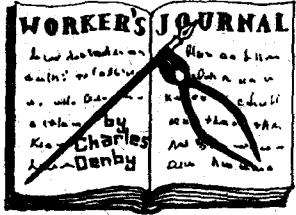


On The Inside

Women as thinkers and revolutionaries p. 5
by Raya Dunayevskaya
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Kissinger-Ford and Mao in Africa p. 8



Most workers distrust all candidates

by Charles Denby, Editor

Nixon was elected on the question of racism. And every day since, this country has been going farther to the right, until today people just rally around the one that seems to be less far to the right than the rest. Nixon said he would pull the country together, but nobody divided it more.

Many Blacks, along with many whites, were almost shouting in the streets when Nixon was driven from office. They knew after the murder of white students at Kent State that it was not only Blacks, but whites as well, that Nixon was attacking. Wallace then was saying "Send them a message." He said his main program was against busing, and since that meant opposition to integration, the racist elements in this country went wild over him. Now you have a whole field of racists running for the highest office of the land.

I was talking to a white worker who said, "It is a damn shame what the people have to vote for in this election. We know what Ford and Reagan are. Ford is there just to veto every measure that will help the poor and working people. Reagan wants to get there to blow up the Panama Canal, and what can we look for from the Democrats?"

"What is needed is something you have been saying all along, that we need to change this system from top to bottom. How can I go and vote for any of those that are running? There was a report that only 45 percent of the people voted in the last election, and this may repeat itself."

SEE-THROUGH CANDIDATES

A Black worker called and was talking about the leading candidate on the Democratic ticket, Jimmy Carter. He said, "Did you know Carter is against unions? How in hell can Woodcock and Mayor Coleman Young endorse him? What would working people do without a union? Carter only pays his workers \$2.50 an hour, the federal minimum wage."

Some of the apologists for Carter are saying, "How can he be a racist, when the Blacks in Detroit voted for him two to one?" I don't know who those Blacks could be, because I haven't met any of them. Most of the Black workers — and the whites — I've talked to said they weren't going to vote for anyone. I believe that most of the ones who went to the polls and voted for Carter were the ones that Woodcock and our Black mayor, Coleman Young, personally delivered to Carter's machine.

What is going on in the minds of some Black leaders is they have forgotten how they got where they are. These racist whites never helped them; it was the masses of Blacks that put them there, and they have forgotten it. All of the Black political leaders that are jumping on the Carter bandwagon hoping that they will get an appointment or some other favor if he is elected, have certainly forgotten how they got where they are.

Coleman Young ran here in Detroit for mayor against the white liberal, Ravitz—and Woodcock and all the white unionists supported Ravitz. But Coleman won, and now he and Woodcock and many of the white leaders are buddy-buddy.

I have just read an article by Sherwood Ross in the *Atlanta Inquirer* on racist policies in South Africa, (Continued on Page 3)

Portuguese editor: theory critical to revolt

(Editor's Note: The following excerpts on the current situation in Portugal are taken from a talk at the New School in New York on May 6, by Alexandre Oliveira, the editor of the Portuguese newspaper *REPUBLICA*, during its six months under workers' control.)

There are hundreds, maybe thousands of occupied enterprises, and workers have asked the bosses to come back in only two cases, despite what the Western press has been saying. This includes perhaps two-thirds, but at least one-half of the land in the south which is still occupied by peasants. . . .

Since Nov. 25, in terms of class struggle we are in a reflux now, a very clear and definite reflux. Why? Because the power of the state regains, along with the military apparatus, nearly all of its force. When the state power begins to work, information returns to the hands of the bourgeoisie.

THE CHURCH has also recuperated its rights. The *Intersindicale*, a state organization — even if it is ruled to an extent by the CP — also is preventing the popular movement from developing. . . . Thus the solidarity amongst workers began to be cut because there was no

10¢ NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

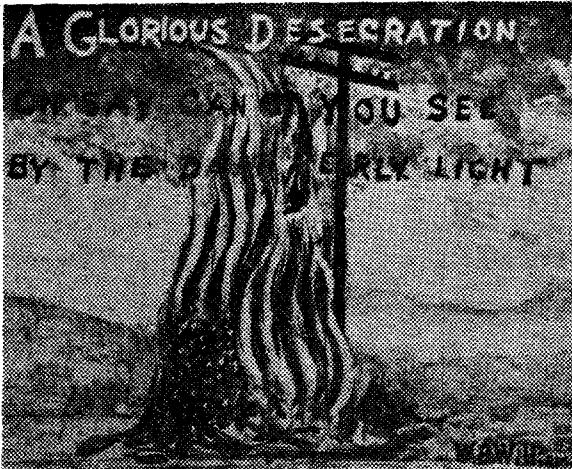
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JUNE, 1976

Candidates, labor bureaucrats and 'ethnic purity'

RACISM DOMINATES ELECTION CAMPAIGNS



Cartoon in the July, 1919 *MESSENGER*, edited by A. Philip Randolph, which depicted Northern white mob violence against Blacks that year, comes chillingly to life again in 1976 Boston.

by Olga Domanski, National Organizer,
News and Letters Committees

So far backward is the counter-revolution determined to push every hard-earned gain the Black masses won through the entire decade of the sixties, that Nixon's hand-picked racist president, Gerald Ford, has now ordered his Attorney General Edward Levi to "find an appropriate case" to convince the Supreme Court to reverse its landmark decision on school busing. At the same time, so far to the right has the so-called "liberal" labor bureaucracy moved, and so convinced are they that it is the masses and not they who are "backward" and cannot be won from Wallaceism, that whereas before, under the pressure of the Black rank and file, they did belatedly attack Wallace's anti-labor record, though never his racism, they are today ready, willing and able to swallow a "right to work" reactionary like Carter—this year's stand-in for Wallace — to have a "winner."

The Michigan and Maryland primaries on May 18

definitely slowed Carter's bandwagon—and the Michigan workers in particular delivered a slap in the faces of both UAW President Leonard Woodcock and Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, whose crass opportunism in trying to peddle Carter was even more disgusting (see *Worker's Journal*, col. 1). The answer of the majority both Black and white, was to vote with their feet. Almost 75 percent just stayed home.

"ETHNIC PURITY" NO MISTAKE

Were it a simple matter of muckraking, there would be more than enough muck to rake on Carter. But his stands on everything from desegregation to defense to labor rights, far from being "fuzzy", all speak for themselves. His own workers get the minimum wage, and two holidays a year. Long a strong supporter of the Taft-Hartley law, he is now trying, not too successfully, to hide his anti-union "right-to-work" stance. A supporter of Nixon's mining of Haiphong harbor, he now supports the Trident submarine, the most destructive nuclear weapon in the world.

The real truth of Carterism was made clear by his alleged "slip of the tongue", defending "ethnic purity" in neighborhoods. The point is not whether it was a slip or a well-planned and practiced strategy. The point is that not only did the remark not lose him votes; it was only after that remark removed any lingering doubts about where he stood, that his bandwagon began to roll full steam ahead.

His apology fooled no one, least of all the Black masses. They were not fooled, either, by the instant indignation of the other candidates who rushed to denounce the phrase, but whose positions on integrated housing and busing are basically no different—whether that be the so-called civil-rights-defender, Senator Jackson, who made sure that busing would be an issue in his campaign, or President Ford who offered to add, instead, "ethnic heritage" and "ethnic treasures" to the new list of racial code words.

BICENTENNIAL BOSTON—RACIST CITADEL

There is no more disgusting proof of what "treasures" our "ethnic purity" yields than the spectacle of Boston, where white mobs have been attacking Blacks with increasing frenzy, ever since the attempt to integrate Boston's schools, two years ago—and 20 years after the Supreme Court desegregation order.

The climax to this barbarism came on April 5 when newswires carried, throughout the world, the picture of Black lawyer, Theodore Landsmark, being speared by an American flag in the hands of a hate-twisted white mob in the city hall courtyard of Bicentennial Boston.

(Continued on Page 8)

(Continued on Page 7)

Big Brother has 'sisters' spying on WL Movement

by Molly Jackson

The recently published hearings of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence reveal that the FBI, the Army, and other "intelligence" agencies have been spying extensively on the Women's Movement. It seems that Big Brother is smart enough to know Women's Liberation is a vital force for revolution, as opposed to the Senators, who cite the entire effort as an example of triviality.

The record shows the Army maintained a file on the National Organization for Women (NOW), right along with Business Executives to End the War in Vietnam and the NAACP. In the late 1960s, the FBI sensed there was more to it than NOW, and went looking for "The Women's Liberation Movement." The Senate report contains FBI memoranda based on informers in Baltimore, New York and several cities in Kansas and Missouri.

CAN'T FIND WL 'HEADQUARTERS'

In memo after memo, the agent reports not finding The Women's Liberation Movement's central headquarters or its officers. They discovered, instead, groups with "no structure or parent organization." Financing was also curious: not only was there no evidence of Moscow gold, but the groups often didn't even have dues.

A New York informer finally reports that the movement "is not an organization as such, but rather a cause and philosophy." Of course, she is wrong too. Our decentralized, multi-organizational form is organizational; it is just so different from their top-down model of organization that the Feds can't even see it.

Not knowing what they are looking for, the FBI reports (one with copies to four military bases) summarize every meeting an informer attends. Here is part of a report on a New York City meeting in 1969:

"... those women are mostly concerned with liberating women from this 'oppressive society'. They are mostly against marriage, children, and other states of oppression caused by men. . . . Each woman at this meeting stated why she had come to the meeting and how she felt oppressed, sexually or otherwise."

WITCHES, BRIDES AND FBI

The FBI has also provided us with records of some wonderful bits of history. Here is part of their report of a 1969 demonstration at a bridal show at Madison Square Garden in N.Y., complete with comments on the extent of incitement to riot:

"Here come the slaves, off to their graves," the WITCHES sang, to the tune of the traditional wedding march. Then the picketers—both men and women—stood in a circle and pledged themselves to each other, but without the traditional promise to obey.

Audience keeps calm

A few minutes later, several WITCHES who managed to sneak past the guards let loose 100 white mice in the Felt Forum before the bridal show began. But the girls in the audience, instead of screaming and panicking, seemed sorry for the mice and tried to gather them up so they wouldn't be stepped on.

All this would be ludicrous were it not for the deadly reality of the counter-revolution it represents. We cannot ignore the sickening specter of that lowest of all creatures—the informer—among our "sisters," or the massive (millions of files were kept) violations of

Self-consciousness, NBFO and the Black Women's Movement

I was reading John Alan's column about Fanon (*News & Letters*, April, 1976), and what struck my mind was the question of Black women and what is happening in our movement today. I thought about the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO), because when I went to NBFO last year and was interested in joining their organization, they told me a person has to trace their ancestry back to Africa and go through three levels of consciousness-raising before they would be accepted as a member.

It did not seem at all the same as what Fanon was saying about how your consciousness is raised. After you go through these three levels of consciousness-raising, I feel that you will still need philosophy to help you find any direction. If you only talk to each other and not act out any "living activity," you won't get a philosophy of your own or change this society.

It is a good example of what John Alan said in the column: "As long as Black self-consciousness is not recognized by the other, 'the other will remain the theme of his actions.' If there is no reciprocity between the real self-consciousness of Blacks and the other, the circuit is closed and ultimately Blacks are deprived of Being for themselves."

As long as the women in NBFO are just talking in this little circuit, they hold up a barrier between themselves and the outside world—the rest of Black women and the other, the whites. It isn't just white people that are depriving Blacks of their self-consciousness. The women in NBFO are depriving themselves of the self-consciousness of other Black women who want their

our legal rights to privacy and assembly.

Moreover, the FBI's Cointelpro (counter-intelligence program) actively disrupted organizations and defamed individuals. It caused chaos and murders within such groups as the Black Panthers, and burglarized the Socialist Workers Party offices on the average of every three weeks!

FBI CAN'T STOP A MOVEMENT

The women's movement says there is no division between the personal and the political. Cointelpro proved it by such acts as sending anonymous letters which destroyed marriages and caused people to lose jobs.

Among its most disgusting campaigns was the one against Martin Luther King, Jr., which included sending tapes of his alleged bedroom activities to newspapers and to Coretta King; this continued even after his murder in an attempt to discredit his ideas.

These revelations may have a chilling effect on some would-be women's liberation activists, but what the FBI least understands is the power of ideas. The government may investigate—or jail—every woman it can find attending a meeting, but it will not stop the development of a movement, in thought and in activity.

WL NOTES

Ten Black South African women have been jailed for returning to their homes. They had been forced to move from their land when it was declared a white area. The land they were moved to was so poor that their livestock died, and the infant mortality rate went up. They were sentenced to 60 days.

In Italy, while only 500,000 signatures were needed, over 800,000 Italians have signed petitions calling for a popular referendum to repeal the fascist law which makes abortion a crime. The Italian Communist Party and the ruling Christian Democratic Party were unable to pass a new restrictive abortion law, so June 13 has been set as the date for the nationwide referendum.

Indian and British women workers have been on strike for over a month against the Wembley office of the Life Insurance Company of India, the second biggest insurance company in the world. They have been asking for \$11 more a week since July. They now make only about \$53 a week.

In Thailand, 70 young women workers in the Hara garment factory have locked their bosses out for five months now. The protest was sparked by low wages and poor working conditions, including no ventilation, no drinking water, filthy dormitories, and only one toilet for 200 workers. Students have been aiding the women by supplying material so they can continue sewing. The women are now earning almost twice as much, and the clothing itself is being sold for less than before.

Detroit readers—join our discussion on
Working Women for Freedom

Presented by co-authors,
Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes
Sunday, June 27 at 7 p.m. Admission free
Highland Park YWCA 13130 Woodward

freedom all over the world.

When I read the column I also thought about when I recently attended a conference called Third Annual Tribute to Black Women here in Detroit. In one workshop, Mary Helen Washington, the author of *Black-Eyed Susans*, was discussing who your models were, and what did you do with your extra money. This is not what is happening in the real world. Who has "extra money"? She said her model of what she would be was Gloria Steinem, because she was glamorous and successful. She said that men didn't go to hear what she had to say; it was because of her beauty. They were seeing her as an object. This is what Mary Helen Washington wanted to be like—glamorous and successful.

This attitude is not only a backward way of looking at things, but a complete loss of self-consciousness. She doesn't want to be herself, but instead wants to be what men want her to be. In other words, instead of a total image of herself, she becomes an image of the "other."

If you are Black and accept the white people's image of you, you become what they think of you. And if you are a woman, and accept the man's image of you, you lose your own being. That is why I think the *Working Women For Freedom** pamphlet that Women's Liberation, News and Letters Committees, is publishing, is so important. It focuses on women's true image as thinkers and as revolutionaries—not as "glamour girls."

—Tommie Hope

(*See "Two Worlds" by Raya Dunayevskaya, on page 5, for excerpts from the appendix to *Working Women For Freedom*.)

Latina fired for UFW button

Los Angeles, Cal.—I was recently fired from my job—in a store where about 95 percent of the customers are Latinos—for wearing a United Farm Workers button and several others.

The trouble began about a week after I started working. The manager, who had made many remarks against the boycott of grapes, lettuce and Gallo wines, ordered me to take off my Farm Workers buttons. I took one off and left the other one on.

A woman in charge of the personnel office told me later that she had religious and political beliefs but didn't bring them to work. I told her that my beliefs are a way of life to me. When she ordered me to take my buttons off, I told her no. The same day, a security guard who is known to be a racist told me I had better take my buttons off. I ignored him.

I was then called into the office where the owner's son-in-law told me that the company doesn't want to take sides with anyone, that they sell union and non-union items. I told him I'd been working there almost two months and he had seen my buttons long before that day. He said that my work was satisfactory—but he, too, told me to take my buttons off.

Several other comments and minor incidents followed. Finally, the owner of the store came up to me and asked why I wore the buttons; he said there were company rules against what I was doing. When I came back from lunch later that same day, personnel presented me with a paper and asked me to read it. It said I was fired.

One charge was that I had taken a 20-minute break without telling anybody, and that I had been called on the microphone three times. The other charge was made by the security guard. He said a customer had told him that I seemed drunk, so he took it upon himself to watch me for 20 minutes and concluded that I was intoxicated. I refused to sign these false charges.

I have worn buttons wherever I've been. Since I started helping the Farm Workers' movement over a year ago, I have been wearing UFW buttons—as well as Women's Liberation and "No Deportation" buttons.

I have not let my individual rights and philosophy be usurped by those who do not care about workers' solidarity. To have to work for yourself or your family doesn't mean you, as a worker, should be robbed of basic human rights.

—Latina worker

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URW like UAW: wants muscle, not ideas

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

I have been spending quite a bit of time on the United Rubber Workers (URW) picket lines at several Los Angeles plants. I have found that the biggest thing going on at the picket line has been what is not occurring—no information has gotten down to the workers on

Is docker union worth saving?

San Francisco, Cal.—When longshoremen and seamen on the Pacific Coast refuse to work on July 5 to commemorate the memory of those who were murdered by the shipowners' police departments in the struggle to build the union, it will mark the 42nd anniversary of that event. This year it's clear to all that the union is no longer what it started out to be and discussions go on as to whether it can be restored.

Prior to 1934, in the course of advocating organization of a "powerful union on the waterfront," the *Waterfront Worker*, a mimeographed paper of the Bridges' group, advocated the need to fight "against the slave-driving and abuse of certain bosses." Exactly the same thing can be said today.

Not only has this type re-appeared, but the officialdom guaranteed them immunity from control by the union through allowing the setting up of separate locals for walkers (waterfront foremen) and then knuckling under to the employer demand for scab superintendents who are now in charge of the piers.

This latter group includes dehumanized types who openly display maniacal rage when production isn't to their satisfaction (a contrast to their cowed docility toward those above them in the chain of command).

Can the union be revived or is it irrevocably changed into the opposite of what it was in 1934 and for a few years afterwards? One longshoreman has stated that the union is now "just another department of the PMA" (Pacific Maritime Association, the employer organization) and some think that this is permanent. Others believe that rank-and-file control can be re-established. Among these there are those who point to the wildcat miners' strike of last year that appeared to be directed as much against the national officials as against the mine owners.

The main carriers of the germs of degeneration have been the privileged officialdom that regards progress as its own limited goals and its own success. Even the better ones have nothing to offer on a job grievance but arbitration—the calling in of an outside "expert" to act like King Solomon on job conditions that we know more about than anyone else.

No one denies that we have been set back up to now by the containerization "progress" of the International and the PMA but this has had the effect of developing an opposite—the thinking out of what to do by the working longshoremen and ship clerks. Thus far, out of these discussions has come a thought that crops up again and again, "We've got to find another way, something else."

—SF docker

the negotiations. In that sense it is just like the picket lines I have been on in auto.

When you talk to the workers on the line they have their own ideas about what they want in the contract. One of the main things in rubber is that they have dropped way behind auto workers in wages and cost of living in the last few years. They want to be able to catch up, and want a 100 percent cost of living at the time cost of living goes up.

Another area which they are speaking about is one that has concerned us a lot in auto—automation. We are ending up with fewer and fewer workers putting out more and more work. But meanwhile, the machines don't pay any taxes, social security or retirement. The workers are wondering who is going to be paying for all this.

At my auto plant the work force has dropped about one third, but production has only dropped 25 percent. The difference has been made up by new machinery and speed-up. Some workers are saying that either they should reduce the work week and employ all the unemployed, or the companies should have to pay taxes on the machinery to make up for the taxes workers would have paid if they were working.

The rubber workers have faced some strike-breaking attempts and repelled them. At Uniroyal I was just pulling my car over to talk to some of the workers on the picket line when a number of police confronted the pickets. The workers had turned away a truck trying to get into the plant and the cops had been called.

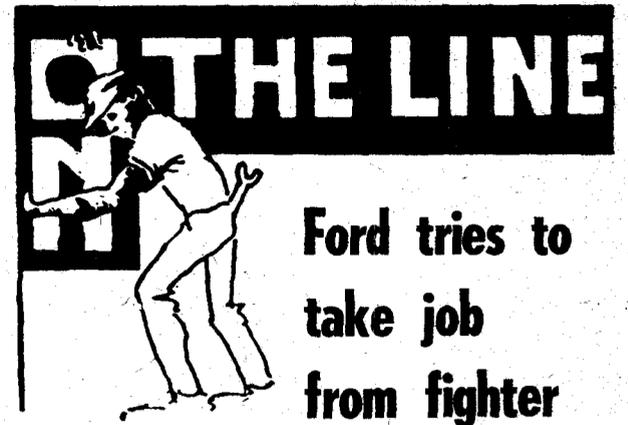
One cop bellowed to a big guy on the line to move out. The worker replied "Move me out." A retired Chicano worker on the picket line told the cop, also a Chicano, that the one thing he couldn't stand was a Chicano in a "pig" uniform. After this the cops backed down. At another incident at Firestone the police tried to run some scabs in, but backed down when the workers stood firm.

There is no doubt that the workers mean to hold their ground, and are willing to fight for a decent contract. But there is a question as to why the union only asks for their muscle on the picket line, and not their active participating in working out the contract—not finding out their ideas as the strike goes on and not keeping them informed.

Here again it is like auto, where we would be on strike for weeks with no information given out. The only time we got information was when we put out our own leaflets.

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by John Allison

In the April issue, this column exposed the shameful way that Ford Motor Co., with the help of the UAW bureaucrats, took SUB pay away from workers in the Ford Rouge frame plant.

The rank-and-file worker who signed the first protest and made public the information about the company and union sticking together against the workers, has come under company fire.

Management tried to punish him by removing him from the inspection job he'd been on for over 10 years. And to top it all off, this worker has 30 years seniority at Ford.

The way the company tried to move him off his job really added insult to injury.

There was a young woman, with three years seniority, who had injured her back. For every day she was off work, the company was charged with a lost-time accident, and Ford, like Chrysler and GM, always tries to get injured workers back on a job as quickly as possible.

So they gave this woman a PQX (Physically Qualified, Except) rating, a rating that limits how much work can be expected of you, and asked the older seniority worker to break her in on the inspection job. The union appealed to the worker, saying that she was a sister, after all, and needed to have a job that she could do.

The older worker said he'd be happy to help out. Except that after three weeks, the company threw him off of his inspection job, saying it only needed one person, and that the woman would be taking the job over. And to put the screws on the worker even more, the company put him on a job that they knew would be harmful to him because he has an asthma condition.

Every worker in the frame shop blew up at this open case of unjust discrimination, harassment and total violation of job seniority. They all knew that if the company could get away with this, they could get away with anything. They were doubly angry because the older worker was actually doing the company a favor by agreeing to let the woman work with him.

The worker filed a grievance, and finally got another inspection job back. But he says nothing is ever sure in the shop, and he's keeping his eye peeled for any other funny business the company might try to pull on him in the future.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

where they have slave labor camps disguised as mental hospitals in which Black workers have to work until they drop dead. Ross said that at least 8,000 Blacks by official count, and probably thousands more, are incarcerated in one camp alone, the infamous Rand West Sanatorium. At least one inmate is murdered there every day, and others die by being forced to take shock treatments without anesthetics.

The company that set up the camp clears a profit of \$13.7 million a year for carrying out extermination policies for the South African government. Many of the men in Rand West have committed no crime, but have disagreed with some white person, and the police were called. Then they were sent to a white doctor, and he in turn said they were crazy.

I wondered if Kissinger knew all this when he was there talking about Black majority rule in two to five years. Every Black knows that it was just a trick for Kissinger to go and support Africa after all these years of being deaf to its cries for help. Since Russia and Cuba sent troops to Africa, now was the time for the U.S. to try to put a stop to that.

RACISM CONTINUES AT HOME

Back here at home, it is the same. Three white KKK members admitted they killed a Black man in Montgomery, Ala., by making him jump into the Alabama River, but said they killed the wrong man. A few weeks ago, the judge dismissed the case.

It is not, as Carter says, that the "good people" of America did not make Watergate. That is like saying the "good people" of Germany were in no way responsible for Hitler. The real question is who is going to stand up now, and fight all the racism and the hate.

None of the candidates can take a position on anything, and above all not on the Black question for fear the "good people" will turn against them. How can anyone believe it was a slip of the tongue when Carter made his ethnic purity remarks? It was not a slip or a mistake. It was what he is — just another racist.



Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—After the News & Letters leaflet about racism in Dept. 21 was handed out last month, there was a lot of discussion about the Black hi-lo drivers. It looked like one Black hi-lo driver in the warehouse was going to be sent back to production, he was being harassed so bad. But after the leaflet, they stopped bothering him and he got his 30 days in the department. Are his troubles just beginning in this plantation scene?

Another Black hi-lo driver had been in Dept. 21 for two years or more. He was the only brother driving a hi-lo on the end of the box-car unloading operation, which is away from the body shop. Last month, he was moving some stock and he didn't see that it was piled up crooked. The foreman and the general foreman knew it, but they didn't tell him. They just waited for it to fall.

When it did, they took him down to the blue room, and told him he was no longer a hi-lo driver. They gave him two choices: tow-trucking or hand-trucking in Dept. 21, or going back to production in the body shop.

This brother chose to go back to the line in the body shop; so you know how bad the harassment against him was in Dept. 21. They are all lined up against you; and it is worse because the union, especially Wayne Powell, is closer to the supervision than to you.

Maybe what we need is for the Black employees in 21 to get together and figure out ways to back each other up so we can end this harassment.

—Dept. 21 worker

Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich.—We are back on eight-hour shifts here in the Dearborn Assembly Plant, and we are glad. The scheduling of overtime was due to the two-day shortage of axles caused by the strike at the Sterling Gear and Axle Plant. We have been told by the union to file for short work week benefits. But those of us who have filed were taken into an office at Gate 2, and told "The company's position is that you are not entitled to back pay because of the strike. You may appeal this decision."

The strike at Sterling Gear and Axle was due to the company disregarding health and safety grievances. It was the company's fault, not the fault of the workers at Sterling, or the fault of us in the Assembly Plant. Yet they blatantly state that we are not entitled to benefits due to the strike.

Though we are back on eight hours, we must be prepared to refuse all overtime if management decides to decree it, in light of the still laid-off workers and the possibility of a strike this fall. Overtime in the year of a contract expiration can only be viewed as management's attempt to break the strike quicker.

We go through hell everyday for a paycheck. The injustices we encounter in the plants can only be solved by those of us who labor in the plants—not those who say they own the plants or those who claim to represent us.

—Assembly Plant worker

EDITORIAL**Kissinger plays dominos with Italian election**

Secretary of State Kissinger's threat to the Italian people that the U.S. considers Communists in Italy's government as "unacceptable," was coupled with a new "domino" theory, but this one focusing on Europe: If one "Western" nation permits Communists in government, others might do the same.

To be sure, Kissinger was hardly talking to the Italian government alone. He was also warning Russia as well as all of Western Europe that the U.S. has no intention of permitting Communists a role in any European government.

Resurrecting the imperialist diplomacy of John Foster Dulles who, in the 1950s, developed the "domino" theory for Asia, Kissinger's intervention in Italian politics comes at a different time, in different circumstances, and will certainly backfire insofar as the Italian people are concerned.

The period from cold war to "detente" has been marked by a worldwide, and especially European, loss of confidence in U.S. policies which have resulted in such military barbarism as the Vietnam War and Angolan intervention, and international economic policies which have produced a worldwide depression.

Far from exercising effective leadership of the Western capitalist world, which it did following World War II, the U.S. today cannot cope with its own growing economic and social problems of unemployment, racism, corruption and political decay (see lead article, p. 1).

ITALY MIRRORS CAPITALIST CRISIS

It is precisely because the crisis of Western capitalism is insoluble that Italy's economy and government have collapsed, and this collapse is a mirror of the future of all European nations. How real this fear is can be seen from the refusal of other European governments to join the U.S. in denouncing the prospect of Communist participation in the Italian government.

What is inescapable is that the U.S. and Vatican-backed Christian Democrats, who have controlled political power since 1948, are not able to govern the nation. Its policies have been economically catastrophic: the lira,

compared with the U.S. dollar, has fallen 30 percent in the past three months; unemployment is skyrocketing and workers' strikes daily paralyze the country; inflation eats away at the declining standard of living at a horrendous rate; and waste and corruption are exposed daily — not the least of which is the disclosure of U.S. Lockheed bribes of millions of dollars paid top government leaders.

While effectively blocked from national government participation, the Communist Party did run for, and win, local and district elections. They governed more effectively than the Christian Democrats — but almost any change would have been an improvement. As a result, while the Christian Democrats kept government control in last year's elections with a 35 percent vote, the CP won 33 percent of the vote—and politically controls half of Italy today.

Unable to win a majority vote, the Christian Democrats for decades governed in a coalition with the Socialist Party. The last one, formed under Prime Minister Aldo Moro in January, was the 38th government in Italy since the end of World War II, 31 years ago.

It lasted 78 days, and was brought down on May 1 by the Italian women who demonstrated by the hundreds of thousands across Italy for the right to abortion. The Socialist Party supported the women; the Christian Democrats opposed, and the coalition ended, setting the stage for next month's election which the Communist Party is expected to win and thereby demand participation in government.

WOMEN ATTACK COMMUNIST PARTY

The CP, which had opposed abortion reform until very recently and has been consistently attacked by the women for its position, had actually tried everything in its power to keep the Moro administration in office until regular elections scheduled for next year, fearing that a political confrontation with the Christian Democrats at this time would become a political issue in the U.S. presidential campaign.

This opportunism on the part of the CP all has to do with what they call "historical compromise" but

amounts to historic betrayal of the working class.

Although the Italian Communist Party long ago gave up the revolutionary principle of the working class, the women, the youth and oppressed minorities as the basis for the reconstruction of Italian society, and has substituted the Communist Party in its stead, the truth was never more dramatically reaffirmed than by the Italian events themselves: it was the mass actions of the workers, women, youth and other revolutionary elements which brought down the oppressive rule of the Christian Democrats, not the Communist Party.

That is why the other European governments are reluctant to attack the Italian Communist Party. They know that this stripe of Communist Party does not mean a fundamental change in society, and that the essential capitalist economic relations will continue, along with their own influence, if their own Communist Parties follow the example of the Italian CP. They will do anything, even accept the Communist Party as part of the government, so long as it does not mean a revolution of the masses.

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman
National Editorial Board

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

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MOVING THE CLOCK BACK

Two years ago, one of the very first acts of Gerald Ford was to deliberately encourage the Boston anti-busing mobs by openly denouncing the federal court-order at a press conference, where he had not even been asked to comment on it. Now he is trying to have the Supreme Court reverse its decision on busing entirely. It is sure to spur more violence in Boston. And it surely exposes the true sentiments of politicians like Mayor Kevin White, who called it "welcome news" — only a few weeks after he led that 50,000 strong "march against violence." No wonder that march came two years too late, and only after whites were also being stoned and beaten.

Disgusted
Michigan

TALES OF TWO CITIES

The destruction of this city by the local, state and federal governments continues at a fast pace. They are dismantling our university system; they are throwing children out of child care centers and others off welfare. For the past week the community has occupied Gouverneur Hospital on the Lower East Side, in an attempt to save it. The same thing happened in the Bronx, also in a poor neighborhood, of course. If the year-old rent strike at Co-Op City is not settled the state foreclosures, as the courts have just given it permission to do, it will mark the end of middle-income housing in the city. Businesses are leaving the city like rats leaving a sinking ship. Only a few one-industry cities have higher unemployment rates than New York.

The most visible signs of the depression are on the street. Lately you see adult men begging and shining shoes in every part of town. You also see more and more prostitutes in "nice" areas, many very young. When school gets out, with the summer job program cut, it can only get worse.

The response of city employees' unions to the massive firings and the wage freeze is ridiculous. The newspapers found out that Mayor Beame gave large raises to his budget managers while everyone else's pay is frozen. When asked

to comment, an official of District 37 of AFSCME said he thought it was necessary to keep management happy!

Heartbroken
New York

There has been a general strike in Quebec of public employees — teachers, hospital workers, civil servants etc. — for over three months now. One of the main demands is for a minimum wage of \$165/wk., "the decent minimum" as the strikers are saying, which shows both how bad inflation has gotten here and how angry people are about it. Four years ago the demand was \$100. Schools are closed, public services are down, and hospitals are closed except for emergency services. On April 22, several schools were occupied by students, notably Lionel-Groulx, a CEGEP junior college in Ste-Therese, a GM company town.

But out on the street it hardly seems noticeable, and except for the salary demands, it seems like a replay of the defeated 1972 General Strike, top-heavy with union leaders and official pronouncements. The fact is that the situation in Quebec right now and especially Montreal, is so horrible that it's almost beyond description. The strike doesn't even begin to meet up with it; it is really like the tip of an iceberg. And it's a huge iceberg, as is clear from the student support of the teachers and the militancy of the rank-and-file.

Paul-Emile Jones
Montreal

VIETNAM—ONE YEAR AFTER

On this first anniversary of the victory of the Vietnamese people, I attended a celebration here where the featured speaker told of the hundreds of years of struggle his country endured, and the importance of the elections of the 500 member National Assembly, half from the North, half from the South, as the formal beginning of the re-unification.

The perspective for Socialism, he said, would take a long time. Urban congestion still exists, although in Saigon about one million people have already left for the "new economic zones", where villages and farmlands, for the first time since 1965, are able to grow

enough rice to feed the people. Despite the extensive new building and repairing, there are still about three million unemployed in the cities.

The government of Viet Nam seems to be taking a cautious approach to the social problems before it, and U.S. oil corporations and Coca-Cola already have their feet in the Mekong River Delta.

Reader
San Francisco

PRISONERS' DEMANDS

I'm a Navajo Indian in prison in Indiana, and I would like to say that here the Indian is not treated equal with whites or Blacks. Here they have a white studies class and a Black studies class about white and black history. But when my people asked for a Red studies class to study our culture we were told "No." Is this fair? We need people out there to help in some way in this matter.

Native American
Michigan City, Indiana

In April most of the prisoners at Lucasville engaged in a sit-down strike, refusing to take meals from the dining room until our demands were met. We want more vocational programs, no more five year flops from the parole board (that is, if a prisoner is denied a parole he will not have to do more than 18 months before he is reconsidered again). We also need jobs for the many men who are idle and thus cannot receive any state pay, better hospital treatment and more social workers.

At the beginning of May the guards went on strike also. They were demanding better security, more money and less freedom for the prisoners.

Finally the District Judge ordered a Grand Jury task force investigation into the conditions at the prison, to check out the prisoners' grievances and the guards' demands and make recommendations to the judge. While the task force was touring the prison, the administration locked everyone in his cell, and cancelled all morning classes and activ-

Reader

ities. They said it was because they did not want the task force to become hostages in case of an unexpected outbreak. It was just a ploy to make the prisoners seem like dangerous animals in the public eye. But the prisoners are very optimistic the recommendations will be in their favor.

Imprisoned Citizen
Ohio

GUYANESE DAWN

I was interested in an item in your March issue headlined "Forced Labor in Guyana" and excerpted from "Dayclean". That word, in Guyanese usage, means "dawn" or "daybreak". Can you tell me where I can write for copies?

Interested
Canada

Editor's Note: "Dayclean" is the publication of the Working People's Alliance, 186 King and Charlotte Sts., Georgetown, Guyana. Moses Bhagwan was recently sentenced to three years and four months in prison for publishing this anti-government paper. Strict censorship laws require that anyone who wants to publish any form of newspaper must give a bond of \$5,000 to the authorities, as well as full details about the people involved with the publication. Despite this, the paper has continued to appear.

REALITY VS. TV

The article by the high school student on the TV show that so misrepresented youth hit home. I watched TV one morning just to see how reality was pictured. The three shows I saw were the epitome of the TV game show — fast and frenzied, relying on people's "greed" as the motive for the game, and showing women as the greediest and most frenzied of all. The first emcee started off with a sexist monologue about his wife, and throughout, even to the commercials, the shows were totally degrading to women, workers and minorities.

Non-TV fan
Bay Area

TWO WORLDS

'Women as thinkers and as revolutionaries'

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

(Editor's Note: We print below brief excerpts from Raya Dunayevskaya's lectures on "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries", which appear as a special appendix in our newest pamphlet, **WORKING WOMEN FOR FREEDOM**. See ad, p. 6.)

I. MASS CREATIVITY AND THE BLACK DIMENSION

What today we call Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come, are movements from practice, from below, that have been accumulating through the ages.

Take the so-called Aba "riots" in Eastern Nigeria in 1929, some 30 years before anyone thought seriously of Africa, much less African women, as a new development of world freedom. It was in that inauspicious year that the market women in Eastern Nigeria were suddenly taxed by the occupying British Empire . . . The self-organization of the women established a totally new form of struggle which transcended all tribal divisions—Ibo, Yoruba, Hausa, as well as the smaller tribes. So united, powerful, and violent was the opposition of the women to the edicts, to their own chiefs, as well as to the British imperial rule, that it became impossible to contain the revolt . . .

Has any historian, or even revolutionary, seen that historic act as ground from which a great leap into freedom as well as leadership was achieved in the 1960s? Nor can the neglect be explained only by the fact that the event occurred in far-off Africa, back at the outbreak of the Great Depression.

Take the Women's Rights Convention in this country in 1848, at Seneca Falls, N. Y., a fact often enough recorded by women historians today. All underestimate the Black dimension which inspired the white, middle-class, educated women to strike out on their own . . . Have we asked ourselves, as we proudly repeat Women's

Liberation is an Idea whose time has come, such simple questions, as: (1) How does it happen that our very names, "freed from patriarchy," do not measure up to Sojourner Truth's, whose whole philosophy of liberation is included in her name? (2) Have we even today, as we inveigh against "male domination," compared it to Sojourner Truth's separation from Frederick Douglass after the Civil War for being "short-minded" because he did not wish to burden the struggle for passage of the 14th Amendment by demanding also the right of women to the vote? And (3) have today's women theorists built on that movement from below, not only as force, but as Reason? Nor have any analyzed it within the context of that year of revolutions, 1848 . . .

Other than Marx's genius, what was in the air that led to Marx's discovery of a whole new continent of thought? Can we today afford to let the ruling ideology keep us hemmed into American pragmatism? Shouldn't we, as women, at least be aware of the fact that the year Marx first broke with bourgeois society and worked out a philosophy of liberation which he called "a new Humanism" — 1843 — was also the year when a woman, Flora Tristan, proclaimed the need for an international of men and women that would put an end to the division of mental and manual labor? . . .

II. RUSSIA, FEBRUARY 1917; GERMANY, JANUARY 1919; AND ROSA LUXEMBURG

Now let's turn to the 20th century and see, firstly, what we can learn from women as masses in motion, initiating nothing short of the overthrow of that reactionary Russian Tsarism — the dramatic, creative, empire-shaking five-days in February, 1917; and, secondly, let's turn to the 1919 German Revolution, and its greatest theoretician, Rosa Luxemburg . . .

From 1899 when she fought the first appearance of reformism in the Marxist movement; through the 1905 Revolution in which she was both a participant and out of which she drew her famous theory of the Mass Strike; from 1910-13 when she broke with Karl Kautsky — four years in advance of Lenin's designation of Kautsky as

not only opportunist but betrayer of the proletariat — and when she first developed her anti-imperialist struggles and her writings, not only as political militant but carving out her greatest and most original theoretical work, **Accumulation of Capital**; to the 1919 Revolution, she made no division between her theory and her practice . . .

(Continued on Page 6)

WHO WE ARE

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

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

Views

JOB MARKET AND WORKPLACE

At Pacific Clay, a brick and tile company near Los Angeles, the workers were on strike for about two weeks. Inflation had robbed them of their wages as they don't have a cost of living in their contract. And working conditions were horrible. But after two weeks they went back to work. One of the workers said that they weren't satisfied with what they got, but they were forced back to work as they were getting behind on their bills and they had to feed their families. This shows the real crisis in the job market today.

Worker
Los Angeles

Some workers at the UC Medical Center are receiving wages more than a dollar less an hour than workers in the exact same job categories. How is this done? Here is one example. One worker was hired as a public service employee. He is paid by the state rather than through the hospital. For four hours a day he works as a custodian getting \$3.09 an hour while workers doing the exact same work are getting over \$4 an hour. He works part of the day in escort service and gets over a dollar less than other escort workers. He works a third part of the day as an elevator operator and again makes less than other elevator operators.

If a worker is performing the same job as other workers, his or her pay should be the same as other workers, no matter who pays — the hospital, the state government, or the federal government.

Med Center Worker
San Francisco

I was working in a small restaurant. The other night my roommate was riding a bicycle and got hit by a car. I took him to the hospital since I was the only one around with a car, and the buses weren't running because of the strike. I called into work and told them what I was doing.

The next day my boss was mad at me for taking time off. He told me it wasn't my problem, that I should have put the

guy in a cab and come to work. I told him what he could do with his job and walked out.

Restaurant Worker
San Francisco

UNIROYAL STRIKE

People right now aren't getting too involved in the Uniroyal strike because they can't do much about it. Workers are afraid that by the time they get the national thing settled, no one is going to have any fight left when it comes to the work standards in the plant.

There's a whole group down at the union hall acting like they're running things. Smiling a lot and passing out the checks. Everyone else is feeling really tense. They're going to come back later and talk about how they were active in the strike and how we should vote for them to keep running the union.

Basically what people are trying to do now is to survive through the strike. You can't get any information out of anybody at the union.

Striking Rubber Worker
Detroit

All we do right now on the rubber strike is walk the picket line. It would help if they put out some literature on food stamps and other things.

Striker
Los Angeles

The strike has been on over a month now. One of the office workers ran a light and her car hit one of our pickets. The police didn't do anything about it. But when we decided after that to picket in front of the driveway the police came right way. They had it in for this one guy because he's tall and they picked him out and arrested him.

We know the strike fund is running out, but as far as we're concerned we'll stay out until we get everything we're asking for. There's going to have to be a pretty good contract to get people back to work.

Uniroyal Striker
Detroit

WE STAND CORRECTED

In your story on Czechoslovakia in the May issue, permit me to point out a common error — using "Czech" to mean Czechoslovak. The latter is a term born in this century via the political union of two nations with distinct languages, history etc. You have unintentionally slighted the Slovaks (30 percent of the country) who, you will agree, will also "find their own way," and not necessarily separately. Contrary to your implication, Husak is a Slovak although probably the word "Quisling" sounds the same in both languages.

Supporter
California

I am disturbed by the quotation from **Capital** in the last **Two Worlds** column because, quoted out of context, it leaves the impression that Marx believed that in the Middle Ages, Catholicism, and in Athens and Rome, politics, reigned supreme, rather than "the mode of production determin(ing) the character of the social, political, and intellectual life generally" in the Middle Ages and in Rome and Athens, as well as in our own times.

In fact, Marx was paraphrasing an argument which had been made against him by "a German paper in America", and Marx dismissed the argument in the following way: "In the first place it seems curious for anyone to suppose that these well-worn phrases about the Middle Ages and the ancient world are unknown to anyone else. This much, however, is clear, that the Middle Ages could not live on Catholicism, nor the ancient world on politics. On the contrary, it is the mode in which they gained a livelihood that explains why in one case politics, and in the other Catholicism, played the chief part."

What Dunayevskaya says about the value of art "when it is great" for revealing reality is, of course, true. That Marx recognized this is shown clearly by his great admiration for Balzac, who, politically, was a Royalist.

Steady Reader
New York

Editor's Note: The confusion in the quote was our error in the printshop. In the original lecture, the entire quote was read aloud. In cutting for space, we inadvertently altered the sense of it, as is pointed out. Thanks for catching it.

MYRA WOLFGANG 1914-1976

Myra Wolfgang, one of the country's first women union organizers, and for 40 years a leader of Michigan's restaurant workers, died on April 12 in Detroit. She made headlines from the '50s, when she was a key figure in the "Battle of the Beach" where her international union launched a successful all-out attack on Miami's non-union hotels, through the '70s when she successfully championed the rights of the Playboy Bunnies. She fought against what she called "tying the labor movement to the coat-tails of the Democrats", and against eliminating laws limiting the hours women could work and the weights they could lift, saying, "We don't want equality of mistreatment." She staged the first "sleep-in" ever at the Michigan Legislature to gain passage of a

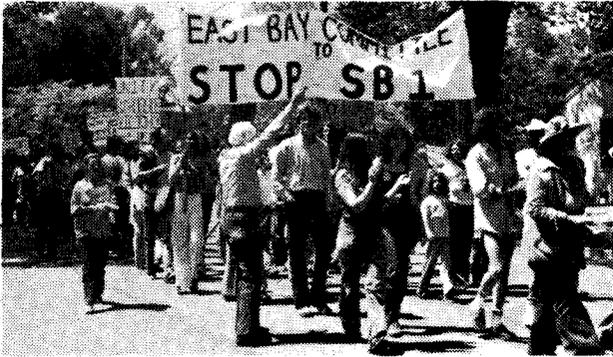
state minimum wage law.

One Black woman restaurant worker who had been with her in many battles over the years wrote to N&L of her:

She was a friend, a loved one, a fighter. Through her great strength I, too, became strong. She was not only Secretary-Treasurer of Local 705. She was dedicated to improving the working conditions of all women and men — especially those who are overworked and under-paid. She fought alongside all the underprivileged, from all walks of life, for civil rights and dignity. It is a privilege to write about Myra. It was an honor to fight alongside her.

—Margaret,
Lifetime Member of
the Hotel and Restaurant
Employees Union

1,000 march in California to demand end of SB-1



—News & Letters photo

Marchers demand defeat of police-state bill

Oakland, Cal.—I went to the May Day march in Sacramento to protest the Senate Bill 1 (SB-1). Over a thousand people were there, and I heard many speakers talk about the bill and how it might get passed.

This law, supposedly a revision of the criminal code, would make real a fascist police state in the U.S. It was authored by Nixon and John Mitchell, to put an end to the kind of protests that developed the Civil Rights Movement and ended the Vietnam War (See News & Letters, Jan.-Feb. 1976).

The bill would make it illegal to picket any draft board, courthouse, or any other government building, or any plant involved in defense production. Also, anyone

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

Luxemburg was not only involved in lecturing and developing an anti-imperialist struggle over the Morocco crisis which would, in turn, lead to her greatest theoretical work, *Accumulation of Capital*, but she also turned to work on the woman question, which heretofore she had left entirely to Clara Zetkin, who was editing the greatest German women's magazine, *Die Gleichheit*, from 1891 to 1917.

The magazine's circulation rose from 9,500 in 1903 to 112,000 in 1913. Indeed, by the outbreak of the war, the female membership in the German Social Democracy was no less than 170,000. It is clear that, as great a theoretician as Rosa Luxemburg was, and as great an organizer as Clara Zetkin was they were not exceptions to the alleged apathy of German women. On the contrary, it would be more correct to say that there wouldn't have been as massive and important a revolution in Germany were there not that many women involved in the revolution.

Has the Women's Liberation Movement nothing to learn from Rosa Luxemburg just because she hasn't written "directly" on the "Woman Question"? Outside the fact that the latter doesn't happen to be true, should not the corpus of her works become the real test of woman as revolutionary and as thinker and as someone who has a great deal to tell us as women's liberationists of today?

III. AN ONGOING REVOLUTION AND TODAY'S WOMEN THEORISTS

We need to examine, if only briefly, today's on-going Portuguese Revolution to see the historic continuity of working class women in motion as shapers of history. As far back as two decades ago, when the totally new movement from below began with the outbreak of the East European revolt against Russian totalitarianism, signaling a new world stage of struggle for freedom from under totalitarianism, and no one was paying attention to the fascist regime in Portugal, there were struggles of workers, of women, of peasants.

Women became especially important in 1973 when a labor shortage sent them into textiles and electronics, and directly into the fight against multinationals. It is in textiles and electronics and shipyards where the grass roots workers' movement first erupted, and where none questioned the militancy of women workers. But they were asking not only for a fundamental change in labor conditions, but for different relations at home, as well as raising totally new questions of revolution and new human relations.

Working class women have a very special reason for their passionate interest in revolutions, not simply because they're exciting events, but because they show working class women in motion as shapers of history. The dialectical relationship of spontaneity to organization is of the essence to all of us as we face today's crises. It is not only Portugal which is under the whip of counter-revolution that began Nov. 25, 1975. The global struggle for power between capitalist imperialism and state-capitalist societies calling themselves Communist, all nuclearly armed, has put a question mark over the very survival of humanity.

Creativity that can really tear things up at their roots and genuinely start something new, humanly new, can only come from mass creativity. It is only then when it is totally revolutionary, is not hemmed in by the concept and practice of the "Party to lead," and it is only then it can once and for all end aborted and unfinished revolutions.

leaking, distributing or printing classified information could be thrown in jail — or even put to death.

Under the bill, strikes would be defined as "extortion" or "blackmail" and worth up to 20 years in prison. Labor unions engaging in militant activity could be outlawed. It would end self-governing rights of Native Americans, and the Smith Act of the 1940s would be redrafted to provide harsh penalties for anyone suspected of advocating a change in the government. The government would be able to imprison anyone in a "mental hospital" without a jury trial if they are suffering from a "mental disease," whatever that may be.

One speaker at the rally reported that "liberal" senators like Kennedy and Mansfield are going to compromise on the bill and take out some of its "controversial" aspects. They then will change its number, since too many people recognize SB-1! They think that if they change the number or hold it for next year people will forget about it.

We must demand that the bill be thrown out entirely — it is unamendable! We must oppose SB-1 no matter what number it appears under!

—Chris Norwell



1,300 Canadian Indians suffer effects of poisoning

by Shainape Shecapwe

In spite of what is almost a news blackout, we do know something about what pressures the AIM leaders are living with. But most people don't know about the Minamata-Dryden disease, or mercury poisoning, which is affecting about 1,300 people on the Grassy Narrows and White Dog Reserves in Ontario.

Dr. Peter Newberry, hired by the National Indian Brotherhood and the Society of Friends, says that 15 of the 17 people he examined showed signs of environmental mercury poisoning.

The disease attacks the central nervous system and has no known cure. It can be transmitted to people from fish and game contaminated by polluted water. The mercury remains in the water for generations.

The mercury has been traced to the Dryden Chemical Company. Officials said in the fall of 1975 that they would convert to a non-mercury process later on that year, if they got the equipment. I was told on May 14, that they still have not converted.

Help has not come from the Canadian government but from the people of Minamata, Japan, where the effects of the disease were first discovered. They have brought patients from the reserves to Japan to be examined by Japanese doctors. They also sent scientists and victims of the disease to Canada to talk to both Indians and government officials.

The people on the two reserves have asked for all government reports on mercury poisoning, for the pollution to be stopped at once, and for government help in getting re-established. Instead, the government told them not to eat fish from the English and Wabigoon Rivers. That fish was their main source of food.

Help has come from other Indians. People on the Micmac Reserve in Quebec and other reserves are sending fresh fish and other food at their own expense to help replace the contaminated food.

What made me write about mercury poisoning in Canada was a report I heard about leaflets written by workers on conditions in the paint shop of the Fleetwood auto plant in Detroit. (See News & Letters, April, 1976.) One woman had passed out from the paint fumes and the foreman wouldn't even stop the line long enough to let the people carrying the stretcher get to her.

This kind of low value placed on human life makes me angry and frightened. What I see here is that we can't count on this system to stop large industries from killing us with mercury or paint fumes or just plain inhumanity—we have to do it ourselves. We can do this only with the kind of creative action demonstrated by the Indians in Canada, the people of Minamata, and the Fleetwood workers. To continue, we need to know about and support each other in our struggles to live.

BLACK-RED VIEW

U.S. fears African revolts

by John Alan

Henry Kissinger's recent tour of Black Africa was an obvious attempt on the part of the United States government to subvert the further development of the African revolutions which had gained new sources of hope and inspiration from the double victory of the Angolan people. This victory over both Portuguese imperialism, and those factions in Angola financed by the U.S. which had the active military support of South Africa's apartheid government, revitalized the movements for freedom in all of Africa.

The official stance that Kissinger has taken is that the U.S. is getting back into the geopolitical game of thwarting Russian expansion in Africa. This is only one part of the picture because the ingrained fear among all sectors of American capitalist politics, whether it is represented by Reagan or Ford, Humphrey or Carter, is that Africa, as a fermenting area of revolution, may also be the potential catalyst for world revolution.

BEYOND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The upheavals in Portugal, before and after the defeat of Portuguese imperialism in Angola, have made it painfully obvious to Washington that social revolutions are on the agenda in "independent" Black countries as well as in Rhodesia and South Africa. What Kissinger is faced with is that the revolutionary potential of the African masses is capable of moving beyond the concept merely of national independence and going on to the abolition of capitalism, thereby ending imperialism on the African continent, in both its direct and its neo-colonial forms.

Further, the triumph of the Angolan peasants, workers and intellectuals, over Portuguese imperialism and its allies, was a loud and clear indication that white supremacy, capitalism, and imperialism are no longer invulnerable once the masses of the African people decide that changes have to be made.

While singling out Rhodesia as the main culprit of oppression in Southern Africa, however, Kissinger was careful to make a distinction between it and South Africa, by claiming that the white minority there was a legitimate historic claim to power and the only thing it has to do is to take certain steps to end apartheid. His estimation of South Africa is contrary to the opinions held by even the most moderate African leaders, who have always condemned South Africa as the main bulwark of white supremacy on that continent.

BINDS AFRICA TO WORLD MARKET

Second, in Nairobi, Kenya, at the UN Conference on Trade and Development, Kissinger proposed the establishment of an International Resource Bank for the Third World, to be capitalized by the industrialized and oil producing countries. The main feature of this bank would be to guarantee private capitalist investors in the Third World, both against losses that might be incurred by nationalization or by a decline in the price of those commodities that are being produced for the world market.

Despite the complications of this bank scheme, what it essentially does is to bind Africa and other Third World countries closely to the needs of the world market of commodity production and thereby to the socially necessary labor time established by world production.

All other talk about exchange of technology, reduction of tariff barriers, etc., is nothing more than an attempt to make Africa safe for imperialism, and at the same time to stymie the impending self-activity of the African peoples who are striving to further the freedom they achieved more than a decade ago.

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Nationwide rallies held to save Gary Tyler's life



—News & Letters photo

Detroiters join nationwide move to free Gary Tyler.

Detroit, Mich. — About 80 youths, mostly Black high school students, rallied and marched through downtown on May Day to demand freedom for Gary Tyler. They joined demonstrators in St. Louis, Chicago and New York to support a 17-year-old Black student in Louisiana who was railroaded into a murder conviction and sentenced to death in November, 1975.

When Destrahan High School in Destrahan, La. let out on Oct. 7, 1974, a mob of white students and parents began to hurl rocks at the school bus that Gary and other Black students had boarded. A shot was fired from somewhere and 14-year-old Timothy Weber, in the crowd of whites, was fatally wounded.

Although the sheriff's deputies provided no protection from the white mob, they were quick to clear the bus and search it and the students. Gary criticized the rough treatment, including deputies pointing guns at students' heads. He was then arrested and charged with "interfering with the law," and later with first degree murder.

The police "produced" the murder weapon—only after the bus had been taken into police custody. They claimed they discovered a pistol under a slashed seat cover which had been previously unnoticed. The gun supposedly had been stolen from the police firing range, although there was no report of the theft until after it had been discovered as evidence.

March against Hostos closing

New York, N.Y.—Over 1,000 students from Hostos Community College and other City University centers marched May 10, protesting the planned destruction of their school, where the struggle has reached a high point.

The march was called a month after the entire school was occupied by students for two weeks. The arrest of 40 students taking part in the occupation has failed to prevent almost daily demonstrations and protests at the school and in the South Bronx community.

The marchers unfurled Puerto Rican flags, blocked a midtown street, and chanted slogans attacking the city administrators. They heard speakers say what all knew—the attack on Hostos is not separate from increasing attacks on minorities in New York as well as on Puerto Ricans in their own colonized land.

The march showed how integral the Puerto Rican community has become in the struggle to save Hostos, which offers the only bilingual education program in the East and is 98 percent Black and Hispanic, and yet has been singled out for closing after this term. When Hostos was occupied, several South Bronx community groups joined a coalition supporting the takeover, and the march included students and South Bronx residents.

As a leaflet distributed at the demonstration said, "Closing Hostos is the wedge that they need to open the way for the complete elimination of what already are poor services in minority and poor communities." A march through the South Bronx on May Day, heavily supported by the Puerto Rican community, also raised slogans in defense of Hostos.

At the May 10 march students took their protest to the steps of the Emergency Financial Control Board, which is responsible for prodding the administration to close Hostos.

Students heavily applauded all those speakers who declared that actions and protests will not end until the attacks on Hostos, in addition to cutbacks in CUNY overall, are completely ended.

—City University student

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Last November's trial by an all-white jury was held in Hahnville, less than 10 miles from Destrahan which polarized after court-ordered busing in fall 1974.

Natalie Blanks, who was on the bus with Gary, testified she saw Gary fire the gun. But since then, she revealed that police threatened to charge her with accessory to murder and perjury, and to throw her and her child into jail if she didn't read a prepared testimony in court, which was even taped to the floor of the witness stand for her to read.

The same judge who sentenced Gary to death heard the motion for an appeal on April 23. Judge Marino refused to grant a retrial though he heard Natalie Blanks retract her previous accusations.

Gary's execution, originally planned for May 5, was postponed pending the outcome of a Louisiana Supreme Court decision on his appeal. Meanwhile he is on death row in Angola State Penitentiary.

Even the movement to free Gary was attacked when night-riders shot-gunned to death Richard Dunn, a 19-year-old Black worker shortly after he had left a Gary Tyler defense fund-raiser at Southern University.

The concern of youth, especially Black youth, for Gary's future points to their immediate recognition that different forms of racism in America — the attempt to crush integration and the use of capital punishment as a means of repression—have merged in Gary's conviction.

The attack on Gary defines an attack on Black youth, who have always infused their revolt against racism with an uncompromising view of uprooting existing adult, capitalist society. The growing movement to free Gary concretizes that view.

FREE GARY TYLER!

Youth in Revolt

Three thousand Montreal, Quebec, junior college and high school students marched on April 27 to support 250,000 public sector employees who are fighting for repeal of wage controls and a new law banning strikes by education workers. A few weeks before, student-organized "administrative strikes" expelled administrators while classes resumed in most of Quebec's 42 junior colleges, and 500 high school students left classes to organize support at other schools for picketing hospital workers.

About 7,000 students marched through Rangoon, Burma, on April 23, demanding an end to military rule. They set up strike headquarters at Rangoon University where large crowds heard student speakers through the night. Unlike the three previous demonstrations of opposition in the past two years, including a general strike, which were bloodily crushed, this one was not.

Teenagers, among others, are holding daily vigils in Barcelona, Spain, for the political prisoners still captive from the Franco regime. Since Christmas, they have gathered silently at Modelo Prison each morning, listening to passing drivers honk in solidarity. They end the silence nightly shouting "amnistia, libertad."

Portugal—theory and revolt

(Continued from Page 1)

taneism was one of the biggest things in the Portuguese revolution. It lead to decentralization.

THERE WERE ALSO workers who were producing the theory of their own struggle. They were taking lessons every day of what they were doing. You must try to imagine a situation where there were hundreds, even thousands, of popular newspapers in Portugal. There's a very important workers' newspaper, *Journal of the Suspended Strike*. It was a strike daily for a group of workers and it developed into a newspaper afterwards.

The political tradition we had was one of resistance to fascism. There were no organized parties, except clandestine ones that we knew existed but you really didn't join them. . . . So when we got out of fascism, what we call *aparadatarism* is a bit a development of the resistance to fascism. This was a popular and a mass resistance. It was less like a political than a national revolutionary party — a liberation movement.

Soldiers and workers, peasants and students, discussing and resisting. Asking, what are we doing together? Discussing things as a totality. Not as a Social Democrat, or as revisionist, or as social fascist, or as popular democrat, or this or that.

I am not against the idea of a party. But I don't have a religion of the word party, of the Leninist party or anything like that. We are opposed to a new party.

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URW talks bypass issues

The United Rubber Workers union, on strike since April 27, has passed on little information to strikers about contract talks. Many workers question if negotiators are even raising the crucial plant issues. A Uniroyal worker from Los Angeles gives his thoughts on plant problems that need changing.—Ed.

Los Angeles, Cal.—One of the areas at Uniroyal that bothers me is getting jobs inside the plant. They put a bid up on the board for working in a machine shop with lathes. I signed the bid and got it because I had enough seniority. So the man asked me was I qualified. I said yes, I had lathe work in high school.

He asked me if I had any experience. I said no, I don't, but if you can put me in there for a couple of weeks I can learn the job just like I learned the job I am on now. Well, he said you have to have five years experience. So I said I don't want the bid.

That sure limits the jobs I can get in the shop. I think they should ask us whether we can do a job, not whether we are qualified.

A worker I was working with asked why we don't get the quality control jobs. The supervisor said that they hire off the street guys with college degrees for those jobs. They give them two weeks to train and then show them the stock. That is how they break them in. And these new guys ask me questions about things. I could be doing this.

Everyone on the line can get together to try and get things straight. We have had sit-downs on the tire line. If a supervisor gets on you sometimes, like trying to give a dude a certain assignment and the worker says no, that is when things happen.

They tried to get us to sweep under the machines. We said no, so they started writing people up about that. So we said no you can't do that. Why don't you hire some janitors. Why should we do it.

One time the union president got out of bed to come down during a sit-down. He advised us to go back to work and we did. But you know the company still did the same thing. The union president didn't help us.

—Tire line worker

Darrow prison speech reprinted

"Crimes and Criminals: Address to the Prisoners in the Cook County Jail", by Clarence Darrow, Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1975—\$1.00.

This reprint of a pamphlet first printed in 1902 by Charles H. Kerr & Company, was prepared from stenographic notes of a speech given by attorney Clarence Darrow to inmates in the Cook County jail in Chicago in 1902.

Darrow is known for his legal defense of political activists and others during the early years of the 20th century. He would characteristically run into a maelstrom of racism, anti-semitism, religious bigotry and anti-laborism because of the kind of cases he handled.

Darrow advocates an economic explanation of crime and tells the inmates that he doesn't think any of them should be in jail. He anticipates criticism for telling the inmates they are not responsible for their deeds.

But, he cogently notes, "Of course, we know that people do not get rich by being good, and that is the reason why so many of you people try to get rich some other way, only you do not understand how to do it quite as well as the fellow outside."

Darrow knows that there is nothing that he or any other lawyer can tell a prisoner about justice in America that the prisoner does not already know. People who have talked to inmates in jail know how little inmates appreciate hearing "you shouldn't have done it."

What is interesting is that few people deny the economic causation of most crimes, at least of the kind that sends people to jail. Instead, we commonly hear about the straw man known as the "bleeding heart" who blames "society" for forcing people to turn to crime.

In order to fight crime, capitalism leads to greater and greater repression against everyone. Particularly the Black and the poor. It leads nowhere else, because it has no solution.

The greatest contribution to the moral fiber of jail inmates or to anyone else would be to turn them away from the "get rich quick" and "everyone for himself" morality of capitalism, toward that philosophy which offers hope for change and which shows that the way lies not in criminal acts but in mass action.

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Africa: the forked tongues of Kissinger-Ford and Mao

As Kissinger reported to the U.S. Senate on his African Safari, telling of brave new plans to wipe out the Saharan menace to the African continent and to support the movement for Black self-rule in Rhodesia, it was learned that a deal had been concluded with racist South Africa to provide it with no less than two atomic power plants and with that, the potential of the atomic bomb.

The hypocrisy of pretending to support Black majority rule in Africa, while providing atomic know-how to its white racist rulers, is unmatched in recent diplomatic skulduggery.

Smarting from the defeat of his political policies in Angola, Kissinger undertook the African trip to bolster the image of the Ford Administration in African eyes, and gather Black votes for Ford. While Kissinger was able to meet with the heads of six African states, he was refused entry into two of those who are "pro-West"—Nigeria and Ghana.

The highlight of the visit came in his speech at Lusaka, Zambia, where he proclaimed support for Black African majority rule in Rhodesia. The joke in that is he is simply backing up British imperialism's proclamation for "eventual" Black majority rule. The deadline of two years is not only disregarded completely by Ian Smith, but the U.S. went out of its way to assist Smith by passing the Byrd amendment which allows the U.S. to buy Rho-

desian chrome in spite of UN trade sanctions against that racist regime.

Kissinger became still more loquacious in Senegal where he projected nothing short of rolling back the Sahara Desert's encroachments of West Africa. This multinational project, costing \$7.5 billion, was also outlined at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Nairobi, at the end of his African Safari.

There the rhetoric was for a one billion dollar multination project for a new international resources bank for aid to "Third World" nations. It was attacked by Cuba not only as empty rhetoric not backed up with cash or power, but for projecting private capitalist imperialism's further hold on the Afro-Asian-Latin American world. All further voices were drowned out as the Sino-Soviet conflict erupted.

What has changed in Africa is the growing influence of the Soviet Union and China, who have nothing to lose by opposing racism and the white governments. The events in Angola showed quite clearly that the United States was no longer able to use the CIA and unlimited funding to influence the course of African history.

Instead of working with the African liberation movements to transform the UNCTAD conference into either a fight against Western imperialism or for the Third World, the Chinese delegate, Chou Hua-min, lashed out against Russia as "more greedy

and more cruel than the old line imperialism." The Russian delegate, Patolichev, replied in kind, calling China "the harbinger of a new world war".

The Africans, especially the Angolans, needed no reminder that China had been on the side of both apartheid South Africa in Angola, and on the side of U.S. imperialism in Latin America. As the March 12, 1976 issue of the *Peking Review* expressed it: "Recently, Soviet social imperialism has intensified its penetration into Latin America under the pretext of giving 'support to the national liberation movements'. Its dispatch of mercenaries from Latin America to invade Angola has caused widespread suspicion and anxiety in Latin America . . ."

And who does Mao quote in support of such a view against Cuban support of the Angolan revolutionaries? None other than Kissinger who had said, "The United States will not tolerate 'foreign interference'". Mao tried to cover it by adding: "Western news agencies pointed out that in the wake of Soviet armed intervention in Angola . . . this was an indication the United States would not tolerate a repetition of the Angolan affairs in Latin America".

By the time the May 11 session of UNCTAD ended, it was hard to tell any differences between the mouthpieces of U.S. imperialism and the state capitalist governments of Russia and China—or for that matter Reagan's pressures upon Ford in Africa or Panama.

France

The dirtiest, heaviest and most menial jobs in France are held by workers who immigrate there. The 2.3 million foreign workers, mostly from Portugal and Africa, are primarily men who come and work to send money to their families back home. The government-run housing available to some is supposedly subsidized to make up for the lack of benefits to workers' families, enabling them to send more money home. The rent for a 6-by-10-foot room is now being raised to \$60 a month.

What is new is a movement precipitated by a rent strike of over 12,000 workers in the industrial suburbs of Paris, demanding that rents be kept at \$40 a month. During Easter weekend, police raided the housing complexes and quickly deported 16 leaders in the fight against rent increases.

The deporting of any immigrant workers who speak out has long been a routine of the French police, who work together with employers to single out any opposition in the workplace. Just a year ago it was discovered that the police in Marseilles were illegally operating a detention center where

unwanted immigrants are held for months before being deported.

Though the issue was raised in Parliament, the center is still there. The Easter raids, however, have focused attention on the plight of the foreign workers. Some leftists and unions are now supporting the rent strike and have organized several street demonstrations in Paris and the suburbs.

Yet only the most fortunate immigrants live in government-run housing. The common private housing arrangement is to rent a room to three different workers who use it in three eight-hour shifts to sleep. The recession, which has hit the immigrant workers the hardest, has also increased the government's moves against them, including beginning to deport the over 100,000 thrown out of work.

The Communist Party, the unions and most of the left continue to ignore the rent strike. Albert Levy, an outspoken advocate of immigrant rights and secretary of the Movement against Racism, Anti-Semitism and for Peace, wrote in his annual report that "France has become the most murderously racist of countries."

Profits and unemployment

The profits of American industry are now running at an annual rate of better than \$140 billion per year, up 40 percent over the same quarter last year. Trucking industry profits are up 138 percent, textiles and garments up 150 percent, railroads up 90 percent, some individual companies are up as much as 350 percent.

General Motors made over \$800 million profit in the first quarter alone and declared a special extra dividend. These huge profits come out of the hides of ever fewer workers. GM alone produces this profit with 35,000 fewer workers than it had before the lay-offs.

Millions of workers fail to participate in President Ford's self-proclaimed "end of the recession". Over 12 percent of the workers in Michigan are without work, and the drop in unemployment compensation claims means only that the unemployed have run out of benefits and no longer count.

The latest financial report of the Ford Motor Company shows they pay 3.3 percent taxes on each dollar of income. The average U.S. worker pays 22 percent of his pay—extracted at the source.

Candidates, labor bureaucrats and 'ethnic purity': Racism dominates election campaigns

(Continued from Page 5)

They had just emerged from an anti-busing rally with Louise Day Hicks, Boston's professional racist, inside the city council chambers.

It was a symbolic picture.

The truth is that the racism that infests the land is so integral to capitalism, and the Black revolt that has been trying to root it out is so ceaseless, that the counter-revolution—whose seat is in Washington, D.C.—has always focused its sights, first and foremost, on the Black movement in this country. Nothing more proves this than the FBI's murderous hounding of Martin Luther King, the assassinations of Black Panthers George Jackson, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, to which has now been added a report of the 25-year-long FBI surveillance of even the legalistic NAACP!

NORTH, SOUTH, EAST, WEST

The blatant resurgence of the most foul expression of racism across the entire breadth of the land within the last month alone is a chilling warning of where we are headed.

- In an affluent upper-middle-class section of Huntington Valley, 15 miles north of Philadelphia, a Black couple who purchased a \$75,000 pre-Revolutionary War home, found it spray-painted with KKK signs and a hangman's noose thrown over the side door.

- In Pasadena, Calif., a letter bomb exploded in the hands of a Black minister who spoke out strongly against school segregation, after he had received a threat from the local Nazis a week earlier.

- In Louisiana, the state which is trying to electrocute 17-year-old Gary Tyler (see story p. 7), the KKK opened a new headquarters and the mayor of the town cut a ribbon at the ceremony.

- In Louisville, Ky., three police officers on a spree sprayed bullets into the heart of the Black community, shooting up clubs and businesses and wounding two, one critically; and, even more disgusting because it paraded under the name of "Union Labor Against Busing", anti-busing forces flew a banner from an helicopter over the track during the Kentucky Derby.

- The John Birch Society, headquartered in Massachusetts, claims that its membership is growing faster than at any time since 1964, when Barry Goldwater's presidential candidacy stimulated its growth.

The sickness appears in every part of the land, and it is NOT just the appearance of a "lunatic fringe". It is a frightening symptom of the deep cancer eating at this land, which will never be rooted out until it is faced—and faced, above all, by white labor.

RACISM INTEGRAL TO CAPITALISM

Carter's appeal is not just his claim that he is not part of the Washington establishment, and therefore not responsible for all our troubles today, but that "the good people of America" aren't responsible.

He assures those who want to hear it, "Watergate came about because we were not told the truth. We were not part of what the Government became."

But millions voted for Nixon; and many of them had to betray their own good class interests to do it. Black workers in the auto shops laughed when white workers, confronted about that vote after Watergate, insisted they hadn't voted for Nixon. It is not that Black workers want to perpetuate the Black-white separation, but that they know until the racism is faced, nothing will end it.*

It is not only that white labor, faced with the highest unemployment this country has seen since the beginning of World War II, must know that their problems cannot be solved until they answer: how does it happen that, historically, Black unemployment is always twice that of whites? How could it be that more than a third of the Black Vietnam veterans, aged 20 to 24 are without jobs? Why is it that one third of all Blacks live below the poverty level?

What must be seen is BOTH that racism has been an integral necessity to capitalism AND that the Black masses have been the vanguard of all forward movement in this country since its birth through the Civil

*Many Black workers have made eloquent appeals to their fellow white workers (See *Black, Brown, Red*, News & Letters pamphlet, p. 17).

War to the very birth of the CIO. Without understanding that, white workers will never be able to win their own struggles—even though the revolt of labor against their inhuman conditions, whether on the production line or on the unemployment line, is exploding in strike after strike across the entire country this year.

It is precisely because the labor bureaucracy remains tied to the capitalist parties that it can never fight the division between white and Black workers, just as the crass opportunism of some of the Black leaders stems from forgetting that it has been only the masses in action, not wheeling and dealing, that has ever won anything.

All forget that labor is not monolithic. The fact is that many millions did not vote for Wallace or Nixon in 1972; and more than half of the eligible voters did not vote at all. More important are facts like this: two weeks after the Black lawyer was beaten in Boston, when two Black city bus drivers were attacked by a gang of white racist thugs while sitting outside a bus station in South Boston, three of their white fellow drivers came to their aid, and though they were beaten severely, they showed the kind of labor solidarity needed to root racism out of this country.

The reason why the counter-revolution tries so hard to keep Black and white divided is because it knows the power of the dialectic of freedom. The unity that is demanded today among all the forces of revolt against this racist, sexist, exploitative society is not just for unity's sake, but in order to hew out new human relationships and create a new and human world. Without it, we face barbarism.

OUR THANKS TO ALL THOSE WHO HAVE RESPONDED SO GENEROUSLY TO OUR APPEAL FOR HELP TO KEEP NEWS & LETTERS GOING. HAVE YOU SENT YOUR CONTRIBUTION? PLEASE — SEND IT TODAY!