

# Special introduction to Spanish edition of *Marxism and Freedom*

This special introduction gives me great pleasure to write not just because of memories of Mexico, 1937-38, when I was there as Secretary to Leon Trotsky, but because of what that exciting historic period does to illuminate the world today. Thus, President Cardenas had not only granted asylum to Leon Trotsky just when he was being reviled by Stalin in the greatest Frame-up Trials in history, but was, at the same time, challenging U.S. imperialism by being the first to do away with American domination over Mexican oil. Above all in those years towered the Spanish Revolution.

Going still further back in history, Frantz Fanon, in 1961, pointed to the Spanish, in their fight against Napoleon, rediscovering what the American yeomen-militia used in their struggle for freedom from Great Britain. They named the partisans guerrillas. The point was that the continuities and discontinuities in those liberating struggles were inseparable from an underlying philosophy of liberation which Fanon felt indispensable for the African Revolutions reshaping the world.

**THE UNITED STATES** revolutionary intellectual cannot but be desirous of showing the other America than that of U.S. capitalism which has so unmitigated an imperial record in Latin America—whether that be the American-Mexican War of 1846-48 which took away so much of Mexico's land; or the occupation of the

Panama Canal Zone which U.S. imperialism to this day dares rule "in perpetuity"; or the neo-fascist coup in Chile which the Nixon Administration, ever since 1970, did so much to finance, arm and inspire. The fact that the **Interim Report** of the U.S. Senate Intelligence Commission has finally revealed the harrowing details of those days and now comes out strongly against assassination does not keep it from showing its own capitalistic class nature by being thoroughly ambivalent on attempts to organize coups against a whole people. The American people can feel nothing but loathing against Ambassador Korry writing to the retiring President Frei against President-elect Allende: "Not a nut or bolt will be allowed to reach Chile under Allende . . . We shall do all within our power to condemn Chile and the Chileans to utmost privation and poverty . . ."

The American people cannot but separate themselves from such dehumanized imperialism, and are, at this very moment, pressuring the ruling class against its continuation. Thereby they display greater solidarity with the Latin American people than with their own government. The solidarity which is most meaningful is expressed by revolutionary intellectuals for whom acts of solidarity are inseparable from a philosophy of liberation.

MEXICO ALSO HAS memories for me after I broke

with Leon Trotsky at the time of the Hitler-Stalin Pact when I could no longer follow him in his espousal of the defense of Russia as a worker's state "though degenerate". I returned to the U.S. to begin the research and development of my theory of Russia as a state-capitalist society and in 1944 had the opportunity to translate and expose (in the **American Economic Review**) Stalin's revision of Marx's law of value. At the end of World War II, I returned to Mexico to meet with Natalia Sedova Trotsky, to whom I read the first draft of what, in a decade, finally became **Marxism and Freedom**, of which this is the eighth edition.

When the first edition was completed in 1957, this work ended with the new pages of freedom signalled by the East European Revolutions against Russian totalitarianism, and the Black Revolution in the U.S. initiated by the Montgomery Bus Boycott. When, in the early 1960s, the Sino-Soviet conflict erupted in the open, I wrote a new Chapter (XVII), "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung." The fig-leaf of Marxist terminology can no longer, I maintained, cover up the nationalistic politics in the Sino-Soviet conflict and we must, instead, ask: Can there be war between two countries calling themselves Communist? What sounded "wild" in 1963 has very nearly become a cliché ever since Mao rolled out the red carpet for Nixon, as Teng is doing for Ford (Continued on page 6)

## Co-author comments on new working women's pamphlet

by Angela Terrano

There is a movement among Hispanic women here in New York City that has given rise to an organization called the Latin Women's Collective. This group was formed over a year ago, and has recently become active in an attempt to gain members and begin work with Latin factory women, many of whom work in the garment and electrical shops, and the service trade.

This group was greeted with cheers by some women's liberationists. Some doubt has arisen, however, to its claim of independence, as contained in "you need not be a Marxist-Leninist to join." Despite the fact that their statement of purpose addresses itself to "women's issues," they say they are neither part of the women's movement, nor are they feminists, a statement which has already disheartened some women.

### LATINAS NEW FERMENT IN WL

Whether or not it is a matter of words, it behooves the Latin Women's Collective to recognize that over ten years of Women's Liberation on the scene is what set the ground for their existence as an organization today. It is too early to tell if, in catching the ferment among the women in the Hispanic communities, it is set up only to control.

It is, however, the movement among Latin women, whether in seeking organizational form or a forum for expression of their discontent on the job, in their homes, in their communities, that concerns me, and that I feel is inexorably linked to all freedom movements and to a pamphlet called *Working Women For Freedom*.

This pamphlet, in its 56 pages, its stories, its photographs, its very method of being written, is a collectivity that neither separates those who co-signed it from those whose stories have been gathered, nor the past struggles from the present struggles—so that, in truth, more than the three authors wrote it.

Without the struggles from "below"—workers do think their own thoughts and do not have to be "taught to think" (as some women theoreticians think)—we could neither grasp the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory, nor the movement from theory that hungers for the unity with the mass movement, so that philosophy and revolution can finally be united. The exciting element in this pamphlet is that you see both these movements, and thus can attempt to hew out new roads, not just for comprehension, but for new human relations.

The singling out of three women from the past—Flora Tristan, Sojourner Truth, Clara Lemlich—is not because they are the greatest, the most courageous, as well they may be, but because whatever activity they participated in, new thoughts sprang that changed society itself.

### SOJOURNER TRUTH, THEORETICIAN

We are not speaking on the level of mere participation of women as women. The key is revolutionary changes that bring about new relationships among people. Saying that Sojourner Truth inspired the white middle-class women of her day who sought to abolish slavery, is not to belittle those women, but to illuminate what our task is today. Sojourner Truth encompassed her philosophy in a life totally lived with freedom as its goal, a totality of spirit that would not even let the great Frederick Douglass stop her when he stopped short of freedom in asking the women to give up fighting for the vote to insure the vote for the freed Black men. Sojourner Truth said no, not because she thought the vote would bring freedom to women, but because to limit it to men only was to bring a new subjugation for women.

One of the questions posed in the Appendix, "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries," is to consider the theoretical—yes, **theoretical**—contributions made by Sojourner Truth, not in one speech, or even in all her (Continued on page 2)

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# NEWS LETTERS

*'Human Power is its own end'*

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## Revolt of Latin American masses hurls challenge to U.S. imperialism

by Eugene Walker

The daily headlines from Latin America make it appear that everything there moves to the right. Whether it be news from the land of totalitarian "democracy", Mexico, where the single-

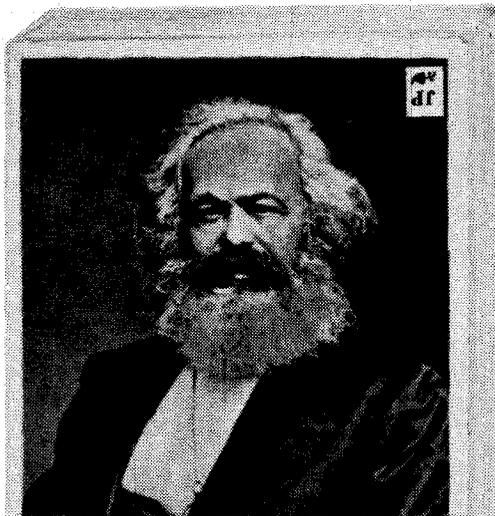
party state has just "elected" right-winger Jose Lopez Portillo, or the neo-fascist regime in Argentina, or the revolt-about-to-be in the UN corridors over Panama, there is no doubt that insofar as those in power are concerned, the counter-revolutionary developments are endless. The truth, however, is that the undercurrent of revolt is even more persistent.

Just as the low productivity of the Russian and East European workers is not a sign of their backwardness, but rather the precise measure of their state of revolt, so the essence of the Latin American masses is not their so-called quiescence but their underlying opposition. It was no accident that it was in the most backward, out-right fascist country, Portugal, that the revolution burst forth in 1974 and deepened in 1975. It is no accident that presently the dynamism of ideas in Latin America also includes the publication of *Marxism and Freedom* (See ad, P. 6). In order to see the ramifications of these seemingly only subjective events, we must look very closely at the objective situation.

### IMPERIAL SUMMITRY IN PUERTO RICO

Scarcely one week before the bicentennial of America's Declaration of Independence from colonial rule, President Ford and the leaders of six other industrialized nations met in economic-political summitry\* in America's present day colony, Puerto Rico. That the seven, who together represent two-thirds of the world's production, would meet in impoverished Puerto Rico, symbolizes the widening economic gap between the Third World countries caught in the vortex of the world mar-

(Continued on page 8)



*Raya dunayevskaya*  
**MARXISMO  
Y LIBERTAD**

New Spanish edition of *Marxism and Freedom* now available, see ad on p. 6.

\*See Political-Philosophic Letter #5, "Two Summits: The U.S. Calls 'Western' Summit in Neo-Colonial Puerto Rico and Russia Calls One in its East German Satellite" by Raya Dunayevskaya, *News & Letters*, July 1976.

## Chicana questions education in tenure fight

(Anna Nieto-Gomez, a Chicana teacher at Cal-State Northridge, is being denied tenure on the basis that she does not have an "advanced degree." Yet her work has raised the questions of where fundamental research takes place and where serious theory is created. The sexist nature of the attack on her is part of the bourgeois academics' concept of education, since Anna Nieto-Gomez, in all her activity and research with Chicanas, has never separated theory from practice, the campus from the community. Below are some of her thoughts on her experiences.—Ed.)

Los Angeles, Cal.—For the last five years, I have been working in Chicano Studies to develop curriculum, classes and programs dealing specifically with the Chicana. This has entailed everything from organizing health seminars, to conferences, to "semanas" for the women; working on developing a Chicana journal; getting people to write; organizing and disseminating research; and getting people on campus to develop programs such as child care.

### WORK WITH CHICANA COMMUNITY

Over many years, I have worked with a number of organizations, like Mujeres Unidas. They wanted to develop a child-care center for women in San Fernando to be able to free them to go back to school. From working with them, you understand why child care is so important, and rather than expound theoretically the pros and cons, you know from the concrete experience why they need child care.

When you begin to work with Chicana mothers, you educate yourself as to how stereotypes are false. Chicanas aren't "supposed" to be interested in education. But all of a sudden, you are surrounded by women fighting in the schools. Again, this is supposed to be an "exception," but these women introduce you to more and more women, not only in that community, but in several others, who are doing the same thing and have done it for years.

Chicanas in the labor force have to face problems like dealing with immigration-deportation. It minimizes where they can work. The Chicana ends up with domestic and factory work, in the garment industry and small electronics factories. If she is not a U.S. citizen, the employer feels like he can pay her less.

Many times, a woman cannot afford to work because if she is a welfare recipient, then she gets barely enough to survive on and take care of her children. If she goes to work and is earning only \$2.30 an hour, she hasn't gained anything, and she has now increased her expenses for child care, transportation and clothes. To have a job is very expensive.

### SEXISM AT HOME, AT WORK

If the Chicana has a husband who doesn't approve of her, or if she must suffer from his beatings, she has to know about whatever legal resources there are to protect her. She can't go to work beaten up, because then it is thought she is "rowdy" and asking for it, and "we don't want this type" in the office or factory.

In working with welfare rights organizations, you are struggling against the values of the system, no matter who you are. Sometimes in the street when a woman is arrested, you see the kids left on the corner. Someone calls the social welfare agency to come pick them up. Then they try and take them away from the mother, saying she abandoned them. It is assumed that welfare mothers are bad mothers, and must have voluntarily given them up as wards of the court; in reality, they are coerced.

People in the community are always organizing themselves, and in this whole process, there is mental growth and a continued relationship with the total society. What it comes down to for me, in being a teacher, is that I'm supposed to teach about the Chicana, the total person—history, social problems, economics, what she has done, what she wants to do, how she tried to do it. The only way I can do that is to be part of that process.

However, the last five years of my work in this area were ignored in considering the question of giving me tenure. The reason stated for denying me tenure was that I didn't get an advanced degree. At Cal-State, the cultural nationalism and sexism of the Chicana Studies department has always come under criticism from men

and women, especially in terms of the department's attitude towards women and their conditions. They had said it was unimportant, invalid and the same as the general picture. In other words, if you talk about the Chicano, you are talking about the Chicana also.

### CHICANA STUDENT SUPPORT

When they told me I was not to be tenured, the students came in with me from the beginning. They met with the personnel evaluation committee. They put out a newspaper, *Women's Struggle*. Half the people working on it were freshmen Chicana. They were really new: new into politics, new into everything. They distributed the paper, and within a week, they had gotten out 2,000 copies, and we had to have more printed.

Most of those who worked on the paper were Chicanas whose leadership had never been developed. All of a sudden, a crisis came up and they went out to speak at different Chicano organizations, to tell them what the issue was and to support me. Since it was a controversial issue, and they spoke out, they put their grades on the line because the faculty knew where they stood.

The students have continued to work and get news out. In the whole process we have come a long way. There has been a lot of development from the reasons why we did it in the beginning and went ahead, to what has developed and evolved now.

## Working women's pamphlet

(Continued from page 1)

speeches, but in the totality of her life which enabled her to use language the way she did and to "sum up" where those great abolitionist men stood, when they stopped short of women's rights, as "short minded."

It is this living of one's theory and struggling to make one's passion for freedom a reality that a revolutionary philosopher like Raya Dunayevskaya makes us see as inseparable from both outright revolutions and revolutionary theoreticians like Rosa Luxemburg. Thus in her Appendix, "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries," Raya Dunayevskaya has brought out both the affinity of such seemingly opposite personalities as Sojourner Truth and Rosa Luxemburg, and the one-sidedness of either theory by itself or activity as such. It is that quality which must be bridged, and can be bridged only when philosophy and revolution become inseparable.

### NEW THOUGHT, NEW ACTIVITY

Again, it is not only in their self-organizing on the job, or even in the organized women's movement of today, that women are hewing out new paths to freedom. It is not just in the Rosa Parks being the Clara Lemlich of today, but the new paths being made by the Pat Carters (see p. 12, *Working Women For Freedom*) who are compelled to answer the questions of today.

In "You Get So Disgusted With The System," she raises the question of the oppression of women as labor in the factory, in the home when you are isolated, and the man/woman relationship that seeks to make the woman dependent on the man. She asks, why should it be? And in asking why, she is saying, let's do away with it, and now!

In the last couple of years we have found a searching by women—from the working women who flocked to CLUW's closed doors, to the hundreds that answered the call by NAM for a socialist-feminist conference, only to find there the doors of the mind shut tight—seeking a fundamental method to change all relationships in this society.

"Women For Freedom," a newsletter in Detroit put out by working class women, unemployed women, welfare mothers, Marxist-Humanist women, is not only part of that searching, but, indeed, an attempt to work out the answer.

I'd like to propose to the women in the Latin communities of New York City, as well as to those socialist-feminists hungering passionately for a philosophy to do away with this racist-sexist, exploitative society, to identify with the Marxist-Humanist philosophy of liberation. We publish this pamphlet as our contribution in that long tortuous trek to freedom.

What do you think of our pamphlet? What do you wish to live for? Might we in our collectivity of thoughts and deeds, hasten that trek to freedom.



## WL NOTES

The Baltimore college community became enraged when an honorary degree from Johns Hopkins University was presented to the sister of the Shah of Iran. The senior class at Johns Hopkins voted to request the University to present an honorary degree to Ms. Fatemeh Saidi Shayegan, "in recognition of her continued struggle for human rights and liberties." Over 4,000 people signed petitions recognizing Fatemeh Saidi Shayegan as an honorary member of the Baltimore academic community. Ms. Shayegan has endured torture in the Shah's jail since 1973.

In Brentford, West London, 350 women, Black and white, walked out on strike in June against the Trico car components factory, demanding equal pay for equal work. They were joined by the men, who make around \$90 while women earn only \$78. One woman characterized the strike by saying, "We have been taken by surprise by how solid we are. Women not even in the union have joined the strike . . . They can't stop us now."

In Northern California, 30,000 cannery workers, mostly Chicana, went on strike at the height of the canning season. While represented by the Teamsters, the cannery workers have gotten together in the past to fight both the company and the sexist, racist union that has negotiated sweetheart contracts since the '30s and '40s. The workers had demanded a decent wage and an end to speed-up by automation, but the final settlement was only \$1.60 an hour over three years.

## LA Uniroyal workers getting runaround on strike questions

Los Angeles, Cal.—At our July union meeting, instead of the usual couple dozen in attendance, 350 Uniroyal workers filled the Local 44 hall to hear of any progress made in the so-called negotiations with the Big Four. However, all we heard and observed were the local leadership trying to avoid the dozens of questions workers asked.

A veteran worker asked about a cost of living formula. The president said "I don't have details," and claimed that they were trying to get what auto workers and teamsters have. One worker said, how can we get that when the company doesn't make that type of profits. But some Black workers came back and said they certainly were making enough profit. One spoke of how the tire companies are raising the price of tires every four months, supposedly because of the cost of materials, and thus there was enough to give us a cost of living.

The companies do not need tires since so many of the Southern tire plants, which are non-union, are working. A lot of these plants in the South are new. But a lot of them should have been organized pre-strike, as well as a number of warehouses either unorganized or organized by other unions who are not cooperating in this strike. We want to know why.

How did our union president prepare the local for the strike? He told the people they should be preparing by working more overtime to get more money because it would be a dirty strike! We also faced an increase in production quotas before the strike which the union agreed to.

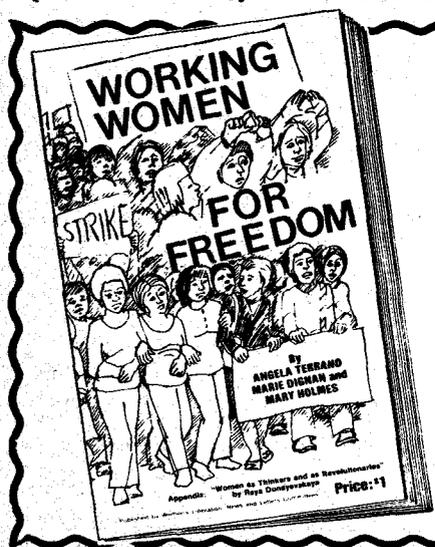
In closing the meeting the "professional" viewpoint of the leadership was that the strike would be over by mid-August. But what is the difference? Most of the workers feel that the strike is down the drain. Instead of a big layoff the tire companies got a strike.

The fact is that we rubber workers, neophytes and veterans, Black, Chicano and white, women and men, are toe-to-toe opponents against four giant rubber barons who have embarked on an orgy of profit unparalleled in the rubber industry's history.

Our union officials both of the "International" and of what should be rank-and-file-controlled locals, have often become allies of the companies, not representatives of us. They acquiesce to the companies' demands for small increases in wages, incessant increases in production, and, as we all know, terribly de-humanizing working conditions.

All of this is done at the expense of us as working people. This is what has been happening in tires. Only when we as workers can come together, as we began to do in our last union meeting—but it has to be increased many fold—will we be able to change this direction.

—Uniroyal worker



Just off the press!

## Working Women for Freedom

### Appendix:

"Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries" by Raya Dunayevskaya

"When we were working with contractors, if they liked one of the women, they went after her. The women had no freedom. If a contractor liked a woman and she didn't listen to him, and do what he wanted, he wouldn't give her any work. There are no contractors with our union. We know there are going to be a lot of contractors back with the Teamsters; that is one reason we fight them." (p.28)

—Lupe and Maria, UFW

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# Auto makes record profits, offers workers cuts

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

On July 27 General Motors and Ford Motor Company outlined the bargaining issues to UAW top negotiators. The very next day GM issued its second quarter profits report—a record \$909 million. This was the highest quarter profit ever reported by any industrial manufacturer in history.

The wage and fringe benefits, as well as the right not to strike proposals submitted by the companies, represented many backward steps. Among them are: co-payment by union members of health insurance; arbitration by a third party before a local union can strike, and a separate wage and benefit package of GM's non-automotive employees.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock has had little to say on all this. Instead he has called on the membership to accept Jimmy Carter's smile—nothing about a contract fight. This year auto workers come to the bargaining table with thousands still unemployed. Since our last contract in 1973 we have witnessed the recent bankruptcy of supplemental unemployment benefits (SUB);

inflation that has almost destroyed the 30-and-out early retirement program as no cost of living was included; speed-up that is coupled with forced overtime, and a management "get tough" policy further turning auto plants into hell holes.

The present cost of living formula (COLA) pays only 80 percent of inflation. Another three years with the same formula and rising inflation will mean more wage cuts.

In the unemployment line a GM worker asked what collective bargaining was all about: "I have heard this all my life, but I can't see what workers have to bargain with." Another worker said, "They bargain that we have to work harder and produce more for less each year. We get a wage increase but the capitalists cause inflation by raising prices on what workers produce. Wages go up, but buy less."

The companies' proposal for arbitration by a third party before a local union can strike takes away the last remaining right that a local has. In fact we barely have this one because we need to get the International's sanction to do it.

The magnificent example of 90,000 miners currently on wildcat strike in the coalfields, defying company, union and courts, was brought about precisely on the question of interference in a local's right to settle a dispute and strike. The miners will not put trust in anyone but themselves. Even their reform president Arnold Miller is not listened to when he tries to order the men back to work.

Right now there is too much separation between workers in different industries. The rubber workers have been out over 100 days and still we are putting tires on cars. What kind of tires are being put on—scab tires? They would have to be. I can't see how GM and Ford could store up tires for such a length of time. We in auto are going to have to back the rubber workers. It won't come from the International.

Those huge profits that GM made came from our labor and nowhere else. Yet, we see those profits used against us in the new machinery put in plants which throws us out of work and speeds up those remaining.

Our labor keeps this system going. It is only from ourselves as working people, forced to work or be unemployed, that the solutions to get us out of this enslavement will have to come.

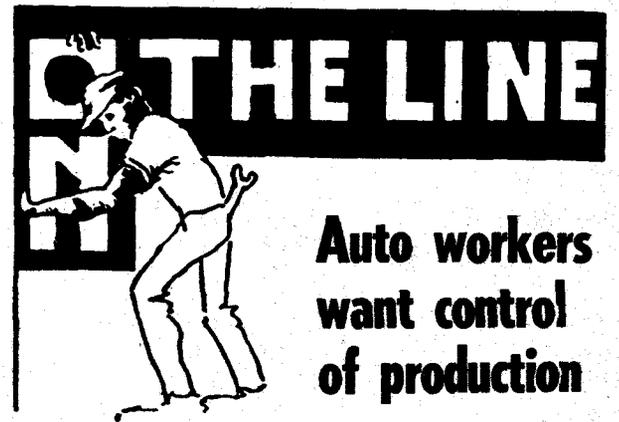
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By John Allison

The real feelings of the auto workers is seen in the 95 percent vote they're giving in support of strike action to win their demands. This does not reflect peace and happiness in the auto sweat shops in Michigan and around the country.

A feeble attempt is being made by the union to reopen the pension question by using Walter Reuther's old phrase, that the contract is a "living document" that must meet the needs of the workers.

Both the union and management are always coming up with "formulas" that are supposed to solve the problems. The only trouble is that the problems get worse instead of better.

The pension formula doesn't work. The SUB formula doesn't work. The holiday pay formula doesn't work. The Cost of Living formula doesn't work. And a whole basketful of other issues need resolution but get worse with each passing year.

That is, the formulas don't work for the workers. They work very well for the auto companies, as their record profits keep on proving. And this next round of negotiations will come up with another bunch of formulas that will mean more speed-up for the workers and more profits for the corporations.

The UAW has a big strike fund built up, but that's not the reason the workers are willing to strike. The main reason this year is the same one it has always been, and that's production standards. The workers want to call a halt to the inhuman speedup in production, to the impossible overtime while thousands of workers are still laid off, and the only way they can do that is if they control production. There is no other answer.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock, who will soon be retiring as head of the union, seems to be under the spell of Jimmy Carter and the Democratic "peace" movement. He's supposed to be fighting for labor first, but since he seems to be eyeing the Secretary of Labor job if Carter wins the election, it looks like the Democratic Party is coming first.

Right now the Big 3 are demanding that the union solve management problems so they can make a new basket of money. But management is refusing to give any of their ill-gotten gains back to the workers who make it all for them.

An important development is that there seems to be a strong link between the old and young workers in this round of talks. The young workers are willing to share with retirees any package they receive. More workers are together now for the first time in many, many years.

## City jobs as bad as rural

Berryville, Va.—From my home in an unorganized, predominantly agricultural area, I was forced to seek work in a Washington, D.C. suburb. After two weeks I finally secured a job with the Highway Department at a scant \$3.00 an hour, impossible to live on here even when using financial contortions.

Startlingly enough, pay in my home county is lower, running from 90 cents an hour to an average high of \$2.75 an hour. Along with these starvation wages the scarcity of jobs must also be considered.

I suffer from chronic asthma which eventually caused me to leave my job of grass cutting and return to this low-paying rural area (although it is wrong to single out rural since the city is proportionately no better). I have attempted to pick up odd jobs to support my family. Anyone who has ventured into this hazardous "odd job" market knows well the risks—low pay, bad working conditions, no rights under existing labor statutes.

Recently a local merchant asked me to scrub and wax her store floor. I arrived to discover that she had decided to back out of the agreement. The job was 20 miles round trip from my house which cost me gas and one hour of my time. Legally I can collect from her, but the process of filing suit and ultimately court will entail more time and money than what is involved.

The merchant is the last rip-off that began with production itself. They work hardest at maximizing profits at the expense of the buyer, just like the ruling class works hard at exploiting labor in production. Every working person in America must come to realize that actual value resides not in dollars and cents or in the product. Value lies with labor, how much it takes to produce an item and how cheaply it can be employed.

## GHI contract loses benefits

New York, N.Y.—I work at Group Health Inc., (GHI), a medical insurance company similar to Blue Cross. We recently ended a 14-week strike which began on Jan. 1, during some of the coldest weather in New York history.

Our contract had expired and the company had refused any contract improvements, monetary or otherwise. We had no choice.

The company wasn't the only obstacle we faced during the strike. We were hindered by our union; most of our shop stewards on the negotiating committee; the newspapers, and finally the apathy of some of our fellow workers. The company hired scabs and sent letters containing veiled threats and outright lies to each striker.

The union, Office and Professional Workers, AFL-CIO, was completely unresponsive to the workers' needs for the entire strike and begrudgingly took action only after being pressured by the workers themselves. The union officials seemed more interested in keeping their own well-paying jobs than helping the strike succeed. At the meeting for the final strike vote the secretary-treasurer of the local showed up with two body guards.

Every newspaper in New York City, except the left-wing, refused to print anything but management's version of the strike. Freedom of the press?

The strike was finally ended with us receiving slight money increases and little else. We actually lost benefits from the last contract. We returned to work to find 140 of us laid-off. The company is keeping the scabs on, and is trying to weaken the sell-out union even further by taking most of our shop-stewards out of the union and into management.

Now I have no illusions about unions' role with management, but it's getting harder to tell them apart.  
—GHI worker

## FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Since we have come back to work, you can see cutbacks all over the plant. One of the most shocking is up in Dept. 11, on the glass line. They changed the way they are installing the windows, and cut back from nine teams to two teams. In other words, where there were 18 people before, now there are only two!

It is just as bad in Dept. 21. There have been at least 20 workers cut from Dept. 21, including hi-lo drivers and hand-truckers, and they are talking about cutting more. Right now there are six or seven hi-lo drivers from days who have been bumped back to afternoons. The drivers on afternoons are wondering if they will be next to be put on the line in the body shop. The workers who have been already sent there are having a hard time. Going back to the line is always hard, and the body shop is a monster.

Most of the jobs left in Dept. 21 are now overloaded. The union says that people will be brought back to 21 when production gets up to normal again. But many people I know don't believe it. They are saying that the union has made a deal with Mike Donnelly to see that not everyone is brought back to 21, even after full production is going.

Many of the people with less than one year have not been called back. There are 78's everywhere in the plant already—especially in the body shop—so you know that when they get up to full production there will really be a fight. We could win it for once if we make sure that the union and Fleetwood don't make any more back-door deals.  
—Afternoon shift worker, Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—I feel that the big issue in the paint shop now is health and safety. All year we have had people injured and sick because of poor working conditions. We have only been back to work one week,

and already one lady fell and hurt herself crossing the line. This was because they sprayed white paint there over a greasy area. This is not the way to clean up problems in the paint shop. More people will get hurt unless these conditions are corrected.

Another health problem is the anti-corrosion spray. The company keeps promising to reduce the fumes, but nothing has been done. The fumes are actually worse now. A lady who was doing the spraying got so sick from it that her doctor ordered her off that job. Finally, she was allowed to transfer to the sealer line, at least temporarily.

Nick Cervelli is the man who should be on top of these problems. He is the union head of health and safety. Yet we can't get to talk to him. He hasn't even been up to look at the situation. If he is not interested in his job, then I am sure Local 15 rank-and-file can find someone else who will be interested.  
—Paint shop worker, Fleetwood

### Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich.—Before changeover, when we were working all that overtime, a hi-lo ran out of control near the final line in main building. It pushed into a stack of stock, then another stack, ran into a bin of drawers, crossed the aisle by the line, and pushed a truck off the line. The truck happened to be over a covered area of the line, between two pits. Just a little further down, and some stock and the truck would have fallen on those workers.

They have signs around about "safety first," and they used to have signs stenciled on the hi-los about how many thousands of dollars they cost and how you had to take care of them. But these "accidents" happen every day. Why aren't they talking about safety and production standards at the contract negotiations? Or will we have to "write" them ourselves?  
—Main building worker

# Readers' Views

## LEGAL LYNCHING

The racists in Mississippi have found a new way to try to cripple the movement—a "legal lynching". A Black man who was beaten and kicked when he was arrested by the State police on a speeding charge, charged police brutality, and Mississippi NAACP officials backed him up. After the driver was convicted, the policeman sued the driver and the NAACP for libel and slander. The jury deliberated for less than an hour before finding for the policeman and awarding him no less than \$240,000 in damages! The NAACP, of course, intends to appeal to a higher court, but in the meantime, to prevent the Mississippi State Court from attaching the bank account of the NAACP National Office in New York, they had to post a bond of \$262,500 — higher than the judgement itself. This has put a severe pressure on the entire organization, since the NAACP has been almost alone in sticking to its guns on the question of busing, and has lost much of its financial support from white so-called liberals because of it. I have never been much inspired by the legalisms of the NAACP, but racists seem so determined to incapacitate it, that I'm sending the NAACP a check today, to help out.

Supporter  
Detroit

(Ed. Note: Mississippi has just dealt another \$1.5 million blow against the NAACP for its boycott activities.)

## ZIONISM AND THE MID-EAST

As one who has long suspected News & Letters of being a bit soft on Zionism, I found it ironic that you allowed yourselves in the July issue to be "corrected" on the Palestinian question by a writer from New Outlook. The latter publication is aligned with the Mapam Party, Social Democrats who, as members of the Israeli cabinet, shared responsibility for the Six Day War of 1967 and its nationalistic "glory."

Subsequently Mapam was put in its place by the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen), the only detectable Marxist, truly internationalist group in the Middle East, and whose letters I'd prefer to see on your pages. It's difficult to recall a more elegant put-down than what Matzpen wrote about Mapam: "He who has partaken of a feast in which the dove of peace was served roasted must not be allowed to sport her white feathers."

Anti-Zionist  
Los Angeles

Enclosed is my check for Raya Dunayevskaya's Political-Philosophic Letter on the UN Resolution on Zionism and your pamphlet on the Middle-East Cockpit. Since I did not remember actually requesting them, I felt a little resentful being billed for them. But your group presents such a much less dogmatic view of Zionism and the Middle East—and of politics in general, that I am in-

deed grateful you sent them. Believe me, it is painful to have one's liberation movement compared to fascism and racism. I am so bitter about this that your paper is, for me, a breath of fresh air in that too often sterile, dry, crumbling atmosphere of the "Left". May we look forward to peace, socialism and an intelligent dialogue.

New Reader  
Berkeley, Cal.

## EDUCATING THE EDUCATORS

The CUNY administration has made a legislative deal that "saves" Hostos Community College at the expense of charging tuition and ending open admissions, and has announced a whole new round of cuts for next year. The faculty union leadership and student governments are as bad as the administration. The Union opened their offices when the University was closed in June to organize for protests, but as soon as the tenured faculty got paid they ended that. And the student government at Queens held a mini "sit-in" at the College President's office two weeks ago, demanding of all things equal cuts for all departments! When the University-wide student government called a rally after weeks of planning and only 10 people showed up, they blamed the turnout on the students, when a month before 5,000 students protested on a few days notice.

What neither the faculty union nor the "strategists" see is that it was those protest actions at Hostos that saved their school, and a method of action based on that struggle could turn these cuts around. Once again, the educators need to be educated.

CUNY Student  
New York

## STONEWALL '76

In June 1969, Gay people in the Stonewall bar on Christopher Street in New York resisted a police raid in a struggle that spread to the surrounding Greenwich Village neighborhood and involved thousands of Lesbians and Gay men.

Every June, Gay people commemorate this with marches and celebrations. This year, however, the self-appointed "leadership", the Christopher Street West Association (CSWA) moved the march to the 4th of July, added a carnival and circus, and claimed the slogan, "We were there." It seemed more important to us to know why we're here. We know the bicentennial is really a celebration of the corporate bosses' independence and freedom to oppress us and all other working people.

Our coalition, (Stonewall '76) insisting that Stonewall, bicentennial year or not, belongs to us, organized a march and rally in support of our Points of Unity, which are as follows: Full rights for Gay People; End racism and sexism; Build the unity of working and all other oppressed peoples.

Marcher  
Los Angeles

## THE WORLD OF GAMES

Kingston, Ont., at present undergoing a severe unemployment and housing crisis, had the dubious honor of hosting the sailing events for this year's Olympics. Kingston has suffered drastic cutbacks in social services, yet the powers-that-be presented the people of Kingston with a glorified circus — with an estimated price tag of \$22 million.

The province is spending from \$3.5 to \$4 million on "Kingston's games." The question is not one of mere figures. It is why governments choose to spend money on yacht facilities rather than social services and low-income housing.

Kingston Socialists  
Kingston, Ontario

The African nations almost unanimously boycotted the Olympics following Tanzania's lead in protest against New Zealand playing rugby against South Africa. When it mattered last fall, the Organization of African Unity was split down the middle by half the countries supporting factions in Angola who were fighting side by side with South African troops. Now in the world of games they are trying to appear united and militant against racism.

While New Zealand played rugby in South Africa as protesters in Soweto were being murdered, Kissinger was meeting with Vorster. France continued with nuclear supply and U.S. investment continued to support its economy. But the unseriousness of the Olympic boycott was that New Zealand alone was the target. As far as I am concerned we need to look to revolutionaries such as the youth of Soweto for the direction of the freedom movement, and not the political leaders of Black Africa.

Fan of African Athletes  
Detroit

## PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

One important difference between Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto today is that then the African revolutions were just beginning—but today there has been a decade of experience both with revolution and with counter-revolution on that continent. Another thing that struck me was the importance of the youth not wanting to use the oppressor's language. That is not "counter-culture", which can be exploited by the rulers, but the revolutionary nature of culture of an oppressed nation. That is what Raya Dunayevskaya was talking about, I think, in her recent *Two Worlds on Chicano Culture*, and the relationship between the two is very exciting to me.

Working Woman  
New York

The Political Philosophic Letter on the two summits—one of seven Western powers in occupied Puerto Rico and the other called by Brezhnev right next to the Berlin Wall — reveal the common economic and political crisis of all the camps . . . Neither Berlinguer or Swedish-type social democracy will be able to escape the tendency of the age toward totalitarianism and its opposite in the revolutionary mass movement. We saw the push toward totalitarianism here under Nixon, and the breather we have won from that won't last for long. The Polish strikes in the Communist world and the Portuguese revolution in the West illuminate the way forward.

Activist  
New York

As a long-time supporter of the United Farm Workers, I was recently shocked to receive in the mail their endorsement of Congressman James O'Hara for Senate in the Michigan primary. There was a copy of a letter from Cesar Chavez to O'Hara, praising him, and one from the UFW Legislative Representative urging UFW supporters to help the UFW "show its political clout in Michigan."

Not only is it disappointing to see the

UFW so involved in electoral politics which give the kiss of death to any movement for freedom (Civil Rights, Welfare Rights), but O'Hara has run on the single racist issue of anti-busing.

I can't believe this decision represents the masses of farmworkers who make up the UFW, a movement which has always included men, women and children and which has challenged the whole capitalist system, especially racism. I am interested to see whether the farmworkers will tolerate being "spoken for".

Shocked  
Detroit

Over 30,000 people from all over the country rallied in Philadelphia July 4 to oppose Ford's bicentennial hoopla with demands for Puerto Rican independence, justice for working people, and an end to 200 years of false promises. The march included people involved in activities from prisoner support work to UFW organizing to native American struggles to Women's Liberation, and no single organization dominated the day-long protest. The large array of community groups, activist collectives, and information presses provided a diversity missing at early mass rallies and showed that the movement is very deep indeed, and that each struggle is essentially the same fight against the alienated relations so much a part of American life. But many people felt that despite the solidarity of the protest, there was no sense that it would produce results after July 4. It seems that that type of continuity can be achieved only when the meaning of "same struggle, same fight" is worked out in thought as well as action, but that was missing from this march.

Marcher  
Philadelphia

It is important that the Perspectives Thesis published in the July issue starts with the idea of new human relations rather than only the objective situation, since in the last ten years there have been many creative movements but clearly activity alone is not enough. It has not been the New Left which had the answers because the state-capitalist powers it tailends are also out for world domination. All look for shortcuts. As a result we have Syrians today killing more Palestinians than Israel ever did. In Italy we have left groups trying to out-vanguard each other. In Portugal much of the Left is blind to the women's self-activity.

In the Middle East we have "anti-Zionism" throttling revolution and Arafat thinking Sadat might help the Palestinians. And here we see Carter winning the support of many Black leaders while he remains silent on busing and racism. Both Arafat and the Black leaders are isolated from the masses. It is hard to find anybody but Marxist-Humanists who ever talk of the masses as Reason. The Left's failure to work out philosophy is not laziness, but lack of respect for the people.

Student  
New York

## Who We Are

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery, Ala. Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signalled new movements from practice, which were themselves forms of theory. News & Letters was created so that the voices from below could be heard, and the unity of worker and intellectual, philosophy and revolution, could be worked out for our age. A Black production worker, Charles 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 the capitalistic, exploitative, racist, sexist society, we participate in all freedom struggles and do not separate the mass activities of workers, Blacks, women and youth from the activity of thinking. We invite you to join with us both in the freedom struggles and in working out a theory of liberation for our age.

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# EDITORIAL Masses in action expose bankruptcy of political platforms

The wildcat strike of 120,000 coal miners against the Federal Government; the swelling official and unofficial strikes sweeping the nation from rubber to health care, from auto to service and public employees; the ceaseless demonstrations by Blacks throughout the country for freedom and equality; and the demands of the more than 10 million unemployed workers for jobs show the total opposition between the revolutionary actions of the masses of the people and the counter-revolutionary programs of both political parties to crush that spreading revolt. Determined resistance to U.S. imperialism abroad is also growing, and is nowhere stronger than among the people of Panama who are demanding freedom from U.S. control over the Panama Canal Zone.

Unemployment officially stands at 7.8 percent, up from 7.5 percent last month, but in actuality exceeds 10 percent of the work force. The Democrats promised to cut unemployment to 4 percent by 1977, but the hard fact is that after "Smiley" Carter's declaration that there is a rich elite class, he met with representatives of that elite after his nomination—and they came away saying they could work together with him.

This is in complete contrast to their attitude to even moderate reformer McGovern, whom they bitterly opposed. The capitalist class has given its stamp of approval to Carter. After all, they know of his long support of anti-union "right-to-work" laws that are now more than ever being used to prevent unionization of workers in the South.

As for the Republicans, by declaring that inflation is more important than unemployment, they're telling the workers that they mean to make them pay the price for the failure of the capitalist system to provide jobs with a permanent army of the unemployed that will continue to take its toll of increasing millions of workers and their families.

The only difference between the "ho-hum" convention of the Democrats and the Republicans was the

GOP cliff-hanging to see how far to the right the reactionary delegates could push Ford toward Reagan's naked repressive positions.

## SPREADING RACISM

Racism meanwhile grows more virulent with open support from President Ford, whose outspoken opposition to busing gives courage to white racist mobs and Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Party attacks against Blacks, with Boston and Chicago leading the way.

Carter promises he will appoint more Blacks to government office, as if this is any solution or can hide his basic racism revealed in his defense of neighborhood "ethnic purity", as well as his own opposition to busing. Just how little difference Blacks in high government positions make can be seen in Detroit, where Black Mayor Coleman Young has appointed many Blacks to leading government posts. Unemployment in Detroit is over 13 percent; for Blacks it is more than twice that much; and for Black youth unemployment goes to 50 percent and more.

As for U.S. imperialism, and especially in Latin America (see lead article, p. 1), the Democrats completely avoided any mention of the Panama Canal Zone to show how they differ from the Republicans, who insist on control over the Canal Zone—one faction talking in terms of 25 years and the other in terms of forever . . . even if it means war.

## SOLUTIONS IN ACTIONS

Contrasted to both political parties stands the determined action of those oppressed by this economic system. Over 120,000, or three-fourths of this nation's 160,000 coal miners, came out on a wildcat strike against the coal operators, their own UMW bureaucrats and the federal government. The strike is far from a dispute with mine management over the posting of a job opening. The fact is that coal operators are refusing to consider miners' grievances, and when miners act to pro-

tect their lives and rights, the coal operators obtain injunctions from "friendly" Federal judges prohibiting the miners from taking action.

The miners have no illusions about "the law", which they know to be a noose around their necks that is tightened with every demand of their own leaders that they return to work. And the UMW shows in its actions that unions today, instead of backing the workers, have been changed into one of the strongest weapons to be used against their own members.

The miners are demanding nothing less than control over production to protect their lives. They have always known they must have this power, but it is exactly this power that their leadership has never challenged, because it means challenging this entire capitalist system. But where the leaders fear to tread, the miners are demanding to go because of the very conditions of inhuman and automated labor forced upon them which threatens their very lives every day they go down into the mines. Workers everywhere recognize this need with greater clarity than ever before (see "On the Line" column, p. 3).

## OPPOSITION TO U.S. IMPERIALISM

As for the U.S. imperialist stranglehold on Latin America, the Panamanians have already demonstrated that they are willing to die to gain control over their own country. Their demands are so powerful that even their U.S.-created dictator, Omar Torrijos Herrera, is maneuvering to bring Panama's case for control over the canal before the U.N., where an overwhelming vote against the U.S. would both be assured as well as show the swelling opposition to U.S. imperialism throughout the world.

These actions, because they are spurred ceaselessly onward by the demands of human freedom both at home and abroad, carry their solutions within themselves, solutions which will never be found in any platform of the GOP or the Democrats.

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

by Charles Denby, Editor

I have just read an article in the *Detroit News*, in the editorial section, that said Black people were wrong for having so much hate against whites. The writer said that it is wrong for Blacks to hold a grudge against whites for something their parents and grandparents had done to them 50 to 100 or more years ago, and that the preaching and teaching of someone like Rev. Cleague continues to pour gas on the fire.

What made me angry about the article was that it did not seem to think anything was wrong with this society. I do not believe Blacks can ever forget the torture, the murder, and all other forms of brutality that have been perpetrated against their parents. Without an endless struggle for their rights, it would be continuing today, and in some cases it is continuing today.

## NO JUSTICE FOR BLACKS

There are places where Blacks are convicted and sent to long terms in prison simply because they are Blacks and do not have the money to hire a good lawyer. Some whites are too, but it is still unjust. In North Carolina they have ten Blacks for every white on death row. There was a white woman who recently killed a Black man in that state. The eyewitness said the man was at his home and running away from her, but the white jury found her innocent. If this was a Black person killing a white at his house while he was running away, the Black would have been electrocuted. No other way.

We Blacks have some rights now that we didn't have before, but the power structure holds our basic rights in their minds, along with the rights of other minorities. What I am talking about is court cases like Ben Chavis and the rest of the Wilmington 10 in prison with him accused of burning down their own headquarters, sentenced to 235 years when everyone said the KKK did the burning.

I am speaking about Gary Tyler, the 17-year-old kid in Louisiana, coming home from school on the bus when someone shot into a mob of whites who were throwing stones at the Black students. They arrested Gary the day after, and said they found a weapon in the seat of the bus. He was sentenced to die immediately.

Even if the writer of the article had not heard of these cases, maybe he heard of the peaceful demonstration that Blacks and some whites were leading in Chicago recently. Some 250 people were marching when a mob of whites came and stoned them and beat them, putting many in the hospital, even though the march had police "protection."

So it is not all what whites did 150 or 200 years ago. It is what is happening in this society today. This racist society has some people confused, and some are racist to the core. What some whites call racism in Blacks is actually activity that is not on a racist basis. Blacks hate and fight against the racism and abuses that still exist.

## KISSINGER AND VORSTER

Now they are saying that Kissinger is going to

## America's ongoing racism

South Africa to have another talk with Vorster while they are murdering Blacks in South Africa every day. Kissinger will try to get Vorster and Rhodesia's Prime Minister Smith to make some public relations concessions, because this country has let Russia and Cuba get ahead of them in Africa.

As one worker said, the white rulers and government rulers all over the world think the working and common people are just fools. The main thing they have going for them is that they are able to keep us fighting among ourselves and divided. If and when we realize what their game plan is and get together, I feel sure their days will soon come to an end. But there are so many among us that don't seem to live in the real world of here and now.

I was thinking that the writer of the article in the paper was one of these. If not, how could he believe what he wrote with all the things that are happening to Blacks in this country and throughout the world.

## BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Eldridge Cleaver has been held in the Alameda County Jail, in Oakland, Cal., for several months without the possibility of bail, because the California Adult Authority has deemed him a parole violator since the 1968 shootout between the Black Panthers and the Oakland police.

Today Cleaver is estranged from all his old colleagues of the New Left because he has been extolling the virtues of U.S. democracy in such magazines as *Newsweek* and *The Readers Digest*. He no longer has that magic charisma that enchanted both the radical chic of Pacific Heights and the Black ghetto youth—those youth who saw in him the possible vision that would put an end to their mean existence as the wretched of the American earth.

There is no point in trying to analyze his personal motives for proclaiming his current ideas. However, it did sound strange when he applauded Moynihan's arrogance toward the undeveloped countries in the United Nations—which is nothing more than the outright posturing of America's racist imperialism toward those countries—by saying that he would be many times more critical of those "two-bit nations."

## SUPPORT FROM REACTIONARY CHIC

None of the movement lawyers will defend Cleaver. He has no permanent attorney, but he is not totally without legal defense or money. His old class enemies are eager to get into his act. San Francisco Supervisor Quentin Kopp, who rose to political prominence by opposing busing in San Francisco and to even greater prominence with his intransigent attitude toward striking San Francisco city workers last spring, will defend Cleaver's right to bail. And, it has been reported, Daniel Moynihan, that theoretician of "benign neglect" to

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## Cleaver's alienated soul

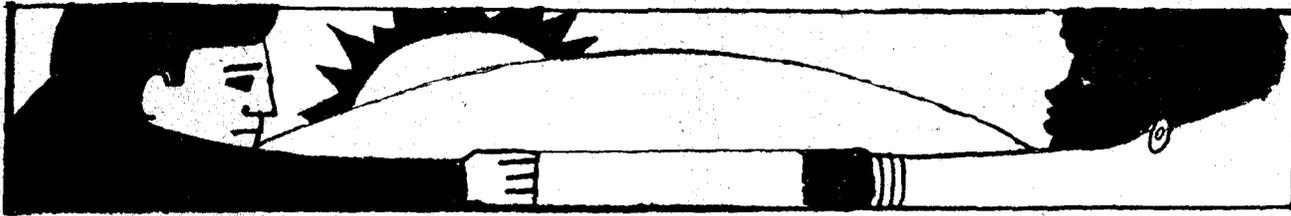
the problems of Black people in this country, has contributed \$500 to Cleaver's defense. In New York, Commentary magazine editor Norman Podhoretz is helping to arrange a fund-raising party among the conservative and reactionary chic. (Ed. Note—As we go to press, Cleaver has been freed on \$100,000 bail.)

## ALIENATED SOUL

Cleaver is in a paradoxical situation, and he seems to know this because he has asked himself the rhetorical question: How can he talk about the greatness of America's democracy from a prison cell in Oakland? Indeed, Cleaver now appears, not as a soul on ice, but as an alienated soul, an unhappy consciousness, such as Hegel discusses in the *Phenomenology of Mind*. A consciousness that does not face the objective world squarely, but rather espouses the false freedom of the United States' racist, capitalist imperialism.

Any analysis of Cleaver, per se, would be inadequate. But if we look at the total historic period that he came through, we find that he is not a fluke but the logical development of the failure to develop a philosophy of revolution that was equal to the mass movement of the 1960's, a movement that was demanding an end to imperialist wars and racial discrimination.

When the New Left, Cleaver among them, decided to eschew all theoretical thinking, and to engage only in the rhetoric of protest, they not only denied the revolutionary vision that was being projected by the masses, but they left a theoretical void that could only be filled with a "theory of counter-revolution"—and at this stage of the world crisis, counter-revolution takes either the form of Russian or Chinese state capitalism, or the form of American electoral politics which Tom Hayden and Elaine Brown have opted for. They are now trying to tell us that this—electoral politics—was what the whole struggle of the last decade and a half was all about. And in this case, there is not one millimeter of difference between them and Cleaver.



## Introduction to Spanish Marxism and Freedom

(Continued from page 1)

today (12-1-75), while lecturing him against "detente" with Russia. It would, indeed, be a sad commentary on our age if genuine revolutionaries still persisted in attaching themselves to one or another of the poles of the Sino-Soviet orbit, as if that differed in class nature from U.S. imperialism, instead of striking out on a truly independent road of social revolution.

Revolutions do not arise in the fullness of time for the purpose of establishing The Chairman or a party machine. The Leader Maximus and *partinost* (party monolithism) are there to throttle the revolution, not to release the creativity as well as the energies of the millions. Marxism is either a theory of liberation or it is nothing. In thought and in life, it lays the basis for achieving a new human dimension, without which no new society has viability.

WE LIVE IN a "birth-time of history and a period of transition" such as characterized the age in which Marx lived. Only ours is of truly world-wide scope, and begins with the question: What happens after the revolution that has so often led to a transformation into opposite? A task confronts our age: How can the movement from theory meet the challenge of the movement from practice which seeks a totally new relationship of theory to practice so that it can reconstruct society on new, truly human beginnings? Just as Marx had to fight the "vulgar Communists" of his day who thought all ills of capitalism would be overcome with the abolition of private property, we must not fall into the trap of mistaking Communism's "anti-capitalism", i.e. planned economy, for any other than what it is—the full logical development of capitalism itself into state-capitalism.

The unity of theory and practice that characterized Marx's new continent of thought remains the vision that can assure that there will be no further transformation into opposite such as that which characterized the transformation of Russia from a workers' state into a state-capitalist society, and which presently threatens the Third World. We who were witnesses to the missile crisis in 1962 and saw Cuba caught in the vise of the two superpowers aspiring for world domination know that the fate of the world and the fate of the missiles in Cuba were decided not by Castro, but by Kennedy and Khrushchev. The very survival of civilization demands the uprooting of the old and the creating of a new classless society.

THROUGH ALL the eight editions of *Marxism and Freedom* there has been no change in either the content or the structure of the work based on the movement from practice to theory and a new society through 200 years of industrial, political, intellectual, historical development—the ages of revolution. It would seem that its timeliness in the 1970's has gained a new urgency because of the merging passion for philosophy from a new generation of revolutionaries within each land, the U.S. included. Whatever the reason the capitalistic UN chose Mexico as the place to celebrate International Women's Year—and be torn apart by it—the fact remains that it is symbolic of both the Third World and the Women's Liberation Movement as Reason as well as force.

The passion for philosophy that has emerged in this decade, as against the 1960's when activism in general and guerrilla war in particular relegated theory to an inconsequential thing that could be picked up "en route", has compelled even a Regis Debray to some second thoughts. Whereas in 1967 Debray rejected theory as if it were no more than "the vice of excessive deliberations" in favor of "military focus" that would decide all, even as the Leader Maximus would be all, he has just now published a critique of his previous concepts which led to such disasters.\* Unfortunately, in presently turning to Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* for a dialectic of negativity Debray is attempting quite a feat: "deducing" from the unity of opposites still another form of "military focus". No wonder he once again ends up on a merry-go-round of tactics elevated to strategy.

Debray has learned even less from Lenin than from Salvador Allende who, in analyzing for him the struggle of the Latin American people against U.S. imperialism, said, "The living death of the people cannot continue," concluding that "the liberation of Chilean energies" would "rebuild the nation." Fortunately, Debray's poverty of philosophy has no prowess to invalidate Lenin's concept of the dialectics of liberation, much less to substitute a petty-bourgeois subjectivism for the objective situation of our day that gave birth to a veritable passion of philosophy on the part of the masses. It is they who refuse any longer to separate the actual liberation struggles from the philosophy of liberation which would lay themselves open for still another unfinished revolution.

\*Regis Debray, *La Critique des Armes I and II* (1974, Paris) and *Prison Writings* (1973, London.)

JUST AS, at the outbreak of World War I, the Second International's betrayal of the proletariat and violation of Marxism led Lenin to return to the philosophic origins of Marx in the Hegelian dialectic as his theoretic preparation for proletarian revolution, so the aborted revolution and the disastrous playing with guerrilla warfare in our era must lead us to a total re-evaluation of the relationship of theory to practice. Lenin's return to dialectics laid the foundation for the Great Divide in Marxism (see Chapter X). It is there we must begin.

Each generation meets the challenge of the times or fades into oblivion. No one can be under the illusion that our epoch marks the type of turning point in history where history fails to turn. On the contrary. Precisely because of the political-philosophic maturity of our age, the movement these past two decades from practice that is itself a form of theory, we can meet this challenge, provided we return to the Humanism of Marxism and the new dialectics of liberation Lenin worked out on the eve of 1917, on the level of the new in our epoch. In our age of absolutes, when revolution and counter-revolution are so interlocked, it is not only the intellectuals "in general" who must leave their ivory towers: so, too, must the Marxist theoreticians. *Marxism and Freedom* is a contribution toward that end.

Raya Dunayevskaya  
Detroit, Michigan  
December, 1975

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## Protest Chilean torture ship

New York, N.Y.—Over 600 Latin and North Americans united in four days of protest against the inclusion of the Chilean navy ship *Esmeralda* in Operation Sail, New York City's bicentennial celebration. Mass picketing, sponsored by Action for Women in Chile, Chile Solidarity Committee and Non-intervention in Chile, was maintained at the ship on July 4th and 5th.

Supporters of a free Chile distributed 50,000 leaflets documenting the military junta's use of the *Esmeralda* as a detention and torture center during the coup in Sept., 1973. The leaflets, in English and Spanish, also detailed the widespread repression and denial of all human rights in Chile today and the role of the U.S. in bringing the fascists to power.

During all the days of protest, large groups of middle-class Latin Americans screamed at the protesters, spat on them, and several times clawed at their faces. Shouts of "Communista" and "Fascista" went back and forth over the heads of the police who for once seemed to be concerned with protecting the picketers.

When two young women aboard the *Esmeralda* unfurled an MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) banner, the police extricated them without undue force and escorted them safely through the hostile Latins and back to the security of the anti-imperialist groups cheering their action.

—Julia Schulman

### For Chile: in memoriam Sept. 11, 1973

"Tyranny beheads the bards, but by secret subterranean springs their voice returns from the bottom of the well to the surface, and even in the darkness rises to the lips of the people."

—Pablo Neruda

## UFW urges Dole boycott

Detroit, Mich.—The United Farm Workers won an election which was certified ten months ago, at a California ranch owned by West Foods. After ten months of the company's refusal to negotiate, the workers voted 130 to 0 to ask the union for a boycott of Dole, the company's marketing label. The UFW is now asking its supporters to boycott all Dole fresh fruits, mostly pineapples and bananas, in addition to the continuing boycott of table grapes and head lettuce.

UFW organizers are also asking retail stores not to carry products marketed by uncooperative growers in an effort to put pressure on agribusiness and force them to bargain where elections have already been won. Already three of the seven growers first on this label list have capitulated and one of the major Michigan chain stores under threat of picketing agreed not to carry items on the label list and not to advertise grapes or head lettuce.

I have been talking with farmworkers just returned from California and they report a bitterly anti-Teamster mood in the fields, with a great deal of the anger centered around the non-existence of health care at Teamster dominated ranches (their workers wind up at UFW clinics) and the fact that once again there are no elections during peak harvest season. The California Agricultural Labor Relations Act has finally been re-funded, obviously as a tactic to undermine Proposition 14, the similar Agricultural Labor Relations Act, which could not be tampered with once passed because it is a Referendum. This shows the power of the farmworker movement.

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## Creativity of Native women crucial to Indian movement

by Shainape Sheapwe

Last spring, I participated in a News and Letters Women's Liberation panel discussion on the anniversary of International Women's Day. I spoke on the role of Native American women in the movement today, and since then, I've been talking to other Native women and have become increasingly enthusiastic about some of the aspects of the women's role.

In the past, Indian women were not only workers, but thinkers and decision-makers in most tribes. I think that this was a necessity not just a tradition. Women



—News & Letters photo

Native Americans from "Trail of Self-determination" demonstrate in Washington, D. C. on July 4.

knew more about the tribe because they lived with it. But, with the attempted destruction of tribal life, when we were forced onto the reservations, the role of women changed.

When I was six years old, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) officials wanted some information from the people on my reservation. They felt that we weren't cooperating, so they cut off our rations. The women protested this by picketing in front of the food office with their children. Some of them even went to jail. The food was given back, but the BIA officials talked to the men of the tribe rather than deal with the women. These women were angry because they felt that their creativity and usefulness counted for very little not only with the white society but with the men of the tribe.

### CHANGED AT WOUNDED KNEE

During the takeover of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, from February to May of 1973, the role of women was again very much altered. Men and women worked together not only in the school and community kitchen but in the trenches to protect themselves against the FBI and state troopers. The women participated completely in the governing of the newly-formed nation.

Today, many in our movement, especially some of the men, are hardpressed just to survive. They're tied up in endless court battles. Their lives are being threatened, and some of them have been killed. This has not stopped the movement.

I went to Washington D.C. on July 4 especially to talk to other Native Americans in the movement. I heard a speech given by Kamook Banks. Jane Fonda introduced her as a substitute for her husband Dennis who couldn't be there. But Kamook said that she wasn't just speaking for Dennis but for herself and for all people in the movement who were fighting for our rights.

Later, I went to a Powwow at American University, given by the people in the "Caravan of Self-determination." These were Native Americans who came from all over the U.S. to talk with the President about a program for self-government that they had drawn up that would eliminate the BIA.

### WOMEN ALWAYS ACTIVE

I noticed that most of the spokespeople for that group were women, and when I mentioned this one of the women said: "Women have always been active in the Native American movement. Our men are in trouble now; we can't let that stop us from fighting for our rights."

I believe that this white society thinks that Native American women are incapable of caring for our families in the same way they do. Indian women have had their kids taken from them. They've been sterilized. They've been put in jail and killed, and now, we'll be harassed even more. It will not only be aimed at us but at our children, too. We have to be very careful to protect ourselves, but we can't let that stop our movement for freedom.

Finally, I want to say this to my brothers in the movement. The only way we will all have the freedom we want is to accept each other as equals, not only in the time of crisis but in the day-to-day struggle for our rights. Women's Liberation is not just a slogan. It is a necessary part of the bigger struggle for a better way of life for us as a sovereign people.

## S. African youth revolt hits apartheid regime and Black rulers

The revolt in South Africa has again erupted with new intensity in a wave of marches and mass demonstrations, especially in the streets of Soweto. This followed the revolt sparked in June by the Black student youth (see News & Letters, July 1976) which led to police killings of at least 176, with many more wounded and jailed. Where before the unity between the activity of the workers and the youth had been spontaneous and sporadic, this time the students were determined in their appeal to Black workers.

All through the week, students set up roadblocks and picket lines at the railroad and bus stations where a quarter-million Black workers leave each day to work in the white-owned businesses and factories of Johannesburg. Up to three-quarters of Soweto's workers refused to leave the town. Instead, in the face of the continued government ban on public meetings and marches, they joined the students in demonstrations.

At a mass meeting in Soweto on Aug. 1, 3,000 students confronted the Black city council and mayor, demanding to question J. T. Kruger, Justice Minister, who is responsible for the detention without recourse or rights of hundreds of the youth who were active in the June revolt. The students began organizing a march to Johannesburg itself, to demonstrate at police headquarters in Vorster Square, for the release of all those jailed. For several days, the marchers set out but were turned back when police opened fire.

The Black youth had from the start opposed the white apartheid regime and their own Black rulers. Where before, the greatest anger had been directed by the students and adults alike at the places of government repression such as the schools, pass offices, clinics and government-run businesses like liquor stores, now the revolt was clearly turned against these Black "lead-

## Detroit students oppose cuts

by Jim Mills

In the wake of the defeat of a tax increase for Detroit public schools by Detroit voters on Aug. 3, all sports and physical education courses and all music programs in the schools were cut, 1,500 teachers laid-off, 10 schools closed and first grade classes cut to half-days.

One high school student described the sentiment of other students after the proposition failed: "I've talked to a lot of kids, and the majority of those I know have gotten scholarships. They can't understand why the proposition was opposed. The scholarships they got in athletics and music aren't doing them any good."

"I feel that as a youth committee, we could talk to a lot of youth, and maybe in some way, we could get sports and music back into the schools. Without them half the students feel that they ought to quit school now."

If one looks at the cuts considering also the school districts in the suburbs outside Detroit, it becomes evident that separate and unequal is still the rule. Money spent per child in predominantly white suburban schools is far more than that in the city schools.

Most Detroit students are from low-income and working-class families, and teaching reading skills is one of the school system's hardest tasks. The inequality between systems has become profound since first graders now have reduced classes for intensive reading instruction, whereas full days are provided in the middle and upper class suburban schools.

A bitter irony is that many teachers, staff, and board administrators, while strongly endorsing the tax increase, could not even vote for it because they had fled from Detroit to the suburbs.

Many think that the Detroit school board selected its cuts to create the worst possible atmosphere of crisis, certain to have a measured effect upon parents and the electorate who will likely return in November to vote again on the tax Proposition. However, while the youth suffer through political stunts, their questioning and the ground for their opposition remains total.

Why does there have to be a choice made between extracurricular activities and academics for the "least damaging" cutbacks in city schools, especially while useless unlimited military production (tanks) continues in nearby Warren, and especially while such cuts are unseen in the suburbs? Youth see in this crisis the need to uproot it rather than refund it.

## AMERICA'S FIRST UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

by M. Franki and J. Hillstrom

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ers" as well who had compromised in any way with the white regime.

This gulf between the youth and the Black rulers became obvious in Monshiwa, the "capital" of the Bophutswana "homeland," where the Black Chief Minister vowed to implement Vorster's colossal fraud of "independence," when high school students burned down the parliament building. In Soweto, the houses of Black officials were stoned—a guard was stationed around the house of Soweto's mayor after it was bombed—and two Black policemen were killed.

The youth's creativity was expressed in their appeal to the workers. In organizing the early-morning roadblocks and picket lines, the students involved went to stations distant from where they lived so that informers could not identify them. Old buses were set up as roadblocks, and buses of the main commuter line were immobilized. Railroad lines were ripped up. Those students who did attend school discussed the revolt, not "classes as usual." The spirit which the youth of Soweto displayed has inspired all of Africa.

In Uganda, reports are now coming from Makerere University in Kampala, the center of revolt against Idi Amin's repressive regime, of the slaughter of men and women students at a demonstration held there on Aug. 3. Over 2,000 of Makerere's 4,000 students were protesting the lack of police investigation into the murder of a woman university residence halls worker. She had been scheduled to testify, in turn, at an inquiry into the disappearance of a Kenyan student at Makerere.

Hundreds of Ugandan students were brutally killed and wounded during the course of the week, and those left fled from the university. The slaughter occurred just at a time when Uganda and Kenya were signing an "agreement" to resume commercial and political relations after the Entebbe airport raid had brought them to a state of near-war.

The attack on the students was undoubtedly known in Kenya, yet it was just then that the Kenyan government chose to honor one term of the agreement, that neither country should issue unfavorable reports about the other, and news of the slaughter did not come out until several days later. This underlines the fact that no one knows better than the class rulers, Black as well as white, that the real threat to their power comes from within each country.

## Gambians seek new government

(The following letter was received from a correspondent in The Gambia.—Ed.)

The Gambia—For almost three centuries this little Gambia, overpowered and subsequently controlled by Portuguese, French and finally by the British, was used hopefully as a source of raw materials and human labour for the Americas, and eventually as a jumping-off ground for the hinterland of Africa.

From 1965 onward The Gambia, having set up its own government, moved or intended to move toward a change in the old pattern bequeathed by the British government to a new way of life consistent with the aspirations of the people—the sole purpose of political independence.

From that year the conduct and activities of the new government were carefully and vigorously watched and by 1972 at the general elections, the grumbings of dissatisfaction were engendered by what was described in some circles as the "silent forty."

By 1975 the "silent forty" had been transformed into well-established organized political parties in the name of National Convention Party and the National Liberation Party, in addition to the existing United Party which is the oldest.

In the heyday of British imperialism, the division through education created an elite on whom depended a strong and influential group to set the machinery right to control. The effect of such a system was twofold: it gave the elite the dominant power to buttress the image of British interests, and the system offered opportunity for the elite to demand transfer of power to their class.

That system, which has dominated the lives of Gambians throughout British rule and was adopted by the succeeding government that is Gambian, has sparked the present political crisis—between those who have and those who have not, between the city/town dwellers and village/rural inhabitants.

The crisis, which is expected to be settled at the next general elections due 1977, envisages a change for the better. Among the three opposition parties, the National Convention Party poses a real threat to the ruling People's Progressive Party.

In its Manifesto declared at a public rally on June 19, the party leader, Sheriff Mustapha Dibba, former vice president and Minister of Finance in the ruling PPP government, said his party aims at a just society regardless of class, race or tribe; supporting African Unity Organisation; establishing relations with all countries; supporting United Nations Organization; pledging to maintain democracy; laying emphasis on agriculture; implementing austerity measures on public expenditure; re-arranging the priorities; removing the disparity between rural and city life, and the organisation of the NCP branches with a view to closing the gap between leadership and membership.

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

### Iran

The Shah of Iran increased Iran's revenue from \$4.5 billion in 1973 to \$20 billion in 1974 and managed to create a \$2.4 billion trade deficit last year, as the result of his irrational policy of industrialization of a country not ready for it. He used oil wealth to import whole industries having nothing in common with either the country or its population, resulting in chaos on its docks, wasted billions and continuing food shortages for its workers.

He boasts that he is now exporting cars and trucks. He bought the parts from Chrysler, assembled them in an expensive imported factory, sells them at a loss and boasts of being an "industrialized nation." He has claimed that within 15 years he will produce 15 million tons of steel a year (more than France) with no iron ore plants, labor and machinery all imported in order to prove his point. It could cost him multi-billions even if he finds a market.

His Imperial Majesty orders goods so fast and with so little reason that ships are tied up for as much as five months in the harbor waiting for a place to unload. An estimated one billion dollars was paid shipping companies in demurrage charges.

While onions are displayed in jewel cases as rarities, 11 million pounds of oranges were ordered from Spain, dumped in the harbor until he discovered that the people were rescuing them and now the smell of rotting oranges permeates the docks while onions, one by one, are awarded as great prizes.

Food for the population rots in the harbor waiting for a dock to unload, while one million tons of goods rot or rust on the docks for lack of transportation. Copper mining equipment, fertilizers, imported steel, machinery, broken crates of goods lie in rubbish piles while the Shah imports even more.

Trucks from Europe cross through from Turkey—over 150 a day each way through the inspection points. The truck drivers, imported from Korea, are quitting in droves due to miserable living conditions in Iran under the Shah where a small apartment is priced at \$254 a month.

The Shah spends four to five billion dollars a year on his military establishment, importing sophisticated military equipment and using people as troops who could better be employed in production of goods and food for themselves and the country.

The needs of the people are being sacrificed to the insatiable ambition of an absolute monarch.

### Poland

Increases in the price of food by as much as 69 percent, announced last month by the Polish government, resulted in widespread rioting and demonstrations in a number of cities by factory workers who forced the government to back down.

At the Urus tractor plant, workers derailed a diesel locomotive, cutting all rail traffic to Warsaw and hundreds of workers at the plant went on strike. Seven of these workers, between 21 and 35 years old, are on trial facing three to six year jail terms for destruction of government property.

At Radom, south of Warsaw, 37 stores and 11 kiosks were burned and the Communist Party headquarters was set on fire. Two workers were reported killed. The government has tried to blame the unrest on "hooligans" and young men drunk on looted alcohol, as they did after the 1970 riots over freezing wages and raising food prices.

Again, Communist Party leader Edward Gierek has gone to the shipyard workers at Gdansk to explain the government price program which will be introduced next month, raising the price of meat by 35 percent and freezing some prices at present levels.

### Japan

(The following are excerpts from a communication received recently from Tokyo, Japan—Ed.)

We, the Japan Revolutionary Communists League—Revolutionary Marxists Faction (Kakumaru-ha) and the National Federation of Students' Self-Government Associations (Zengakuren) held the International Anti-War Assembly on Aug. 4, on the day the atomic bomb exploded on Hiroshima City 31 years ago.

The U.S. imperialists are trying to provoke war persistently, even after defeat and expulsion in the Vietnam war by the people of Indochina . . .

But we must notice the fact that these U.S. imperialists' attacks are supported by Stalinists of U.S.S.R., China, and other countries. Stalinists of U.S.S.R., crushing struggles of working class in every country, compete with U.S. imperialists only by means of expansion of armaments, and by doing so, produce more military tension and war crisis.

Chinese communists categorize U.S.S.R. as social-imperialism, the worst enemy, and go the length of conspiring politically and militarily with imperialists against U.S.S.R. . . . Moreover, communist parties of Europe and Japan which have been splitting from Stalinists of U.S.S.R. or China are now going along the way to social democratism like the Second International . . .

We also have been organizing mass action against each case of imperialists' attacks, like the expansion of Japanese and the U.S. military bases in Japan, their military practice and so on.

At the same time we have been denouncing the U.S.S.R.'s military action and Chinese Stalinists' conspiracy with the U.S. imperialists. We are convinced that the war crisis made by the imperialists and the Stalinists should be smashed by the power of solidarity of working class in every country.

# Revolt of Latin American masses hurls challenge to U.S. imperialism

(Continued from page 1)

ket and the industrialized minority determined to keep its pre-eminent position.

Particularly illuminating is the U.S. relationship with Puerto Rico. Despite Ford's warnings to Cuba on his arrival in San Juan about interference in that relationship, the problem lies not with Cuba, but in the inhuman conditions faced by the Puerto Rican people under U.S. control. An unemployment rate of as high as 45 percent, more than half the island population requiring food stamps, a continuing stagnated economy—these are the realities of the island.

The conditions are not restricted to Puerto Rico, but are a reflection of U.S. relations to all of Latin America. This past year has seen a new resurgence of the whip of U.S.-directed counter-revolution, particularly in the Southern Cone of South America—Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay.

### ARGENTINA ON THE BRINK OF CIVIL WAR

Argentina today is on the brink of a full Civil War. Not only has the March 24 military overthrow of Isabel Peron not changed anything fundamental; rather it has unleashed the death squads of the right wing generals in an almost unrestricted wave of violence. Thousands of "subversives" have been rounded up, taken away in the night, detained. Hundreds have been murdered outright or "disappeared."

The death squad targets are not only the guerrilla groups, Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP) and the Montoneros. Leaders within the trade union movement disappear; literary figures are kidnapped; bourgeois politicians are forced to seek political asylum; and most recently a number of political refugees from other Latin American countries were murdered. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees has appealed to other countries to agree to accept some 2,000 political exiles currently in danger in Argentina.

The ascendancy of the ultra-right has become ever more clear in the past few weeks. A publishing house like the respected Siglo XXI has been ordered closed; journalists have been expelled; some 700 academics have been fired, including many from the Psychiatric Department of Lanus Hospital which teaches students from all over Latin America. The government has issued a number of new decrees: one "dissolved" 48 political organizations, including a Trotskyist group, a pro-Chinese group, and a number of Peronist student and youth organizations. Imprisonment for up to eight years for any continued activity, including possession of their publications, is the penalty.

### WORKERS' REVOLTS

The opposition to the military junta comes from more than the guerrilla groups. Within factories around Buenos Aires and Cordoba, workers have taken recourse in systematic sabotage as their method of opposition.

The workers are under the tremendous pressure of a rate of inflation exceeding more than one percent a day. At the same time the government has decreased wage increases that do not begin to touch the decrease in the workers' purchasing power. Workers have pres-



Tin mines are center of revolt in Bolivia.

sured employers to grant unauthorized wage increases. At an IKA-Renault factory in Cordoba, 4,000 workers began a slowdown because the factory had refused to grant its workers a wage increase while another auto manufacturer had agreed to do so. This led to the suspension of 1,000 workers the following day.

While the Argentine masses struggle against their counter-revolutionary rulers, Chile, whose generals with U.S. help murdered both an on-going revolution and a legitimate government, has been accepted back into the fold in Latin America as evidenced by the Organization of American States' (OAS) acceptance of fascist Chile's invitation to meet in Santiago. It was, in fact, this recent OAS meeting which reflected the ascendancy not only of the right wing regimes in Latin America in the last two years, but of the U.S.'s growing imperial hand.

The fact that the Human Rights report was given in that torture chamber which is Chile is shocking. The OAS, while criticizing the lack of human rights, did absolutely nothing else. And the decline in human rights elsewhere in Latin America, especially Argentina and Uruguay, means that Chile's terror is being copied rather than condemned.

### LATIN AMERICA'S NARROW NATIONALISM

For the past several years there had been a threat to the U.S. from a Latin American nationalism. Two years ago, a number of Latin countries, among them Peru, Panama and Mexico, were telling Kissinger that there was a new spirit in Latin America; that Latin America's alliance was not with the United States so much as with the Third World and with the oil-exporting nations. Kissinger, on his part, came forth with a promise for "a new dialogue."

Both concepts became still-births. The oil exporting countries were for no alliance insofar as sharing the profits from their black gold was concerned. And, in fact, the influence of international banks and oil companies has grown in Latin America as a result of the oil price increases. The United States Trade Act of January 1975 hit Latin America hard. The Latin Amer-

ican nationalists found little or no solidarity among themselves.

A tougher U.S. policy has now emerged to keep the military in control directly or indirectly, and a market economy in force.

### MASSES IN MOTION

The Latin American masses, however, continue their ceaseless revolt. In Honduras, leagues of landless campesinos are organizing and demanding land. The bloody, barbaric suppression of their movement last year has not stopped further mobilization.

In Bolivia, the tin miners have been in deep confrontation with the government for weeks. At least 14 state mines and one private mine have been involved in a strike called to demand withdrawal of troops from the Siete Suyos mining area and the return of their 24 leaders arrested at the beginning of June and deported to Chile.

In Brazil, too, there have been the first major strikes in some eight years against the deteriorating living conditions, involving building workers, bus drivers, and auto workers. The horrendous conditions of large numbers of Brazil's population can be seen most decidedly in the northeast where peasants have recently ransacked food stores in that drought-stricken area. Aid has been denied as the government claimed it would boost the rate of inflation. This is the land Henry Kissinger recently not only whitewashed, but credited with being an "economic miracle".

### THE SECOND AMERICA

It is precisely because of the U.S. imperial reach in Latin America that we, as a part of the second USA, have a special responsibility here at home to change this country. That responsibility begins with our relation to the Latino/Chicano revolt right within the U.S.

Over the past year, Puerto Ricans on the "mainland" have been in the forefront of struggles in the schools, in housing and in the "factories in the fields." In New York, predominantly Puerto Rican students at Hostos College not only inspired thousands of CUNY students, Black and white, at other schools, as they occupied their school buildings, but refused to limit their struggle to the campus. Their "community coalition" marches demanding better health care and an end to slum housing, as well as decent education, succeeded at least in keeping Hostos open one more year.

New groups are springing up every month on women's liberation, on housing conditions, or against the increasing deportations of "illegals." Whether one looks at the new organizing activity among Puerto Rican farmworkers in Connecticut and New Jersey joining Chicanos on strike in California, or the new tenant organizations in Chicago, where the large Latino community includes both Chicanos and Puerto Ricans in the same neighborhoods, one cannot fail to see Latino masses in motion against U.S. capitalist society as a fact which is part of the ground for that society's overthrow. It is only with the help of a social revolution in this imperialist land that Latin Americans can make their own revolutions free from the U.S. counter-revolutionary thumb.