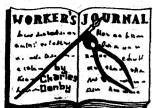
# Chiang Ch'ing, Hua Kuo-feng in post-Mao China by Raya Dunayevskaya p. 5 Ten Years After Detroit's Rebellion Editorial p. 4 Review of Mphahlele on Black Culture by John Alan p. 7

ON THE INSIDE



# Retiree's life filled with problems

by Charles Denby, Editor

I had a discussion with several retired workers several weeks ago, and they talked about how their lives had changed and how drastically the situation in this country has changed since they were working in the shop.

One said that when he was in the shop, he would look out the window on a spring day and would wish he were not in the shop and think of all the things he would do and places he would go when he was out of there. Now that he is out, he does not have the money to go anywhere.

There are some workers between age 52 and 62 who took the 30-years-and-out plan. The union and company pay them some \$650 but they do not get Social Security until they reach 65. If you take early retirement at 62, they deduct the amount they have paid you when you do reach 65. Besides that, a worker has to pay his or her taxes out of their wages until they are 65.

What they were saying is that there is not much difference in the money you get when you retire early than there is when you retire at 65. The only advantage, if you can call it that, is that if a worker dies before 65—and many workers are dying before 65 due to the conditions they worked under all those years in the plant—then at least you will have collected something.

#### 'FIXED INCOME'

People talk about retirees living on a fixed income, but it is not fixed—it goes backwards as prices keep going higher. Take utility bills—they are tough on everybody, but especially on retirees. Utility companies keep raising rates and there is nothing one can do or say about it. One woman's gas bill was \$135 for one month this winter when it had usually been about \$40 a month.

All the while the politicians are giving themselves raises to keep up with these rising costs, but there is no way a retiree can get a raise unless the government "grants" us one.

Another worker I talked to said that there are very few workers in the plant today who are over 55 years old because there are not many jobs they can keep up with since the line speed has gotten so bad. Those who are there have bought homes and are trying to pay for them so they will have something when they get out.

#### RUINED HEALTH

But when they do get out, it is rare that a worker is in good health. Practically every worker has some health problem from working in the plant. Many have had heart attacks right on the job and have had to go back in.

President Carter is talking about transferring some money from the general tax fund to the Social Security fund and the congressmen are yelling about it. Most of the leaders in government are against anything that seems to aid retirees. All they do is make loopholes for people making their kind of salaries.

Carter also said the skyrocketing hospital and med-(Continued on Page 2)

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VOL. 22-NO. 6

27 Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

JULY, 1977

# U.S. capitalism's demand for energy destroys environment and health

by Michael Connolly

No sooner had Douglas Costle, head of the federal government's misnamed Environmental Protection Agency, pronounced his June 17 ruling allowing the construction of the mammoth \$2 billion Seabrook, N. H. nuclear power plant, than anti-nuclear power activists from the Clamshell Alliance thrust dead fish at him, disrupting his press conference. Against the deluge of lies by Costle — and his boss, President Carter — in which all considerations of health and safety were subordinated to the "energy crisis" and "American energy independence," the protesters vowed that demonstrations like the May Day occupation of Seabrook, in which over 1,400 were arrested, would continue.

The 1,400 jailed there refused bail, renamed their community "Freebrook," and during their 12-day incarceration declared a solidarity of struggle with the 25,000 who marched against a similar plant in Brockdorf, West Germany this spring.

#### SELF-SUFFICIENT OR SELF-DESTRUCTION?

Although President Carter has received much publicity for his opposition to the experimental "breeder reactor," his energy program actually places heavy emphasis on nuclear energy and coal as the twin path to "energy self-sufficiency." His plan calls for more than doubling the number of U.S. nuclear power plants— and doing so without individual licensing and inspection.

So determined is the drive for nuclear development, that when even Michigan's Republican Gov. William Milliken demanded that his state be removed from the list of potential dumping sites for rapidly growing quantities of nuclear wastes, he was told that the decision was not his to make, and that the choice was "not a popularity contest."

General Electric nuclear scientists, who resigned last year in protest against the safety hazards of atomic power, are subjected to McCarthy-type character assaults when they dare to question the "excellent safety engineering" of the plants. The fact that the government's own studies project "nuclear accident fatality potential" at 45,000 deaths is dismissed as "hysteria." With safety policies like these controlling nuclear power, it is clear that there is no longer a need for a foreign enemy to attack — all the ingredients for self-destruction have been produced right here at home.

#### **DECISIONS AND CONFRONTATIONS**

Nor are such policies limited to the arena of nuclear power. Throughout the month of June, reckless and arrogant decisions both revealed the scope of the environmental programs of America's rulers, and assured new confrontations ahead:

● The Alaska pipeline, known to be potentially disastrous to the Alaskan environment, and already destructive to Inuit (Eskimo) society, began operating. Quietly, numerous marine safety regulations had been eased in the month before, increasing chances of massive accidents on the Northwest coast tanker route.

◆ State and Federal courts in Minnesota gave in to the Reserve Mining Corp., granting their choice of a dumping site for their asbestos-laden taconite tailings. Despite 22 years of discharging cancer-causing asbestos fibers directly into Lake Superior, Reserve will be allowed to build a dump only four miles from the lake, into which experts say the fibers will now be blown. Reserve successfully pleaded "poverty," despite the fact that they produce 12 percent of U.S. iron ore.

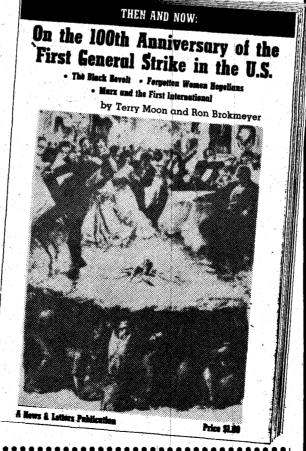
The U.S. Senate agreed for the fourth time to delay stricter controls on auto fumes, postponing them until at least 1980. The House had passed an even weaker bill, gutting some of the standards permanently, including controls on respiratory disease-causing nitrogen

COMPANIES AND UNIONS UNITE

So abject was the capitulation of the "leaders of labor" on this issue, that at one time in the Senate corridors last month were the UAW's past and current presidents, Woodcock and Fraser, assisting Chrysler's Ricardo in buttonholing senators to vote for the Housepassed bill, telling all who would listen that to do otherwise would mean the loss of jobs.

In the Reserve Mining case, the Steelworkers Union
(Continued on Page 8)

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# J. P. Stevens worker tells about plant working conditions

(Marva Watkins, a Black woman worker who was fired along with 22 other workers last fall from the J. P. Stevens textile plant in Montgomery, Ala. for union organizing, has been ordered reinstated by the NLRB. The company has also been ordered to recognize the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, for which a huge majority of the Alabama plant workers voted. Ms. Watkins spoke on conditions in the Montgomery plant at a conference in New York City, June 11, which was called to work on the national campaign to boycott J. P. Stevens' products—Ed.)

New York, N.Y.—Before the union drive began, we had only two 15-minute breaks a day—no lunch break and no lunch room. You ate your sandwich at your machine while you worked. There was no parking lot, so you risked getting a ticket or being late waiting for the shift before yours to vacate spaces. We had no say-so over anything, and often had to work six or seven days a week.

The majority of workers in my plant are Black women, but there are no women or Black men supervisors. The company hires white men off the street and has the Black men train them to be supervisors.

When I started working there, I started talking about a union, but was warned by the older workers I would be fired, so I stayed quiet for two-and-a-half years. Then the union leafletted the plant, and 200 of the 500 workers showed up for the first union meeting.



# womenworldwide

Eva Forest de Sastre, a Spanish feminist who has been a political prisoner since September, 1974, was released from prison June 1 on "provisional liberty" by the Suarez regime. An international defense campaign had saved her from execution in 1974 on a frame-up charge in connection with the 1973 assassination of Premier Luis Carrero Blanco.

The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that states may deny the use of public funds and facilities for "non-therapeutic" abortions. The ruling is a great setback to the women's movement and is aimed specifically at poor women who are dependent on public funds for abortion.

The Italian Senate defeated by a two-vote margin an abortion bill which would have allowed abortion on demand and replaced the present law which considers abortion a "crime against the race." Women's groups said they would continue their work to obtain 500,000 signatures for a referendum next year.

Ten women employees of Michigan Bell Telephone have won the right to file a class-action suit, charging the company with-failing to provide equal pay and promotion opportunities to more than 80 female clerks throughout the state. The women say they have been paid \$70 a week less than men for the same duties.

# NYU clericals win victory

New York, N.Y. — On May 20, at New York University, a member of the NYU Staff Association — a group of 70 clerical workers — had an arbitration hearing. For the first time at NYU, a clerical was supported in a struggle by an all-staff group, mostly women. As a result, the member was reinstated with full back pay.

We transformed the hearing from a bureaucratic stopgap into a political demonstration by appearing and demanding it be opened to staff, and protesting the use of faculty as official arbitrators. The group also demanded the grievant's attorney be allowed to represent her, to end the mock "informality" of the hearing. She was finally permitted to observe

finally permitted to observe.

The victory of the individual was clearly a group, political victory. In 1972, the 1,500 clerical workers on the main campus voted in a union, which the university has overturned through legal maneuvering. Since then, the Staff Association, organized in October, 1976, is the first all-clerical, non-administrative group to represent the needs of workers against the paternalistic, maledominated, pseudo-liberal institution.

Thus far, our activities have included preventing clericals from having to move into a rat-infested basement; circulating a questionnaire on working conditions; getting front-page coverage in the school newspaper in a fight with personnel over arbitrarily-denied mail rights; submitting petitions to improve grievance procedures, and filing charges with the NLRB in the case where the member was fired.

The S. A. continues to work on the problems of clericals, who are mostly women, from the vantage point of being women clerical workers ourselves, before calling in an outside union. The possibility of being an independent union is also being explored. We are attempting to create a new kind of workers' group, open to all workers' suggestions, and ready if there is an uproar over the meager raises due in September.

The company is afraid and has made some improvements: two more paid holidays (up to six), a parking lot, a nurse on duty, a lunch room, and we now have 20 minutes for lunch and two 10-minute breaks. But almost everyone is on piece work, and I have seen women sit the whole day, without even a bathroom break, in order to make production. We still have low wages, only one week's vacation a year, no pension, and unsafe lint and noise levels in the plant.

We have so much participation in the union because there are now a lot of young people in the plant. They won't put up with all that work and being talked to the way the supervisors do.

# LA typists fed up, stop work

Los Angeles, Cal. — I work on the graveyard shift in the typing pool of a title insurance company, with six other Black women, one Chicana, two Black men and one gay man. We all work under horrible conditions, with only a half-hour break to eat and a supervisor that follows us to the toilet if we go too many times during working hours.

Typing seems easy for most people who can type, but our job is like piece work, with a quota of about 20 reports per person, per night. We type from reports with print so small we can barely read them. Sometimes one report can take an hour to do, but this doesn't concern management. All they want to know is if we fulfilled our quota.

Although we have these pressures of trying to make our quota, with absolutely "no talking allowed" (except at breaktime) and no union for grievances, we have

found that we still can have a voice.

About a week ago, at the end of our shift when we were all ready to go home, the supervisor started shouting, "No one leaves this place. There are still three reports left and you all are going to do them before you leave." There was absolute silence from all of us.

Then one worker broke the ice by shouting back, "It's time to go home and we've done our work." The supervisor said she didn't care and that we had to stay and complete those reports. We all sat down and waited for about 10 minutes. At that moment we all looked at each other, got up, and went home. No one did those reports! It was the best walk-out I've ever seen.

-Woman worker

# Women's true history denied

by Terry Moon

Women have been written out of history for so long that it would be great to have a history that revealed the vital part women have played, especially in freedom movements. Unfortunately, many women historians today write about women in isolation from the rest of history. This has even reached a new stage where it is elevated to a theory of women's history.

One recent example is The Roads They Made: Women In Illinois History, by Adade Mitchell Wheeler and Marlene Stein Wortman (Charles H. Kerr, Chicago, 1977, \$3.95). While this book is supposed to show the "real accomplishments" of Illinois women, it does just the opposite.

The "theory" practiced by Wheeler and Wortman leads them to deny actual history—and even to equate abolitionism with dress reform! Thus they write: "With more education and time, women became more involved in reform movements—temperance, abolition, education, prisons—and even in suffrage and dress reform, the most radical of all."

They totally miss the historic fact that in the Abolitionist Movement, Black women like Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth were leaders and generals, while the white women were confined to "auxiliary" roles. Yet when the white women saw that they, as women, could not speak out against slavery which they abhorred, it gave rise to the women's fight for freedom and led to the first Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, N.Y., in 1848.

Because Wortman and Wheeler isolate all women from historic turning points, like the Abolitionist Move, ment, the role of Black women is reduced to mentioning them, usually at the end of a list of, for example, women educators or women's clubs. We are given pages of details about working women, and in one sentence told, "this change in working patterns represents the experience of white women; black women have always worked in large numbers."

And if all women's history is isolated from what has moved society forward—if, for example, anti-abortion gets the same play as pro-abortion, as it does in this book, just because both are women's groups—how are we to know our own revolutionary continuity?

The fact is that this "theory of history" has been accepted today by a segment of the women's movement—the segment that has given up on revolution in the name of "feminism." In sharp contrast are the women who speak in the pages of News & Letters, whether it is the Portuguese domestic workers, or the 1,500 women who marched in Chicago for the ERA. What is objective is their desire, as today's shapers of history, to uproof this exploitative world.

# Bridges retires from ILWU

San Francisco, Cal. — After 43 years on the union's payroll, Harry Bridges enters plush retirement this month from his job as president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). His main legacy is unemployment and desperation.

Bridges became prominent during the great Pacific Coast longshoremen's and seamen's strike of 1934, a struggle which escalated into a general strike in San Francisco as a result of the brutal police killing and wounding of pickets. However, his close ties to the Communist Party in those days helped bring about his adapting to the needs of the employers soon after the strike. This was demonstrated most clearly in his opposition to job-action, wildcat strikes.

The course he followed since the fall of 1935 culminated in his capitulation to the employers in the '50s on the issue of mechanization of the industry, that was to take the form of special ships that are loaded mainly or entirely with cargo in 20 or 40-foot-long containers.

This development has led to the hours of work declining, while the tonnage carried increases. Widespread unemployment has been one of the results, and the longshore workers in San Francisco, many Blacks among them, are threatened with forced transfers to other coastal areas and deregistration (mass firings).

"Hand-jiving" cargo in the "basement" of a ship wasn't play, but longshoremen had established their own conditions of labor. Now we're dominated by the machines—fast-moving cranes that load and discharge the containers to equally fast-moving tractors.

None of the "new" team of officials in the International are really new—all are oldtimers in the union piecard apparatus and the Bridges' course on mechanization of the longshore industry. Not one of the candidates even bothered to come out firmly against 9.43, the most hated section of the contract, that provides for Steady Men who bypass the hiring hall, speed themselves up on the job, and get all the work they want.

The question that union officials shy away from has to be raised: "What kind of labor should humans do and who is to decide it, if not those of us who do the work?"

We have only ourselves to rely on.

-SF docker

# Uniroyal re-timing to cut jobs

Detroit, Mich.—At Uniroyal, the company is retiming a lot of jobs right now to cut down on the number of workers. They are adding on work to a ridiculous degree.

One type of job being re-timed is the service job, which requires a lot of skill and constant watching of the machines to supply them and keep them running, and the servicemen are already overloaded. The company has even created a new type of job duty—called "miscellaneous duties." If they asked someone to stand on their head, they'd have to do it with this kind of clause.

Now that the number of people on service has been cut down, it will mess up everyone else's jobs. It will be almost impossible to build decent tires if this keeps up. Even now we receive a lot of shoddy and scrap material—defective treads, sidewalls, fabric, shock breakers, chafers.

This re-timing is going on all over the plant. The union is supposed to have a time-study man but he's not doing anything about it. As people retire, the company wants as few new hires or rehires as they can get away with. We may be down to as few as 1,200 workers already, and the work load is getting worse all the time.

—Uniroyal worker

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

ical costs, which will double every five years, are something the country "obviously cannot afford." He has pledged to press Congress for a national health insurance system early next year, but all of this affects retirees and poor people the most right now.

Another retiree told me about his wife who is ill with cancer. His Blue Cross medical pays only so much of her hospital and doctor bill, and he has to pay the rest. He had saved some money from working at his job for 35 years, but it seems he will have to go broke completely before he can get any assistance in paying his medical bills.

These are some of the contradictions in a worker's life under capitalism. Workers are the ones who produce all the profits but, as Marx said, the only thing we own is the national debt. Until this system is changed, the working people of this country will remain behind the eight ball.

#### DETROIT READERS

Watch for the halfhour TV rerun of our Wemen's Liberation-News and Letters panel discussion on "It's Your Turn."

CHANNEL 56, THURSDAY, JULY 28, 11:00 P.M.

# Miller, UMW victor, blasts strike-producing health care cuts

Morgantown, W. Va. — Following his election to the presidency of the United Mine Workers on June 14, Arnold Miller warned the UMW Health and Welfare Fund trustees that strikes would result from attempted cuts in miners' health care benefits. The trustees nevertheless did cut them, claiming strikes had reduced the flow of money into the fund.

So for the first time since 1947, when miners won medical care coverage, they faced the prospect of paying as much as \$500 a year for health care. Over 20,000 miners went out on strike, and the number is growing.

Miller, in defeating both Lee Roy Patterson and Harry Patrick to win the UMW presidency, got 40 percent of the vote, Patterson 34 percent and Patrick 26 percent. But Patterson, a supporter of UMW's corrupt expresident Tony Boyle, disputes the election and is calling for a new one. He can do this because he leads a majority clique on the UMW executive board, which has the power to call for another election.

At issue is not the vote, but the ongoing battle between Miller and Patterson's clique, which seems willing to risk destruction of the UMW to gain control of it. Instead of eliminating leadership divisions, the election has sharpened them.

Miners know the value of unity, and are in fact the chief victims of the leadership struggle, which has resulted in neglect of deadly health and safety problems in the mines. That's why, to protect their lives, miners have had to act on their own—and their answer is the wildcat strike. Their demand for the right to strike over local grievances is so universal that they forced all three candidates to support this provision.

But the difference between Miller and Patterson is profound. Whereas Patterson would follow in Boyle's dictatorial footsteps to "control" the miners, Miller, to the contrary, has consistently supported the strikers, and refuses to punish them, which he has the power to do under the UMW Constitution.

That's why the bulk of his support came from coal's heartland — West Virginia and Pennsylvania — where most of the wildcat strikes have originated. In this year alone, over 869,000 man-days of production have been lost because miners were forced to strike to protect themselves against the dangerous and inhuman working conditions that profit hungry coal operators have tried to impose on them.

Those who criticize Miller for lacking leadership, including most of the radicals, have no idea whatsoever of the strength required to resist pressures from the coal operators, the government and even the bureaucrats in his own union, to "keep the coal miners in line."

Something very new is happening in the coal fields. The miners are making their own decisions, and are carrying them out, with wildcat strikes if necessary.

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# FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

# Tension high as International blocks Fleetwood strike

Detroit, Mich. — As of June 23, the International has assumed practical control over Local 15. They have done everything but actually put the local in trusteeship. Strike authorization was cancelled only one day before we were supposed to walk out. Rufus Coleman, the local president, and Jim Gabbard, the shop chairman, twere told that if any walkout happened, for any reason, trusteeship would be imposed. Right now everything is confusion. The word is that Gabbard has resigned in protest. Another story is that the local is meeting with Fraser, Bluestone and Bard Young.

The local put out a leaflet which explains nothing, just telling us to stay on our jobs. Many workers have already walked out in their own way — 500 are now on sick leave, and the company says they will investigate all of them. In the paint shop, workers who came back from sick leave when the strike was cancelled were threatened with firing. Now we are told we are going back to nine hours next week. Everyone is furious and the tension is explosive.

The word is going around that all the floors are set-

tled except for the fourth and fifth floors. Yet the company is breaking up jobs in the body shop all over again. Do body shop workers know that their jobs are supposed to be settled? You can't even find the committeeman to ask him about it.

Anyone can see that the rank-and-file is fed up with the leadership. In the committee elections last week, Wayne Powell from Dept. 21, and Howard George from Dept. 15 lost their positions. Powell got beat by two to one. Most people who voted for Cassidy didn't really know him; they just wanted Powell out. I remember last summer Powell said that the more N&L wrote about him, the easier he would be re-elected. Well, look now, Wayne.

It was the same up on the fifth floor. Howard George has been committeeman at least six years, but you never see him on the floor. When you put in a committee call, he goes to the foreman before he comes to ask you about it. People were very glad to see him go.

-Fleetwood worker, afternoons

## **GM** South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — The UAW convention was the latest proof that the union can do nothing other than to sanction management's conduct in the plants and on the assembly lines. Why? Because the union bosses think at the same level as the company bosses.

The company "reasons" as follows: "In order to keep your members working, we have to maximize production, and we cannot do that if workers scream about line speed, are frequently absent, refuse overtime, and—worst of all—you and I will both be out of the game if workers get together and decide to control working conditions themselves." At the convention, this line was even canonized in the slogan, "A Better World Through Economy."

When workers stood together in the body shop to limit the work day to nine hours, and workers throughout the plant were standing against excessive workloads and break-neck line speed through absenteeism and sending bad jobs down the line to the backyard, management, while in panic, nevertheless waited.

When the UAW convention was nearly over, the company began its assault—hiking the line speed to get 10 and 11 hours of production out of nine hours of operation, and unfairly harassing and even firing workers as a threat to all those who "dare" to be absent.

It is all too obvious what the UAW convention means to workers here at GM South Gate and in plants everywhere. It gave management carte blanche in dealing with workers, and it is time all of us on the assembly line recognized that no one—especially the union—can or will speak for us. We have to find another way, our way, to deal with the problems faced everyday on the job.

-Excerpted from GM South Gate Workers Committee Blue Sheet

# Dodge Truck

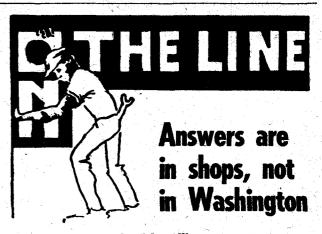
Warren, Mich.—I heard about a Black worker here in Dept. 9171 who was recently taken off of his permanent job and put to work "floating" on the line.

His foreman, Larry Combs, who most of the final line workers know is racist and sexist, had fired him three months earlier just for coming to work late one day. When the worker, who has four years' seniority, won his grievance and was reinstated, Larry told him his old job had been eliminated. The truth is that now there are no fewer workers in that group, building stock than before and that Larry replaced him with a white worker who has much less seniority.

Several times in the past, Larry had taken this worker off of building stock and put him on the line. Often when the worker demanded to see his chief steward, Jack Barrett (now a plant committeeman), Larry never called him.

And even worse, whenever Barrett happened to come by, he would tell the worker that nothing could be done about the situation. Once he even said to the worker that this wouldn't happen if his buddies would not miss work

-Main building worker



by John Allison

Where is the labor movement going today? This is the question that was asked by one of the panelists on the "Meet the Press" program when Douglas Fraser, newly-elected president of the UAW, was their guest.

Fraser's answer was that it was going in a lot of different directions. He said that he thought we'd see a lot more in the labor movement, like so many other segments of society, seeking solutions to problems in the legislative halls rather than around the bargaining table.

He went on to say that the labor movement in the U.S. is about the only one in the world that has to negotiate health benefits for its members, since workers in most other industrialized nations get health care through government programs.

Other problem areas he pointed to were plant movings, plant closings, reinsurance, and pension funds. These problems, he said, just can't be solved at the bargaining table, so we now have to look to state and national legislators for solutions.

These ideas coming from Fraser are not new, but they do show how far away he is from the problems of the rank-and-file workers in the shops. In the first place, workers know the problems Fraser refers to—they're the ones who suffer most from them.

But what is more important is that workers, unlike Fraser, know that answers aren't going to come from politicians in Washington—or anywhere else. Every gain by workers has come by fighting through direct action strikes—against both management and politicians—and the courts on top of them.

There are no solutions for workers' problems in this capitalist system. And if Fraser or anyone else needed proof, look at the recent Supreme Court decision that denies workers unemployment benefits who are laid off work due to a strike by workers in another plant or industry. This is one of the most vicious Supreme Court actions ever taken against the working class.

I know for sure that unless the labor movement starts a campaign on shop problems—working conditions, health and safety, automation, speed-up and runaway shops—they'll keep on losing protections we've fought for so hard all our lives.

These are real issues that should be laid out first on every bargaining table. But they never are, because they challenge the right of management to keep their heel on our necks in the shops. If we solve that problem, we'll solve many more. The answers are with us in the shops, not in Washington.

# GM robs workers of jobs

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

The life and death struggle that goes on in the auto plants each day is enough to drive a worker crazy. At my plant, management is doing everything they can think of to drive the workers to get a good audit on the cars. But all it means for workers is that GM can eliminate more jobs and thus get more commodities with less workers.

In the stud section of the body shop, management has eliminated two jobs and created four 78 speed-up grievances. Up in paint they have done away with four jobs, cutting down on the quality of the finish on the cars. These actions go on continually in the plant.

Another way the company eliminates jobs is to try and encourage workers to work a double shift of 14 to 18 hours per day. This is nothing but moonlighting which robs another worker of a job.

It reminded me of one of the causes of the revolutionary war in America—British soldiers moonlighting and taking the jobs from workers in Boston. Crispus Attucks, a Black man, led the bare-handed attack against the British in 1770, five years before the actual revolutionary war. He was killed in the Boston Massacre.

What we are witnessing today is the drive of the capitalist managers to the absolute development of capital. It is enslaving all of us. It is living insanity. The government is on the one hand taxing workers to get more money to create non-value producing jobs. On the other hand, the corporations are forever eliminating workers at value-producing jobs with more speed-up and more machinery.

In truth, only the workers themselves can stop this. When an individual stands up and says "hell no," he or she finds other workers are alongside, saying the same thing. Management has a problem in dealing with this.

The capitalist system is trying to turn workers into things, into commodities, just like what we produce. But we aren't commodities. We are workers who can think, who don't want to be just labor power for others.

# **EDITORIAL**

On the 10th anniversary of Detroit's explosive rebellion which erupted in July 1967 and reached a peak in racial and class unity, we can ask some questions and make some assessments. What is new, and what is unchanged? What was said, and what has been done?

We use Detroit as the reference point because what happened there is much the same in other urban areas experiencing similar outbreaks. But Detroit represents a high point in the sense that, unlike the earlier revolts in Watts and many other cities where the confrontation was sharply Black vs. white, in Detroit it was Black and white together, attacking not only the racist police but also exploitative business places—regardless of the color of the owner. It was race and class-the working class-on the move.

While the messages in the marches, picket lines and boycotts were often ignored, if not openly opposed by federal, state and city governments and the rest of the corporate rulers of society, there was no mistaking the impact of the smoke signals that sunk the message home: Freedom now! End all racial discrimination in education, employment and opportunity! Equality for all!

TURNING IT AROUND

From city councils, state legislatures and Washington D.C., frightened politicians promised action. gonna turn it 'round" became the slogan of every politician seeking office-Black and white. New committees were established, made up of white politicians, corporate leaders and hand-picked Blacks, to create programs designed to remove the evils of discrimination. What is absurd is that those who were responsible for creating the conditions that led to the revolt were entrusted to solving them.

The result is that the burned out areas are still vacant. Fire-bombed business places along major streets are still boarded up and empty. Instead of rebuilding the city to provide decent housing for the poor Black and white residents most seriously affected by the '67 rebellion, we have instead the substitution of a glorified \$700 million high-rise barracks in downtown Detroit called Renaissance Center, which serves only to sharpen both racial and class conflicts.

# 10 years after 1967: losing ground

Housing and Urban Development (HUD) got into the act - and left a trail of corruption and scandal, with realtors reaping huge profits and saddling Blacks trying to escape the ghettos with impossible mortgages to pay. In HUD's wake there are hundreds of thousands of empty homes in the cities, boarded up and partially destroyed eyesores. As one worker put it, "HUD has done more to tear down the city than any riot ever did."

Instead of realizing the ideals of the civil rights movement which were inspired by the philosophy of equality for all, there are a few Blacks who have been permitted to join the exclusive ranks of the capitalist rulers. As for those who still have illusions that the answer lies in the voting booth, there are the examples of Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young, UN Ambassador Andy Young, the Black caucus members in Congressand a whole host of others who have sold their Black revolutionary birthright for a mess of capitalist political pottage. Others who would like to "make it" there include the likes of former "revolutionaries" like Eldridge Cleaver, Stokely Carmichael, Tom Hayden and Jerry Rubin, who've gone over to "work in the system" to change it.

#### CHANGE FOR WORSE

This is more ridiculous now than it was during the '60s, because the only concrete changes have been for the worse. This can be seen not only in the continuing unemployment, inflation and growing international crises; it is ominously clear in the new offensives taken by the Nazi parties, Ku Klux Klan and other right groups, as well as recent Supreme Court decisions upholding seniority against affirmative action policies, segregated suburban housing, segregated education and discriminatory employment practices. Another vicious example of the reactionary movement is reflected in the murderous attack by Chicago police against Puerto Ricans demonstrating for freedom here as well as in Puerto Rico (see article, p. 6).

Despite the deepening crisis, nobody has emerged of the stature of Rev. Martin Luther King. Certainly none of the Jesse Jacksons, Ralph Albernathys, Barbara Jor-

dans or Shirley Chisholms can possibly reflect the revolutionary aspirations of the Black masses from their positions of privilege and compromise with the system.

The fact is, nevertheless, that never has the passion for freedom been greater among the masses of the people, and especially the Blacks. Perhaps there is no new "King" because we in the U.S. have historically gone beyond the point where his theory and practice can be effective. However, the area of his last concentration, the uniting of the Black and white working class for action, which he was striving for when he was assassinated in Memphis during the sanitation workers' strike, is more urgent today than ever before.

What is clear is that the experiences of Black and white workers in the shops, mines and mills have revealed the inability of their so-called labor leaders to reflect their aspirations for a total change in society. This transformation of society, and only this, can carry through the great revolutionary ideals and practices set in motion so powerfully in the '60s, and remains as the most critical task today.

#### **News & Letters**

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

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Second Class Postage Paid at Detroit, Michigan

#### **HUMAN RIGHTS**

South Africa? Russia? Vietnam? All these places and more, far and near, are guilty, but the nearest, most senseless denial of human rights is right here in the factories of America. The companies continue to use cancer-causing chemicals with the full knowledge of the federal government, the AMA and company officals. Yet, any worker who dares to speak out is a "troublemaker" and will be harassed and even fired, because the unions have outright sold-out the work-

Chemical Worker Los Angeles

I'D like to see Jody Powell "explain" Carter's appointment of William Sullivan as Ambassador to Iran, in light of Carter's much-publicized concern for "human rights" Here is Sullivan's "human rights" record: He personally directed the choice of targets for bombing in Laos, which included villages of no military value whatsoever. He helped make Laos the most heavily bombedcountry in the history of aerial war, and when questioned by the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee withheld the fact that the U.S. was conducting extensive operations in Laos. As Ambassador to the Philippines since 1973, he has continued to push American military and business interests with a blatant disregard for any human rights.

Now Carter wants to send him to Iran, where there are thousands upon thousands of political prisoners; 200 were executed last year alone; and widespread torture exists. But not a word on this from Carter. It is clear his concern for "human rights" is highly selective.

Disgusted Detroit

Last year, when a group of Black youths attacked whites at Cobo Hall, it was a big scandal. The media sent out a nation-wide alarm about "gang warfare," and the Detroit News published, illegally the names of many minor-age Black youth with a veiled invitation to vigilante-ism. We still have the youth

Last week when 300 white youths went on a rampage at Belle Isle Park, attack:

ing isolated Blacks with chains and bats, it was only briefly reported by the news

. No-one in the city government or big civic groups has uttered a word about it. That's how unequal human rights are

This is why it was so important when Black newscaster Beverly Payne resigned after Channel 2 gave a "respectable" interview to the head of the American Nazis a day or so before the attack. She recognized how ugly and dangerous the stuation really is.

Marxist-Humanist Detroit

#### THE NEUTRON BOMB

Buried in the \$10.2 billion public works bill before Congress are funds for the final development of an "enhanced radiation warhead" (ERW), or neutron bomb. A neutron bomb is an atomic weapon: but instead of a giant explosion, its detonation creates a prolonged and intense neutron radiation which kills humans, animals, and plants without destroying property or contaminating it with radioactive fallout

The Army says it wants the neutron bomb to protect western Europe from a Warsaw Pact invasion. Obviously, our corporate rulers would like to repeat the butchery of WW I and II without destroying their enormous European capital investment: but why should the Russians play this game? An ERW is an atomic weapon, and the logical reply to one is an atomic bomb. But though it is useless tactically, the new warheadsupposedly developed for the Army's 56mile-range Lance missile-will fit quite nicely on a new strategic weapon, the cruise missile. Russian civil defense would be useless against it: their blast and fallout-proof shelters are three to four feet under ground, but intense neutron bombardment can penetrate three to four feet of lead!

The neutron bomb frees the planners of nuclear genocide from their one previously insoluble problem: the nemesis of a world-destroying blanket of radioactive fallout.

Future target? Chicago

#### **GAY RIGHTS**

At a disappointingly-small (200 people) Gay Pride Week rally June 19, David Krumroy, editor of Metro Gay News, pointed out that Anita Bryant's campaign really got off the ground right after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the serious physical injuries inflicted on two Black youths by Dade Co. public school teachers was not "cruel and unusual punishment."

A gay man said that despite a shift from political confrontations to "building the gay community," support for gay rights had come from elsewherelike from some traditionally-homophobic Jewish organizations. The internment of homosexuals in Nazi concentration camps has been almost completely written out of history, although thousands, forced to wear pink triangles as Jews wore yellow stars, died in Nazi camps, and the U.S. helped to shunt survivors right into mental institutions instead of releasing them when the war ended.

> Supporter Detroit

#### THE BLACK STRUGGLE

Graduation day at South Boston High was marred by some ugly racist incidents. Seven adult whites were arrested and the activities were canceled. The high school became an armed camp, with 150 cops assigned to patrol the school. My suspicion is that these new incidents are being cooked up by the South Boston Defense League and other racist groups to keep the community on edge. The school board elections are coming up and racial peace will hurt the election chances of the Hicks ma-

> College Student Boston

When Andrew Young made the statement that Sweden was as racist as the

S. . . . . .

New York borough of Queens, he caused quite a howl of protest from all the politicians and middle class residents of Queens. All the Black people I talked with however, agreed with Young. One young sister said, "Have these people forgotten about Forest Hills, which fought against low-income housing, or that Queens is the only borough with its very own KKK chapter?" A young brother said, "What he should have said is this whole country is racist." But they all added a question: What are Young, Carter, and all of these so-called leaders doing about it?

Reader

Black Activist New York

The gains that Blacks made on campus during the unrest of the late 1960s are being cut back. Black Studies has become nothing more than a facsimile of any other subject taught on campus. The few Black professors and instructors are becoming as conservative as their white counterparts, or else are being denied tenure.

> **Black Activist** Oakland

#### THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

by NOW-NY, recently picketed the American Home Products office building over that company's discrimination against women and minorities in employment, upgrading and working conditions. The billion-dollar industry manufactures Anacin, Woolite, Easy Off, Neet, Gulden's and many other products. It has a long history of discrimination and is not improving. As it was two days after the Supreme Court decision on seniority which rolled back the clock on employment discrimination, one picketer remarked that we have nothing left to fight with except our feet.

> Picketer New York

## TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION
and Marxism and Freedom

The first of the four tasks the new Communist Party Chairman, Hua Kuo-feng, set for China for 1977 was "to deepen the great mass movement to expose and criticize "the gang of four." This is the central task." (1) In its prefatory note to the speech, Peking Review stressed that "1977 will be a year in which we shall smash "the gang of four" completely."

#### SMASH, SMASH, SMASH

It is not that Hua's speech to that point needed any further emphasis, as he devoted no less than eight of the 14-page speech at the Second National Conference on "Learning from Tachai on Agriculture" to that one point. Furthermore, point two, "to strengthen Party building," likewise turned out to be a villification of the four former leaders—Wang Hung-wen, Yao Wen-yuan, Chang Chun-chiao, and Chiang Ch'ing who is alleged to have been the ringleader who had taken advantage of being Mao's wife to mislead 800 million Chinese, lo. these many years.

Here is how he wound up the whole of the speech and thus the two remaining tasks — "to learn from Tachai" to strive "to push the national economy forward," and finally "to study conscientiously and well the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and Chairman Mao's works": "Immediately after smashing the 'gang of four', the Central Committee adopted a decision on the publication of the Selected Works of Mao." Hua then singled out from the new Volume V — actually writings from 1949 to 1957 — "Chairman Mao's brilliant

(1) Peking Review, January 1, 1977. It is also reproduced in China Quarterly, March, 1977. Evidently this conference on "Learning from Tachai in Agriculture" was followed by another "Learning from Tachai in Industry", and there Hua projected no less than "10 more oilfields to be built." Manchester Guardian, 3/22/77, "Brave New Targets of Hua" by John Gittings.

# Chiang Ch'ing, Hua Kuo-feng in post-Mao China

work, On the Ten Major Relationships (2) which is "to guide all" in the fight against Russian revisionism and "the smashing of the gang of four."

The way Hua edited that volume, especially that "brilliant" article, is a tale unto itself, to which we will return later to see if there is any connection whatever between Chiang Ch'ing and this article which supposedly will aid us in "smashing the gang of four." Here, instead, it is necessary to start "at the beginning"—1962—the year that Chiang Ch'ing singled out as ocrucial that she very nearly dated the "Cultural Revolution" at that time, adding only as an afterthought, that, "of course, the real" beginning was the summer of 1966, since that is when "the masses" began the Cultural Revolution.

Now, what was so crucial about 1962? I don't mean its significance insofar as the annals of Chinese Communist history, which record 1962 as the Socialist Education Campaign. I mean its significance for Chiang who felt very much discriminated against and underestimated in her own right rather than just the wife of Mao.

#### CHIANG CH'ING AND THE TALE SHE TOLD\*

It is true that when she begins her story—"Let me dissect myself before you"—Chiang starts with her childhood and details all her suffering. The "true story" is also that she was a revolutionary long before she came to Yenan, and married Mao. And once she became the dominant force in the arts during the Cultural Revolution, she wrought vengeance on those Communist leaders who hadn't given her her due in the 1930s.

But what predominated all her actions and ambitions was to be a leader in Mao's eyes, and in 1962, for the very first time, Mao permitted her to draft a policy statement on the arts known as May 16th Circular (p. 304). This, then, becomes the year her self-development

(2) China Quarterly, March, 1977, carries both On the Ten Major Relationships, as edited by Hua and thus now the official version of the Mao Tse-tung speech of April 25, 1956, and a comparison of it and other versions by Stuart R. Schram.

\*Comrade Chiang Ch'ing by Roxane Witke, Boston, Little, Brown and Co., \$15. Pagination below is to this volume.

reaches the high point from which what Mao was later to call her "wild ambitions" took off. So much so that, much as she knows and believes Russia is the enemy, the Sino-Soviet conflict which predominated those very years—1960-1964—plays a subordinate part to her neverending preparations for what would, four years later, become her zenith: "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

Unfortunately, that is true not only for Chiang but

(Continued on Page 6)

#### WHO WE ARE

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

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

# Views

# INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR

At the Chicago IWY conference, the only workshop that had anything to do with IWY was "Women: A New Force for World Change." The best speaker was a teacher from Curacao who told of how on her tiny island, there is a women's liberation movement. The women teachers get less pay than the men, and less still if they are married. Thousands are unemployed, yet the women get together and help each other. Her speech was one of the few moments when the reality of women's lives entered into the conference.

#### WL-N&L Participant Chicago

At every conference I go to, they separate the Black and other minority women from participating by pushing us aside into workshops—our own little ghetto. At the Michigan IWY conference, it was even more insulting. They called the workshop "Double Burdens," as though being a Black woman, or Latina, or Native American, was only a hardship, and not our great history and experiences. Some of the workshop discussion was good and dealt with concrete problems. But it would have done the whole conference good to be there and hear it directly, instead of having everything watered down into "resolutions."

### WL-N&L Participant

The best speaker at the "International Women's Workshop" at the California IWY meeting was a Nigerian woman, a teacher, because she stuck to today's crises and realities. She spoke about how women's problems are different in different parts of Africa, and different also from women's problems in the U.S. The jobs here that are traditionally "women's work," like nurses and secretaries, are "men's jobs" in Africa. She always stayed with questions that related to labor, and

the intellectual's role in confronting these very basic "problems of the people."

WL-N&L Participant Los Angeles

#### THE BRITISH SCENE

The economic crisis here may seem to be easing due to the false hopes of riches from North Sea oil (the most expensively obtained oil in the world), as well as hopes that the unions can be misled again by wage standstills made under the guise of the "Social Contract." But unemployment doesn't show any signs of falling. Any increase in business activity is serviced by increased productivity from existing labor rather than employing new people. The economy and the political system here are decidedly shaky. They can't stand any big knocks.

#### Hyde Park Socialist London

About 150 people were arrested last week over a strike at Grunwicks that has lasted for ten months. The police have been brutal and tried to limit the picket to six persons but more than a thousand from all over Britain took part June 17. At the early stage, three Cabinet Ministers joined the picket. About 117 are actually on strike, mostly immigrant workers. It is a fight for trade union representation and improved conditions. The Scottish miners have announced they are sending help.

#### Harry McShane Glasgow

. Editor's Note: As we go to press, we learn that despite a police request to limit their number now to 500, over 2860 pickets showed up June 24 at Grunwicks film processing plant to support the workers there. The mostly Asian women want the company to recognize the union—APEX—they have voted for. Police arrested 20 pickets, following a week of clashes between police and strike-supporters.

#### PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

The Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU) officially died this last week. It was one of the oldest existing women's liberation organizations in the country. It died of lack of membership brought on by lack of interest and lack of relevancy. CWLU's "Outreach Committee" viewed Black and Latin women only as warm bodies to fill out the thin ranks, not as people who have ideas about what direction CWLU might move in. I think its death means that women are looking other places for an organization that can help break down the division between doers and thinkers and see that women are more than just force.

#### Feminist Chicago

Your paper is very interesting because it acquaints us with new aspects of the American way of life. Ideologically I may disagree in some respects, but the important thing is that N&L exists as an expression of an anti-establishment movement from below that one seldom hears.

#### New Reader London

I would like to see more coverage of conditions existing in as many aspects of daily living as possible. The letters from students are especially informative and interesting. I would like to see the statement "Who We Are" printed with down-to-earth objectives of N&L, and an explanation of what is meant by a "Marxist-Humanist" and what is meant by "revolution". Recently a parent in my area condemned a very innocent informative, low-key school-student-subscribed paper that criticized the National Anthem, for being difficult to sing, as being a "Marxist rag!" Most people have no understanding of what Marxism involves.

#### Subscriber Missouri

I think N&L needs to add its voice to the other voices from below, to more clearly take sides in the debates over what changes have to be made in society. After all, there are contradictory and antagonistic voices even among us down on the bottom. For example, not

. . . .

only were the Hungarian workers in 1956 saying no to the bureaucrats, but in addition some workers were saying "Nagy (the liberal bureaucrat) will save us," whereas others were saying "No (to Nagy) — we must replace the whole system of bureaucrats by our own councils taking power."

#### R. L. Cincinnati

Everybody in the world seems to be talking about "Workers' Control" without saying precisely what they mean. I find it very understandable that women and Blacks are bothered by the concept if it is understood as a re-creation of the medieval guild system, with each union having control over employment, hiring and firing, sale of products and profit, etc., rather than as a means of assuring that workers will not be exploited by any form of capitalism.

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"Workers control" is also used to describe limited worker co-management schemes in West Germany, Sweden and Yugoslavia, and is often watered down still further to mean having a union representative on a Board of Directors or a profit-sharing plan.

If we can avoid being utopian in the process, I think we should work out what workers' control really means to Marxist-Humanists. It would make it easier to discuss the question with people who are unemployed or concerned about union complicity in discrimination.

#### N&L Commttee Member Flint

Dialectics of Liberation has been very useful to me in helping me grasp the first section of Philosophy and Revolution. I plan to reread the book now. I'd also like to use Dialectics of Liberation to write a critique of bourgeois sociology's theories of social movements and to construct a more useful framework for understanding past, present, and future social movements from the viewpoint of those who make the movements rather than those who seek to crush them.

#### Student Boston

Editor's Note: For a list of N&L publications that record the forces of revolt from below and from theory, see p. 6.

# TWO WORLDS Chiang Ch'ing in post-Mao China

(Continued from Page 5)

for her professor-biographer who had five years to research something she certainly knew before she ever started, and yet we get not one whiff of the serious theoretical debates of the Sino-Soviet conflict when Mao first began to challenge Russia, not just for Sinification of Marxism, but for world leadership. Yet it is this, this precisely, which preceded the Cultural Revolution, was its leitmotif, and without which it is impossible to understand the changing global relations that, at one and the same time, made it possible for Chiang to exercise influence as Mao's health was failing, and, while he was still alive, led to the beginning of the end of Chiang's reign.

MALE CHAUVINISM

Instead, we get a sort of Chinese version of Roxane Witke on male chauvinism. Male chauvinism surely is rife in China and Chiang suffered from it at various times, even as all suffered from Chiang's philistinism. Shouldn't the author have been more perceptive as to the reasons why Chiang herself did not attribute what she considered her overly-long march to power to male chauvinism? What point was there to interpreting Chiang's competitiveness with Mao as "teaching the Chairman not only to love her as a woman, but also to respect her as a political figure not to be monopolized by any one man" (p. 449)? And what, exactly, does the phrase, "not to be monopolized by any one man" mean at a time when the author does make clear that the measure Chiang thought she was creating was nothing short of "eventually changing the nation's life"?

A more objective and sharper picture of some of Chiang's history emerges from two photographs (among the series following p. 220) than from the lengthy, distorted story of a distorted life. Both are from the decisive years of the War of Liberation, 1947-1949, after Chiang Kai-shek bombed Yenan to smithereens, and Mao began the final march to power. One shows Chiang as a young soldier following Mao in that march. (She was also a "political instructor" to the People's Liberation Army.) The other is a picture of Chiang as clearly more than secretary to Mao, although Mao himself was later to denigrate the role of secretary.(3) It was a most productive period in Mao's life as he both fought and theorized on a guerrilla war and the perspective he saw for the new society he meant to build and called "New Democracy."

(3) The Wan-sui documents report a speech by Mao in March, 1964, which says: "On the Current Situation and Our Tasks was spoken by me in 1947. Some one transcribed it and it was revised by me. At that time I had contracted a disease whereby I could not write. But if you never take the initiative and rely on a secretary, it is just like having a secretary assume your responsibility for leadership work." (Miscellany of Mao Tse-tung Thought, H, p. 338). This is the speech Chiang was so proud of taking down "word for word."

# Cal. Social Science conference

Nevada City, Cal. — The Union of Marxist Social Sciences (UMSS) held its sixth annual conference over Memorial Day weekend, on the themes of "The Role of the Intellectual in Working Class Struggles" and "Socialist Strategies in the "70s."

The conference included some 400 participants, mostly students, but only four Blacks (including two from News and Letters Committees) and a few Chicanos.

Various forms of Maoism were pervasive, but many people were new, uncommitted to any group, and open to ideas of Marxist-Humanist philosophy and its relationship to organization. The real back-and-forth development came in the workshops. Many of the topics and presentations were academic and abstract, but the participation of people new to Marxism—mostly womenhelped to change this atmosphere.

We in News and Letters organized, or were panelists at, three workshops, including one on "Hegel, Marx and Revolution." Because there were almost no workshops planned on women and very few women speakers, we organized, on the spot, a workshop on "Women as a

World Revolutionary Force."

The sexism was evident when only two men joined with 20 women participating in this workshop. The discussion emphasized that women are not recapitulating the same vanguardist forms that male revolutionaries were involved in, and many recognize that organization must be grounded in Marxist philosophy as well as the movement of minority and working women.

The third workshop organized was on "Frantz Fanon and American Black Thought," and the response again reflected the tremendous separation along race and sex lines within the Left. Ours was the only workshop on the Black question, attended by only a handful of whites. Nevertheless, those who did attend joined in a comprehensive discussion of recent African events, and were invited to participate in the work on our new pamphlet, "Frantz Fanon and American Black Thought."

—Eugene Walker
West Coast News and Letters Committees

(A copy of the N&L leaflet on "The Responsibility of Intellectuals," developed for the conference, may be obtained by sending a stamped, self-addressed envelope to News & Letters, Box 29174, Los Angèles, CA 90027.)

When one considers that it was after those two decisive years, followed also by what is called "incognito" work in land reform and marriage reform, that, as her health failed completely and she was shuttled between hospitals in Peking and Moscow, she was stripped in 1951 of all her posts, one must conclude that there is a greater tale against Mao as male chauvinist than ever there was against Chou Yang in the 1930s upon whom Chiang wreaked her vengeance.

Again, it was not a bourgeois feminist but a great revolutionary writer and feminist—Ting Ling—who dared challenge Mao directly both in Yenan and in the 1950s, and who summed up the fate of those leaders' wives in a single phrase, "Noras who came home." (4)

(To be concluded next issue)

(4) Ibsen's **Doll's House** enjoyed popularity in Japan, and the heroine Nora who slammed the door on housewifery was used by Ting Ling in her piece on International Women's Day, "Thoughts on March Eighth",

when was used by fing Ling in her piece on international Women's Day, "Thoughts on March Eighth", where she saw wives of leaders as cruelly taken advantage of as they became "Noras who return home." The best pamphlet on Ting Ling, Purged Feminist was issued in Japan (Femintern Press, Box 5426, Tokyo). When American feminists who themselves suffer from Maoism issue anything by her, as one feminist journal published in Chicago (Signs, Autumn 1976 issue) did, the "explanatory" note is disgusting as they try to conclude that, though right, Ting Ling was nevertheless evidently wrong, or untimely, or whatever.

## **Puerto Ricans march for freedom**

Chicago, Ill. — Three thousand Puerto Rican youth exploded in a two-day rebellion in Humboldt Park, June 4-5, in anger and frustration at high unemployment and continued police harassment of the Puerto Rican community. Two youths, Rafael Cruz and Julio Osorio, were shot and killed by police.

Once a year, the city sponsors a Puerto Rican Day parade ir the Loop. The parade this year was held on June 4. On the same day, a bomb exploded outside the office of the President of the Cook County Board of Commissioners and down the hall from Acting Mayor Bilandic's office. The FALN, a Puerto Rican terrorist group, took responsibility for the bombing.

A young Puerto Rican woman who had participated in the parade told me, "What we were all so angry about was that the newspapers and television tied the parade to Puerto Rican Independence Day, which it isn't, and kept trying to link the riots with the bombing.

"But you could tell nobody was fooled, because during the parade, people were chanting, 'Paradad hoy—hambre todos los dias!' " (Parade today—hunger every day). Even though the city hadn't wanted the parade to have anything to do with freedom, either here or in Puerto Rico, people shouted, "Despierta Boricua, defiende lo suyo," (Wake up, Puerto Rican, defend what is yours), and sang many independence songs.

A week later on June 11, 1,000 people marched from Humboldt Park to the Loop. They were angry that the city thought they could be quieted by a promise of 380 more summer youth jobs. They were angry that both the city and the media had listened only to the so-called community leaders and angry at the unmatched racism of the CHICAGO TRIBUNE.

The Chicago power structure is using the FALN bombings as an excuse to suppress what they fear even more, the reason, activity and courage of thousands of unemployed youth who were willing to battle the police for two days.



# Fight to save Indian Center

by Shainape Shcapwe

I have recently talked with some people from the Grand Traverse Bay Area Indian Center here in Michigan, who are involved in a real struggle to keep the center open and to expose problems of Native people.

Right now, the center is in danger of being closed because its funding agency, the Northwest Michigan Human Services Agency, is threatening to severely cut back funds for the center and audit expenditures in retaliation for the agency's board of directors.

The people working at the center succeeded in getting a retired Air Force colonel off the board by proving that the only effective thing he had done was to raise his own salary by \$6,000 a year, while reducing funds to the agency. They are also demanding that a majority of board members be community members, or at least poverty people interested in solving some of the problems in the community.

The first is the problem of sterilization of Native women. Some women have been sterilized without their knowledge and some have agreed to it because they were threatened with having welfare cut off if they refused.

The second is the area of employment. Some employers in the area simply state that they will not hire Natives at all. Native Americans are the largest and only minority in that area (with the exception of migrant workers during the summer) and yet there is not one Native in the court or social service system.

Another area of deep concern is Native children being removed not only from Native homes, but taken out of the Native community entirely. Some have been sexually molested in foster homes, and some have been placed on farms where they have been made to do hard labor that farmers don't ask their own children to do.

After they began circulating this position paper, the center and its staff came under a lot of police surveillance and harassment. Four staff members were arrested within three weeks, and a lot of trouble was made over minor things

The center has appealed to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission but has been told that there is nothing they can do. But the best thing about this struggle has been that the Native people the program is designed to serve have really come together and been the most active—even in giving testimony when it meant they might be in danger themselves.

Some who have never been involved before came out to fight to have the colonel removed from the agency's board and to keep the center open. The government has tried its usual divide-and-conquer tactic by offering a little money to several different groups, hoping that they would fight among themselves.

The center is sponsoring a Unity of Cultures Pow Wow to demonstrate the feeling the community has for keeping the center open. It will be held July 8-10, in Traverse City, at the lower field of the junior high school at Silver Lake and Franke Road. To obtain more information, or to send much needed funds, write to: Joann Koon, Director, Grand Traverse Bay Area Indian Center, 940 E. 8th St., Traverse City, Mich. 49684.

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# U.S. students protest South Africa connection

by Peter Wermuth

Massive student protests against university involvement with corporations investing in South Africa recently swept three University of California campuses.

The complicity of universities with corporations in collusion with U.S. imperialist policy has not changed one bit since the issue gained national attention in the anti-war movement. The University of California alone has \$1.7 billion invested in companies like Exxon, Dow Chemical, IBM, Goodyear, and ITT, all of whom would lose much should the South African regime collapse.

At the Santa Cruz campus, 401 demonstrators were arrested on May 27 after occupying a campus building to protest the university's holdings in 37 corporations with investments in South Africa.

At the Davis campus 20 students were arrested at a similar protest the same day. And 200 students staged a two-hour sit-in at Wheeler Hall at Berkeley, demanding an end to the South African connection.

A week later, hundreds rallied at Berkeley and close to 1,000 students attended a teach-in. The university cops arrested 58 students who sat in Sproul Hall after the administration refused to promise an end to the link with South Africa.

The issues in the University of California protests, though centered on the campus links to the Vorster regime, also involve cutbacks in minority enrollment and in course offerings, primarily in Third World Studies.

The Berkeley students were angered by the recent California Supreme Court ruling that Allen Bakke, a white male, was denied his constitutional rights when not admitted to the Davis campus medical school, while minority students with lower scores were allegedly let in

Increasing student activity showed itself nationwide in demonstrations against minority enrollment cuts and college links to repressive regimes abroad. At Michigan State University, 250 marched to protest the University's \$348,000 film contract with the Iranian government. Students demanded that the college not "produce propaganda for a repressive regime."

University of Minnesota students demonstrated outside a meeting of the Board of Regents; University of Wisconsin at Madison students occupied the office of the chancellor, and 250 students demonstrated at Cornell



Students sitting in at Sproul Hall on Berkeley campus are arrested on June 20, as hundreds outside also protest University of California's reactionary stand in the Bakke case and its corporate investments in apartheid South Africa.

University — all protesting university connections with South Africa.

Precisely because many of these protests center on South Africa, where the youth are challenging the whole rotten apartheid regime, many campus protests are developing beyond single-issue protests, and are confronting the very form of student life on campus.

Thus, students occupied an administration building at the University of Colorado, to force the administration to grant credit for summer remedial courses. Rhode Island School of Design students protested an administrative appointment made without any student input.

While we will have to wait for the start of the fall term to see a continuation of this wave of protest, the past months have shown that European students aren't alone in forging a fresh start at a new student movement.

## BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Ezekiel Mphablele, the Black South African novelist now living in exile in the United States, has authored an illuminating book on African-American poetry and culture, entitled, Voices In The Whirlwind, (published by Hill and Wang).

To this writer, this book is very enlightening because Mphahlele has attempted to deal, in an incisive way, with some of the nagging problems that African-American intellectuals have been discussing in seminars, symposiums, and articles ever since the Black Power movement. Notable among these problems are: what is the relationship of African-American poetry to the African-American mass conflict with white oppression? Is there a "Black aesthetic"? By what standards should it be criticized?

But before Mphablele begins to touch upon these problems, he lets the reader know that he does not think that poetry, or even culture, is central to solving the conflicts which African-Americans and Africans are engaged in, and that "politics does not need a cultural self-assertion."

This attitude toward culture in general, and poetry in particular, is at variance with that segment of African-American thought which has long emphasized the cultural differences between Black and white Americans, along with its advocacy that we must nurture and develop African-American culture as the main strand in the conflict against white oppression.

POETRY'S LINK TO STRUGGLE

Although Mphahlele gives a secondary role to culture in the struggles for liberation of oppressed peoples—and sometimes no role at all, as in the case of the Senegalese school of 'Negritude'—he isn't opposode to culture. He recognizes that poetry and other elements of culture are manifestations of the human expression that all individuals and people possess. What Mphahlele set out to do is remove the veil of mystery that surrounds culture, in this case poetry, by establishing its relationship, via the poet, with the Black struggle for liberation in the United States.

After Mphahlele shows the reader that there is no mystery about poetry and that poetry is just another way of expressing human-emotions, by putting words in a certain juxtaposition so they objectify human feeling and passions and thereby impart to them a deeper meaning or understanding, he demonstrates that if poets are sincere in what they say — particularly Black poets in the United States, and Africa, and the Caribbean—they must remove any private emotional barrier between themselves and the masses in conflict. This theme is rejiterated in these essays, and Mphahlele is sharply critical

## **'Voices in the Whirlwind'**

of any "theory" or "practice" of poetry that relegates its concern solely to form and structure, to private symbols, or to a coterie.

The poet's voice, in order for him/her to be meaningful and purposeful, must become a public voice, and if this is not the purpose, or if this fails, then the poet becomes a "disinherited mind."

Mphahlele extensively compares a number of African-American poets to see how they measure up to this concept. He takes long looks at poets such as Gwendolyn Brooks, Leroi Jones (Barraka), Claude McKay, and the Black Power poets, Samuel Allen, Larry Neal, etc. Examples of Claude McKay's poems are used to show how much more formal the poets of the Harlem Renaissance were than the poets of the Black Power period.

This lack of formality, he concludes, is due to the "urgency of our times." The poets of the Black Power period were saturated with the feeling that "it was the final conflict" and a new world was about to be born—a feeling that reverberated throughout the American Black world. It was these poets, Mphahlele believes, who were close to the building of a "Black aesthetic" because of the conscious adaptation of the everyday language of the people, but its impact was only gained in oral presentations, with the added dimension of diction and nuance.

Mphahlele is of the opinion that we have arrived at a Black point of view in this country, and not at the development of a Black aesthetic. And, if we do arrive at a concept of Black aesthetics, it could only come about by struggle and what he calls a "tough ideology." Too, the birth of a Black aesthetic in the U.S. would profoundly restructure the aesthetics of the entire country.

But he sternly warns that any idea of an aesthetic around a fetish like Islam or Christianity would be a disaster, because by inference, the real originator of an aesthetic, the masses of people in action, would be left out. This inference could be extended to what Mphahlele defines as "African Negritude," because it is a "fetish movement" of African elitists who only converse with themselves and their European counterparts, and it has no basis for the "second revolution."

Finally, to quote Mphablele, "Poetry is not going to help us resolve social conflict. But through it we are going to see ourselves as we are and perhaps as we want to be; through it we are going to recite to one another our own selves. Especially when it is a chorus of voices we are listening to That is really all we can hope for—a self-realization."

Soweto youth actions increase

Detroit, Mich. — The anniversary of the June 16,

Detroit, Mich. — The anniversary of the June 16, 1976 upheaval in South Africa has seen renewed anti-apartheid activity. Vehicles carrying workers to and from Johannesburg, commuter train rails, roads into the cities, liquor stores, schools and police stations have been targets for masses of Black youths.

On June 16, the beginning of the three-day mourning period for 618 killed last year, many Johannesburg employers saw only 60 percent of the workers show up. Black schools were empty. And white students at the University of Witwatersrand participated in a nation-

In the face of preachings about new conciliatory means of control was the police practice of killing 11, wounding 44, and arresting over 400 — almost all teenagers — while in the same week, the U.S. pledged no support for majority rule if it includes immediate one-

man, one-vote representation.

The boldest move for freedom yet happened when hundreds of Black students slipped into the heart of Johannesburg and converged outside the police complex where they clenched fists in Black power salutes, shouted slogans and sang freedom songs.

Their signs included demands that arrested Soweto Students' Representative Council leaders be released, references that those killed last year were youths, and condemnations of schools in apartheid South Africa as "education for slavery."

# SF gays battle reaction

San Francisco, Cal. — I went to a meeting called here right after the Miami vote against gay rights. Over 300 people, gay men and women, packed the hall to form a group called Save Our Human Rights, in response to what was universally felt to be the beginning of a reactionary attack against the gay movement.

But it seems like the gay movement is coalescing and growing stronger, too. The night the Miami vote was announced, 5,000 people poured into the streets in the gay communities in San Francisco, and every night since then there have been spontaneous rallies and marches. The general feeling at this meeting was that people's backs are against the wall—this is a life-or-death battle, and if the right wing succeeds in San Francisco, there

will be no place else to go.

Various immediate activities were planned, including demonstrating in front of the Catholic cathedral to protest their part in Miami's vote, and picketing a clothing store chain that fired a gay employee in Miami the day after the vote. One important action was to support a lesbian mother in Oakland who had her children taken away by the court, simply because she is gay.

I believe this spontaneous coalition is indicative of the advanced stage the gay movement is in now. But how fragile this alliance is was also shown in its early stages. The gay women at the meeting, who were vastly outnumbered by the men, several times had to call attention

to the sexism in some of the men there.

The gay women proved by their presence that they understood the need to unite with men in this struggle, but their patience will be sorely tested if the men don't understand the need to fight sexist attitudes integral with the fight for human rights.

Another weak point I saw was the lack of straights. Whether the Left doesn't want to recognize gay-liberation, or considers these efforts as "misdirected," I don't know. But the fact is that Bryant's crusade is not a one-woman religious cause. It is a reactionary movement backed by major ultra-right organizations in this country. The sooner the Left realizes this and supports the gay movement, the faster the total counter-revolution can be stopped.

-Chris Norwell

# Carter's phony 'human rights'

New York, N.Y. — When I hear President Carter talk about human rights I ask myself, "Who is he trying to fool?"

He will never mention Nicaragua, Paraguay, Puerto Rico, Guatemala, Chile, or other Latin American nations whose peoples are exploited, dehumanized and demoralized by U.S.-installed governments and military regimes.

Carter will not mention how the large mass of indigenous peoples and workers of these nations are actually prisoners, not allowed to determine their own destiny.

But many of my Latin American brothers and sisters are not aware of the true situation in their native homeland. Being Puerto Rican, and born and raised in New York, I know how easily a "New York Rican" can become "brain-washed." Recently, a "hip", "progressive" New York-based Latin magazine implied that Puerto Ricans should live up to an image of partying and slick dressing.

As Puerto Ricans are a young people averaging 19 years in age, we should strive for knowledge of our own existence and conditions, first and foremost. Too many in the U.S. are not aware of the atrocities executed against their own flesh and blood.

The youth, who themselves are imprisoned by the horrible conditions in urban slums, and the workers, who are themselves exploited everyday, must be made aware of the fact that their relatives are waging a war against U.S. imperialism. It is time that we mainland Latinos join the struggle.

—Esteban Gonzalez

# OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

# Mass unrest grows in Spain despite 'democratic' elections

The one thing that the daily press, in creating the hullabaloo of the "democratic election" in Spain, paid little attention to, which is actually the most hopeful sign in post-Franco Spain, is the proliferation of socialist posters, availability of Marxist books and literature, neighborhood committees on every subject from questions of rent to study groups. When all this new life is added to the strikes, street battles with police, and a jobless figure that approaches a million, you can see that the masses will engage in serious battles outside the electoral process.

Moreover, the electoral process was hardly the height of democracy when you keep in mind that Suarez's electoral law guaranteed the conservative rural areas three times the votes of each of the urban areas in the 50 provinces. Naturally, the fact that there was an election—the first in 40 years—and that the King's party was not unchallenged—the moderate Socialist Workers Party was a strong second—does signal a new stage in the life of fascist-ridden Spain. On the other hand, not only were the smaller, genuine Marxist and anarcho-syndicalist groupings not on the ballot, but nothing whatever was raised in the campaigns on the absolutely deep economic crisis which Spain is in.

Nor, above all, can we forget that the Union of the "Democratic Center" is the upper-crust bureaucrats from Franco's Spain, even as King Juan Carlos was handpicked by fascist dictator Franco. It is this which President Carter wishes to foist upon NATO, to assure his nuclearly-supplied military bases in Spain. King Juan Carlos, who claims he wishes to rule as "constitutional" monarch, not only operates under Franco's "fundamental laws," but makes it clear that he will not be just a ceremonial monarch, but an authentic commander-in-chief!

And very much alive and active is the 65,000-strong paramilitary fascist Civil Guard. This and the penal code remain as fascist as they were under Franco. The same is true of the status of women. Spain still sends wives but not husbands to prison for adultery. And just as the mark of illegality, which still hangs over many leftist parties does not stop their activity, nor that of the Basques, neither will the macho King keep the Women's Liberation Movement from growing. What the election has demonstrated is but the barest of beginnings of the class struggles to follow.

# **England**

From a British student, we received the following letter:

Just how crisis-ridden British society is becoming was shown clearly at the very time the ruling class hoped to instill some illusions of "national unity" with the Union Jack-waving, Tory jamboree known as the Queen's Jubilee celebration.

The media have been giving the most incredible amount of publicity to a new book by the right-wing "historian" David Irving, which claims that Hitler knew nothing about the extermination of six million Jews in World War II! It seems never to occur to the liberal historians who queued up to debate with Irving in TV studios that by simply considering such drivel as a "history book" they are aiding the growing fascist movement in Britain. The Neo-Nazi "National Front" can now count on a national average of six percent of the vote in elections.

One particularly odious example of "national unity" in action took place when London police charged a picket line at Grunwick's factory and arrested 80 people. This dispute is Britain's currently longest-running strike (45 weeks) and involves mainly Asian women fighting for union recognition. It is to be hoped that this incident will shake trade unionists into stepping up the solidarity campaign and making sure that these women win.

With inflation, wage controls and cutbacks biting harder, the Labour Party "Lefts" are revealing their political bankruptcy more and more. Not capable of seeing any way forward in industrial workers' struggles against the Labour Government's austerity measures, they are attempting to resurrect the antiCommon Market campaign — something that was never anything more than a chauvinist nationalistic diversion that found "Socialists" campaigning along-side the ultra-right Enoch Powell.

There was one cheering note during Jubilee Week however. Apart from the good sales of "Stuff the Jubilee: Fight the Cuts" buttons, an anti-monarchy song, recorded by a "punk-rock" band, went to number two in the top 30, despite a complete ban imposed on the record by radio and TV. It went:

"God Save the Queen She ain't no human being and there ain't no future in England's dream."

The youngsters who forked out their dole-money to buy it and give the flag-wavers a slap in the face seem to be the best part of British political life at the moment.

-Dave Black

### **Eritrea**

Since 1961, the 3.5 million people of Eritea have been seeking independence, first from the Ethiopia of Haile Selassie, and more recently from the military dictatorship that replaced him.

The Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front has been notably successful on the military front, having in the last 11 weeks captured the town of Nafka in the northern area on March 23, and a few days later, the town of Afabet, 60 miles to the south. They are within 100 miles of Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, to which they are laying seige.

In the area they have occupied, they have set up hospitals, schools and centers for the training of

the population in such basic skills as carpentry, machine-shop work, metal working, and are laying the basis for the light industry that will make them self-sufficient for their immediate needs.

Although they are accused of being a "Marxist" government, the troops they are fighting are backed by Moscow, with "advisors" from Cuba. Until very recently, the chief source of military assistance for the Ethiopian government came from the United States. The rebels denounce the U.S. as a symbol of imperialism and a chief enemy.

The Eritrean rebellion was launched in 1961 by the Ethiopian Liberation Front, but after nine years dissenters left to form what today is the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front. Today both groups work together, commanding approximately 30,000 troops which bring mobile classrooms and workshops with them as they move forward. They set up "revolutionary schools" wherever they can hang a blackboard because illiteracy was the way of life under the old regime. The new schools teach not only basic reading and writing, but how to utilize the refuse of war—scrap metal—for making useful implements for household use.

They see victory in the offing and hope to build a new African nation free of military and foreign domination.

In Addis Ababa on May 1, hundreds of students who were handing out leaflets opposed to the military dictatorship, which had within the last six months received a shipload of U.S. tanks, were shot down in cold blood, and their parents had to pay \$50 each to ransom the bodies from the morgue. It is very doubtful that Fidel Castro's "advisors" in Ethiopia could have much to offer.

# U.S. capitalism's demand for energy destroys environment and health

(Continued from Page 1)

did the same, endorsing each step of the company's convoluted path to its eventual "victory." Despite the fact that Steelworker members and their families were among those being poisoned by asbestos, former USW President I. W. Abel personally assured Minnesota officials that "if you don't go along, the company will take it out on our members."

Everywhere the rulers' policy has been to demand a unity of positions between the companies and the unions, and to force a wedge between environmental protestors and workers, insisting that their interests are mutually opposed. In fact, Karl Marx proved the opposite over 100 years ago, concluding that "capitalist production develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by the sapping of the original sources of all wealth — the soil and the laborer" (Capital, Vol. I, pp 555-556, Kerr edition). Today we are witness to the destruction of the air and water as well.

The truth is that the environment most affected by the ravages of the capitalist mode of production is the environment at work, where workers experience the actual conditions of death and life in the plants, mines and mills of America. Every week brings new revelations of deadly poisons and conditions in American shops, as well as never-ending reports of deaths from "industrial accidents." It is obvious to workers that the government's Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) cannot, or will not, do anything serious about it. In its six years of existence, OSHA has only set legal exposure standards for 17 of the more than 20,000 toxic substances to which American workers are subjected

Many of these substances are proven causes of cancer. Even where standards have been set, they are uselessly weak, or unenforced. Daily, 250,000 asbestos workers are exposed to cancer-causing fibers under

OSHA maximum allowed levels now considered tentimes too high. As a result, they suffer rates unique in the world of a rare cancer known as mesothelioma.

Doctors have found lung cancer in coke oven workers at a rate 250 percent higher than the national average. Yet OSHA standards for coke oven fumes are known to be far too low. Stricter standards were abandoned when the steel industry claimed they were too costly, and the USW did not object. New struggles over lead and benzene exposure levels are now underway.

In every industry, workers have found that complaints to OSHA go long unanswered, and even longer entangled in red tape, while workers are killed or crippled. Rank-and-file miners, terming many OSHA policies "worthless," have taken health and safety grievances into their own hands, going out on wildcat strikes. In the recent UMW presidency election, they forced every candidate to declare his support for every local's right to strike over conditions (see article, p. 3).

The coal miners have not been alone in their solidarity and creativity in fighting for health and safety. New forms of struggle are appearing everywhere, especially in Black, Brown and Red America, which in this racist U.S.A. experiences the worst conditions on environmental dangers.

BLACK, BROWN, RED AND WHITE

In California and Texas, Chicano farmworkers fighting for union recognition and first contracts have demanded control over chemical sprays used as fertilizers, or in weed and insect control. They want the use of such deadly chemicals as parathion stopped. New discoveries about the effects of a chemical known as dioxin, used in herbicides and described as "perhaps the most toxic small molecule known to man," make their fight even more urgent. A dioxin accident last fall has made one Italian town uninhabitable.

● In North and South Carolina, Black and white textile workers, from unorganized as well as the few

organized shops, formed a Brown Lung Association, to demand help for the victims of that cotton dust disease, and to see to it that future textile workers will not suffer as they did. They have made this issue a critical part of the organizing drive at J. P. Stevens and Cannon Mills.

Native Americans, whose economic and spiritual life is so seriously and completely integrated with the natural world, have been among the most inventive fighters against environmental destruction. Cheyennes in Montana are fighting the strip-mining of their reservation by coal companies, including the nation's largest—Peabody Coal. Thirty-six Cheyennes went to Arizona to see what strip-mining had done to Navajo and Hopi lands there. Before the trip, quite a few of the delegation backed strip-mining. When they returned, one member said: "Now, I think you have 36 Cheyennes who will take up guns to keep mining off the reservation."

Ojibways in Western Ontario, fighting pulp and paper companies which have dumped incredibly high levels of mercury into area lakes, have reached across the entire world to establish a relationship with victims of the only comparable mercury mass poisoning case in Minamata, Japan. The resulting publicity sparked "discoveries" of mercury poisoning all across Canada.

Capitalism has evidently reached a new stage — or rather, a new foul depth — when it is very nearly possible to say that its watchword of "production for production's sake" has been transformed into "destruction for destruction's sake." There is quite literally no spot on earth which remains free from its ravages. And neither is there any force for revolution which has not been engaged in the fight against the destruction of health and safety. When the students and others who sat down at Seabrook are united with Native Americans, miners and other workers in this struggle, we will have taken an important step toward ridding ourselves of a system which has plainly lived far too long.