper class that stood to gain from independence . . .

This pamphlet follows a later tendency to see a hesitant and conservative class of merchants and landed

Chicano culture, Marxism and revolution

California, all the radicals of the time, especially Lassalle, suddenly began saying: Workers are all backward and need to be educated, then they will vote to send us to Parliament, and we will get them their freedom.

Marx answered them in his Address to the Communist League. He said that we, the revolutionary intellectuals, more so than the workers, have to learn that those who believed that capitalism still had a revolutionary character and that there was a way through parliament, were wrong. The revolution must go on in permanence—not only will we go to the proletarian revolution, but we will also realize that every revolution has a dual rhythm. That the first negation, the destruction of the old, is just that; it is not yet the creation of the new.

NOW SKIP ONE hundred years and we come to 1950. The few revolutionary intellectuals who at least saw that there was a two-way fight between Russia and the U.S. for control of the world, could not see what Marx originally meant by Humanism and what it meant for us then—whether in the alienation of labor and the fight against Automation in the 1950 general strike of miners in West Virginia and Pennsylvania, or in the rethinking of the youth who were said to be only "beat."

Three years later—after the first mass uprising against Russian totalitarianism, the East German workers' revolt—Marx's 1844 essays were suddenly brought out of the archives and onto the historic stage. And once again the revolution, the humanism, the culture, the philosophy were put together. There was no one, whether in Africa fighting against all the European imperialisms, or in China against Chiang Kai-shek, or in Cuba against both Batista and U.S. imperialism, who failed to question—is it only a national revolution, or will we now have new human relations?

EVERYONE KNOWS WHAT Castro is now, but he wasn't a Communist in 1959. The revolution was a spontaneous great revolution that he led without any help from Russian communism. In order to emphasize that he was starting something new in the world, he said in his first speech in 1959: "Standing between the two political and economic ideologies or positions being debated in the world, we are holding our own position. We have named it, humanism . . . This, our Cuban revolution, is a humanistic revolution because it does not deprive man of his essence but holds him as its basic aim. Capitalism sacrifices man. The communist state by its totalitarian concept sacrifices the rights of man . . ."

Now in the '50s you had all kinds of tendencies, and for Cuba the question was where do we go from here with American imperialism 90 miles away? Do we have a way, with the rest of Latin America, Africa or Asia to appeal to the masses in other countries or do we have to choose a state power? Of course we know what Castro chose eventually. The point for us to work out is that in each case it isn't that it's a different culture; it isn't that it's a different period, even a historic period; it is whether you want to actually have these new, totally human relations. The question to answer is: who are the forces of revolution and how do you not divide reason from revolution?

WHAT DID MARX do in relation to culture—where he takes up the fetishism of commodities in the very first chapter of **Capital**? What did Marx reveal that was so great and that Sartre didn't understand but we who lived the '60s, and the youth and the proletariat can? The proletariat and the alienated labor that they feel—

the fact that they have been made into an appendage of a machine—gives us the greatest force that will overthrow this society. But that isn't the only alienation.

Why couldn't classical political economy, which discovered labor as the source of all value, see the subject of that source? It should have come naturally to that conclusion. It didn't because you, yourself, are a prisoner of the historical moment in which you live.

Marx said: All of this time we were asking ourselves why the product of labor always assumes the form of a commodity and its exchange. But the human beings who have created all these things, why are they "things"? The intellectuals, who make so much of "culture," don't recognize the reification of their own thought. Even when they oppose the ruling thought, they are still reified because they cannot merely oppose. Something new has to be created and you can't do that unless you know what comes from below.

THROUGHOUT THE '60s, in all the freedom movements that had begun, whether here or abroad, theory was looked down upon; the thinking was that it could be picked up "en route." But 1968 didn't make the revolution; it turned out to be a near or an aborted revolution in Paris. In 1970 we had the greatest mass demonstrations, whether in Washington, D.C., or right here in Los Angeles—when 25,000 Mexican-Americans came out. And they shot you down, including Ruben Salazar, because if you're Chicano, you're not supposed to think at all. But what remained after all the demonstrations—even though we were able to stop the Vietnam War, was Nixon—and now Ford.

What does it mean for us today—when we see what comes after an aborted revolution? We have to return to what Marx did under the whip of the counter-revolution; we have to work out the equivalent of the Permanent Revolution for our day.

I would like to conclude with a quote from my special introduction to the Mexican edition of **Marxism and Freedom**, which will be published this year.

"The United States revolutionary intellectual cannot but be desirous of showing the other America than that of U.S. capitalism which has so unmitigated an imperial record in Latin America, whether that be the American-Mexican War of 1846-48 which took away so much of Mexico's land, or the occupation of the Panama Canal Zone which U.S. imperialism to this day dares rule in perpetuity, or the neo-fascist coup in Chile which the Nixon Administration, ever since 1970, did so much to finance, arm and inspire . . ."

"Each generation meets the challenge of the times or fades into oblivion. No one can be under the illusion that our epoch marks the type of turning point in history where history fails to turn. On the contrary. Precisely because of the political-philosophic maturity of our age, the movement these past two decades from practice that is itself a form of theory, we can meet this challenge, provided we return to the Humanism of Marxism and the new dialectics of liberation Lenin worked out on the eve of 1917, on the level of the new in our epoch."

Brownmiller reflects racism

(Continued from Page 4)

Black boy, Till, had in mind to possess her."

After this attack on Black men, Brownmiller turns around to proclaim that the similarities between women and Blacks is greater than their antagonisms. She claims that leftists and liberals pitted white women against Black men in their effort to expose the extra punishment wreaked on Black men for interracial rape; she blames them for driving a wedge between the two movements for human rights.

But the "wedge" is, in fact, the rampant racism of this book, which purports to take the Women's Movement seriously, while at the same time reducing the Black Civil Rights Movement to an issue of equal access to white women.

Against Our Will is Brownmiller's history of women's powerlessness. She says that all Marx gave us was a good word like "exploitation." All that Brownmiller gives us is women's exploitation by men. The point she misses is that Marx did not simply document exploitation, but based all his work on people's opposition to exploitation. Power is not, as she states, ability to rape, but rather the power of an idea—freedom. And it is precisely this idea, freedom, that is the basis of the Black Movement and the Women's Movement.

—Deborah Morris

AMERICA'S FIRST UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

by M. Franki and J. Hillstrom

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gentry pushed into asserting colonial independence by the hopes and angers of those who worked with their hands . . . It disowns the notion of an undifferentiated "people" making this revolution that these News and Letters authors congenially view as "a dialectical relationship between the masses and the revolutionary intellectuals and organizations".

Thus proponents of all conflicting programs find in history (as though following Alice through Wonderland) far more to confirm their programs than to modify them. For example, what interests me most in this story is how the activities of the Committees of Correspondence made hard-working folks who were previously isolated aware of others with similar hopes and problems, and aware of possibilities of joint action with them . . .

The pickings are rather slim in the attempt to find a parallel to women's lib in 1776. Somehow one very obvious parallel of the times draws no mention: how the conflict of the great military powers, then as now, made it possible for the elites in the areas exporting raw materials to talk back to the high and mighty in the purchasing countries, and, then as now, with little in it except unused opportunities for workers anywhere.

Fred Thompson
Industrial Worker, Feb. 1976

Western HS students oppose oppressive code

Detroit, Mich.—After the Uniform Code of Student Conduct came out, which Judge Robert DeMascio ordered as part of the Detroit desegregation plan, the teachers said we had to read it and take a test so that it would be known that we understood it and wanted to obey it.

A few students were against taking the test, but we had no choice because the message was sent to classes that if you didn't take the test, you would have to see Mr. Holdredge, the principal.

MANY RULES, ONE 'RIGHT'

In the code, of the 15 pages, there are two pages of students' rights and 13 pages of "responsibilities." My home room teacher read the book to us thoroughly. She went over how we were supposed to behave in class about three times with us before the test.

She read to us only one part on student rights, the right to an education. After we started to say we didn't have enough rights in the book, she said we have plenty and that our right at school to learn was the only right we should have.

The day we read the story about Western's security guards in *News & Letters* (April 1976) in class, she was pretty upset about it, because she used to be a police officer and we were in the Criminal Justice class. She said it was untrue. We asked her how did she know; she was a teacher and got paid for her job, and we had to go to school.

We have six hall guards and three uniformed police officers in a high school. They tell us we're adults and we'll be going into the future on our own very soon.

Yet they have people watching like we're children. You don't have adults watching adults.

WOMEN STUDENTS AGAINST GUARD

One of the security guards flirts with a lot of the girls. They are against him because he is always trying to go out with them. One girl he said he wanted to go out with refused him, but he said he'll get her anyway, and that he "has ways to get what he wants." He bothers women students of all races.

A couple of the women teachers are complaining about the same things. There's a third-hour teacher he usually waits for. He comes out and puts his arm around her; she runs away.

One of the main officers in the school is new, and she has tried to make herself known by bothering the students. Students know her area covers the first and second floors, and so they try to avoid her.

There is a new rule that you cannot wait on school grounds for the bell to ring. If people are waiting outside, she will go out and tell them to wait in the park across the street. Even if someone is standing next to a parked car which is dropping them off or picking them up, she will come out and tell them to go into the park.

She stays mainly on the first floor. In one period, once, she stopped me three times, while I was carrying the same pass. Especially if you're late, she'll make you more late by stopping you to check your I.D. And yet they say we have plenty of rights at Western High School.

—Western HS women



—LNS photo
South Bronx residents march against Hostos closing.

Take over City U. to fight cuts

New York, N.Y. — The continued budget cuts at City University sparked new demonstrations and actual takeovers at Hostos Community College, Lehman College and Queens College this month.

From March 24 until April 12, Hostos students were in control of their campus, conducting classes and seminars as before, only without the administration. The Community Coalition to Save Hostos was formed to defend the takeover, and teach-ins were held as well as regular classes.

Meanwhile the administrators are accepting the cutbacks, blind to how deep this protest goes. Hostos was founded in 1970, after massive pressure from the Latino community of South Bronx for a bilingual college. Yet it also was central in plans for rebuilding the deteriorating South Bronx.

At Queens, several student government members started an occupation in the main building on March 30. By noon that day the building was taken over; hundreds of students were marching through building corridors and classrooms demanding that everyone join in the walk-out. Out of nowhere, groups of students emerged leading other students around the campus getting people out of classes.

But by the time several thousand of us rallied around the occupied building, we were told by the student government "leaders" that no more buildings should be taken over. They refused to let anyone else into the occupied building. Instead, they said we should wait until a bureaucrat from the city administration came down to talk to us.

A contingent of SEEK students, who are feeling the cuts most severely, was also kept out of the occupation. Considering the energies unleashed in just a few hours, the whole campus would have been occupied, if only the activity displayed was allowed to develop.

The Hostos occupation shows that students are not stopping at just attacking the cuts through chants and demonstrations, but are moving to use the campuses themselves not only as vehicles of protest, but also for the self-organization of their education.



—News & Letters photo
Marchers demanded freedom for Dennis Banks from U.S. "justice" system.

Banks rally unites movements

San Francisco, Cal.—"Free Dennis Banks!" was the rallying cry for over 1,000 people on April 3 as they marched from the Native American and Latino communities here to the government buildings where Banks faced extradition to South Dakota. The American Indian Movement leader says he would be murdered in racist South Dakota should he be sent back there.

The march started out in the rain, but nevertheless in high spirits, as the people demanded to free Banks, Lehman Brightman, Yvonne Wanrow, and the many other Native Americans being tried by the U.S. "justice" system. There were Indian, Chicano, Latino, Asian, Black and white, young and old, men and women, workers and students, and while all marched together to free Banks, all were conscious of their own movements for liberation.

There were signs to free Inez Garcia, to get racist cops out of the poor communities, for gay rights, and for decent jobs. Many people in the predominantly Spanish-speaking community the march passed through, waved and joined the march downtown.

In court April 7, Banks waived his opposition to being extradited to Oregon, where he faces a minor weapons charge. However, the fight to keep him out of South Dakota continues.

Native American speaks

by Shainape Sheapwe

The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest, by Francis Jennings, U. of North Carolina Press, 1975 — \$14.95.

Five years ago I might not have read this book because I did not take seriously either the Native American Movement or my own involvement in it. I'm happy this book was written now because of where the movement is today.

Part I of the book discusses the "invasion of America" from its beginning through the 17th century. Part II deals with land transactions, "Indian" wars and treaties of 17th century New England. Because the Native American Movement is still trying to clarify these land issues, I hope to take up Part II in a future column.

HISTORIANS SHOW PREJUDICE

Jennings conducted much research on actual records of the time and carefully presented evidence so that readers would be able to draw their own conclusions. Chapter 2, "Widowed Land" shows the poor quality of previous research used in determining the original population north of the Rio Grande.

An accepted authority, James N. Mooney, used the "traditional" method in arriving at his population statistics—he took figures established by a previous historian, Palfrey, and halved them, no reason given!

Jennings also says their racial prejudice against Indians shows in the dehumanizing language they used. They seemed to say Indians were too savage to establish a working government, provide enough food by agriculture, or keep from killing each other long enough to create a growing population.

Also, a "standard" history text (*The Rise of American Civilization* by Beard and Beard) quoted by Jennings states: "Instead of natives submissive to servitude, instead of old civilizations ripe for conquest, the English found . . . virgin soil and forests sparsely settled by a primitive people who chose death rather than bondage."

I found that interesting. Contrary to popular belief, the colonists invaded and displaced a resident population; they did not "bring civilization to a savage wilderness."

In fact, the British dealt with Indians much as they have been trying to subdue the native Irish since the 1300's. In America, colony managers turned the settlers against the Native Americans to keep them from thinking and doing anything about the great hardships they suffered because of bad management.

DISTORTIONS CREATED HOSTILITY

In one example of how history was distorted even as it happened, Jennings quotes an unpublished report by Captain Butler in Virginia in 1622: ". . . there having been, as it is thought, not fewer than 10,000 soules transported thither, there are not, through the aforementioned abuses and neglects, above 2000 of them at the present to be found alive . . . instead of a Plantation, itt will shortly gett the name of a slaughter house."

In most people's minds, however, the Native Americans were held responsible, as the managers wished, for these deaths. They used the Indian uprising of 1622, where 347 settlers had been killed as a reason. Also colonists were punished by torture and death if they were found to have received help from the Indians.

'The Invasion of America'

These historical distortions helped create a hostility to Native Americans that was to last throughout American history.

INDIANS SHOWED WAYS TO SURVIVE

In Chapter 6, "Unstable Symbiosis," Jennings describes economic relations between Native Americans and settlers. Indians not only showed settlers how to plant the native seeds they provided, but actually kept them from starving by selling them surplus crops.

Later, traders created so much demand for furs that Indians had to work increasingly hard and became dependent on the settlers for tools, cloth (since all their fur was now used for trade) and guns.

As Marx sarcastically but so aptly put it, "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginnings of the conquest and looting of the Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalistic production."

I think it's unfortunate that Jennings failed to recognize the importance of Marx's philosophy in understanding the economics of the era.

BLACK, INDIAN WOMEN FOR FREEDOM

Jennings could have dealt more concretely with the class differences among the colonists. Instead of starting a new way of life, they just brought their old long-standing bad habits of class differences with them. That way of dealing with each other made it easier for the upper classes to keep the common people from joining with the Native Americans to make a better life.

I found no mention of relations between Native Americans and Black people. However, they do exist. Sojourner Truth, born a slave but one of the greatest abolitionists and feminists of the 19th century, spoke proudly of both her Black and Iroquois heritage.

The Lumbees, a mixture of Black and Cherokee from the Carolinas, were not counted in the U.S. census until 1960, although there are thousands of them. It might help to stem some of the isolationist feelings in our movement if some of these facts were more widely known.

Jennings deals very briefly with the role of Indian women. He mentions that some women were made chiefs of their tribes and that Indian women considered themselves to be "mistress of their bodies." Because this idea is so important in the women's movement today, it makes me question how far we have actually come in 200 years.

I want to encourage you to read this book. Jennings did one of the most important things a white person can do for the Native American Movement, and that is to attempt to write an accurate history. One of the most important things we can do in this year of the "Bicentennial" is to learn this history and pass it on.

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U.S. imperialism still seeks to stifle Angolan revolution

(Continued from Page 1)

desia-South Africa to "acknowledge" the right to majority rule for Black Africans! In fact, where Kissinger wanted to, but didn't dare go—South Africa—remains the link of the U.S. in Africa. The revolution in Africa will not be completed until that apartheid system is smashed.

Obsessed with global "spheres of influence," and far removed from African human reality, U.S. rulers "relaxed" arms embargoes to Portuguese imperialism and South Africa in 1970, calling their covert support for white rule "Operation Tar Baby."

That racist phrase, coming from the highest echelons of the Nixon administration, puts these American intellectuals and officials practically on a par with Ian Smith's Hitler-type reply to demands for Black majority rule: "not in 1,000 years."

With such blindness and imperial ambitions, it is no wonder that the U.S. was caught completely by surprise by the 1974-75 Angolan revolution.

REVOLT, NATO AND U.S. PRESSURE

When Caetano was overthrown in 1974, U.S. imperialism hardly noticed it, so familiar and reliable a figure was General Spínola, who tried to hand Angola over to Mobutu of Zaire via Holden Roberto, hoping thereby to maintain Portugal's hold on all the African colonies. Once, however, the revolution in Portugal itself unfolded in full, and that threatened the NATO bases, especially in the Azores, the U.S. began to look for a way to stifle the revolution in Angola by singling out which of the three factions there to support.

It was no accident that Ford-Kissinger chose Holden Roberto's FNLA. It was the puppet of Mobutu, who was the very one who had helped Eisenhower and the CIA to murder the first great Congolese revolutionary Lumumba, in 1961.

Further to the right still (which the U.S. also supported), was UNITA. Savimbi took his orders, first from China, and then directly from South Africa and its mercenaries. And all this was done secretly by the CIA, the U.S. government having admitted sending \$25 million to these Angolan factions. When Congress voted to stop all aid, this was not so much a "revolutionary" act, as realizing U.S. imperialism was backing a loser.

U.S. imperialism's "globalism" blinds it to the revolutionary idea as expressed not just by the martyred Patrice Lumumba—"History will one day have its say, and it will not be the history taught in the UN, Washington, Paris, or Brussels"—but also recently by MPLA's Lopo de Nascimento, who stated: "Independence for Dr. Kissinger means, in fact, dependence on the U.S.A. Dr. Kissinger seems to have elected himself to office as some sort of traffic policeman, directing the course of history."

MPLA AND THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION

Holden Roberto had long since lost his popular support, even among the Bakongo people, relying, instead, on his close ties with Mobutu's Zaire government, his \$10,000 yearly CIA "retainer," and his private army which was massively supported by China, both with arms and advisors. Instead of being taken in by imperialist claims that MPLA was "Russian dominated," the Angolan masses continued with their own revolution for full political independence.

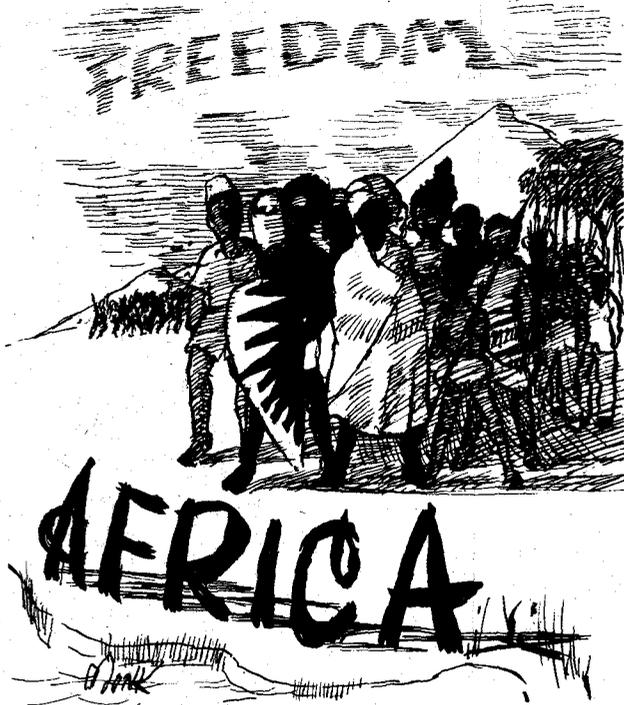
It was only at this time that Russia resumed shipments to the MPLA, after several years of playing with other factions, such as Daniel Chipenda's, which had broken with the MPLA and later (1975) ended up with the FNLA.

What upset the Spínola-backed plan to put in Roberto's FNLA was the continuing Portuguese revolution and the reaction of the Angolan masses, especially in and around Luanda. Moreover, Neto of MPLA—and this shows the internationalism in revolutionary nationalism—had built up relations with the Portuguese Left for many years, as against UNITA and FNLA which were non-socialist and based on narrow nationalism in the Ovimbundu and Bakongo peoples. It had been MPLA which had appealed across the battle line to the Portuguese soldiers, asking them why they were fighting African revolutionaries instead of fighting their own fascist rulers.

Drunk with financial and military support from China, as well as the U.S., as well as Zaire, Roberto's FNLA massacred 51 unarmed young MPLA sympathizers in March, 1975. This entry into Luanda only enraged the people, who drove them out.

Moreover, this had come after Roberto had forced out no less than 60,000 Ovimbundu farm workers in the northeast. This gave the MPLA a mass base among farm workers as well as urban workers.

As against FNLA and UNITA, the MPLA had always had urban roots, becoming prominent during the February 1961 attacks on the Luanda prisons, which were followed by massacres of Black Luandans. Even earlier, the poet Agostino Neto had been arrested, and when people from his home area protested, 30 were killed by the Portuguese. Neto, today president of the MPLA, had contact in Lisbon as a student both with other African revolutionaries from Portuguese colonies such as Amílcar Cabral, and with the Portuguese underground left. During the struggle against Portuguese imperialism, and after the transition to independence, MPLA distinguished itself from UNITA and FNLA by setting up schools and health care facilities, as well as by taking up political questions such as women's liberation, the role of whites, and socialism.



This does not mean that Russia did not have its reasons for coming to the aid of MPLA. But, far from Angola thereby having become a "satellite" of Russia, it is clear from the other end of the Sino-Soviet conflict that no African problem was decided outside of Africa.

Thus, no country other than China had achieved as much in economic transformation as did its Tanzanian railroad. Moreover, as different from Zambia, interested only in the economic aspect, Tanzania actually tried to introduce a variation of the cultural revolution, which it called the "green revolution" based on the Arusha Declaration. Yet it was Tanzania which was among the first to recognize the MPLA, and it did so not on the sly, but by openly challenging China's support of FNLA.

Even South Africa learned the limits of its power in the area, and has for the most part retreated into illegally occupied Namibia (they still call it South West Africa).

The U.S. has over \$1 billion in yearly exports there (1974) and American firms have more than \$1.5 billion invested. Despite UN restrictions on arms sales and loans, somehow these get both to Rhodesia and South Africa from the Western powers.

As Africa Research Group reports: "Nearly all the NATO countries permit their corporations to invest in the South African armaments industry. They place no restrictions on the transfer of military know-how, including the sale to South Africa of blueprints and patents for military production. For example, the entire South African army and police force are equipped with NATO FN rifles, manufactured in South Africa under license from NATO. All these governments permit their citizens to accept jobs in the South African arms industry."

Despite Kissinger's assurances about a new "twin policy" for Southern Africa that would lead to Black

majority rule, we can be sure only of the following: There will be no break with apartheid South Africa. There will be no alignment with African revolutionaries. There will be an endless looking for "Communists" under every bed.

Thus, before he left, Kissinger had been threatening not only Africa but Western Europe. At the annual meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, he outlined a new "domino theory" for Europe, where, if the Italian Communist Party entered the government, this "dangerous trend" would tempt other countries "to move in the same direction."

The fact that three former officials of the Johnson administration disagreed, seeing no danger to the U.S. if Italy had Communists in the government, does not signify any fundamental revision of American imperial policy. Their difference is only over how to maintain and to expand the U.S. Empire, from the Panama Canal and Puerto Rico which the U.S. owns outright, to the scores of client states all over the world, but especially in Latin America.

The only way out of these global power struggles for single world domination is the continuance of revolution.

Today, with white-dominated Rhodesia and South Africa approaching a reckoning with their subjugated Black population, we find the Ford administration drawing closer to these last bastions of white rule in Africa. When Kissinger said the U.S. would "not acquiesce indefinitely" to the involvement of Cuban troops in Africa, and threatened Cuba herself with a blockade, it was Rhodesia's Defense and Foreign Minister, Peter van der Byl who gloated, "that at least somebody in the Western world is beginning to realize the menace that threatens the West."

BLACK REVOLUTIONARIES— IN AFRICA AND U.S.

Neither the U.S., nor Russia, nor China can slow or control the revolutions unfolding in Southern Africa today. Russia and the U.S. learned long ago that foreign aid would not put other countries in their hip pockets, and China is learning this as well. Neither Mozambique nor Tanzania lined up with them on Angola, and in fact it was African pressure which forced China to stop supporting FNLA and UNITA publicly, and the Chinese "advisors" in Zaire have reportedly been replaced by 300 North Koreans.

The U.S. will learn a lesson from the American people, and especially the Blacks both inside and outside the armed forces, if Ford-Kissinger try to intervene militarily on the side of Rhodesia-South Africa, even if on the excuse they are "only" against Cuba.

Being exploitative, racist, imperialist rulers, they forget the most important thing of all—the great mass discontent here in the U.S. This rich crisis-ridden land has such a high unemployment rate, so persistent an inflation rate, such deep racism that refuses to go away even during this crisis, that we may be sure of an unending series of strikes, of protests, and searches for totally different human relations, and not only nationally but internationally. It is especially against U.S. policy in Africa that this will be most intense. In this struggle, U.S. Blacks have had and will have a pivotal revolutionary role.

'I KNOW THIS'

"BOSTON — Police are still seeking a suspect in the strangulation death of Jennie Tanya Rienzi, an attractive 37-year-old stripper in Boston's 'Combat Zone' area who had been the subject of a feature article in a local paper only two days before her death.

"Bulletins have been sent out for Columbus Hadnot, 28, of Philadelphia, a former boyfriend who according to police had threatened to commit suicide if she didn't 'get back together with him.'

"Detectives quoted the victim's son as saying Mrs. Rienzi agreed to meet Hadnot because 'she didn't want his death on her conscience.'"

1.
our relations with others choke
as we are whipped — and whip ourselves —
through this twilight of distorted lies,
through this gross creation of a world,
gross distortion of the world:
crazy bloody rank perversion of who we really are.
so un-free, so un-free:
if she would not be his to own,
then he would choke the life from her,
using "love" as claim, as right.
locked in his un-freedom
he felt that killing her would free himself.
and her?
the guilt he held o'er her
like weight of iron club;
she began to choke for breath.
(too well-trained to feel anger, feel rage;
fear and guilt — guilt — guilt — instead.)
and she died — choking —
she died in fear and pain, gasping.
his victim — yes —
but victim first of such a system

would produce relations such as these.
next day at work they gossiped of her death.
some few were truly grieved.
"she was nice," bartenders said,
"made sure to tip us good."

2.
there is much i do not know.
i know this:
that the screams, the tears, the pain, the violence,
the hate and craziness instilled in us
by deep perversions at society's base —
i know this reality need not be.
there is much i do not know.
i know this:
that the world must be transformed,
our lives must be transformed;
the poisons bred inside our beings,
the system that would feed these poisons —
transformed, transformed,
not patched, nor padded —
but from the center, from the roots — transformed.
there is much i do not know.

i know this:
that together we can change the system,
change the world,
i know that the power and creation,
the strength and will of humans struggling and
loving together can change this
there is much i do not know.
i do not know . . . exactly . . . how . . .
i know this revolution must be total,
to be the revolution that we want.
i see people struggling,
and am dazzled by their beauty.
the sky outside is a hazy purple-grey.
ice clings to the patterned branches of the trees.
there is a catch in my throat and i can speak no more.
—Michelle Jenny, March 1-2, 1976

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Protests of West Bank Arabs escalate against Israeli government abuse

Ever since the victory of Israel in 1967 over the Arabs, the Arab population of the West Bank has waited for the final settlement to no avail. The Israeli government has pursued a policy of cultivating "moderate" Arab businessmen to lead the Arab communities, while doing little to restrain right-wing Israelis who plant their religious communities in Arab towns and seek to worship at Moslem shrines such as Harem-el Sharf.

The insensitivity of Israel's government to the legitimate demands of its Arab citizens has led to a mass general strike, and recent demonstrations in which six Arab citizens of Israel were killed and over 260 arrested.

Trouble flared when the Israeli government announced that permission had been granted to purchase by confiscation over 5,000 acres of land in Galilee for a new Jewish settlement, in an area the Arabs claim had been theirs for centuries. The Arabs of the towns of Dir Hanna, Arrabeh and Sakhnin began by pelting the Israeli police with

stones and Molotov cocktails. They had seen the expanding towns of Upper Nazareth and Carmiel grow up in their midst as Jewish towns during the past few years and feared that the Israelis would dominate their region.

At first the police fired over their heads and then into the crowd. One Israeli-Arab citizen was killed. The following morning when the crowd attempted to break the curfew three more were killed at Sakhnin.

The mayor of Nazareth, Towfik Zayyat, who is also a Communist member of the Israeli Parliament, proclaimed that this was not a strike against the Jewish people or the state of Israel, but a protest against the expropriation of Arab land and the suppression of the Arab minority. His house was broken into by Israeli police, his belongings demolished, his wife roughed up, and then the police withdrew.

Victims of police brutality claim that they were dragged from their beds, beaten and jailed. School-

girls claim that police used tear gas against them. Despite the police violence, the Arab strike was 100 per cent effective and every place of business on the West Bank was completely closed.

What did the reactionary Israeli elements gain from the encounter? On April 12 the first open election on the West Bank was held, with the police noticeable by their absence. The Arabs, citizens of Israel by birth and rights, rejected the plans of their occupying army, the Arab stooges who had represented them, and turned to both the P.L.O. and the Communists in the municipal election.

Israel must learn from its past mistakes. That one cannot deny their right of existence or their right to defend themselves from attack does not give them the right to suppress their own minority citizens, occupy the lands of their neighbors, use force and violence against its citizens or suppress civil rights. The tactics of the government and its fascist elements, its religious leaders, are playing into the hands of the Communists and of the P.L.O.

Czechoslovakia

The 15th Communist Party Congress was held in Czechoslovakia in April. Speech after speech praised the role of the Russian overlords. To no one's surprise, Gustav Husak was returned as the Czech Communist Party leader.

When Husak took over in 1968 after the Russian tanks rolled in, crushing the budding freedom of the Czech people, 600,000 were purged from the party alone. There were mass dismissals from jobs and anyone expressing open opposition was imprisoned. The opposition to the hated Russians and their puppets, however, persists.

This last year has seen a new campaign of police raids on the homes of anyone rumored to be opposed to the government. The allocation in the budget to the secret police (STB) has never been higher. But the biggest fear of the authorities is any hint of a free flow of ideas, especially when it comes to Marx and Hegel.

The STB raided the homes of 135 Czech philosophers and writers in a four-day blitz last year, destroying manuscripts and rough notes that hadn't been seen by anyone but the writer. In a letter to Jean-Paul Sartre, Marxist philosopher Karel Kosik said over 1,000 irreplaceable pages, making up the drafts of two new books of his, were confiscated.

The unanimous cheers for the Russian "heroes"

at the Czech party congress come on the heels of a statement to American ambassadors in Europe by Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Kissinger's chief adviser, that it is in the interest of the U.S. to encourage East European countries to work out "a more natural and organic" relationship with Russia.

Like the Africans who just a short time ago were under the thumb of Portuguese colonial domination and were also ruled out by Kissinger as having no chance of gaining their freedom, the Czech people will find their own way.

India

Thousands of squatters in New Delhi rebelled against bulldozers and police who came in to tear down their shacks. Police opened fire with automatic weapons on the crowd. The slum dwellers were crushed, but not before several police were killed. The government's answer to those deprived even of a shack to live in was to relocate only those who agreed to be sterilized.

The only report of the incident in the government-censored press was a warning that drastic action would be taken against any interference with the family planning workers. A new revolt is shaping up among the poor in this land of widespread misery and deprivation that is fighting the viciousness of Indira Gandhi's dictatorship.

Colombia

More than 200,000 bank workers have been involved in work stoppages and slowdowns in Colombia, with some banks being completely shut down. Though many workers at a sugar mill in Riopaila are hiding out because they face arrest by the military, a four month wildcat strike there persists. Over 1,000 at the Vanytex textile plant in Bogota, mostly women who earn \$1.20 a day, have kept that plant shut for weeks. A ceramic tile factory that reportedly belongs to President Lopez Michelsen was occupied and for a short time run by the workers.

There is, in addition, a whole movement of students in Medellin, many of whom are threatened with court-martial. The movement started last year when students and professors supported university workers' demands and resulted in widespread demonstrations when local authorities moved against the activists.

In the countryside, peasant land seizures continue. All this is a sample of the persistence of the movement in Colombia in the face of a state of siege instituted by the government in June 1975. That is when President Michelsen went back on the promise that got him elected by a landslide in 1974—to make Colombia a more open and democratic society.

Uniroyal workers say work standards a major issue in strike

(Over 70,000 rubber workers walked off their jobs at four major tire companies on Tuesday, April 4 in a strike called by the United Rubber Workers. Workers in the tire industry have fallen far behind other industries in benefits and wages, not having even basic cost-of-living protection. Aside from supporting the strike, we feel it will mean something only to the extent that its aims reflect the interest and views of the rank-and-file. The following contributions were received from workers at Uniroyal in Detroit. The pages of News & Letters are open to rubber workers everywhere for further discussion.)

Detroit, Mich. — All the attention right now is on the strike and the national contract. Most of it is just dramatics. The company and the union both know what they're going to settle for. You know they're going to try to please just enough people the cheapest way they can.

They pulled all four companies out because the union leadership knows right now just how little the workers think of them. If we stay out a long time and get everything in the master contract, it will please some workers, especially skilled trades and workers near retirement.

But the workers on piece work don't separate the master contract from the whole issue of production standards, the so-called incentives system. For the young workers in production it's one whole package.

We only hope they will want to fight when it comes to the supplemental contract when production standards are set. If we don't get a standard we can live with, we have no legal way to fight back. If we get cost-of-living and everything else with a bad standard, then we're not getting anything.

Incentive is supposed to be getting rewarded for more effort and skill. But the way it is, everytime you do more, they demand more. The level of production



—News & Letters photo

Detroit Uniroyal workers hit the picket line.

they are demanding, you can't work beyond if you wanted to.

You come in thinking you're on an incentive plan. But it is so tight, they end up demanding every last bit of effort just to make base pay. "Incentives" end up meaning that if you do more it eventually is used against you and everybody else.

On any other job if you start out making \$5 an hour, ten years later you'd be making \$3 or \$4 an hour more. Not at Uniroyal. We're still back at \$5. The only thing that has changed is that there is more work. All Uniroyal has to do is say the "machine can do more so we'll pay you less." What kind of reasoning is that?

—Tire Builder, Days

I don't think any of the members know what's going on. All we know is that we're out and that we want a

cost-of-living package, dental, and a better pension.

I haven't heard anything about the negotiations. I asked my chairman yesterday. He said he didn't know. I haven't even seen what they were asking for before the strike. I only know what I read in the paper and what I saw on the news.

The way we get paid on what they call wage and bonus, the company would give us what we're asking for and they could take it right back. I wish they would hold a meeting and tell everyone what they're asking for so that we're not all left in the dark.

—Millroom Worker, Midnights

This is the first time that they pulled all four companies out and it looks like there is a chance we might get something out of it. The last time they struck in '67 just two companies went out. We were out 97 days and we still didn't get a thing.

The workers have been saying for years that the only way to strike is to strike all the companies. What it means to us when they pick one or two companies to strike is that they're going to sell us out. Striking all of them is the only way to put pressure on the auto industry.

One of the things we're concerned about is the health benefits. Workers in the millroom get skin rashes from the rubber and all the chemicals. Right now you have to go and pay the dermatologist out of your own pocket. The insurance should be made to pay that.

Another thing the union doesn't say anything about, and that I've been saying for years, is that they ought to set the production standards at a certain level. And that's it. There should be no way the company can change it.

—Millroom Worker, Midnights