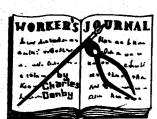
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WORKER'S JOURNAL Carter, unions don't deal with unemployment

by Charles Denby, Editor

President Carter said in his recent speech that his top priority on the list of economic problems was inflation, and the way to best fight against it was through "self-sacrifice." He said he was opposed to price controls, which is the only way he could really fight inflation. Many people have told me that Carter never gave a thing he promised in his campaign speeches, and if they had known this was what he was, they never would have gone to the polls to vote for him.

They say his whole objective is to try and satisfy the wealthy people of this country. He only gives lip service to the unemployed, while everyone is talking about the high rate of unemployment among Black youth and women — and it is going higher every day.

If it was not for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which eventually forced many southern and northern states to put some Blacks on their payrolls, there would be a catastrophe among Blacks. Carter's little inflation pill just won't do the job. All it adds up to is aspirin which, while fine for minor headaches, is not quite the therapy indicated for double pneumonia.

At the store in our neighborhood à week ago, there was a woman in line whose grocery bill was nearly \$100. She was very upset about the price, because she said that just three weeks before, she bought exactly the same thing and it cost her \$85. She said she just will have to stop eating, but wondered how the people on what they call fixed incomes live, especially those who just get Social Security, and those who do not have a job

Now the city government is on the news every day saying they have money to help senior citizens pay some of their fuel bills that were so high this winter. But first you must qualify for it, and that is the catch. I know some people that have sent in two and three applications and have not gotten a penny of help on their fuel bills. There are always catches to everything that is designed to help the poor.

POWER OVER THE PEOPLE

I just decided to read John Dean's book, Blind Ambition. It shows how most people in government think, and it is not thinking about the common people at all. The saying that the government is run by the people and for the people is just a front. It is run by a clique and for a clique, and for power over the people. This thirst for power becomes so desperate that it will destroy anything that gets in its way.

So you cannot depend on politicians' promises; they are just their way of hoping to get elected. Carter has not carried out any of his campaign promises. He did not do anything in the miners' strike except try to force (Continued on Page 2)



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MAY, 1978

From Chile to Mexico, from Los Angeles to New York

The Latino struggle unites freedom fighters in North and South America





ABOVE: Hostos students occupy building, organize own classes. showing affirmative action in practice,

BELOW: Many thousands massed in D.C. demanding court overturn Bakke decision threatening all affirmative action programs. (See stories, pp. 4-5.)

by Eugene Walker

So outraged were the Panamanian people at the latest series of amendments added to the Panama Canal Treaty by the U.S. Senate, that, as soon as they were introduced into the Senate debate, thousands took to the streets, hung and later burned President Carter in effigy from a tree in Panama City.

Incensed at the DeConcini proviso which gave U.S. imperialism "independently . . . the right to take such steps as it deems necessary . . . including the use of military force in Panama, to reopen the canal . . .", they made clear that this is not a question merely of treaty language, but of the life of a country. Indeed, it is a question of the peoples of one entire hemisphere, who have lived for all of this century and more under the strangulating domination of the U.S. and who are striving for a very different, human, way of life.

OIL, INVESTMENT, AND GEOPOLITICS

No wonder that President Carter's scarcely monthold Latin American-African voyage is already forgotten. It is all too clear to the whole world that the concern of the U.S. with regard to the developing world can be summed up in three words-geopolitics, as in the case of Panama; oil, as in Nigeria and Venezuela; and investment, as in Brazil.

Take the trips to Nigeria and Venezuela. After Saudi Arabia, they are the major suppliers of oil to the U. S. Despite calls for energy independence, the U. S. imports an ever growing percentage of its petroleum supplies, and Carter's visit to these two oil nations was clearly to try and assure the U.S. a stabilization of supply and price.

Or take his trip to Brazil, which over the past decade has become the colossus of South America. It carries a four billion dollar U. S. investment. In addition, American banks are among the biggest creditors for Brazil's \$30 billion foreign debt-largest in the developing world. Its \$160 billion GNP is the tenth largest in the world, but it is a GNP closely tied to U. S., European and Japanese investment, and to the almost 15-year presence of a military regime which has outlawed all opposition.

Brazil's growing power has meant an extension of its economic horizons toward Europe, especially in the agreement with Germany for nuclear reprocessing plants with their potential for supplying fuel for nuclear weapons. This has meant a step away from the traditional client-state relation which the U.S. has enjoyed with Latin America. But it has not meant any more freedom either for the Brazilian people or for other Latin American countries now facing Brazilian economic power along with domination by the U. S.

In contrast to Carter's attempt to renew U. S. capitalism's import of raw materials and export of exploit-

LATIN AMERICA IN REVOLT

Mass Detroit protests force Nazi eviction

Detroit, Mich.—Over 300 anti-Nazi demonstrators cheered and chanted on April 11 as court officials smashed down the locked front door of the Nazi headquarters in southwest Detroit to evict the Nazis under a court order.

The contents hauled out of the office into the street included Nazi and confederate flags, rifles, bats and thousands of anti-Semitic, anti-Black and anti-labor ets and namphlets.

Four days later, another crowd of 250 was on hand to celebrate the throwing out of the Nazis by painting over the swastikas and white power slogans on the office front. The storefront office will now become the Detroit headquarters of the Labor-Community-Interfaith Council Against the Nazis, a coalition group which coordinated the anti-Nazi opposition.

In a statement following the Nazi eviction, the Council said, "The eviction of the Nazis from 7608 W. Vernor is the first legal defeat for the Nazis. The lesson is resistance—for nowhere in the country have the Nazis been opposed by so united an effort by the labor movement, community groups, and religious groups. We serve notice on the Nazi stormtroopers that, wherever they go in the metropolitan area, we will be there to oppose them."

When the Nazis suddenly appeared in southwest

Detroit four months ago, outraged members of News and Letters Committees living in the neighborhood immediately swung into action, calling organizations and individuals for a protest demonstration the very

Over 150 persons massed to demonstrate their opposition, and from that point until the final eviction, protests and picket lines were constantly organized, as well as rallies, motorcades, legal action and pressure on labor and public officials.

A significant turning point came during the Inaugural Address of Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, when News and Letters Committees organized an informational picket line outside the hall where Mayor Young gave his Inaugural speech, and inside unfurled a huge banner boldly declaring: Detroit Wants Nazis Out NOW! Many persons attending the function joined in the picket line, both before and after the ceremony.

The growing anti-Nazi sentiment was reflected sharply in an episode involving Detroit's public TV station. Channel 56, which is dependent upon public support to operate and has historically received crucial assistance from the Jewish community.

Perhaps unwittingly, the station gave air time to the Nazis which they used to try to recruit members from the viewing audience. The Jewish community

(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued on Page 8)

Workers in U.S. and Europe prepare for next battle

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

The greatness of the miners' vote to accept the contract-57 percent for and 43 percent against-lies hidden in apparent defeat. The real meaning of this vote is revealed in what the miners were actually saying. The 57 percent said, "We have to live while we're fighting. To live in this society we have to work to pay our bills and feed our families so we can fight again!'

The 43 percent said, "We will continue to fight till we die!" One idea is the stabilizer, the other is the energizer. Both ideas are necessary to sustain a movement. The miners went back to work, but the war has just begun.

EUROPEAN STRIKES

Recently, millions of European workers in Common Market countries struck anywhere from four hours to a day as a warning to the capitalists of what would happen unless business provided jobs for the massively unemployed (see "Our Life and Times," p. 12). The relationship between the miners' struggle in this country and this recent upsurge of continuing worker revolt in Europe brings to mind the historic relationship of American movements to those in Europe.

The American Revolution in 1776 sounded the tocsin for the 1789 French Revolution. The American Civil War and the struggle for the eight-hour day created a new stage for the Paris Commune of 1871 to occur, and in turn, 1871 Paris laid the ground for the 1877 St. Louis General Strike and the continuing struggle in America.

A new stage of the farmworkers' fight has compelled Cesar Chavez to reveal the real bankruptcy of capitalism in the way technology is used. Not only does he point out the massive unemployment of workers as the first victims of extensive use of automated machinery, but he points to how the cost of growers introducing automation, via UC-Davis "engineering genius," is passed on to the general public as taxpayers and consumers. Furthermore, for the purpose of withstanding the mechanical onslaughts of this new automation, he shows how the quality of food for human consumption has been reduced, again by the University's scientific "wizardry

GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT

The continued layoffs of steel workers and plant closings in rubber mean the army of the unemployed is growing and not sloughing off, as Carter would have us believe. The "declining rate of unemployment" only demonstrates that the ranks of the unemployed have now become part of America's poor-some are on welfare, but others are less fortunate.

The ever-worsening conditions of labor and the actions working people are taking against them demand that workers, whether miners or auto assemblers, whether European or American, see each struggle as part of

(Continued from Page 1)

the miners back under the Taft-Hartley Act, without any concern for their safety. Since the miners returned, there have been more than ten deaths because of unsafe working conditions. (See story, p. 3.)

The farmers are also disappointed with Carter, and with many Congressmen who voted against the farm bill. The farmers have sworn that they will do everything in their power to defeat those who voted against it in the coming election.

It has puzzled me for quite some time how they can raise the price of everything that the farmers grow, and at the same time not give the farmers a penny raise. This has put nearly every small farmer in the country out of business. No wonder Carter is saying he is not sure whether he will run for re-election after his first term has ended, although some labor leaders will be shaking every bush to help him.

FOUR-DAY WEEK

Some labor leaders here in Detroit called a meeting recently to discuss the four-day week. The shorter work week has been discussed every time a contract has come up for the past ten years, long before the late Walter P. Reuther passed on. Some of the speakers seemed to have a sincere desire to get the 30-hour week, but UAW President Fraser said they were not talking about a fourday week for the upcoming contract, but that by 1988 workers would have it.

Now this was supposed to cut unemployment down. One can assume the delay in seeking shorter hours what President Carter was asking from labor to help curb inflation. But if workers who are unemployed must wait until 1988, when Fraser, like Woodcock, will not be around the union, it will be just another way of putting off the present for something in the far distant future.

In fact, the original slogan was "30 hours work with 40 hours pay." I did not hear this mentioned many times. But one must wonder why this meeting was called at this time, when the auto plants have nearly all of their employees working six and seven days a week, from nine to twelve hours a day. That sure cannot help the unemployed.

Most people know we are caught up in this vicious circle of wondering why we have to decide that inflation is more urgent than unemployment. Carter has already asked government workers to take a cut in salaries, but he has not asked for control on prices, and that is what is most important to the people.

their own. What these many and seemingly different workers' struggles around the world and in all industries have in common is the real enemy—the capitalist mode of production. The miners have demonstrated that struggle must be continuous. The European workers have shown the struggle of one must be the struggle of

Protests force Nazi eviction

Sol Kleinman, survivor of Nazi holocaust, takes turn painting out swastikas.



(Continued from Page 1)

withdrew its support from the station until it publicly apologized for permitting such obscenity to disgrace its programming.

The decisive change in the anti-Nazi struggle occurred when organized labor was finally forced into action by the growing pressures from the rank-and-file. UAW Local 600, the largest auto union local in the U.S. and located only a few miles from the Nazi office, along with a growing number of Jewish groups, organized rallies, motorcades and initiated an intensive media campaign.

Legal maneuvering, meanwhile, was continuing, based on the misrepresentation by the Nazis that they were going to use the office as a printing firm. The owner of the office went to court seeking to evict the Nazis for lying about their use of the office, and after four months of legal skirmishing the courts finally upheld the landlord and ordered the Nazi eviction.

It is clear to everyone, however, that it was the continuous protests, picket lines and demonstrations which finally resulted in the eviction of the Nazis. All who have actively participated in these actions know that if they had depended upon the courts for action, or followed the misguided advice of others who counseled, "Let them alone and they'll go away," that the Nazis would still be in southwest Detroit.

Efforts are now underway to try to establish a national anti-Nazi coalition in major urban areas of

Review: The Boys in Company C

The Boys in Company C is to date the most accurate movie I have seen about Vietnam. It succeeds in capturing the mood of the troops in a very unpopular war. Having been in Vietnam myself, during the same time period, I can make comparisons to my own experiences.

It's all there, the dehumanization of the Vietnamese people including the deliberate murders of innocent civilians to get a higher body count. The dissent of the enlisted men toward the officers who insisted that we were doing a great favor for the people of Vietnam, when in fact we were supporting a tyrannical dictator who refused to allow the people to have free elections and choose their own way of life.

And then there were the drugs. It seemed that no matter where we were it was always easy to get the drugs. Many Vietnam veterans returned to the states with serious drug-related problems as well as addiction to heroin, and serious psychological problems.

Then there were the accidents. In my outfit there were just as many deaths from our allies as there were from the enemy. One time we were right in the middle of a B-52 raid, and there was no way we could stop There were several deaths from this careless bombing, all because the Pentagon tried so hard to win a war that they couldn't, because they couldn't win the support of the people.

I was on guard duty on board ship one day while the hull of the ship was being X-rayed. You can imagine the power of X-rays used for two-inch steel, and nobody had been informed it was happening. Right after that they removed a tumor from my neck that the doctors called benign, and so the Navy denies responsibility for a malignant cancer that appeared in the same area

The Boys in Company C might not ever win an Academy Award, but I give it a four star rating for accuracy. And I agree completely with the movie's advertisement that "In an insane war, you had to be crazy to survive."

-Vietnam veteran, Detroit

NY transit workers fear fraud in mail contract vote

New York, N.Y.—The New York transit workers are now voting on a contract, negotiated by their union for six percent raise over two yearsless than the rate of inflation. Their once-militant leadership was drowned out by shouting from the ranks at the strike authorization meet-

The Transit Workers Union (TWU) mailed out on April 13 the information on the contract, agreed to by the union on April 1, for a mail ballot to be counted on April 25. Unlike previous years when they just sent the facts, this year the union sent a long letter urging ratification. Union officials have also been denouncing "troublemakers" and "outside elements who want to destroy the union" to the press, which has been reporting that two-thirds of the members appear to be opposed to the contract.

More than 300 workers, objecting to the way the vote is being conducted, demonstrated in front of the union office. They fear the mail ballot will allow stuffing of the ballot box, like the vote two years ago, which gave a 25 percent raise to union officials even though no one knew anyone who had voted for it. If the 35,000 transit workers strike, the city comes to a halt.

Negotiations now in progress with most of the other City unions reveal the highest level of state-capitalist development. Never have so many conspired to break

such crummy unions!

First, our once-liberal new mayor is viciously antilabor. But even if he weren't, all contracts can be vetoed by the Emergency Financial Control Board (made up of bankers) which is in control during the "fiscal crisis." Now there is the added weight of the federal government, which is holding up new loans to the City until it "proves' its need by refusing to pay its workers decent wages.

Macy workers boo contract, union says it's 'ratified'

New York, N.Y.—A contract ratification meeting attended by more than 2,000 Macy's workers turned into a embarrassing night for the union bureaucrats who were faced with repeated boos, criticisms from the floor, and denunciations of the contract as a sell-out.

Even before the meeting started, groups of workers were checking off "no" on their ballots to a contract providing only a 54-cent-an-hour raise over two years, and job security for workers with five-years and over seniority-"except in case of economic crisis"!

Several workers asked critical questions. One wanted to know why the contract made no provisions for a group of workers not receiving their proper grade pay

scale in the Herald Square store.

One stockman took the floor, connecting the lessons of the miners' 110-day struggle to the need for Macy workers to stand firm and reject the contract. He got the biggest hand of the evening. When Union President Kovenetsky condescendingly replied that the miners' struggle was worthless because they now pay \$300 a year in health benefits "and we pay none", he was roundly booed.

Less than an hour after the meeting, they announced the vote tally (voting was done on a blank slip of paper slipped into a shoebox) as heavily in the union's favor. More than one stockman thought the union's "ethics" may have been involved in that. "I don't see how it could have passed at all," one Black worker said. "The contract's a joke. They make a big deal about the seniority provision, and as soon as the next recession comes, they're allowed to lay off again."

Many others, especially the part-timers who get swindled on benefits, were angry the minute they entered the hall, because the union never bothered to notify anyone about the state of negotiations or the demands of management.

"You just can't see a difference between them and management," another stockman said. "But at least it's good that tonight they got an idea what we think of them."

-Macy's stockman

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Wildcat erupts in wake of five mine deaths

Morgantown, W. Va. — The death of five miners on April 4 at the Pittston Coal Co.'s Clinchfield mine in southwest Virginia set the stage for the first UMW wildcat strike, which erupted on April 11, following the end of the longest national coal strike in U.S. history less than a month earlier. The five miners died from "black damp," or lack of oxygen, when they broke into an abandoned section of the mine filled with this oxygen-deficient atmosphere.

The wildcat strike itself resulted directly from the company's discharge of a miner who had missed work for three days with a "proper excuse," and involved the hotly-contested absentee penalty provision in the new

Three days later, on April 13, three other miners working in another Clinchfield mine 30 miles away were killed in a roof fall, bringing the toll of miners killed to over a dozen in the month since the miners returned to work on March 20.

These fatalities, plus the wildcat strike, underscore the importance of the miners' demand for the right to strike over local grievances. This was the major provision the miners wanted in their contract, but which their leaders failed to negotiate with the coal operators.

As the deaths, grievances and tensions mount in the coal fields, there is no doubt that the wildcat strikes which swept the coal industry last year will be repeated.

The miners' grievances will be fed by their knowledge that if they had won protections they had demanded in the last contract, the deaths and other conflicts with mine management could have been avoided.

These conditions will also increase the miners' resentment against UMWA President Arnold Miller and the UMW leadership, which accepted the operators terms and strapped the miners to the almost universally opposed contract.

Under the impact of these developments, the miners will step up their demands for Miller to resign. Although petitions calling for Miller's recall, carrying many more than the required number of miners' signatures, have months ago been submitted to the UMW, the recall provisions in the UMW constitution are so vague that Miller can stall action for years.

In the meantime, many miners are already looking three years ahead, when the present contract expires, and are starting to put savings away for the expected strike. Much will happen before that time, and the rankand-file miners have made it clear that they will be bound by their own convictions of what is right and wrong, and not by a contract they all detest.



Mine officials talked safety to returning miners, but unsafe work conditions continue mine slaughter.

Uniroyal overbuilding cuts jobs

Detroit, Mich. — The piece-rate system, which has always been a sore point here, is now beginning to threaten our jobs. So many builders have been building such high percentages, (running over the 130 percent full-production level which is called "making out") that we could easily build ourselves out of a job.

So many workers, especially some of the younger ones, are getting carried away by making \$8.50, \$9 and \$10 an hour that they have forgotten that they are threatening everybody's job security. In the radial departments, there has already been a short lay-off, and several machines are down right now.

These workers are transferred to openings in other departments, instead of the openings being filled by new hires. So not only are these "money-hungry" builders keeping someone else out of a job, they are also keeping probationary employees out. No one seems to care what the new hire's situation is, not even the union, even though they pay dues like everyone else. Four years ago, we were 3,000 working here. Now we are only 1.500.

Another thing is the practice of "running off" tires and materials. With most of the machines the production is registered on a meter, and you can run the machine through its cycle from time to time without actually making anything.

What's wrong is people using it to make 160 percent "production" day after day. Pretty soon we will end up with those jobs getting re-timed again to an even worse standard, as well as losing jobs.

–Uniroval worker

FROM THE AUT

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—The word has come down that they are halting production of El Dorado bodies at the Fleetwood plant in June and moving that to New Jersey. Plant management is blaming it on the quality of the product. The quality of everything coming out of the plant has been questionable, mostly because of the speed of the line and the push for more production from fewer

But the company is using this to increase harassment on the line, threatening both time off and lay-offs. The El Dorados represented about seven percent of production here, but you can expect enough standard bodies to be moved back to Fleetwood to make that up. Foremen are on a big campaign of harassment of workers, using this phony quality issue to write people up right and left. Foremen have even been giving people time off for smoking.

The response of the union has been unbelievable. They mainly have been telling workers not to listen to any rumors. If their do-nothing attitude continues, it will be mighty embarrassing next year at the next contract to never have gotten a local agreement from this contract.

-Second shift worker

GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal.—The Body Shop hung the foremen in effigy and both shifts were involved. A noose was put up on nights with a note attached saying "foremen." Dayshift completed it by cutting out a paper figurine and placing the symbolic foremen in the noose. Later, someone wrote "and Sal Astorga" (the shop committee chairman) on the note.

This visible protest has remained intact now for five days. Workers are saying two things: "We're tired of being punished with unnecessary overtime" and "Astorga (the 12-year incumbent running for re-election) is the plant manager's boy.'

Since the beginning of the year, overtime for Body

has been more than frequent. Breakdowns and gaps in the line happen every day it seems, and then the line is run at breakneck speeds, supposedly to make up the difference. Still, overtime is worked. Body Shop workers are made to cover for absences in other departments, making Body short-handed.

The line is shut down for relief. Other departments go home on time; Body shop leaves late. One worker, disgusted with overtime, walked off the line at eight hours because the foreman had not informed him of the eight-plus line time when only eight hours worth of relief had been given.

Workers know Shop Chairman Astorga, along with Zone man Gibson, are behind allowing the company to get away with this, just as they had sanctioned the monstrous 10-plus overtime a year-and-a-half ago. In fact, the company wants Astorga to stay in office so bad that some maintenance men were assigned to put up Astorga's. campaign signs and write slogans on trash bins - all the while being paid double-time.

—South Gate worker

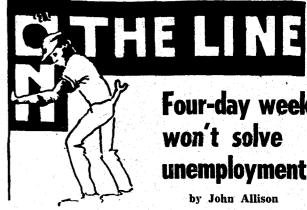
Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich.-Many workers at Dodge Truck have seen the engineers from Jefferson Street Assembly walking around the plant lately. They watch how you do your job-and figure how to eliminate it.

After Chrysler completes the \$50 million retooling for light truck production at Jefferson Street Assembly, they'll move part of truck plant production over there But many jobs may be eliminated through speed-up and automation in the move over there—even though Chrysler will expand total production. Some workers have heard that over 1,000 people may get laid off.

We'll have to look to our own action and ideas to prevent a wholesale loss of jobs. Our local union reps have enough trouble as it is stopping speed-up now inside the truck plant. Some workers are talking of striking to prevent the transfer of any operations from truck plant to Jefferson Street.

-Main building worker



Four-day week won't solve unemployment

by John Allison

Now we've got another answer to the unemployment question—the four-day week. That's what UAW President Doug Fraser and a pack of other so-called labor leaders met to talk about recently in Detroit.

They keep worrying about how to make more jobs for the young people, how to cut down on the growing unemployment. But the more they talk about it, the less they seem able to put enough young people to work.

SUB (Supplementary Unemployment Benefits) was supposed to create more jobs and more job security. It would be too expensive for companies to lay workers off, we were told. Only now we know better. It would cut down on overtime and open the way for more employment. Only now we know better.

Then we had the pension system. This was going to create more jobs for the young. Older workers would retire early and live out the rest of their lives in peace and comfort, giving younger people the opportunity to

On their fixed income that is unable to keep pace with inflation, retirees have neither peace nor comfort. and the unemployment among the young keeps going

Now the talk is about shortening the work week. It sounds good on the face of it, just like all of the other schemes did. But it won't solve the unemployment problem any more than the others did.

There are no checks or balances, and so long as overtime is unlimited and the capitalists' own money game is played by the union leaders, nothing will be solved. What we'll get out of this is another scheme that will help the companies get even more profits out of the workers by getting even more production out of them—and making it sound like it will be good for them.

BASF firing shows bias

Wyandotte, Mich. — Someone in the South Plant boiler house at BASF Wyandotte opened up a valve, and 250 gallons of fuel oil spilled into the Detroit River. This got the company into trouble with the government because it was a federal violation. The company looked around for somebody to blame, and they blamed a worker the foremen didn't like.

This worker, the janitor in the boiler house, had just returned from medical leave for mental distress because of harassment from foremen. This time they suspended him without any evidence.

But two days later a "witness" stepped forward and backed the company version, saying he had been afraid to speak out before. The local union leadership of Local 7-627, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, immediately said they would back this witness all the way, and a committee-man met with him. After the meeting, he still signed a statement that he had seen the incident while up on the roof, sneaking a break and smoking a joint. The worker they had suspended was then fired.

Many workers still have questions and doubts. The so-called witness, the son of a steward, was by his own statement violating company rules, but he wasn't disciplined. The only place on the roof where he could have seen the valve opened was at the far end where it slants so steeply it would be dangerous to sit there, and is so exposed it would be no place to hide out.

BASF is the second largest chemical company in the world, but here conditions are still pretty much like the family company this once was. If you're a friend of the foremen or committeemen, you can get along. If you're not their friend, and someone accuses you of something once, then they pin everything on you without proof.

-"Plant proletarian," South Plant

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25,000 march in D.C. against racism, sexism

New York, N.Y.—Some 25,000 marchers came to Washington, D.C. April 15 for the largest demonstration against racial discrimination in several years. Rallying around the threatened elimination of affirmative action programs for minorities and women in education and employment, the young, spirited crowd chanted, "Beat Bakke back, We won't go back," and "Won't take no more, We're fired up!"

The occasion for the march from the White House to the Supreme Court to the Capitol was the coming decision by the Court in the Bakke case, in which the California Supreme Court prohibited a medical school from

assuring some minority admissions.

It was the largest national demonstration in years in which a majority of the participants were Black. There were also huge Latin contingents, mostly from New York, who tied racial discrimination to imperialism with a call for Puerto Rican independence.

Many women's groups were present, from NOW to campus women's centers to lesbian rights groups, with placards spelling out the devastating consequences of the Bakke case to women's rights, a subject which has not always been brought out in local anti-Bakke activities.

Italian CP, unions support government against workers

The following report was sent by a correspondent

in Naples, Italy:

The Italian scene is marked by the deepening of the economic crisis. During 1977, industrial production had been decreasing. This meant a strong increase in unemployment, especially among the young. The official statistics show an unemployment of 1,700,000 people, of which about 800,000 are young - most attending universities waiting for a job.

These are only approximate figures and will further rise because, according to owners' associations, there is a surplus employment of almost 200,000 people in the manufacturing industry that must be cut in order to im-

prove the productivity of labour.

While unemployment rises and inflation cuts real wages, the Communist Party and the trade unions have become the most important government supporters - ask workers to increase their productivity, to moderate claims for higher salaries and, recently, to accept dismissals in order to restore conditions for capital's accumulation.

Until now the CP and the trade unions have succeeded in imposing their leadership on the workers, but as the workers' living conditions become worse, opposi-

tion grows.

The general cry of the capitalist class is that the enes responsible for this situation are the working class, whose wages are too high and productivity too low. Therefore, to save the national economy, i.e. to save the country, more sacrifices are necessary. The CP is involved in this logic because the upper part of the party is composed of petty bourgeoisie.

This is why the CP has been helping the Christian Democrats run the country during this last year and why they will keep helping them in the future.

'Gobbledygook' hides needs

Detroit, Mich.-As the American economic system gets into a worse jam, a business of cutting down on social services is carried on in sneaky ways. Lawyers and judges discover that patients in long-term-care hospitals have "human rights" and should not be compelled to stay in such places.

Subsequently, Northville State Hospital closes more and more of its doors, and a chronic-disease hospital named after Walter Reuther is forced to shut down. The patients are given their liberty. Actually it means that they are thrown on the mercy of their relatives who feel that they must provide these patients with food

and shelter.

Not only lawyers, but some university professors and research workers are finding language to disguise this reduction of social services. I discovered this recently when I sat in a "colloquium" at Wayne State University. The young man who gave the talk used the

worst gobbledygook I have ever heard.

He had been given the privilege of going through places in Michigan. He had looked at the places and their furnishings and had questioned patients or delinquents, custodians, guards, nurses and social workers. But he was not looking for solutions to vital problems. He might see terrible things, but he was expected to be a good boy, ask questions, and bury the answers in gobbledygook and weird charts.

This was talk cooked up by social scientists, doctors, technicians and university professors to give the impression that all was well, when in actuality everything

was going to hell, but fast.

It is to suit the corrupt purposes of a decadent economic system that intellectual activity is transformed into busywork, gobbledygook, or a smoke screen of words.

-Alan Mather

There were also groups of Asian-Americans and disabled people present.

The vast majority of demonstrators were from college campuses, particularly from the New York City and Washington areas, but also from upstate New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan. There was a contingent of Black medical students from Wayne State University in Detroit and several groups of white medical students showing their support for minority admissions.

The labor unions, which have refused to back affirmative action for jobs, were conspicuous by their absence. The only union seen was AFSCME 457 from Detroit. "Fightback," the Black construction workers' organization, had a large contingent from Harlem.

The marchers' shouting, singing, raised fists and colorful banners, calling for action from Soweto to Santo Domingo produced new excitement, but the rally was a let-down, with rhetoric and fund-raising instead of any analysis of the significance of the Bakke case or why it is being raised now.

A woman demonstrator from Cincinnati commented. "What is behind Bakke didn't come out at the rally, but the fact that so many people came shows how serious the issues are to them." In contrast to the low level of the public speeches, our leaflet announcing the pamphlet, Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, had such an appeal that people came up to us to ask for it.

The City University of New York (CUNY) was represented by numerous busloads from 17 campuses, and the occasion led to discussion about the fights each school has been waging alone against cut-backs in minor-

ity programs and enrollment.

Other students were excited to learn from us about the occupation going on at Hostos (see story p. 5), we learned that Manhattan Community College has similar overcrowding and may also take action, and that Brooklyn College has had a series of racial incidents, including the firing and beating by police of Puerto Rican faculty and students.

Even greater numbers of CUNY students would have come to Washington, but racial and political divisions on some campuses have produced student governments which refused to provide buses for all who wanted to attend.

If anyone in Washington had had any doubts that there are "two nations, one white and one Black," they had only to look out the bus windows at the Black slums surrounding the sparkling white government buildings where we demonstrated.

-Participants, NY News and Letters Committee

Youth in Revolt

Tens of thousands of Basques chanting things like "Nuclear plants to Moncloa" (the government Palace in Madrid), marched and rallied in Lemonitz, Spain on March 12. They oppose the Westinghouse nuclear reactor under construction there.

On April 15, 200 Princeton University students finally exited the building they had seized several days before. They had won a promise from the administration to consider divestiture from corporations operating in apartheid S. Africa. Wesleyan College students staged a similar occupation against college investments in apartheid.

And at Cornell University Black students were joined by white students for the first time in demonstrations to oppose more cuts in Black studies there.

Over 4,000 student demonstrators from all over Ontario rallied in Toronto at the end of March. They voiced opposition to the cutbacks in teaching staffs and library services, and meager government grants.

Prison strikers ask support

Marion, Ill. — The entire Marion Federal prison population refused to eat in the prison dining room on March 13, and simultaneously presented a list of grievances to the warden. These grievances concerned such demands as closing the Control Unit Behavior Modification Program-where ten men were driven to suicide and others have been driven mad; an end to guard brutality and harassment; visiting rights; the right to make unrestricted phone calls; raise in pay for prisoner workers; lowering of prices, and other issues.

The prison administration responded by arbitrarily locking up 26 of the most militant prisoners and making them scapegoats for the boycott. Lorenzo Komboa Ervin (see Worker's Journal, News & Letters, April, 1978) was one of those framed on disciplinary charges.

Komboa was thrown into solitary confinement along with others, some of whom were beaten by prison guards. On April 2, Komboa and several others were moved into the Control Unit. No one knows how long they well be kept there.

For readers in the Chicago area who want to participate in the Free Lorenzo Komboa Ervin Committee, contact News & Letters, P.O. Box 11865, Chicago, Ill.

Report from a South African trade unionist

(The following are excerpts from a press conference held for Zola Zembe, a member of the South African Congress of Trade Unionists, by a group of American trade unionists, that NEWS & LETTERS attended in Los Angeles. SACTU was formed in the mid-1950s and Zembe is one of the few trade unionists from South Africa ever to speak in the U.S.)

The labor force will be very important in South Africa, because it is a highly industrialized country. In South Africa, once you strike then they send troops, not to protect buildings and property, but to shoot people. Last year 1,000 people were killed.

The relationship between SACTU and young people as a whole is very close, because students know that unless you involve workers, their struggle will just be a small thing. For instance, when they called for removal of Afrikaans-the oppressors' language-and removal of Bantu Education, they were sort of ignored. In fact, the ruling circles in South Africa thought they could compromise on this, they could remove Afrikaans if the students didn't want it. But, the students approached the trade union movement to come together, and a general

The trade union movement is not very large because there is a lot of harassment. The membership is about 250,000. The white workers are well organized. Unfortunately, they are against their colleagues, the Black workers. It is a small number of people who organized into a trade union because of harassment.

Once it is discovered that you are a member of a trade union, you go to prison for a long time or you die. What you take for granted in America is not taken for granted in South Africa. So, I would say that one in every four Black workers is a member of a trade union in South Africa.

Africans had been getting 50 cents a week and then wages were doubled in 1973 when there was a strike. They talk about it (the wage increase) cleverly, that they gave a 100 percent increase to Africans. How much they were getting, they don't say. I am trying to say that there is no enormous increase there at all. You will have to re-structure the whole thing of wages.

Now about Mozambique — there is no state that has already sacrificed like Mozambique. They have sanctioned Rhodesia, literally. They have cut it off, which has never been done by any other state there. Even Zambia has found it difficult. So, we have no right to say they won't do it (decrease the flow of migrant labor into South Africa). You can't do it within a day, you will be creating

So. I think there is the principle of agreeing that

- we're going to work our economy this must come away from South Africa and we sympathize with our brothers in Malawi, Rhodesia and Botswana. Because when they go to the mines, they go to compounds which are divided up into compartments where there are Rho desians, Botswanans, Mozambicans. And the place is well policed. South Africans (aren't allowed to) mix with these workers inside compounds so that there should be no interlink of thought. It is very difficult.

When they go to the shopping center, they are surrounded by the police. They shop and go back so that they must not organize. But to me it is double-edged. I am thinking of Mozambicans — those workers are aware of what is happening in Mozambique today. When they go to South Africa they are not going to keep quiet, they're going to talk. In fact, there is talk that Mozambican workers are becoming arrogant now and we (the South African government) should be thinking of getting rid of them, and I'm sure Malawi too, in the long run, but not now. There will be change.

Probably, they will even give a chance to people like me and others to go to these workers — to talk to them so that when they are inside those compounds, they know how South Africans think.

Detroit Area Readers Note!! Come to hear

South African Exile

I. B. TABATA

- Pres. of Unity Movement of South Africa (UMSA)
- President of African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa (APDUSA)
- Founder of All African Convention (AAC)



speaking on THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Date: Tuesday, May 2. Time: 7 p.m. Admission Free Place: Hilberry Auditorium, Student Center Bldg.,

Wayne State University

Sponsored by WSU N&L Youth Committee



NY students occupy Hostos '500', run classes

by Peter Wermuth

The empty building at 500 Grand Concourse Ave., across the street from Hostos Community College in the South Bronx, which students have demanded become part of the school for four years, has been occupied since March 30. Students and faculty are running their own classes, holding meetings in the evenings, showing films like "Attica," holding cultural events, and running the building 24 hours a day with community help.

Two weeks after the take-over of the "500" building, the atmosphere there is busy but happy. Sixty classes met there on one day, and one professor who wanted to teach his class there had to be turned away.

The students hope to have more areas furnished soon so they can accommodate all the professors who want to show their support of the action. And this is despite the fact that the college president threatened not to pay the teachers or give the students credit for the classes taught at "500"!

Community support is so extensive that "500" has had enough food donated to open a cafeteria. The student population of the college has ratified the occupation by turning out for several assemblies and a picket line at City Hall April 14.

THE OCCUPATION BEGINS

I arrived in time for the mass meeting called to decide when to occupy. At first, most wanted to take over "500" right away; the rest wanted to wait a week. All, though, demanded occupation within seven days.

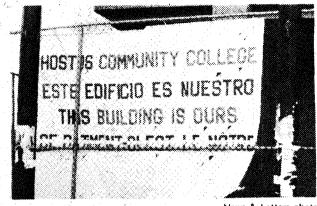
A group of about two dozen went and occupied \$'500" anyway. At first, most students were mad at this, but by that evening, it was decided that, regardless of how correct they were in acting alone, the rest of the students owed them support. By that Friday, over 100 students set up a picket line around the school, and by the following Monday, 40 to 60 were sleeping over every night.

The spirit of the occupation must be seen to be believed. The students are confident they can hold the building, and are even talking in terms of building a gym in a lot outside "500" during the summer.

By noon on Monday, students from Bronx Community, Brooklyn, Hunter and Lehman Colleges, most of them from Black or Latino groups, had come to visit the occupation.

BUILDING VACANT FOUR YEARS

The occupied building is almost finished, but has stood idle for four years due to lack of funds. Hostos, with only 2,500 students, needs more student enrollment to avoid even more cutbacks. The city says the enroll-



--- News & Letters ph

The feelings of the Hostos '500' students are expressed in Spanish, English and French.

ment is too small to justify the cost of keeping it open. But of course Hostos is so overcrowded now that it's impossible to increase enrollment.

The demand, then, to have "500" become part of Hostos is no mere matter of increasing the size of the campus. It centers on the very life of the school as all struggles at Hostos always have for the past three years. The only negative aspect is that the student government has come out against the occupation because they were not consulted.

HOSTOS UNITES ALL

The range of discussions reflects the range of people taking part in the occupation: one student arrested in the takeover of the Statue of Liberty this year; another who works with the Committee to Free the Four Puerto Rican Nationalists; a recently graduated student who had intended to leave for Puerto Rico but now will stay to participate in the struggle; an older student who recently left the Communist Party; and participants in the struggle to save nearby Lincoln Hospital.

The power of the struggle is just too immense for the police to make any moves right away, and the students and supporting faculty will continue to transform the deserted building into a college under their own collective control. Whether or not the struggle at Hostos does spread, the power of this occupation shows that what happens to this school is a focal point for all oppressions and grievances felt by the students and community in this area.

'Rock Against Racism'

London, England — Eric Clapton once told an audience at one of his concerts "Send the immigrants back. Go and vote for Enoch Powell." (Powell is an exTory who advocates repatriation of non-white immigrants in England. He is not in the neo-fascist National Front but is an "independent" who now holds a parliamentary seat in N. Ireland).

Around the same time — over a year ago — David Bowie was quoted in a Swedish magazine as saying that Britain was in such a bad state that a new leader was needed in the style of Hitler. To his credit, Bowie later retracted the remark, stressing that he believed the NF had nothing to offer and that he really thought he preferred the Communists to the fascists.

Clapton has remained silent on the issue ever since, and I am informed by reliable sources that his statement was due to his being a drunken idiot rather than to any coherent political ideas he might hold.

The whole business is less important for the seriousness of the two musicians' statements than for the reactions to them. Many of us who had admired Clapton's musicianship for so long were very shocked, especially considering that Clapton had learned everything he knew from Black musicians — not just American blues and soul artists, but also West Indians, and of course many, many West Indians now live in England.

The most important development was that a group of rank-and-file rock musicians and writers got together and announced that Bowie and Clapton were a disgrace to a culture that had always been thought of as a force of liberation for young people and one that by its very existence showed the importance of Black and white unity. They formed an organization called Rock Against Racism (RAR) and it has become a great success.

All over the country, RAR organizes concerts where Black and white bands play for expenses only. Any money made goes to political campaigns or to organize more concerts. RAR publishes a successful "punk" periodical called "Tempororay Hoarding." The most famous support of RAR is the Tom Robinson Band—Britain's latest up-and-coming hit band.

-Dave Black

Detroit Area Readers

Come to see this magnificent film

SCENES FROM THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Sponsored by WSU N&L Youth Committee

A powerful eyewitness account of the April 1974 Portuguese Revolution — workers, peasants, soldiers, women and youth in action.

Date: Tuesday, May 23 — Time: 4 p.m. Place: Student Center Bulding (WSU)

Admission Free

EDITORIAL Decade of freedom struggles: 1968-1978

by Michael Connolly

On the 10th anniversary of that revolutionary Spring, 1968, come reports from dozens of points around the world which not only give the lie to the claim that today's youth are "apathetic," but demonstrate an actual deepening in the drive for freedom. So integrally linked have youth actions been to the struggles of workers, both here in the USA, as well as in other lands, that new dimensions in both solidarity and in thought are emerging, and eliciting yet newer forces to join them.

Across Europe, youth joined continent-wide strikes and demonstrations against unemployment, supporting 20 million workers in 18 countries. In the U.S., both workers and students organized to aid the coal miners in their battle with the coal operators and the government. Latin America witnessed new demonstrations against U.S. imperialism in Panama, and against "homegrown" terror in El Salvador, while Latino youth right inside the U.S. occupied Hostos College in New York City (see article, above) and shook Texas' oil-rich arrogance with their struggle against police murders in Houston. And Black South Africa's freedom fighters, whose struggle has inspired so much activity world-wide, launched new actions against that apartheid regime.

NEAR REVOLUTION IN PARIS, 1968

Today's events are not on a scale with Spring, 1968, which reached its height in the near-revolution that swept Paris in the great May-June events 10 years ago. Capitalism's rulers will never forget how close to overthrow they came in those critical weeks, nor the feeling that all hung in the balance. Yet today's new actions are proof that all the attempts of the counter-revolution to erase the consciousness of 1968 have failed, precisely because so many new elements were released into consciousness and onto the historic stage.

Spring 1968 was certainly global, mass and multidimensional. Literally no corner of the globe was untouched, and for millions there was the anticipation that this capitalist system would finally be uprooted. 1968 was youth, from the student demonstrations in Germany, Italy and Japan, to the occupation of Columbia University in New York. It was East as well as West, and equally challenged Russia and China, as "Prague Spring" and the Sheng-wu-lien showed. It meant links between the Third World and the colonial powers — as anti-war protests swept the U.S. while the Tet offensive raged. 1968 meant Black Revolt everywhere in America, not only throughout U.S. cities, but in its armed forces at the front, and even on its Olympic teams in Mexico City, where the games proceeded only after the tremendous Mexican student movement had suffered 300 murdered by police.

It is also within 1968 that we see the origins of today's world-wide Women's Liberation movement, within the Left and against its imitation, through sexism, of capitalism's most fundamental and perverted division—the division between mental and manual labor.

At its greatest moment, in Paris, 10 million workers went on general strike, occupying their plants, while students took over the universities and high schools. It was when workers and students, joined together in the "Action Committees," realized their united strength that they suddenly declared, "All is possible!"

Yet the possible did not become actual. DeGaulle remained in power, without firing a shot. And the critical truth is that neither did 1968 initiate a new approach in thought. Instead, it ended the epoch of the 1960s and the concept that activism and more activism could create a new world, while theory was left to be worked out "en route".

ACTIVISM ALONE NO ANSWER

Even a Cohn-Bendit, who represented the revolutionary France that had rejected the Communists, and declared that workers' councils were the revolutionary form of organization, was to relegate theory to the task of a "detached observer," and declare that he had no wish to be "anything but a plagiarist when it comes to the preaching of revolutionary theory and practice." Here, at the height of France 1968, we still come face to

face with the division between thinking and doing, a division which Marx proved over a century ago had its origins at the point of production, in the split between labor as activity and labor as commodity.

What has characterized the 1970s, from Portugal to South Africa, and from the American miners to the world-wide Women's Liberation movement, is precisely the recognition that activism alone just won't do, that somehow a new relationship between theory and practice must be created if "all is possible" is ever to be transformed into the actuality of a human society. No longer can one separate philosophy and revolution, when the opposition to that fragmentation — what Marx called the "quest for universality"— has become the measure of all freedom movements in our state-capitalist age.

So critical, in fact, have the deep-rooted freedom movements become of every would-be leader who does not represent their concept of universality, that, for the U.S. coal miners on strike, as for the NY ghetto youth in last year's blackout, no recognized national "leaders" could be pointed out. This is not due to any rejection of the need for organization — indeed, mass self-organization has ever been the mark of workers' opposition to capitalism — but instead suggests a mature stage of consciousness which insists upon as new a relationship between theory and practice from those who would "lead" as is emergent today from masses in motion.

As we reach the end of the 1970s, the crisis of capitalist economy and society is a total one, as Pres. Carter's latest games with the production of the neutron bomb reveal. Such disregard for human survival on the part of competing empires stands in stark contrast to the human reason expressed by the new anti-nuclear movements that the youth have spread so rapidly across Germany, France and the U.S. in the past year. Such revolutionary reason is needed with a greater urgency now than ever, if this decade of freedom struggles, 1968-1978, is to truly produce the new beginnings in thought and in fact which will mean that this nightmare of capitalist pre-history will finally be ended, and a new creative history of humanity will be born.

Frantz Fanon, Soweto, an

(Ed. Note: Printed in full is the Introduction to our newest pamphlet, followed below by excerpts.)

Introduction by

CHARLES DENBY Editor, News & Letters

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA
Chairwoman, News & Letters Committees

On this, the 10th anniversary of the 1968 Kerner Commission's admission that "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white - separate and unequal," it is clear that nothing has been done to change the situation that the 1967 uprisings throughout the breadth and length of the land had forced the President's Commission to acknowledge. Today's papers are filled with statistics proving that conditions of life and labor among Blacks have not only not improved . . . they have worsened. Whether you take the 204-page report of the Urban League, the three-day spread of the N.Y. Times, or the single column into which the Chicago Tribune, Detroit Free Press and others have squeezed a whole decade's neglect, the following facts glare

• Unemployment is twice what it was 10 years ago.

 Poverty has worsened and so has the death rate.

● And while the Black middle class has grown, so has pauperization among the poor — and not just for those on welfare. Many can't even reach that level of poverty. There are families who, literally, have not been on a job for three generations!

The New York blackout illuminated the fraud in the long-known statistic that the "aver-

Excerpts from pamphlet

consciousness and organization, carried out in the most democratic and meticulous manner, with the students as initiators and coordinators. Student bodies within the

school system were conduits through which forms of

action to be taken were relayed to Soweto's population,

so student attendance remained at the maximum during

revolt. Once the schools became the students' vehicles

for discussion and organization of further defiance, the

police began to pass out forged leaflets, instructing

In 1969 the dock workers won the support of not

children to stay home.

The events in Soweto revealed a high degree of

age" unemployment among Blacks is twice that of whites. Even the statistic that unemployment among Black youth is fully 30 percent does not tell the whole story. The naked truth is that there are Black ghettos where unemployment among Black youth is fully 80 percent!

HAT THE PROLIFERATION of statistics failed to show, however, is that the dissatisfaction with the Government and the Blacks' erstwhile leaders—headed by that mouthpiece of U.S. imperialism, the Ambassador to the UN, Andrew Young — does not mean that the Black masses are just despairing. Contrary to the reports in the white press, Black America's actual rejection of white capitalistic-imperialist exploitation, with or without Black lackeys, is, at one and the same time, a time-bomb that is sure to explode, and a time for thinking and readying for action.

Put another way, what seems to be quiescence is not apathy. Rather it is the hewing out of new ways to meet the challenge of the times which would not again allow activity to get so separated from theory (and vice versa), as very nearly to assure aborted revolutions. To succeed, philosophy and revolution must be united. Which is why Black youth are taking a second, deeper look at the writings of a very different type of

Sit-ins, sit-downs knew no bounds in U.S. during decade of the '60s as Black Americans demanded FREEDOM NOW!

only African students, but even of those at the white universities in Cape Town and the Witwatersrand. The years between 1973 and 1975 saw wave after wave of strikes. But the half million African workers and almost quarter million Coloured workers, who struck in response to the Soweto students' call in August of 1976, carried out the greatest strike in the history of South Africa.

Soweto was not just a simple separation in time from a preceding generation, but such a quantum leap into revolutionary methods and ideas that it inspired a Soweto youth to proclaim: "Go and tell the world that the process of Black Liberation, which nobody can reverse, has begun in South Africa!" Within hours that spirit caught on in every township in South Africa, from Johannesburg to Cape Town, and soon, on the walls of schools and government buildings, slogans appeared announcing: "Black IS power."

So simple a matter as an accidental power blackout in New York City, July 13, 1977, dramatically exposed the Achilles heel of American capitalism, its racism. All over the city the lights, burglar alarms and electronic clocks went out, and within seconds, thousands of Black and Latin youth were racing through all the major ghettos, including Bedford-Stuyvesant and Bushwick in Brooklyn, the South Bronx, Jamaica and Harlem — as well as more "downtown" areas such as Times Square and the Upper West Side . . When Black youth broke into stores and carted off the wares to their ghetto homes, it was as though entire pages of statistics had come alive to challenge the failure of the system to meet the human needs for a whole segment of American society.

Black power, before it was corrupted with the ideas of "Black Capitalism," reflected the disillusionment with, and alienation from, white capitalism on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a feeling of race pride and race respect wedded to the conscious knowledge that power existed within the Black masses to transform society. It was a quest for a total solution in ideas as well as in action.

Black masses in the U.S. have always been the revolutionary vanguard, releasing an avalanche of creative energy. It was Black workers forming caucuses who took the lead in fighting for decent working conditions for all workers. It was the Black youth from pre-teens to college who inspired white youth to join in protest. All stereotypes of "age" have been broken down in the very process of revolt. One who had been a civil rights activist in the South put it this way: "I was constantly astonished at how youth in 6th, 7th and 8th grade would not only demonstrate and get arrested, but organize others—adults as well as kids. You saw kids as thinkers in the Freedom Schools. This is what we are witnessing again in Soweto."

The Black Consciousness movement in South Africa which Steve Biko headed was powerful because it had re-established self-consciousness as a force of revolution. The idea that the Black masses have the power to shake South Africa to its foundations had become the reality of South Africa.

Ambassador — the Martiniquean Frantz Fanon. Fanon, who had given up his French citizenship to be an actual participant in the Algerian Revolution and theoretician of Third World revolutions, had come as its Ambassador to Ghana in

But nearly a decade before then, in that other quiescent period—the early 1950s—Fanon had broken with European values, and, in 1952, wrote that original philosophic work, Black Skin, White Masks. It became the transition point to new theory, and practice, of revolution. Fanon was the precursor of a whole new generation of revolutionaries.

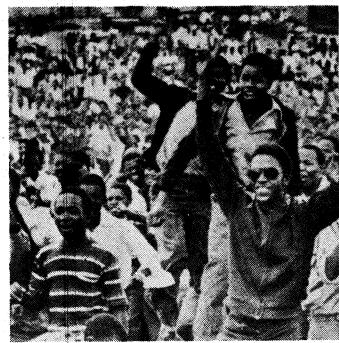
By the time, in 1961, when Fanon wrote his masterpiece, The Wretched of the Earth, it was to be not just his highest point of development, and not only a Manifesto of the Third World, but a Manifesto with global dimensions he called "a new humanism." That its todayness keeps proving itself in reality as well as in theory was shown both at the height of youth revolt in Paris, May 1968, and all over again during the summer of 1976 when Soweto teen-agers, rebelling against being made to learn Afrikaans, the language of the oppressors, were found, instead, to be reading The Wretched of the Earth.

Before his savage murder, Steve Biko, that leader of the Black Consciousness movement who made the link to Fanon most direct both on consciousness and on internationalism said: "The Black Consciousness movement does not

PART I-SOWETO, BLACK CO PART II-BLACK STRUGGLES PART III-FRANTZ FANON, N PART IV-AMERICAN BLACK

In his early work, Black Skin, White Masks, Fanon had grasped that colonial domination of the Third World peoples meant not only economic domination but also the destruction of the spirit and the personality of the oppressed people. In the chapter on "The Negro and Hegel," in Black Skin, White Masks, Fanon is at his exciting best. What appears at first glance as a summation of the Lordship and Bondage section of Hegel's Phenomenology, is a brilliant exposition of the dialectical inter-relationship of the independence and dependence of self-consciousness to the Black situation in a racist society.

Fanon's . . . The Wretched of the Earth was to recreate the dialectics of liberation for the colonial world as it emerged out of the actual struggle of the African masses for freedom. Fanon saw the double rhythm of the colonial revolutions reflected in both the destruction of the old and the building of a totally new society. This was a break with all previous ideas about the African Revolutions—especially the idea that the African



Soweto student rally in April 1977 ended when South

American Black Thought

want to accept the dilemma of capitalism versus communism. It will opt for a socialist solution that is an authentic expression of black communalism... As Fanon put it, 'the consciousness of the self is not the closing of a door to communication... National consciousness which is not nationalism is the only thing that will give us an international dimension.'"

T IS THIS, JUST THIS, type of affinity of ideas of freedom that led American Black youth to identify with African and Caribbean freedom struggles and thinking. Petty-bourgeois intellectuals may not have noticed this working out of a new relationship of theory to practice that is itself a form of theory, since they haven't done the "theorizing." But the American Black identification with Soweto and Biko, with Fanon and Caribbean thought, was precisely that, as Black and white American youth demonstrations against U.S. imperialism's heavy investments in apartheid South Africa showed. Opposition to U.S. imperialism's propping up of Rhodesia while mouthing hollow words regarding "Black majority rule," words as false as Ian Smith's, is another such manifestation. Many are the ways the passion for freedom is articulating itself.

It is this idea of liberation whose time has come, which inspired the Black authors of this pamphlet — John Alan and Lou Turner — to probe their own experiences as well as historic-philosophic developments. One — Lou Turner — came into the Movement just when the civil rights struggles of the 1960s had reached, on the

USNESS AND STEVE BIKO IE UNITED STATES REVOLUTIONARY

Revolutions had to first undergo a national bourgeois revolution before they could go on to a socialist, humanist society.

It is with this critical situation facing the revolutionary masses of southern Africa and Zimbabwe that Fanon's philosophy and understanding of the colonial revolutions assume a greater concreteness for today than they may have had 16 years ago.

Fanon's analysis of the "Nationalist Consciousness" was a concrete breakthrough on the retrogressive role of so-called vanguard leadership in our age, a scathing critique not only of African, but also of European, elitism.

He first reminded the Europeans that "not long ago Nazism transformed the whole of Europe into a veritable colony." He then showed that the two greatest events in 1956-57 were "Budapest and Suez": in the case of the first, it was a Humanist liberation struggle against totalitarian Communism, and in the second, the Third World opposition to Western imperialism.



opened fire with tear gas bombs on the youth.

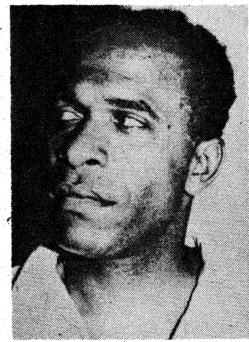
by LOU TURNER and JOHN ALAN

one hand, a new point of development with "Hell, no, we won't go!" into the Vietnam war, and, on the other hand, got aborted at the very highest point reached in Kent, Ohio, and Jackson, Mississippi, against U.S. imperialism's invasion of Cambodia.

The other — John Alan — who had been in all class struggles as well as Black struggles from the mid-1940s, felt that the very length of his experiences demanded a total re-examination and re-evaluation of the doings he felt had lacked a comprehensive theory, ever-widening the gulf between revolution and philosophy. He also felt keenly the constant underestimation of Black American thought as if the Third World struggles were the whole and had no roots in the Black American experience. The truth was that the two-way road from Africa to America and back, indeed the triangular — African-West Indian-Black American — development of ideas which led to actual liberation movements, had started way back when all capitalism saw was a triangular trade of slaves, rum, molasses.

ARL MARX HAD BEEN the first to graphically and profoundly sum up the beginnings of capitalism:

"The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production."*



FRANTZ FANON

Bringing to life the culture of an oppressed people is not just a question of harking back to history, but lies in grasping the reality of where that culture is today. If people are oppressed and impoverished, their culture suffers inhibition and lack of creativity. Only through the struggle for freedom can cultural resurgence take on meaningful substance.

ck thought in post-World War I U.S.A. disclosed many tendencies-from A. Philip Randolph . . . through Harlem Renaissance . . . to, at one and the same time, the massive Garvey movement and the emergence of Black Marxists . . . In 1925, long before the Women's Liberation Movement of our day raised the challenge to male leadership, Amy Garvey hurled this at the Black leadership: "A race must be saved, a country must be redeemed. And unless you strengthen the leadership of the vacillating Negro men you will remain marking time. We are tired of having Negro men say that a better day is coming while they do nothing to usher in the day. We are becoming so impatient that we are getting in the front ranks and serve notice on the world that we will brush aside the halting cowardly Negro men and with prayers on our lips and arms prepared for anything, we will press on until victory is ours. Mr. Black Man, watch your step . . . Strengthen your shaking knees and move forward or we will displace you.'

And what his new continent of thought—Historical Materialism that he called "a new Humanism" — led Marx to point to as the path of world revolution was the "new forces and new passions" that would not only destroy the old capitalistic society but create the new, class-less social order on truly human foundations. Bound by this vision, the authors of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought wish to trace the triangular development of ideas and actual achievement of liberation, not for history's sake, but as preparation for the American revolution-to-be.

News & Letters, both as paper and as organization, is proud to publish their study and to appeal to the whole Left to rise to the challenge of the times beset by myriad crises, as well as to open new roads of revolution in thought as in fact. When Frantz Fanon declared that the colonial fight for freedom was "not a treatise on the universal, but the untidy affirmation of an original idea propounded as an absolute," he was, in fact, laying the foundation for the Absolute Idea — the unity of theory and practice — not just as a summing up, a totality of past and present, but what we call new beginnings for the future. Revolutionary Black thought, whether it comes from Azania (South Africa), the Caribbean, or the United States, is not end, but prologue to action. We invite all readers to join our authors in working out the imperative task they set for themselves to theoretically prepare for the American revolution-to-be.

*Karl Marx, Capital, Vol. I, Chapter 21, p 823, Kerr edition (p. 915 Penguin edition).

selves more internationalist than King, the truth is that it was the Montgomery Bus Boycott which found an immediate, intense response with Black South Africans, who launched a bus boycott of their own. On the other hand, the most well-known leaders were everywhere but where the uprisings were taking place, as they reached their high point of the Detroit rebellion.

Today, in the 1970s, we are witness to such separation of Black intellectuals from Black masses that there are no recognized national leaders. We are witnessing the maneuverings of Left Black intellectuals in the absence of any philosophy of revolution.

within much of the Marxist movement, and within much of the thought of Black intellectuals, there has been a neglect or abuse of [Marx's] dialectical concept. . . . the Communist, Trotskyist and Maoist parties . . . have given a lot of lip service in the fight against racism, but as a matter of political policy, Black Liberation has been jettisoned or submerged when it does not meet their political necessities.

Marxist-Humanists, as organization, as body of thought, as activists, have never developed separately from the Black masses in motion. What makes the unity of Marx's new continent of thought and the Black liberation movement so imperative is that this nuclear world is poised on the brink of absolute destruction. To meet the challenge of the objective situation and the human passion for freedom that is so evident in the Black dimension, this capitalist-imperialist, exploitative, racist, sexist society must be uprooted.

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Latino struggle unites freedom fighters in North and South America

(Continued from Page 1)

ative investment capital, its true universals in relations with the less industrialized world, there is a very different Latin American connection—a Latin dimension for freedom which is truly hemispheric, including within the U.S.

Thus:

IN NICARAGUA, the massive opposition to the 40year-long U. S.-supported Somoza regime, while driven underground, has not been crushed. The opposition, expressed in strikes and demonstrations, has been so massive that Somoza cannot eliminate it by the suppression of a few leaders.

Within the U. S., too, there has begun an opposition to Somozo both by Nicaraguans living here and U. S. citizens—just as there has developed an opposition movement of Chilean and U.S. activists against the Pinochet regime and its U. S. support. It is clear that all of Latin America is being exploited, and that opposition must be against the U. S. government as well as against the numerous dictatorships in Latin America.

IN CHILE, the resistance movement to the most oppressive of all Latin American military regimes cannot take the form of open political opposition, but seeks other forms. One of the most important is a cultural resistance which has transformed culture from the creativity of individual artists to the activity of many Chilean people. A number of prominent Chilean artists are now in exile or dead. Even folkloric musical instruments have been banned because they are said to be "subversive." At the same time, unemployment is at an astronomical level, and many working class women, who have never considered themselves artists, have turned to artistic creations, selling them both in the country and outside in order to survive.

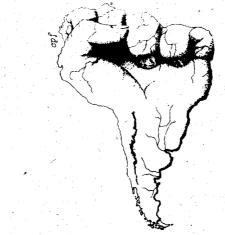
These art works are often pictures created out of remnants of cloth. There are scenes which, in depicting everyday life, have become political messages. The uncertainty of conditions, where police may pick anyone up at any moment, for example, may be depicted in the form of a truck carrying a house with a question mark in the background. Work such as this becomes a form of politics which reaches directly into working class families.

Pinochet's so-called amnesty-his promise to release remaining political prisoners—is a sign that even he recognizes the massive resistance to his military

IN MEXICO, where the economic conditions have deteriorated further in the past two years with the drop in the value of the peso, the response of the Mexican people has been to carry on struggles in their work place and in their neighborhoods against this attack on their conditions of life. Workers on strike recently took their message and appeal for funds to carry on the strike directly onto the buses in Mexico City. A group called CENCOS (National Center for Social Communication) has been active in a number of social protest movements in Mexico. And all sorts of activities abound:

• a coalition of groups opposed to the sending of Mexico's newly-found natural gas to the U.S. instead of aiding in Mexico's own development.

 organizations working with neighborhood groups of poor in Mexico City on issues of jobs, housing, and



discrimination against Indians.

• publication of information bulletins on the political and economic situation in Mexico and Latin America for the use of activists in various struggles.

· groups emphasizing the need for popular communication—communication from the base—or organizations of workers, campesinos and others.

Linked to these various activities is a tremendous desire to discuss ideas of social revolution which could both unify the various activities and provide a basis for a unity of revolutionary movements and people in the U.S. and other Latin American countries. There are, for example, those who have come out of the church, seeking within Marxism the humanism which they did not find in the practice of the Church in Latin America. Writer Jose Porfilia Miranda is representative of this attempt to create a unity between Christianity

THE LATIN DIMENSION IN THE U.S.

Mexico, which ever since the defeat of the 1937 Spanish Revolution has become the home of revolutionaries from all over Latin America - from Castro planning his revolution in Cuba, to the refugees from - remains the Pinochet's Chile and Torrijos' Panama place where the internationalism of ideas is being worked out seriously.

It is between Mexico and the U.S. that the human dimension of revolutionary change is most evident- in the hundreds of thousands of Latino people driven to find work in the U.S. Some find work, but all find a class-ridden, racist, and sexist society in which their color and manner of speaking are looked down upon, and their labor is measured in terms of the lowest paying and most physically exhausting of jobs.

In coming to the U.S. and in their refusal to accept these inhuman conditions, they join the millions of native-born Latinos, and together form the Latin dimension for freedom within the U.S.

The outrage in the Latin community of Houston at the slap-on-the-wrist sentences given three policemen responsible for the death of the Latino youth Joe Torres Campos, is one expression of the growth of discontent and search for new pathways toward freedom by Latinos in Texas and all of the Southwest.

Not only is Campos' death only one of a long list of Latinos killed at the hands of the Houston police,

As others see us

Mexican review traces theoretic and social movements

Filosofia y revolucion: de Hegel a Sartre y de Marx a' Mao, by Raya Dunayevskaya, Mexico, Siglo XXI, 1977. Available from News & Letters, \$5 plus 30¢ postage.

"THE WORLD CRISIS—economic, political, racial, educational, philosophic, social — is all-pervasive. Not a single facet of life, prisons included, was not weighted down by the crisis—and its absolute opposite in thought. A passionate hunger for a philosophy of liberation erupted . . .

With these introductory words, Raya Dunayevskaya begins her work Filosofia y Revolucion, a book whose seriousness is surprising in this epoch of pointless works or partial perspectives on the human problem.

The work results in a series of analyses elaborated in the same plane as action, with the collaboration of participants from different social movements themselves (East European Marxist Humanists, Chinese youth, Black Panthers, Women's Liberationists, etc.), who are seeking a path to achieve the fullness of humanity. The work was submitted for discussion and correction to rank-and-file workers, youth, Blacks, as well as Women's Liberation conferences, all acting as editors ("It has always been my belief that in our age theory can develop fully only when grounded in what the masses themselves are doing and thinking.")

BASICALLY, Filosofia y Revolucion turns out. to be the most complete and serious argument for a possible and actual evaluation of Hegel's theoretic philosophy, and its application by Marx, and Lenin in his final years, to the history of Humanity. Along with this is shown how the lack of comprehension, or the weakening of what these men set forth, has turned

into the abuses of totalitarianism. On the other hand, and as a logical conclusion of this, it is observed that a true projection and adaption of the ideas wielded by those geniuses will result in a new humanism, in which the full development of all men would be achieved without the loss of liberty.

This informative and impressive book is divided into three parts. In the first, Marx's roots in Hegel, and Lenin's "return" to Hegel in those critical moments in history, are taken up, all of which, in their philosophic elaboration, illuminate the problems of our day. Abso-Tute negativity as new beginning, as well as the ceaseless movement of ideas and history, are treated in a precise and clear manner.

IN THE SECOND PART, "Alternatives," two revolutionaries (Leon Trotsky and Mao Tse-tung) are shown to be inadequate in filling the void in the Marxist movement, from the theoretic point of view, which Lenin's death produced. Sartre is taken up in this same part—that thinker who is looking in because he is desirous of changing and not only interpreting the world. but who opens the gap between intellectual and worker even wider.

A critical stage of history was necessary to show the emergence and growth from practice that forms a movement with a new consciousness grounded in real knowledge. This is the third section of the book. "Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation" goes in search of universality through a constant praxis; through a movement that is in itself, from practice, a form of theory . . .

Mexico, D.F.

but it is a manifestation of the growing anti-Latino climate in this country, in part reflected by Carter's proposals for ways to halt the flow of undocumented workers by increasing the police at the border and requiring proof of legality to get work, which will make any Latino a suspected "illegal."

In California, where the United Farm Workers, primarily Latinos, have already significantly transformed agricultural labor in the state, there is a new struggle in progress which will have tremendous impact on the labor movement. The new struggle is over mechanization being developed by agricultural researchers at the University of California which has already resulted in the loss of jobs for thousands of farmworkers, and could lead to the loss of tens of thousands more. In crops such as cotton and tomatoes, harvesting machines that the farm workers call "los monstruos"—the monsters—are replacing workers. Other machines are being developed for a number of labor-intensive crops.

The farm workers are demanding that if such machines are to be used, then the University of California must use its technology to develop programs for the workers losing their jobs. Their struggle could become a catalyst for other labor struggles against mechanization and automation.

Texas and California are by no means the only states where Latinos are discriminated against. At this very moment in New York there is the occupation of Hostos College, whose student body is primarily Latino, offers the only bilingual education program in the East, and yet has been threatened with closing.

Puerto Ricans and Caribbeans as well as those from throughout Latin America who are in the U. S., are concerned both with struggles in their various countries and with their relation to struggles in the U. S. At this moment, the concern is concentrated on the Bakke case, as evidenced by the many Latinos participating in the Washington, D. C. demonstration against Bakke on April 15. (See stories, pp. 4 and 5.)

The Latino question is no longer, if it ever was, south of us.

HUMAN RIGHTS REALITIES

President Carter speaks often about human rights "worldwide"-except, of course, on home grounds, where the need is not merely to implement human rights, but to abolish organic prejudices practiced against the Black and Latino communities. Nor has Carter had much effect in Latin America where the root cause of the lack of human rights is intimately connected with the presence and domination by the

The number of political prisoners has increased greatly in Uruguay and Argentina. In Argentina the government's right wing supporters often prefer outright assassination of opponents. In Chile, despite the supposed "disappearance" of the secret police, the DINA, it is the disappearance of opponents to the regime which continues. Brazil's growth has meant the increased decimation of much of its Indian population in the Amazon basin. Thus, in the whole Southern Cone of South America, which is under military siege, rulers are systematically denying the citizens of half a continent their human rights.

For that matter, the opposition in Panama is not only against U. S. imperialism, but against Torrijos, not only for his buckling to American imperialism, but

for his own oppressive regime.

Never before has there been such a search for pathways out of this worldwide inhuman system. It is a search for a commonality of struggle which encompasses not alone common activities, and different activities against the same oppressors. It is as well a recognition of the necessity for a philosophy of human liberation, as the ground we stand upon to assure success in establishing a new society.

The working out of this philosophy of liberation, along with the day-to-day freedom activities, has to become the concrete link between revolutionaries in Latin America and in the U.S., as well as within the U. S. When such a task is fully realized and worked society. upon, the process will forge a most powerful weapon



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Dos obras escenciales del Humanismo-Marxista por Raya Dunayevskaya

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"America," Nov. 5, 1977

WOMAN AS REASON

Trotskyists limit WL to class struggle 'aspect'

In marking International Women's Day this year, the Fourth International issued a statement which was printed in the March 6 issue of Intercontinental Press. Unfortunately, the statement reflects an attitude towards women's liberation which is widespread on the Left and which must change if we are ever to achieve human liberation.

The statement mentions several marches and activities of women, from West Europe to Latin America, but gives the impression that these exciting international developments of the women's movement are new only this

As for the U.S., the article takes up to the Bakke case and states that "in defending the principle of affirmative action . . . the women's movement has joined the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican movements in helping to educate the whole labor movement that a fight against discrimination inside the working class is a precondition for mobilizing the full, united power of the class against exploiters."

This sounds as if masses of women have not been continually active in every freedom struggle and revolution, and as if the women's movement only achieved validity by joining the anti-Bakke struggle.

OPPORTUNIST ATTITUDE TO WL

What is new is not the internationalism of the women's movement, but that it has reached such a scale of mass activity that state governments and vanguard parties have been forced to recognize it. The statement shows some recognition of this by citing the impact of the women's movement on what it calls "the mass re-

Japanese woman student tells history of airport protest

(Ed. note: On March 26, over 20,000 Japanese students and farmers demonstrated against the construction of a new airport near Marita, outside Tokyo. Although 13,000 police were mobilized, some students smashed through the police line and destroyed enough equipment in the control tower to delay opening of the airport by at least a month. As opposed to the emphasis by the bourgeois press on the "violence" of the Marita protesters, we print below an interview with a Japanese woman student on Marita and the resurgence of the Japanese movement.)

New York, N.Y.—In the 1960s, the Japanese government was giving much economic support to the Vietnam War, and many commercial industrial goods passed through Tokyo's small Haneda airport on the way to Vietnam. In 1965, the government announced plans to build a new airport at Sanrizuka (near Narita). The students thought the airport was going to be used for the Vietnam War, so it became a very important issue.

Sanrizuka had been settled after World War II by Japanese who had been in Korea and other Asian countries as colonists. They'd been given tools and land by the government, so the government thought it would be easier to get them out than farmers who had been there longer. So there were two fronts, as both the farmers and the students got angry.

In 1965, 1966 and 1967, the movement became bigger, and in 1968 almost a worldwide movement. At my school, Waseda University, we occupied the campus for six months and ran it ourselves. Other campuses had even longer occupations, and there were many women leaders in this. In the 1960s, the women's movement was very strong. The women did not become involved in the fights with the riot police, but in the discussions that were going on then.

In the Universities, classes were big and there was a big gap between teachers and students. It was hard to get a job afterwards, and today that problem is even worse. We wanted to control the whole university ourselves, to abolish tuition and admission requirements, to make the university cultural, and to decide whether a professor was good or not.

In 1970, we protested the AMPO American-Japanese Security Treaty, not because we hated Americans, but against the American and Japanese governments. It was because of the Vietnam War, and the fact that America is the King of Capitalism in the world. The students hated America's political way, and we saw Japanese capitalism as made in America.

After 1970, the movement declined. But in Sanrizuka, students began living with the Sanrizuka farmers to protest the airport. This began because students used to go from Tokyo to demonstrate, and then return. The farmers said "you are not reliable," so the students went to live there.

Today the Vietnam War is over, but the movement continues against pollution, noise and government arrogance. The leader of the movement is Tomura, a farmer in his sixties. There are many women involved, since on the farm the woman is often considered stronger than the man. With the new delay in opening the airport, this is the first time the Japanese government has ever changed its mind after protests.

formist parties" (the Communist and Socialist Parties), which it says have tried to "oppose or ignore (the women's movement) as alien to working-class women." This is exactly what the Trotskyists themselves did, until they saw the women's movement as a force they could try to take over to build their own movement.

Another half-truth appears when they state that today's women's movement began with "only small layers of relatively privileged women." They don't mention where these women came from—the Civil Rights, student and anti-Vietnam war movements—or why they began a separate movement—because of the sexism, male chauvinism and separation between thinking and doing that they found within-these movements.

It is this demand for a change in human relations which women have said has to begin now, while we are working for a revolution, and will not be complete without revolution, that presents the challenge which the Left has not been able to meet.

The Trotskyists' statement in honor of International Women's Day does not once mention sexism, male chauvinism or revolution. While it tells about women's oppression "on the economic level" and the "broader political level," and of our struggle as an "important aspect of the class struggle as a whole," it never once takes up the primary question of new human relations being raised in every single activity of masses of women as the only theory from which any freedom struggle can begin if it is to succeed.

IMPOSED DEMANDS

The statement ends by listing what the Fourth International thinks are the "themes and demands... most pressing" for the women's movement. In sum, they amount to equal rights, jobs for women, an end to social service cutbacks, and contraception and abortion financed by public health programs.

These four demands, I believe, are purposely limited so as not to alienate any bourgeois feminists who might be "frightened away" by talk of revolution, but more importantly, they fall far, far short of what we ourselves have been demanding since the beginning of our movement.

We ask control of our own bodies and no talk of birth control and abortion without the end to sterilizations of our Black, Native-American, Chicana, and Puerto Rican sisters. Of course, we are fighting social service cutbacks. But since the Welfare Rights movement of 1970, we have sought to end the whole racist, sexist, paternalistic social services system.

But the fifth and final demand is the most telling. There can be no solidarity until those on the Left and in the working-class who continually try to dictate to us recognize their own sexism and see the women's liberation movement not as an "aspect" but as a total movement for human freedom.

-Suzanne Casey

Letter from Essex striker

(Below are excerpts from a letter we received from a woman striker at the Essex Wire Co. in Elwood, Ind. on conditions there, three months since the strikers went back in. For the Essex strikers' story, see Oct., Nov., Dec. 1977 and Jan-Feb. 1978 issues of News & Letters.—Ed.)

Elwood, Ind. — We got back our shift preference this week. We don't have back our classification and I doubt we will. It is difficult after working 10 years and training for a job to then get thrown back where you started. It is even harder to watch someone who has only been there about six months do your job.

The guards were real bad when we first went back. They patrolled in pairs, with guns, every hour in the plant. They got two women guards to follow us when we went to the bathroom.

A lot of scabs are wanting to join the union. They found out Essex's big deal—that they owed a commitment to the scabs so they had to give them permanent jobs—was just stuff. As soon as we came back, they were getting laid off. They want to join the union now to save their jobs.

I won't even speak to them and I feel as long as our own members are still outside waiting for their jobs, we shouldn't give the thieves who stole our jobs the protection of our union.

There isn't much money in the Carol Frye Fund. (Carol Frye is one of the strikers who was shot on the picket line and painfully disabled.—Ed.) The UAW didn't come through with much publicity. I have been going all over making speeches to raise money for the fund. All the groups have been interested, kind and generous.

We wear our shirts with "Fighting Granny" on them, and our buttons. So you see, we are still in there. It is amazing how far our story has spread. If we can keep up the speaking trips and little articles here and there, Essex will know we are still fighting.

Donations for the Carol Frye Fund may be sent in her name to the Security Bank, 125 South Anderson St., Elwood. Ind. 46036.



womenworldwide

On Feb. 18, 10,000 Italian women staged a solemn four-mile march through working-class areas of Rome, to expose a doctor who had raped a young woman before giving her an abortion. Legal action was begun by a group of women, but the victim has remained anonymous to avoid a one-year jail term for the "crime" of having an abortion.

Georgina Sellers and other women workers at the Colgate-Palmolive Co. in Jeffersonville, Ind. have won \$500,000 in back pay after 11 years of litigation in-a class action suit on the grounds that they were excluded from certain jobs because they are women.

The unemployment rate among women workers in West Europe has risen to at least twice that for men, with the governments' attitude—that it is more important to keep men employed—being echoed by certain unions which have discouraged women from even appealing lay-offs. The women have appealed in spite of the union's advice.

Joan Little, who had escaped from the prison where she had been sent to complete her 7-10 year term for "breaking and entering," is in danger of being extradited from New York back to North Carolina. She recently received a stay until Apr. 24, following an appeal to the State Court of Appeals.

Federal investigators are considering conducting a full-scale probe of the burning and vandalism of family planning and abortion clinics in 11 U.S. cities. Their study was begun after numerous women's groups, including the National Abortion Rights Action League, charged that local police and fire officials refused to take any action.

Racism, sexism in med school

Detroit, Mich.—Dorothy Anderson, a Black woman student at Wayne State University Medical School, is asking support in her fight against WSU's arbitrary decision last July to kick her out.

Ms. Anderson stated in an open letter: "I...was forced to repeat the third year based on subjective evaluations although I passed all written objective exams given me. I have been harassed, humiliated and both racially and sexually discriminated against.

"Several doctors who wrote unfair evaluations about me were on both the Year III Committee and the (PRC) Promotions Review Committee who made the decision. The voting members of the PRC were all men. I was forbidden to take the National Board Examinations for Part I and Part II. I was denied all courses and hospitals I requested . Letters about me have been sent . . . so as to prevent me from going to any other medical school"

On Jan. 30, Ms. Anderson won in court the right to be re-instated, but since the Medical School has refused to do so, she is trying to have the University charged with contempt of court. WSU has also obstructed her legal battle by refusing her full access to her own academic records.

This is not the only case of racial and sexual discrimination. Five Black WSU Med School students, who were arbitrarily not allowed to re-take a poorly administered exam which half the class failed, also took WSU to court. Among facts to emerge was that the transfers who took the Black students' places didn't need financial aid, while over three-fourths of all Black WSU Med School students do.

Another Black student failed a re-take exam but scored higher than other students who were allowed to repeat the whole year. The University claimed his "personal and social problems" were not "satisfactorily resolved." In another case, a student was not allowed to repeat an exam. Because she was pregnant, the University decided she wouldn't finish the school year.

In Detroit, a community which is over half Black, the WSU Med School can hardly boast of a 20-year record of raising the average number of Black students who graduate from 2 to 6! But the University's efforts to quietly turn affirmative action into a meaningless cliche by flunking out minority and women students is being noisily challenged (also see anti-Bakke story, p. 5). It's not the minority and women students who are failing, but the universities.

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MORE ON THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

I have completed Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis. I suppose the question to ask people who continue to confuse ownership of capital with socialism is whether a country like Nigeria is socialist-because the state certainly controls more capital than all individual capitalists put together. Oil is Nigeria's mainstay and we have one National Oil corporation to look after that. Telephones and telecommunications are run by the government. The steel industry will be run by the government after Russia builds it. The list is endless. I have no doubt that one sets back the cause of socialism by referring to countries like Russia, Poland, etc. as socialist. No wonder the bourgeois press never fails to call them that.

Correspondent West Africa

Since Marxist-Humanists cannot publish or lecture in Yugoslavia, some of them are trying to start an international theoretical Marxist Humanist journal with several regional editorial boards, and an administrative center abroad. There is a small improvement recently: some passports have been returned, some purely academic philosophic meetings and publications are allowed. (Everything was stopped in 1975.) But we shall have to wait still for a more significant democratisation.

Intellectual East Europe

I was in Czechoslovakia at the time of the '68 invasion. Most people realized that it wasn't the people but the governments of Poland and Ryssia who were invading. But it was still the only time I was ever ashamed of being Polish.

Russia's imperialism was very evident to the Polish people. There were many jokes about that in Poland: "We have to thank Watt for inventing the steam engine. If it wasn't for him, we wouldn't have railroads and would have to take the coal to Russia in buckets." But some "theoreticians" found this hard to understand. In the '50s the theoreticians were against "revisionism", i.e. humanism. In the '60s, after all the revolts, they were for humanism, but made it so abstract it had little meaning. What the theoreticians and the leaders want is to stay in power. What the people want is socialism with a human face, that they will work out for themselves.

Polish-American Chicago

The revolutionary Left here are trying to deal with a new situation, which has come about with the defeat of the firemen, the miners' left-wing and Grunwicks. Social Democracy has beaten the Left in the ideological argument for cuts and wage restraints. The expected exodus of workers to revolutionary politics never came about because the alternative economic policies of the Labour Party Left and the Communist Party are just laughed at as out of date Keynesianism. And the economism of the revolutionary Left has failed to pose an alternative to capitalism, i.e. a new society. The mood now is one of defense against authoritarianism of the Right.

Bans on National Front marches have proved ineffective and have had the effect of stopping the Left from demonstrating. However, the anti-fascist movement is growing. There has been far too little involvement of the Black community in anti-fascist actions. But this is hardly surprising, considering how little the revolutionary Left seems to care about Third World struggles and the thoughts of Third World revolutionaries such as Steve Biko and Frantz Fanon

Dave Black London

The books I asked for were received yesterday and we all send our thanks to Raya Dunayevskaya for sharing her ideas with us. After reading only a few of her Political-Philosophic Letters, we have a clearer picture of the great struggles and pains people are going through all over the world. We feel a deeper awareness of what U. S. imperialism means.

Those of us who are fighting within the concrete and steel womb of the beast are determined to continue trying to build a movement in solidarity with national liberation and women's liberation struggles, no matter how much the powers here try to discourage us. Everything is falling into place for us. From hell, with love and solidarity—

Prisoner Washington

The cover of your fine pamphlet, American Civilization on Trial, is very impressive. While others depict guns and tanks as the revolution, you show black and white Abolitionists, and the "masses in motion" in our own age. It links past and present, Marx and America, the Abolitionists and Women's Liberation. And it shows that the real "violence" that has always been with us is the violence against people fighting for freedom.

Working Woman New York

I was recently introduced to News & Letters by a friend while we were staying in London. I've just finished read-

Readers

ing Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution, which I found really useful. Not only did they reaffirm Marx, they helped me see the strengths and failings of the Australian Left in a new light.

New Supporter Australia

The pamphlet on the First General Strike in the U.S. has been a handy weapon in class for battling professors and students who claim American workers have no class consciousness because we didn't go through feudalism, etc. But, as it points out, it gets us nowhere to leave events of 1857-77 in the past. The continuity, to me, lies in not allowing another separation between Marxist philosophy and mass struggles. Can we find the organizational link between Marxist-Humanism and all the new beginnings, from Hostos to Soweto?

Student New York

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Canadian TV showed a great one-hour movie about a union-organizing drive in a small garment shop in a large Canadian city, seen through the eyes, heart and mind of a young Italian-Canadian woman, Maria, who becomes a leader in the organizing strike. The experience changes Maria's whole outlook, when she has to fight not only the boss and his son at work, but contend with her family's attitudes, especially her father who doesn't think women should do such things. Maria wins him over, but when her boyfriend demands she choose between him and her organizing activities, she tells him good-bye.

The story gives a good portrayal of the other workers—the many different nationalities and different attitudes. That the workers lost the election only made it more authentic, but they leave you not with the defeat but their determination to keep fighting. Too bad it wasn't shown on U.S. TV as well.

> Women's Liberationist Detroit

I recently heard a woman who helped form the Israeli Feminist Organization speak on the feminist movement in Israel. She said they have so far succeeded in getting a settlement house for women, going to Left meetings and raising the woman question, and helped push through a law that a raped woman must see a woman police officer. The Left nominally supports them but male chauvinism is as rampant in Israel as everywhere else. Though the feminist groups are tiny, I got the impression that interest in feminism is increasing greatly, especialy among women on the Kibbutzim which created a myth about sexual equality there. Unfortunalely, the division between Jewish, Arab and Sephardic women is very deep.

Observer New York

I have recently had discussions with a woman who is active in the international "Wages for Housework" campaign. On the one hand, this group exposes the vanguardism of the sectarian left and raises the Black, women's and youth dimension. On the other hand, their theoretical point of departure is the "caste" divisions within the labor class rather than the despotic plan of capital over labor at the point of production. This appears to lead to further sectarianism and what seems to me the rather absurd demand for wages paid to "housewives" by the State.

I've read the new pamphlet on Marx's Capital cover to cover and continue to find new understandings there. I'm going to get a study group going around it. I need the interaction with others around these profound ideas.

Marxist-Humanist Toronto

Please send me a copy of Working Women For Freedom, and renew my sub. This history and present struggle for liberation among women requires gay men like myself to look, listen, think and get involved. N&L is doing that Keep on.

Supporter New York

MOHR

The Michigan Organization of Human Rights sent a letter of protest to Oakland County Circuit Judge Frederick Ziem who, after citing a press account describing President Carter's disapproval of homosexuality, ruled to deny a lesbian mother, Margaret Miller, custody of her daughter, Jillian, despite the recommendation of a court-appointed psychologist and a report of the friend of the court. She is appealing and court costs are mounting. Readers who would like more information on how they can help can write to:

Shirley Burgoyne 111 North Main Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107

"AW, TEACH", A POEM

You know I cannot read/Still you say "just do your best"

You know I cannot spell/Still you give me test on test

You know I cannot write/Still you insist I must write reams

sist I must write reams
You say I must multiply, then divide/
(Not in my wildest dreams!) . . .

Chemistry, plants and animals—Enthrall me by the hour

But those complicated workbooks/ Are beyond my greatest power

beyond my greatest power
I'd rather show or tell you/Than write

a novel on it all But many times I just freeze up/When

it's my name that you call.

My greatest talent, what I do best/ Is

repairing and selling cars
But here in this big school it seems/
It's just not in my stars . . .

You suspect that I'm unhappy/But curriculum is the game
In school, is it any wonder then/That

I'm sorry I ever came?

Marge Keating
Missouri Assoc. for Children with
Learning Disabilities

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Views

ARAB AND ISRAELI

The news that 25,000 Israelis demonstrated to challenge Begin's refusal to give up occupied territory and make concessions for peace, made me go back and reread your editorial-article on the Middle East in the Jan.-Feb. issue, in which Raya Dunayevskaya had concluded: "The key to any solution lies in the hands of the Israeli masses to stop their ruler from closing up the openings that have opened up to them, as to the Arab masses, across all boundary lines, to settle accounts with their masters and begin working out their own destiny." The Israeli protest seemed almost like an answer to that call for the masses to demand their voices be heard. What a contrast to the pessimism expressed by an Israeli intellectual I heard in a talk at UCLA recently, who could see no. further, than what the "governments" were doing.

> Old Politico Los Angeles

I was really excited to hear the news that about 100 Palestine-Arab students and 20 Israelis sat down in front of the Red Cross center in Jerusalem protesting the mass arrests and heavy fines imposed on 150 Palestinian students and teachers at Bir Zeit College, who took to the streets the week of March 13 in opposition to Israel's invasion of southern Lebanon.

Meanwhile, Israel's newspaper, radio and TV workers went out on strike, shutting down all media for a few days. The latter two are still out. Teachers are planning a one-day "warning" strike as their contract renewal is due soon. All of this activity is taking place after the March 11 bus raid by the Palestinians, and amidst the Israeli government's continuous warning to people that they must not cause trouble at this time, but unite against the "real enemies"—the Arabs.

Student New York

The rulers in the Middle East seem to think that anything that is anti-Israel will solidify the Arab world. But what solidifies people is the idea of peace. There was so much fratricide in Algeria in gaining independence that the people finally stepped in and stopped the war. Yet most of the Left groups are not even talking about the desire of "peace" that is now in the air.

Black Activist Los Angeles

RAISING PRICES

The raising of steel prices shows the reason that President Carter called the miners' contract inflationary, when actually it was a pay cut for the miners. This gave the steel companies the goahead to raise prices and blame labor for it. But they won't get away with this lie because people know what causes inflation. The automation of big business causes price-raising; bankers' raising of interest rates; corporate, federal, and state bureaucrats' raising of their own salaries; and the governments' raising of produces all the this society. The only source of all value cannot create inflation.

G.M. worker California

A university student I spoke with who attended demonstrations in Toronto opposing government cutbacks in higher education told me the mood of the demonstrations was one of genuine militancy.

Contributing to that mood are things like what happened on April 1. The cost of three government controlled services or products went up: first class mail, 12 to 14 cents; provincial bus transportation, 30% increase; and provincially regulated alcoholic beverages. Even

more importantly, the reactionary Progressive Conservative government of Ontario, led by Prime Minister-aspirtant Bill Davis, is increasing the premium on the health insurance plan (O.H.I.P.) by nearly 40%. This is scheduled for May.

Clearly it is the intention of government to shift the burden of widespread economic crisis more and more onto the backs of the poor and working classes. This government refuses to realize that there are limits to what people will endure.

Marxist-Humanist Toronto

I recently came across a letter in a Polish-American paper Gwiazda Polarna, signed by 14 former Communist Party dignitaries. It had been leaked by someone in the party and published by the "Movement for the Defense of the Rights of Man." The letter blames the present leadership for the very deep economic and political crisis facing Poland, and calls for democratic reforms including genuine unions and workers' councils.

At the recent national party congress Gierek dismissed criticism of his regime as coming from outside agitators and claimed unity between the party and the people. He blamed shortages on Polish housewives who supposedly are "stocking up" in case of rising food prices.

What this letter shows is how deep is the crisis in Poland. The government is unable to raise food prices not because of fear of criticism in the party, but because of fear of the open revolt that appears whenever they try.

> Urszula Wislanka Chicago

HOLOCAUST

There was no denying that Roots was our history—the history of Black and white Americans alike. But, I have the feeling that too many are able to pretend that Holocaust was Germany's history, not ours—and "we" could never be responsible for such things. Yet, from the first night, every time I saw Dorf's baby face on the TV screen, I kept thinking of John Dean's baby face—and all other ambitious lawyers who helped draw up Nixon's "hate lists" and then insisted they were "only following orders."

Most important of all, to me, is that everything from Vietnam to Watergate to Skokie, proves that **Holocaust** is not past history. It won't be until we get rid of this degenerate society we live in and create a new one.

Anti-Nazi Activist Detroit

LABOR BATTLES

Nursing home workers here, mostly Black women, just won a minimum increase of \$14 a week after a strike of several days. The workers danced on the picket lines chanting "You've got the money, we've got the time," while the nursing home owners threatened to put the patients on the street if the state didn't give them more money to care for the poor.

Supporter New York

Although Milwaukee is considered a center for skilled trades and a strong union town, the unions are losing ground every year. As a member of the Steelworkers Union, I see the same trend in my shop that exists in union locals throughout the city. The union hierarchy is generally on friendly terms with management, and is reluctant to pursue all but the most trivial of grievances. The rank and file is militant on many issues, but is generally disorganized and there is little turnout for

Who We Are

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

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

union meetings.

Of concern to many workers is the apparent move of Allen-Bradley to greener pastures — namely Juarez, Mexico. Allis-Chalmers has merged with a German company. This move is apparently aimed at splitting up its various manufacturing branches into separate plants, thus nullifying the effectiveness of the unions. Workers in Milwaukee, as elsewhere, feel powerless to fight back.

Young Steelworker Milwaukee

The new Macy contract is a farce and even the union must know it. Tonight at the ratification meeting Kovenetsky said the contract was unanimously approved by the shop steward's committee. But I'm a shop steward and no one even notified me about it! The union has no idea what anyone in the store is saying, and never bothered to inform us what was happening in contract negotiations. If there's any time for us to go on strike, it's now. The sales are picking up, and the contract stinks. If it were up to the stockmen on my floor, we'd be on strike right now.

Macy Worker New York

I was having a conversation recently with a former UFW boycott worker, and the topic moved to the J. P. Stevens boycott. We were lamenting the fact that the boycott isn't going too well. I mentioned that the AFL-CIO should organize the type of organization the UFW used to get their messages across to working people. He said that would be impossible for the AFL-CIO to do. since they're used to hiring organizers on big salaries and expense accounts. The concept of many people living communally and cheaply and working hard for an ideal is beyond them. The union bureaucracy is limited by the very fact of what it's become.

> Union Member Oakland

LATINO STRUGGLES

The Nicaraguans certainly did invent some creative forms of protest in their revolt. I learned that workers of four independent radio stations read the strike news at daily church Masses after Somoza imposed a ban on news of the general strike and the radio stations had stopped broadcasting in protest. And an AP reporter taped for American news broadcast, the sounds at a polling place in a village outside of Managua, so thunderstruck was he when he heard the chant to boycott the election being syng by protesters to the notes of Beethoven's great Ninth Symphony, his "Ode to Freedom".

Thunderstruck, too Detroit

There are some in the takeover of the 500 building who are active in the Puerto Rican Liberation Movement, including some arrested in the occupation of the Statue of Liberty in the Fall. They are accusing FALN of planning the Statue of Liberty takeover. A Hostos student was among the 29 arrested there, and some think the arrest amounted to an orchestrated campaign by the government to create the impression that Hostos contains an element of terrorism. They want to create the pretext that

there is no quiet atmosphere in which to study. The fight for the building has to be by everyone because of the repressive power of the government against everybody.

Puerto Rican Activist Hostos Community College New York

THE WORLD WE LIVE IN

How many of you can remember the slogan "The Customer is Always Right?" Or when you paid for service and actually received it? Have you stood in line at a bank lately or in a grocery line for half an hour to pay for the groceries you put in your basket in 10 minutes? Have you tried to return something that doesn't work or doesn't fit?

As a blue collar worker whose labor helps to produce all of the wealth of this country, I find, as a customer that "the customer is never right (without a fight)" and service is non-existent.

Our system has become so dehumanized, so anti-people that we must get together and replace it with a system to serve people.

An Alienated Laborer Los Angeles

Franchises are just another approach to exploiting workers. When it was designed, the idea was to steal the savings of the franchise purchaser if it didn't pay—but to retrieve ownership if it did. Here, in Chicago and the suburbs, such operations seem to be going on regularly and often under the auspices of political administrative pressures. Buildings are remodeled, then condemned, or else leases are not renewed, etc. Huge monopolies or conglomerates end up with all the productive locations.

Chicago

I was born a few years too early to be one of the BES cancer victims, but now I am being told that the milk I nursed my daughter with probably contained PBB, a fire-retardant chemical accidentally mixed with cattle feed in Michigan, and not-so-accidentally allowed to be used and sold by the state government and the chemical and feed companies. My daughter is healthy, but I worry for her future. It is vitally important to fight against this kind of abuse because it is the very nature of the system of production we live under, as is the tremendous rate of injuries in factories, the sterilization-genocide of minority people and the poor, the Black Lung of the coal miners. Women's Liberation is truly revolutionary when we fight for "control over our own bodies!"

Women's Liberationist Detroit

Today, when whole people can be subjected to pressures of propaganda by the press, radio and TV, it is critical for people to be critically-minded.

Social transformation or social destruction, those are our only real choices. That's why I continue to support News & Letters.

Supporter Oregon

NEW READER? SUBS ARE ONLY \$1 A YEAR!

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

30,000 Israelis demonstrate for peace now, shake Begin regime

Over 30,000 Israelis came together in Tel Aviv on April 1 to tell Begin that peace is more important than territory. The demonstration attracted one percent of all Israelis. A demonstration in the U.S. of the same proportions would mean the presence of over two million people.

Israelis came from Haifa, Jerusalem, and kibbutzim throughout the country, responding to a call "to say they prefer peace to a greater Israel." "Greater Israel" refers to Begin's insistence that the West Bank and the Gaza Strip were really part of Israel in biblical times and won't be given back to the Arabs who actually live there.

The demonstration was initiated by a letter, put out by 300 reserve officers, which later became a petition. Over 1,000 of the 15,000 who have now signed the petition were officers in combat

Western Europe

Millions of West European workers participated in a one-day general strike on April 5, as well as rallies and demonstrations, in a continent-wide protest against rapidly rising unemployment, especially among immigrants, youth and women.

According to the European Trade Union Confederation, this action was supported in 18 countries by 31 trade union groups representing more than 40 million workers. Britain plans similar actions on May 1. Strikes took place in Denmark, Belgium, West Germany, Greece, Spain and Italy, where unemployment has recently increased severely.

Demonstrations, rallies and other actions also occurred in Holland, Sweden, Norway, Luxembourg, Austria, Switzerland and France, although labor bureaucrats in France were reluctant to support the protest for fear it would jeopardize upcoming negotiations with the new government.

In spite of their public denunciation of the critical rate of unemployment, European unions have been dragging their feet, and in many cases refusing to challenge increased discrimination against women workers who face arbitrary lay-offs, or not even being hired at all (see Women Worldwide, p. 9).

Union giveaways

The last contract signed between the UAW and the Detroit automakers made what seemed to be at the time a very small concession to the Big Three. When it was over, the auto workers found that they were paying more for medication at the drug store and had to accumulate more hospital and doctor bills before they received a refund.

The recent lengthy coal miners' strike had as

units in the Yom Kippur war. Many were decorated in that 1973 war, and one of the organizers, Yuval Neriya, was a tank commander on the Suez front and is one of the five to come out of that war alive with Israel's highest medal. The demonstration wasn't associated with any political faction and shattered any illusion that in foreign policy the Israelis speak as one.

"Suddenly," said Pzali Resheff, one of the rally organizers, "we found ourselves leading a kind of movement. We didn't really organize it well—it means people in Israel feel that people have got to do something."

Many Israeli journalists are comparing the mood in the country to the uneasiness in the U.S. that led to the anti-Vietnam War movement. There is massive disillusionment among Israeli troops returning from Lebahon, embittered after seeing the

one of its objectives the improvement of the health and pension benefits of members and retirees. That the final settlement failed to obtain these objectives can be traced to the first giveaway by the UAW leadership.

Once the principle was established of giving back to the employers the gains that had been fought for and won on the picket lines and shop floors, every union negotiation session today includes such demands from employers. The Lockheed strike revolved around a company demand that the union relinquish its hard-won seniority rights. In New York City, the Transit Authority demands give-backs to compensate for pay increases.

The AFL construction workers have given up "coffee breaks" and many of the so-called "makework" rules. The railroads are pushing for a reduction in the size of train crews. The newspaper publishers have published a booklet setting forth their demands for their own give-back program. In Detroit, the Newspaper Guild has been striking the Oakland Press for 100 days on these issues.

Phillipines

The night of April 6, the day before a supposed election in Manila, tens of thousands of Filipinos voted in their own way by honking their cars' horns, banging on tin cans, shooting off fireworks, ringing church bells, and shouting their opposition to Philippine dictator Marcos' martial law imposed since September, 1972. Marcos was stunned by the scale of the opposition movement which surfaced when he announced elections for an assembly over which he will have full power. Marcos wanted it to appear as if he were introducing some semblance of democracy.

Opposition rallies drew up to 60,000 people and had as their candidate former Senator Benigno S.

effect of the saturation bombing, including the use of the deadly U.S.-made cluster bombs. The Israeli campaign killed over 1,000 civilians and left over 200,000 homeless in southern Lebanon.

In the wake of Sadat's trip in November and the massive Israeli outpouring for him, there was tremendous excitement throughout the country over the opportunity for peace for the first time in 30 years. It is an opportunity, said one of the rally speakers, "too precious to be squandered by inept diplomacy."

The arrogant reaction to the peace rally from one of the members of the Begin government was that it "smells of a putsch." As for those who suddenly found themselves "leading a kind of movement," they are planning to return—this time outside of Begin's office in Jerusalem.

Aquino, who was imprisoned in 1972 and remains in a military stockade sentenced to death. Even with the farce of an election under martial law, after three days the government had only 10 percent of the votes to report.

The opposition People's Force Party, which only ran candidates in Manila, wasn't even told about many of the voting places, and Marcos' police prevented inspection at many known polling places. Two days after the election, 600 demonstrators, led by men carrying two coffins symbolizing the death of democracy, were arrested as Marcos ordered the experiment allowing "free debate" over.

Guam

Albert C Meierer Jr., a U.S. Department of Labor official who has been investigating the exploitation of immigrant workers on Guam, described their condition as being "like slavery in the South before the Civil War." Most of the over 5,000 immigrants are Filipinos or South Koreans who have been routinely beaten and denied pay by their employers.

They have been forced to perform "happy labor," i.e., without pay, for U.S. Immigration and Naturalization officers who have forced the women to have sexual relations with them. Immediate and illegal deportation is the threat that hangs over anyone who doesn't cooperate.

Though the island's medieval fiefdom of the military, employers and immigration officials had been exposed by the ACLU, the FBI didn't bother to conduct an investigation. One professor at the University of Guam, Michael Caldwell, has been trying to help the Asian immigrants fight back and has spoken out on human rights and "the little slave colony we run here in our own backyard." He has been run off the road in his auto at night, and his life has been threatened over the phone.

BLACK-RED VIEW U.S., Russia and their proxies in Africa

by John Alan

This spring Cuba celebrated the centennial of the Barragua Protest. It was 100 years ago that Black General Antonio Maceo, a hero of Cuba's ten-year War of Independence, 1868-1878, confronted Spanish General Martinez Campos at Barragua, to inform him that he did not recognize the Zanjon Peace Pact.

This Pact was an agreement between Cuba's landowning class and imperial Spain, which offered peace without independence and without the emancipation of Cuba's 250,000 Black slaves. To Maceo, this was an unacceptable, hollow, non-peace, forced upon a country devastated by ten years of war. Without the emancipation of the slaves, Maceo elected to continue the war.

Although this is past history, it is a glorious page in the fight for freedom. But now Fidel Castro, in a lengthy speech commemorating the Barragua Protest, would like us to believe that Cuba's involvement in the war between Ethiopia and Somalia is the living continuation of the spirit of Maceo! According to Castro, that murderous war for some barren desert land in the Horn of Africa, is actually a struggle for freedom.

Not only is this a travesty upon the name of Antonio Maceo, it is also a shoddy attempt to conceal the imperialist character of that war, and to avoid any real explanation of why a country as small as Cuba, with a chronic shortage of manpower — and completely dependent on Russia to supply its oil and buy its sugar crop — is able to send tens of thousands of soldiers and technicians to East Africa.

Such a sacrifice cannot be based upon the concept that the "military socialism" of Ethiopia's ruler, Mengistu, is revolutionary socialism, because there is no expression of that in the reality of the lives of the Ethiopian people. The fact is that Mengistu heads a despotic military government which is finding it diffi-

cult to suppress the dozen nationalities within the borders of Ethiopia, who longed for freedom after the end of the long autocratic reign of Haile Selassie.

Into the chaos of Ethiopia, world imperialism has entered. The Horn of Africa is a strategic piece of geography that dominates the confluence of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden—which is the passageway of tankers from the oil fields of Saudi Arabia, number one supplier of oil to the U. S. Russia's military and political ambitions in that area have been matched by the military and political maneuvering of Washington. We are witnessing a deadly game of political musicalchairs, as Russia and the U.S. support first one side, then the other.

In the beginning of the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia, the U.S. was the main supplier of arms to Ethiopia, as Russia was to Somalia. These two titans of world imperialism—the USA's so-called private capitalism, and Russia's state-capitalism masquerading as socialism—have-callously exploited the internal problems of these two desperately poor Black nations. They are using the Ethiopian and Somalian peoples as proxies in their struggle for world domination, and as it seesaws back and forth, they have introduced other proxies into the battle. Russia has involved Cuban soldiers and technicians; the U.S. is urging Iran and Saudi Arabia to become the middle agents in supplying Somalia.

For Fidel Castro to say the struggle is a "fight for socialism against imperialism" does not fool the reactionary regimes in Africa who see it as a way to handle rebellious nationalities within their borders. To regain Ogaden for Ethiopia with its Somalian minority, also strengthens Mengistu against the Eritrean nationalists.

The revolutionary position of Lenin was to aid national minorities in their fight for independence against imperialism, and not to embroil them in struggles that support imperialism.

Castro has no theory of liberation. He fails to understand the relationship between theory and practice, the dependence of one upon the other. Indeed, he warns his audience against theory and reduces human liberation to the efficiency of military maneuvering. Castro is an example of the sad state to which so-called "Marxism," which is not the Marxism of Karl Marx, has degenerated in the minds of the state-capitalists who "understand" everything . . . except the self-activity and the self-development of masses in motion and moving toward their own liberation.

Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis



by Raya Dunayevskaya

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