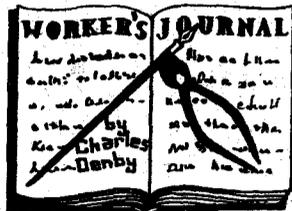


Will the revolution in Portugal advance?-page 5

America's first unfinished revolution—pages 6-7



Blacks demand answers: who killed Dr. King?

by Charles Denby, Editor

I was in Montgomery, Ala. shortly after the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the historic bus boycott there that launched the new stage of Black revolt in this country and turned around a way of life in a history written in blood. I was surprised to find that the same bus company that was the target of the boycott then was now the target of a strike—this time by Black and white drivers together. One driver told me that they are not going back until the company gives them what they are asking for, even though some of their union leaders are trying to sell them out and force them back to work.

What was so impressive about the anniversary celebration was that it made no separation between all the issues facing Black people in this country today—whether that is full employment, or school busing for quality education and political empowerment, or the harassment of the Black movement by agencies like the FBI. It was at this anniversary celebration that Mrs. Coretta King made a moving speech blasting J. Edgar Hoover for his role in the long campaign to “take Dr. King off his pedestal” and reduce his influence. In fact, all the speakers had something to say about Hoover and the Senate Intelligence Committee’s recent expose of FBI’s programs that one senator called “a roadmap to the destruction of America.”

It was not that I did not long ago learn that men like Hoover were the real subversives in this country, but I was still amazed when I learned the extent of the FBI’s dirty tricks on the American people. Years ago, when I read about Hitler’s Gestapo, I felt I would not be shocked at anything they would do. But I could not believe, until now, that the FBI would stoop to their tactics.

For a long time the FBI and its bulldog director, J. Edgar Hoover, supposedly represented law enforcement and crime fighting in this country. But in recent years, their public image was deteriorating. By now many people believe that the front page report that the FBI conducted 238 illegal burglaries against dissident American groups between 1942 and 1968 is just the tip of the iceberg.

Black people caught Hoover’s real number long before most other Americans did. Files stolen from an FBI office in Media, Pa., in 1970 showed how the Bureau planned to infiltrate Black organizations throughout the country, and Hoover’s attacks on Rev. King just confirmed what Black people had been saying about him for a long time. This country prides itself on race-hating.

What bothers many Black people now are the questions that have gone unanswered about the murder of Rev. King. How was Earl Ray, a stranger to Memphis, able to pick the one place where a sniper might shoot Dr. King, and have a chance to escape? They have glossed over how Ray was able to find Bessie Brewer’s rooming house, the perfect place from which to shoot King, when Ray said he had been in Memphis only two and a half hours. Where did Ray get the money he spent from the time he escaped from prison until he was arrested in London, after traveling through five coun-

(Continued on Page 12)

10¢

NEWS LETTERS

Human Power is its own end

VOL. 21—NO. 1

27 Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1976

Editorial article

THE STATE-MADE MURDERERS: CIA, FBI AND THE PRESIDENTS

by Olga Domanski, National Organizer
News and Letters Committees



Assassination targets. Africa’s Patrice Lumumba, America’s Dr. King, Chile’s Salvador Allende.

The CIA assassination plots, revealed in the 346 pages of the Interim Report just published by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, involve not just openly-acknowledged reactionaries, but all four presidents alike—Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon. More than a decade ago, when Johnson took office after the so-called “Camelot” period, he was reported to have exclaimed that the government had been acting like “Murder Incorporated”—which did not prevent him from joining the corporation. And the recent testimony surrounding the FBI’s exploits involved all six of our last presidents—beginning with FDR.

In truth, it began with the very beginning of the FBI. J. Edgar Hoover got his training in the infamous Palmer Raids following the hysteria in post-World War I. Today, President Ford is trying all over again to use the murder of CIA agent Richard Welch in Athens to regain secrecy for CIA operations. While the mindless terrorism which deludes itself that it has stopped CIA operations by such senseless murders is inexcusable, it is necessary to see to it that Ford is not allowed one more cover-up. Not only must the investigation go on, but we must go beyond it to uproot the whole dehumanizing and exploitative system which is precisely what spawns such murderous organizations as the FBI and CIA.

Let’s take a second look at the revelations of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

The particular assignment each president gave—whether for a wire-tap or an actual murder—reveals the particular crisis that each was facing, whether it was FDR preparing for world war and asking the FBI to investigate the 128 people who had sent telegrams to the White House to criticize a speech he had made on national defense in 1940, a full year before Pearl Harbor; or whether it was Eisenhower trying to stem the tide of the African Revolutions; or Kennedy the Cuban; or Nixon-Kissinger, the Chilean—or all of them together the Black revolution at home.

The most chilling fact that emerges out of the 8,000 pages of sworn testimony taken during the six months of the Senate investigation is that all the assassination plots involved Third World countries.

The Senate Report thus speaks volumes not alone of the deep-rooted racism of U.S. imperialism, but of its respect for the color white, as well as for other global powers. If being accused of merely “being under the influence of” Communism was enough to merit murder, how did it happen that they all fell far short of the global powers? Or does that have to wait for World War III?

The truth is that it was precisely the mortal fear

(Continued on Page 4)



WILL STEIN 1947-75

“Individualism which lets nothing interfere with its Universalism, i.e., Freedom.”

We mourn the untimely death of a magnificent human being and creative Marxist-Humanist whose life enriched the entire freedom movement and especially those privileged to be associated with him in the class struggle. Though tragically short, his 28 years were filled to overflowing, from the moment he became one of the finest of the new generation of revolutionaries born out of the civil rights struggles in the 1960s, to the last day of his life.

Will’s ten-year-long painful illness, far from keeping him from the most intense activity in every dimension of the struggle, deepened his commitment and dedication for a new society. He passionately

believed that capitalist society, like his own cancer, had to be uprooted to stop its growing destructive power.

His fierce conviction was displayed in all that he undertook, whether in the rent strikes he helped organize in New York City; his activities with the West Side Block Associations, CORE, Black youth in Harlem or Black auto workers in New Jersey; his participation in the historic Columbia University struggles; or his long years devoted to the United Farm Workers’ battles both in New York and Detroit. So total was the unity of his thought and action that his activity on a picket line and working at philosophy were not only inseparable, but always strengthened and further illuminated each other. Will’s sensitivity to all freedom struggles was seen in the last letter he wrote, a week before his death, on the question of Women’s Liberation.

It is because, as Marxist-Humanists, we do assure the continuation of Will’s life’s work and passions in our own work and lives, that the opportunity to honor his last writing came so naturally. We proudly dedicate our forthcoming pamphlet on working women in America to Will, whose sensitivity to all questions of oppression and freedom was so total it points to the Marxist-Humanist way to transcend the last barriers to a new and truly human world.

Women last hired, first fired, get worst jobs in plant

Detroit, Mich.—I was laid off from GM in December, 1974. When my plant called back people with less time than me, the personnel office told me, "We have to hire back workers from other plants first." But once you've been laid off for longer than you have worked there, you lose your seniority.

I feel they do this deliberately to women—last hired and first fired—because they don't want you working in the plant in the first place. They never consider that you have to provide for your family just like workers with longer seniority.

One thing that really gets me mad now is the overtime they are giving out, 10 and 12 hours. That means the people in the street are going to stay there. The union isn't doing anything about this either, but they could stop it if they really were a "union".

When you're in the plant, they take advantage of the people who really need a job to support their family. In some departments, it seems like they give men the easy jobs and women the hard jobs. This is not only for the men who are buddies with the foremen. It's just that they want to get rid of the women, and that's how they do it.

I have had some really hard jobs. They had me lifting and hanging heavy bumpers that came down the line at 25 a minute. The foreman told me I had to learn the job in 10 minutes, or go home. I was working this job with another woman and I told her the foreman was doing this deliberately because he didn't like women. He said, you women wanted equality, so do the job.

I just stuck at it because I needed the job and I didn't want to let him know it was killing me. But the other woman couldn't take it and quit. I didn't have my 90 days in yet, and you can't say much then, especially if you know the foreman doesn't like women to be working there and will fire you if he can. And the foremen who don't like women let you know right away.

I worked another job with a man, stacking beams



four deep and three across. They were so heavy that I couldn't muscle them up to get to the next ones. I told this to the man I was working with, and he said it wasn't a woman's job and helped me out.

When you get put on a job like this, a lot of the men will tell you, that's no job for a woman, but they're just telling you what you already know. They will also try to help if they can, but they won't speak up. I wouldn't have minded making less money if I got put on a job I could do and be able to keep it.

When I got laid off last December, I really did feel that, well, maybe I'll be back to work soon. But now I've been off for over a year. I have gone to so many plants, over and over, but they aren't hiring.

I know the only reason they began hiring women in the first place was because they had to, but with the situation like it is now, they're not.

I'm trying to survive and keep my family fed on unemployment compensation, but that is going to run out very soon and I'm going to be stranded. I keep worrying that I may have to go on welfare, and I don't want to have to go through that harassment.

It's important to me that people who are still working are thinking about those who aren't. It's no good for me and my family that I don't have a job to live on. But it's not great working in the factory either. We have to do something about the whole problem, those out of work and those still working. I don't have all the answers, but I do know something has to be done now.

—Unemployed Black woman

For our Detroit area readers—

The Role of Women in The Portuguese and African Revolutions
Presentation by Terry Moon, followed by discussion
Sunday, Feb. 1 at 7 P.M. Admission free
Highland Park YWCA, 13130 Woodward,
Sponsored by News and Letters Committees

Women's actual struggles real expression of 1975 IWY

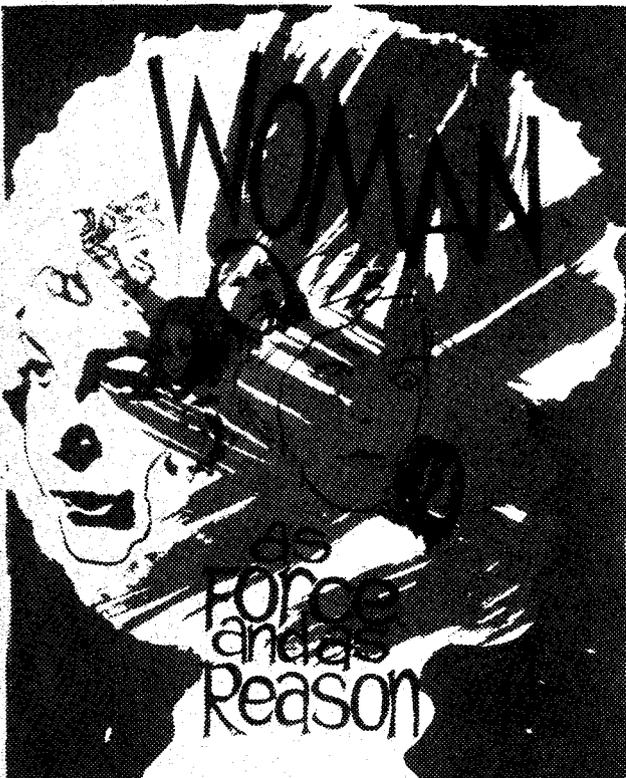
by Molly Jackson

1975 was the "Year of the Woman," but not for the reasons the United Nations called it that. It was a year of much activity and great divides in the feminist movement, separating revolutionary women's liberationists, working class and poor women from bourgeois, statist and outright counter-revolutionary women.

At the National Organization for Women (NOW) convention in October, for example, the excitement came from the women who were so disgusted with NOW's bureaucracy and lack of interest in working class problems, that they will probably never come back. These women wanted to discuss unionization and welfare rights campaigns, Black and Latina women's organizations, and many questions about socialism. Instead, the convention was taken up with fighting a right-wing that is so afraid of revolution, it opposes even paying lip service to questions of race and class.*

Not too fundamentally different were the happenings at the "Socialist-Feminist" conference in July. Women came there expecting to discuss Marxist philosophy and the role of the masses of women. Instead they were

* A letter we have received criticizing our view of the NOW convention arrived too late to include in this issue. It will be printed in a future one.



"WOMAN AS FORCE AND AS REASON"

Silk screen poster in black, brown, purple and white, created for News and Letters by P. Tamura. Dimensions, 22x28 inches. Order from NEWS & LETTERS for \$5.

given the old vanguard party line about building a movement by the proper "strategy and tactics," and were offered a variety of so-called "socialist" nations to follow in order to achieve "state power."

We need to turn to the actual struggles of the past year, to see in them the creativity which is lacking in the organized feminist movement. In the area of labor, there is not a category of women's jobs that has not experienced recent attempts at self-organization.

- In the San Francisco area, many clerical workers had unionization campaigns, including the 600 Mastercharge workers, who first decided to organize and then went looking for a union that would agree to their way of doing it. They knew better than the "political" feminists what happens when workers give up control to leaders or representatives. It was two established unions that caused them to lose the election.

- In hospitals, organizing drives among the lowest-paid workers, women and minorities, are going on throughout the South as well as the North. Nurses, who are supposed to be too "professional" for such things, have been conducting strikes, with or without labor associations. Both groups have raised issues of patient care along with their own working conditions, refusing to separate human from economic problems.

At Boston State Hospital in October, the non-unionized nurses staged a "sick out" to protest severe staffing shortages. The action caused the state suddenly to discover 76 positions for the staff.

- Even "Alice Doesn't Day," Oct. 29 which was set up so it was bound to fail as a general strike, produced all sorts of discussions and small activities. At one small college, all the women came out of their separate offices to have a picnic and discuss work grievances. As one woman commented, "When the idea is in the air, any excuse will do."

- The year also brought continuous struggles by welfare recipients in the face of government attempts to reduce their paltry incomes and increase the indignities they endure. In Oak Park, Mich., where teachers' aides earn so little that many receive supplemental welfare, these very women are organizing a union, even though any raise they get will simply decrease their welfare payment.

What was missing from all the conferences, national and international, throughout the year — though it was everywhere in the halls — was any grounding of the meetings in these actual struggles taking place everywhere. This was so because the so-called "socialist-feminist" statist share with the middle-class women of NOW the belief that the masses of women are backward, and that theory and leadership must come from a few (themselves). Instead, any leadership, theory or philosophy must come precisely from those voices from below.

The true challenge to revolutionary feminists is to join with poor, Black and working women, in order to work out now that relationship between theory and practice, which will assure us new human relations after the Second American Revolution.

WL NOTES

Special: See Two Worlds, p.5, for report and analysis of the critical role of women in the Portuguese and African Revolutions.

Inez Garcia, accused in California of killing the man who held her while another raped her, has won her appeal for a new trial. The judge had not allowed the facts of the case, other than the shooting itself, to be raised as an issue, and this ruling in particular was strongly protested by the many women who organized support and held demonstrations during the trial. Our support must continue for her to win justice.

In their continuing battle to control their own bodies, 10,000 Italian women marched on Dec. 6 down the streets of Rome for legalized abortion on demand. They have collected over 800,000 signatures on petitions so that a referendum will be held in 1976.

Jose Ramos Horta, the foreign minister of the new Democratic Republic of East Timor, states that, "Ninety percent of the forces along the Indonesian border are women, particularly the south coast—where Indonesia never got one inch of our land—has been defended by an army of 1,000 women."

Fleetwood forces women to quit

Detroit, Mich.—Segregation is so strong here at Fleetwood that people are still hired in on a segregated basis.

When they hire many women, they put a lot of them on real hard jobs, like in the body shop. They put them on motors that men can't even handle, and push them so hard that some women have to quit. Naturally, it is mostly Black women who get those jobs.

The plant moves other women into supervision to have a certain proportion there. I have seen a lot of white women in supervision lately. But there, too, they harass these women constantly. One woman I saw in supervision couldn't rest long enough to light a cigarette.

When the federal investigators come around management can say: Look, we hired 200 women and have two left, and hired so many into supervision and have only two left. But they don't tell about racial tactics and harassment.

—Second shift worker

100,000 Italians march in Milan, keep auto plant open

Milan, Italy—More than 100,000 people took part in the protest against the closing of Innocenti Auto Co., a demonstration called for by the unions. The next day it was announced that the Fiat Auto Co. would buy up Innocenti with the help of the Italian government.

The entire scene here is dominated by layoffs, outright firings, and a real and general economic depression. As in all countries in a similar economic crisis, the unions are put in the position of saving the savable. This problem becomes really difficult when, as in Italy, there are few obvious national capitalists to fight against, but instead there are a lot of foreign companies.

One of the most recent and dramatic examples here is the Innocenti Auto Co. which closed its doors a short time ago, leaving 4,500 workers on the streets. It turns out that Innocenti is a branch of British Leyland, but Leyland says it is not responsible because it is a branch of U.S. Chrysler Corp., and Chrysler is planning to lay off 8,000 British workers.

Each company justifies the factory closings and layoffs because that particular company is not as productive (automated) as the parent company. In the case of most Italian companies, this is perfectly true. Most foreign investments have been made to profit from the low cost of labor rather than increased productivity. And naturally Chrysler Corp. is worried more about revolution in the U.S. than in England or Italy.

This does not mean that nothing can be done, and the case of Innocenti is an example. First, a Japanese company — Honda — proposed to buy it. The European Economic Council intervened, accusing the Italian government of wanting to give the Japanese a launching base for direct competition in Europe. Thus it seems there would be an endless series of deals, treaties and whatnot between Italy, Japan and the EEC in order to not solve or save anything. However, the workers of Milan decided to act more directly.

Local News & Letters Committees can be contacted directly in the following areas:

SAN FRANCISCO: PO Box 77303, Station E,
San Francisco, Cal. 94107

LOS ANGELES: PO Box 29194,
Los Angeles, Calif. 90029

DETROIT: 1900 E. Jefferson,
Detroit 48207 (259-0404)

NEW YORK: PO Box 5463, Grand Central Sta.
New York, N.Y. 10017

Red scare, racism used to divide workers

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor.

With the Senate investigating the FBI and the CIA, they are finding out what working people knew all along. Big business needed a secret police in foreign countries to keep the workers in line. It is just like in this country where the FBI under Hoover has kept the workers under control ever since the 1920s.

In 1913, the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) President John Kirby wrote in a pamphlet that the "American trade union movement was an un-American, illegal and infamous conspiracy." Attorney

Uniroyal workers want voice in deciding contract demands

Detroit, Mich. — The thing that concerns people most at Uniroyal is the up-coming contract negotiations. The people I've talked to said they wouldn't mind going out on strike in April if the union will fight for something. The union already knows how most workers feel about it.

We can only hope that they will feel the pressure to negotiate for us — especially if we have to go on strike for two or three months. I know that they've heard enough griping to know they better try to straighten up and do better.

We are far behind in benefits here, like cost of living or dental care. I don't even know if they are actually proposing these things. A lot of us feel that if we could see the benefits that they are going to ask for, then we would feel more satisfied about going out. In the last negotiations I don't think they told us a thing until after everything was settled.

They're not doing what I feel all unions should do, and that's to let the employees speak their thing about what they want. Just the other day the workers on the tubers in the millroom sat down for a few hours to straighten out a disagreement when the company changed the standards on them. Every time we get a raise, there is more work. The production goes up and pretty soon you can't make it and your money is taken away right there.

—Afternoon shift worker

General Palmer agreed and ran the Department of Justice as an appendage to NAM.

What has been known as the Palmer-Hoover raids on working people took place in 1920. One night in January, with the police in the large industrial cities across this country under their direction, they hauled from beds, dragged out of meeting halls and grabbed on the street over 10,000 working people and threw them in prison.

They beat and tortured and led them through the streets, manacled and handcuffed, chains clanking on their legs. Federal Judge George W. Anderson said that the "manner of their arrest was for display and the creation of public prejudice."

The Palmer-Hoover raids were denounced by countries all over the world as the most flagrant case of official lawlessness in American history. Charles E. Hughes, who later became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, said Palmer, aided by William J. Flynn and J. Edgar Hoover, had directed raids which flouted every provision of the Bill of Rights they were sworn to uphold.

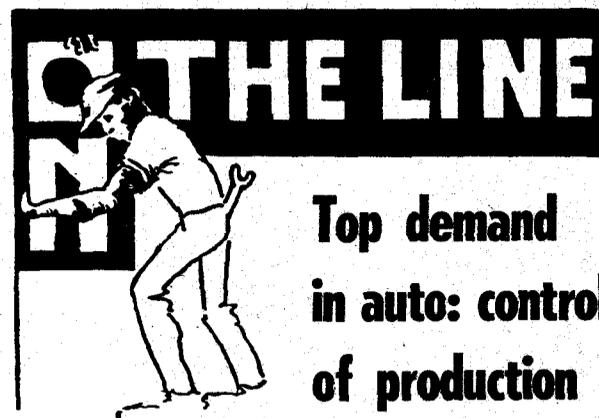
But what happened? The government founded the FBI in 1924 and put J. Edgar Hoover at its head. The 1920 raids that were criticized as monumental lawlessness and wholesale trampling upon the people's rights were the type of activity Hoover kept up on the working people of this country to the day he died.

The FBI, with the red scare, made more money for the corporations than all the speed-up and automation used to replace workers. That scare is ageless and forever new. It has been used against labor ever since the middle of the nineteenth century. Even the Abolitionists were called communists.

It worked against the railroad strike of 1877; it hanged the eight-hour-day advocates in 1887; it was a mighty power against Eugene Debs' Pullman strike in 1894; it smashed the steel strike in 1919. It has divided workers as effectively as using white employees against Black, and still to this day it is the best weapon big big business has to rule the workers. The red scare and racism are the food that the CIA and FBI feed upon.

The hundred-plus billion that our government spends each year is supposed to protect us from Communism. Ninety percent of our production is being wasted through the red scare and being used to protect a few corporations ruling the working people of the world.

How much longer are we going to let a few corporate heads rule us through the FBI and CIA with racism and the red scare?



Top demand in auto: control of production

by John Allison

The deepest concern of workers in the auto shops is the new contract to be negotiated in 1976. We know the issues that affect our daily lives and we can speak very well for ourselves, but we seldom have the opportunity. We have long needed a place to make our feelings and grievances known.

The local union seems to be silent on policy, but we need to know what is going on, what kind of issues are being cooked up by Woodcock that we're going to have to live with.

In this column last month I asked the workers what they wanted for their own "Bill of Rights" in the contract. The one answer that came at the top of almost every worker's list was "control over production."

This is no surprise to me or to any worker, because we all know the speed of that production line and know the toll it takes on human life. And with every new contract that is signed, for every so-called "benefit" we get, the production is stepped up to take that much more out of the backs of the production workers. There is one, and only one, answer to the inhuman pace of automated production — and that's for workers to control it.

Next on the list was control over overtime. Here again, every worker knows that the company is scheduling overtime work that adds that much more pressure on the workers in the plants — while there are thousands still laid off.

We've heard it until it's coming out of our ears that the company has to be able to schedule overtime because that is "the nature of the auto industry." It is nothing more than the "nature" of the profit-hungry corporations and those who agree with them — like our union leaders.

The whole nonsense could be stopped in a minute, and the rank-and-file workers would be very happy to simply refuse overtime so long as there was a single worker unemployed.

Another point that ranked high was control over vacation. As it is now, the company practically tells you when to take your vacation. And like everything else in an auto worker's life, it is geared to production. When cars are selling good, you might not even get a vacation with some companies — they'll just pay you for the vacation time and you keep on working.

Another big point many workers made was over the lack of representation and the drawbacks in the grievance procedure. And it wasn't just that there weren't enough stewards or committeemen, but also the lack of representation from those who are there. Too many act more like company stooges than union fighters.

Of course, if the workers got their first demand, control of production, all of the others would automatically be solved. And that's why the workers put that one at the top of their list.

Taxi workers fight firings

New York, N.Y. — Recently a driver from Dover Garage ended a so-called "impartial arbitration" after he'd been fired, by throwing a chair at a lying dispatcher who was testifying at "impartial arbitrator" Vincent MacDonald's kangaroo court.

He expressed the anger that most taxi workers feel toward the fleet owners and the union bureaucrats. He is now blacklisted from the industry, but he knew that was going to happen anyway.

His original "offense" was that he ran as a candidate for shop committee at Dover Garage as part of a rank-and-file slate. Within a week of his becoming a candidate, he was fired for "tampering with wires." Since even the bosses admitted privately he hadn't done it, he was hired at 57th Street.

He grieved his firing at Dover and went to "impartial arbitration," which he lost. The very next day he was fired from 57th Street and blacklisted. It was during the arbitration of this second firing that he threw the chair across the room.

Vincent MacDonald ran out of the room, and many drivers feel that the chair-throwing was one of the best criticisms of the whole concept of arbitration.

A second firing of a committeeman, Ed Goldman, at Frenat Garage, led to a demonstration at union headquarters by about 75 drivers. Ed, a leading member of the Rank-and-File Coalition, was beaten up by an inside worker in his garage at 5:30 a.m. when no other drivers were around. Then he was fired by the company for fighting. Even after the demonstration the union has refused to take up Ed's case, claiming "he has no grievance."

—Taxi driver

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

We have only been back from the holidays for one day, but already you can see they are out to kill us. We are now working nine hours a day, and the word is that we'll be working Saturday, too. This means a 54-hour week. Whatever happened to the voluntary overtime they told us about in the last contract? It is meaningless if our union President Rufus Coleman and the rest of the officers don't enforce it.

Some Dept. 21 workers say they are going to be working more than 60 hours this week. This overtime is crazy, when there are so many people trying to get work at Fleetwood, and the company won't even let them take an application.

—Fleetwood worker, afternoons

GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — In the last few weeks over 100 workers have been laid-off. And the line speed has not changed one bit. The union rumor was that people were getting laid-off because others were returning from sick leave. But we have heard of only two or three being called back.

The union officials seem helpless. They moan and groan but when it comes to concrete action they hesitate. What if GM decides to close this plant altogether?

Some workers in the plant wanted to contact unemployed GM workers to find out what they wanted to do about the lay-offs. But the union officials are so afraid of workers getting together outside of their control, that they have refused to let workers in the plant have the names and addresses of unemployed workers.

The union officials seem to have the same attitude as the company — that the workers, even when unemployed, are their private property. It is up to us to find ways to communicate on our problems. Let's get together before we are all out of this plant altogether.

—South Gate Worker

Warren Stamping

Warren, Mich. — The safety problems at the Warren Stamping plant are just like those I've been reading about at the Dodge Truck plant next door. The only time they change the cables on the cranes is when they break. It was just lucky that two die setters didn't get killed when the cable broke on me once.

Some of the hi-los in the plant are very unsafe. The brakes go out and you don't know anything about it, and the horns don't work. The floor is all greasy and oily and people are falling a lot. People go to medical every day from cuts. They give you cotton gloves but they don't do any good. That steel just goes right through.

The union isn't like it is supposed to be at all. When we came back from lay-off people were transferred out of their department without regard to seniority. The steward said he couldn't do anything about it.

—Afternoon shift worker

Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich. — I haven't been working since August, when I was caught in a big lay-off. I just heard a rumor that some of us would be called back in February. My brother said he was sure they would call me back because production is so high. But it isn't like that.

I told him, "You think there is a relationship between employment and production; that when production goes up employment will go up, and if employment goes down it is following production. They are putting out more cars today than they were when I was laid-off, and there are less people doing the work."

They can do this because of machines. Every year there are new machines and less people. It is worse now but it has been going on for a long time.

Machines don't buy things. That's one reason why the government pays unemployment and welfare. They give you just enough to barely survive. You've really got to hustle — in the plant or on the street. We can't stand this much longer.

—Laid-off Rouge worker

Editorial article: State-made murderers: CIA, FBI, presidents

(Continued from Page 1)

every U.S. ruler had of the contagion of freedom that the revolutions in Cuba, the Congo and Chile might spark, that impelled the fantastic lengths to which they went to try to eliminate any leader who was deeply enough rooted in the mass movement that he could articulate and act out what the masses wanted — and thus change the entire global power relationship.

The lives — and deaths — of three such leaders illuminate precisely how much state-capitalism feared the dialectics of freedom.

PATRICE LUMUMBA

No amount of nonsensical playing with "synecdoche" — or the blaming of "euphemisms" and "circumlocution" for not being able to prove that the orders for murder were given to the CIA from the Oval Office of the White House — can wash the blood of Patrice Lumumba from Eisenhower's hands.

The authorization to eliminate Lumumba was given by Eisenhower and Allen Dulles, then CIA director, at the National Security Council Meeting on Aug. 18, 1960, less than a month after Lumumba had been in Washington and had been promised economic assistance for the newly independent Congo by Secretary of State Christian Herter.

Lumumba, who had organized the Congolese national movement in 1958 and led his people to freedom from Belgium, had been elected Prime Minister nine days before the nation became independent on June 30. Three days after independence was achieved, Moise Tshombe, the Belgian puppet, declared the secession of the rich province of Katanga and set the stage for Kasavubu and General Mobutu to seize the government by a military coup in mid-September, while Lumumba appealed for and received "peacekeeping" troops from the UN.

Far from lessening the determination of the U.S. to "permanently dispose" of Lumumba, the day after he was deposed a CIA cable, quoted in the Interim Report, insisted that " . . . LUMUMBA IN OPPOSITION IS ALMOST AS DANGEROUS AS IN OFFICE . . ." And another, from Bronson Tweedy, the Chief of the African CIA division, reported: "LUMUMBA TALENTS AND DYNAMISM APPEAR OVERRIDING FACTOR IN RE-ESTABLISHING HIS POSITION EACH TIME IT SEEMS HALF LOST . . ."

The 57 pages in the Interim Report that detail the blood-curdling efforts to murder Lumumba leave no doubt in anyone's mind that the CIA was fully involved in the eventual capture of Lumumba on Nov. 27 by Mobutu's troops, who then handed him over to the actual assassin, Tshombe. Lumumba was murdered at once, under the most horrible circumstances, along with two other elected government officials, the Youth and Sports Minister, Maurice Mpolo, and Deputy Senate Speaker Joseph Odito. Two days after Lumumba's body was flown to Katanga, the CIA Base Chief in Elizabethville sent this disgusting message to CIA headquarters: "THANKS FOR PATRICE. IF WE HAD KNOWN HE WAS COMING WE WOULD HAVE BAKED A SNAKE."

Lumumba was not a Communist. He was an African Nationalist. The crime for which Eisenhower and Dulles had condemned him to death at the age of 35 was that he was "a dangerous force in the heart of Africa." He represented a spark that could inspire Freedom Fighters throughout the world and ignite all of Africa — the very place where monopoly capitalism had turned into imperialism as it carved up the continent among the big powers of that day, just as the neo-colonialism is being imposed on it by the powers of today.

A good deal of attention has been given since the Report was published to the "criminal adventurers" who were key agents in the Congo assignment — especially the agent known as WI/ROGUE who was recommended because if given an assignment he would "dutifully undertake it without pangs of conscience. In a word, he can rationalize all actions." There is no better description of those criminals who gave the orders and whose hands are bloodiest of all — Eisenhower and Dulles.

The system can always find its own tools. It is no accident that in the witch-hunt against Martin Luther King, it was the notorious racist, J. Edgar Hoover.

MARTIN LUTHER KING

The FBI conducted a six-year long campaign against Rev. King that began in the "Camelot" days of John F. Kennedy while he was publicly grasping King's hand, while his Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, was giving Hoover the OK to wire-tap King's home and office. Hoover hounded Dr. King from 1963 until the day of his death on April 4, 1968 — the day Hoover worked for.

Notwithstanding the Senate Intelligence Committee's equivocation about whether the FBI set him up for the assassination, none can believe it was mere coincidence that the FBI got the press to badger Dr. King for staying at the white-owned Holiday Inn until he switched to the Black-owned Lorraine Motel — conveniently across the street from the rooming-house from where he was such a good target for the assassin (See "Workers Journal," p. 1).

The campaign against King, like the plot against Lumumba, was aimed at trying to destroy, not one man, but the Movement he represented.

But the campaign to "take (King) off his pedestal and reduce his influence," as outlined for Hoover by Assistant FBI Director William Sullivan early in 1964, boomeranged. When Hoover publicly exploded against King later that year, calling him the "most notorious liar in the country," it was the beginning of the end, not of King, but of the fetish of the FBI as sacrosanct.

A new generation of militants and Black activists soon learned that the FBI, far from helping them to challenge the "Southern way of life," was part and parcel of the new conspiracy to destroy them, just as an earlier generation had learned in 1920, the year Hoover got his start as the right-hand man of the notorious Attorney General Palmer.

The "Palmer Raids," unleashed against the American workers and Blacks, under the guise of rounding up "Reds and foreigners," were American capitalism's response: 1) to the 1919 Seattle general strike and the



This cartoon, called "The Mob Victim", appeared in the July 1919, MESSENGER, a widely circulated national Black paper edited by A. Philip Randolph. It was reproduced in the Lusk Committee Report.

strikes in coal and steel, as the American workers tried to organize on an industrial basis (see Felix Martin's column, p. 3); and 2) to the first mass organization of Blacks under Garvey, as the KKK followed the Blacks North and the streets ran red with the blood of race riots — no less than 26 in the last months of 1919 alone.*

Hoover was there as the prime architect of the political strategy of American reaction from 1920 — through the 1950s when he supplied Joseph McCarthy with all the forged "evidence" he could manufacture about "Communists in government" — and into the 1960s, when the new stage of Black revolt, ushered in by the now-historic Montgomery Bus Boycott, coincided with Rev. King's beginning as a leader of that boycott.

It was because he knew how to listen to the voices from below that Rev. King could represent them in a boycott that lasted 382 days and met in mass assembly three times a week. It was because he tried to give philosophic expression to the struggle against segregation in Birmingham in 1963 that he remained so important to the movement. And it was because — even though he had been baffled in 1965 by the new stage of revolt in the northern cities and by "burn, baby, burn" — he was trying in 1968 to unite the Black and white poor, race and class, philosophy and revolution, that he was gunned down in Memphis, where he had gone to assist the sanitation workers on strike, on the eve of his Poor Peoples March on Washington.

Like the FBI, the CIA, too, from its start in 1947, was created and grew not out of response to the "Cold War" against Russia, but to the prerevolutionary situation in this country — the massive strikes that swept the country, the opposition to the Korean War, the Black struggles that never ceased.

"Operation Chaos" of the Nixon reign gave us ample proof of the CIA's domestic terror to stop the forces of revolt of our day. But the CIA's "proper" territory was

*In April, 1920, a Joint Legislative Committee of the Senate of New York State (known as the Lusk Committee) filed a report on "Revolutionary Radicalism" and the "steps taken to curb it." Because it includes hundreds upon hundreds of pages of actual articles, speeches and cartoons by revolutionaries, it is a goldmine of source material on everything from the socialist, anarchist and labor movements in Europe and America to the Black movements of Marcus Garvey, W. E. B. Dubois, and A. Philip Randolph.

the subversion of foreign peoples, and no more sordid tale has ever been told than that of the CIA in Chile.

Today, whether we look at the disgusting events in racist South Boston or listen to Sen. Jackson's attempts to win the votes of just such elements by proposing an amendment to prohibit school busing, or whether we go as far as Angola, where the U.S. is working hand-in-glove with apartheid South Africa (see *Our Life and Times*, p. 12), it's clear how hard the counter-revolutionary forces are working to turn the clock of history back. It is best seen in Latin America, from the Cuban Bay of Pigs* in 1961 to Chile in 1970-73. Indeed, as this super-glorified and falsified Bicentennial year begins, the case of Chile will show that what was in store for Chile yesterday may be in store for us tomorrow.

SALVADOR ALLENDE GOSSENS

It was at a White House meeting on Sept. 15, 1970, with Richard Helms, Henry Kissinger and Attorney General John Mitchell, that Nixon ordered the CIA to help organize a military coup to prevent Salvador Allende from taking office and proclaiming the first Socialist government in Latin America. But the campaign that finally ended in the vicious fascist coup and the murder of Allende in 1973 was a full ten years long and involved three American presidents — Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon — first trying to keep Allende from winning, then to prevent him from taking office when he won despite all, and finally to overthrow him after his successful inauguration in November of 1970.

Millions of U.S. dollars were poured into Chile to encourage the overthrow of the Constitutional government — at the very time the U.S. was proclaiming a "low profile" in Latin American relations. ITT offered the CIA a million dollars, and poured \$350,000 directly into the election campaign against Allende in 1970, while at least \$350,000 more came from other businesses, not named. The CIA channelled \$1.5 million alone to El Mercurio, the largest daily paper, just to insure anti-Allende coverage and to keep the paper solvent. Money was later passed to private sector groups to support the striking reactionary truck drivers who crippled the economy and helped to bring Allende down. More money went directly to support right-wing terrorists.

The Chile story is included in the Senate Report, however, not because of any of this subversion, but only because of the "accidental" murder of General Rene Schneider, a life-long military man who had taken over the army and was determined that it steer clear of the political turmoil sweeping Chile. It was merely because Schneider was a principled Constitutionalist, insisting on impartiality, that he was considered such an obstacle to the U.S. goal of keeping Allende from office that he became a target for kidnapping, and "happened" to be killed.

That the Senate Committee did not condemn the plotting of the coup, means not only that we will not get the full truth, but discloses the capitalist-class nature of the U.S. Senate Committee. Just as there was no change when we turned from the dirty tricks of Nixon to "Mr. Clean" Ford, so there will be no change in the fundamental nature of any of the government institutions — least of all the U.S. Senate.

The Interim Report's 120,000 words of horrifying text ends only with a "General agreement that the United States must not engage in assassination" — and a recommendation to make that "a crime." But the Chile events are the most important precisely because they are not an assassination plot. Instead they represent a plot to institute a coup against a whole people, the moment they have taken their first step toward freedom.

This is seen most starkly in the message of Edward Korry, American ambassador to Chile in 1970: "Not a nut or bolt will be allowed to reach Chile under Allende . . . We shall do all within our power to condemn Chile and the Chileans to utmost deprivation and poverty."

The barbarism, the murders and the tortures visited on the Chilean people by the junta are still going on — with the continued heavy support of the U.S. government.

What the Senate Committee "revelations" reveal, more than anything else, is that, far from being "aberrations," the blood-chilling activities of the CIA and FBI are integral to capitalism — especially as it is challenged by the revolutionary forces of the workers, Black masses, women and youth out to create a new, human world. So extreme, so global, and so intense is every struggle in our crisis-ridden world that every question, whether as elementary as desegregated schooling or as complex as the struggle in Portugal, focuses at once on the death and life aspects of counter-revolution and revolution.

"Murder Incorporated" is the name of degenerate American state-capitalism. Its stench cannot be cleaned out with any amount of reforms or watchdogs. The harrowing details of the Interim Report prove the burning need for all the revolutionary forces in the U.S. to celebrate the Bicentennial by burying the stinking corpse once and for all, and beginning the creation of a new and human society.

*The fantastic campaign against Fidel Castro has received the widest publicity, but since space will not permit us to detail it here, we suggest you read it in full in the Interim Report itself, available to the public, pp 71 through 179. The insanity of paying CIA "scientists" (sic!) to develop plots to make Castro's beard fall out, and kill him with poison cigars, ball point pens, exploding seashells and contaminated diving suits, is a precise measure of the insanity of the capitalist system which gave the CIA birth.

News & Letters

Vol. 21 No. 1

January-February, 1976

News & Letters is published ten times a year, monthly except for January-February and August-September, by News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207. Telephone: 259-0404. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of ten or more — 6c each.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman
National Editorial Board

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

Second Class Postage Paid at Detroit, Michigan

TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya
National Chairwoman, News and Letters Committees

The counter-revolution that has put down the alleged "extreme Left attempt at coup d'etat" in Portugal is unfolding on all fronts, from the imposition of "discipline" on factory workers to the purging of MFA (Armed Forces Movement) and re-establishing a military hierarchy loyal to "it" — the capitalist government. The nationalization of radio stations except episcopacy's Radio Renascenca goes hand in hand with trying to drive the peasantry off the occupied lands, and "reorganizing" all "far left" newspapers. So much for the Socialist Party's "struggle for democracy." Indeed, so far to the Right has this alleged "Left Centrist victory" over Communism moved that Socialist Soares and his Major General Antunes themselves fear an outright fascist return. Hence, they are denouncing, not too loudly, "blind anti-Communism."

What they mean is not the establishment of any genuine workers' democracy or releasing of workers' revolutionary energies, but just the inclusion in the government of the Communist Party, which is as practiced as they are in class-collaborationism, and was the first to engage in strike-breaking action against the mass strikes that followed the overthrow of the fascist regime.

And the CP leader, Alvaro Cunhal, promptly acceded to them: "We have to face the new reality."

The Nov. 25 Coup: Before and After

In a word, the Rightist move backward — the Nov. 25 coup — instead of being seen and fought as the whip of the counter-revolution that it is, is being whitewashed by the press as if that was the way to avoid a bloody Chile-type coup. But the only reason they do not dare yet roll history backward that far is because the mass movement is still intact, has not been taken over by any existing parties.

Moreover, the very fact of the spontaneous mass outburst of wildcat strikes, which arose upon the overthrow of the fascist Caetano regime and was not subordinated to any "Party", is the reason the masses are mastering new ideological insights. Thus, the majority first voted for the Socialist Party because they were running away from the Communist Party, in revulsion against the latter's strike-breaking activity, but now these same masses are taking a second look at the class character of the SP-type of "democracy" and asking: was its espousal of democracy more than the left covering for NATO, as if Helmut Schmidt's West German type of "socialism" differs fundamentally from the open imperialism of Ford's CIA? They now see it not as any kind of workers' democracy; rather the howling for "sacrifice and hard work" is clearly a defense of the capitalistic system.

New Questions

At the same time, many questions are also being raised about the Left and its "programs" void of a concrete philosophy of liberation. Hadn't all the "Left" acted as if General Spinoza had been the real leader of the overthrow of the Caetano regime? Hadn't there been an underestimation of the nascent workers' and peasants' struggles, student revolts, women's movement, though there were many open instances since the mid-1960s of the restlessness in the land? Had any given full credit to the African Revolutions which led the Portuguese soldiers to undermine the fascist imperialistic regime at home?

The truth is that the revolution in Portugal began in Africa, and not only because Portuguese imperialism was losing, but because the African revolutions, theoretically as well as practically, were shaking up the very ones who came to shoot them down. (1)

Moreover, the national liberation struggles weren't just the "accidental" springboards for the Portuguese revolution. Nor was it only the "cell form" of the African guerrillas which the Portuguese army copied when it began organizing its opposition. The revolutionary elements in the MFA were witnessing theoretical developments in the African revolutionary movement that moved beyond nationalism to Marxian socialism, to world relations. The "Left" leaders who rushed to Portugal, declaiming most against "dogmatism," are the most dogmatic about their most empiricist programs—as if each slogan is "the" proof of socialist universals, and any deviation from any of them a capitulation to the bourgeoisie, a mere "Bonapartist caricature." (2)

To Begin at the Beginning

The truth is — we must begin at the beginning — that even under Spinoza's "leadership," the Portuguese revolution did not begin as no more than an ordinary

(1) See especially the African struggles before 1974: *The Struggle for Mozambique*, Penguin Books, 1969, by Eduardo Mondlane, then FRELIMO president, is the most comprehensive by African leaders, and contains the first theoretical section also on Women's Liberation, plus quotations from women leaders. Return to the Source: Selected Speeches of Amilcar Cabral (PAIGC), *Monthly Review*, 1969. Cabral also wrote the foreword to Basil Davidson's *The Liberation of Guinea* which has the most beautiful pictures, including that of Carmen Pereira, a leading political commissar. As it happens, the current *NY Times Magazine* section (1-4-75) carries an article, *Suddenly, Angola*, which contains a poem by the third of the leaders of Portuguese Africa, Dr. Neto of the MPLA, whose most recent interview is reported in the Jan. 3, 1976 issue of the *Manchester Guardian*.

(2) The phrase as analysis of MFA appears in Tony Cliff's *Portugal At the Cross Roads*, a special double issue (No. 81-82, Sept. 1975). It is valuable because of 54 in-person reports, and has much material on PRP/BR, though it fails to mention that it is headed by a woman, nor is her name, Isabel do Carmo, mentioned anywhere, though the analysis extends over 48 pages.

Under the whip of the counter-revolution

Will the revolution in Portugal advance?

Thousands marched in 1975 May Day parade in Lisbon, Portugal.



coup d'etat. Not only was Spinoza not the real leader, but neither was the whole Army. Rather it was the revolutionary sections of the MFA. Thus, whereas at the start the young officers organized on so narrow and reactionary a level as opposing the new conscripts becoming officers, once they organized new cells in the army, both the leniency with which the guerrillas treated them when they were captured, and the education that was being carried on in the national liberation army began changing the nature also of the MFA within the Portuguese Army.

The leaflets of the FRELIMO in Mozambique, the PAIGC in Guine-Bissau, and MPLA in Angola may not match the fraternization leaflets that the Bolsheviks wrote in 1917, but they certainly were an entirely new ground for fighting in Portugal, 1974. In urging the Portuguese soldiers to go home and make their own revolution, the national liberation forces were raising questions, including the role of women, that the "advanced" Portuguese had not even heard of. (3)

Because of its narrow beginnings, the radicalization of the MFA was underestimated by the Old Left, some going so far as to consider it no more than, as noted, "Bonapartist caricature." Others thought that the MFA's 5th Division, which was responsible for propaganda work and called for "cultural dynamization," was but an expression of pure and simplistic Maoism. But, in fact, with all mistakes, this never approached the sheer dementia of Maoism in Portugal, headlining its paper: "Revisionism in power means social-fascism in power." (4)

A deeper look at new beginnings will, of necessity, lead us to the spontaneous mass movement: land seizures by revolutionary sections of the poor peasantry as well as the great proletarian strikes, of which there were no less than 100 the very first month after the overthrow of the fascist regime — the youth as well as Women's Liberation Movement, which has been paid least attention, though it is a pivotal force. (5)

When the SP-CP had, in 1969, organized the Democratic Women's movement, it was strictly limited to economic issues . . . not that "Equal Pay for Equal Work" was ever enforced even in 1974-75. Still, that movement, from above, kept eyes turned away from "feminist" issues, such as right to abortion, or other man/woman relations, though some Portuguese men were backward enough to oppose their wives using contraceptives because it could supposedly make them impotent! Even when women were complaining they were as afraid of their men at home "as of bosses in

the factory," it did not move those "advanced politicians" to change the nature of their organization. The Women's Liberation Movement (MLM) thereupon arose on new ground, ground that didn't separate philosophic foundation from feminism or class struggles.

New Forces of Revolution, Focus: Women, Youth, Peasants

Amilcar Cabral, back in the 1960's when Portuguese economy seemed to experience its greatest "development" with the multi-nationals moving in on Portugal, said that Portugal, as the weakest link in world imperialism, "could not afford neo-colonialism." The only ones who seemed to listen to the African revolutionary were the Portuguese students, whose strikes came to a climax in 1968 and were against conscription as well as for academic freedom.

The more foreign capital began to move into Portugal as a safe haven for profits and low-paid labor, the more contradictions undermined the regime.

Take the question of the 1973 Middle East War with the accompanying Arab quadrupling of oil prices. On the face of it, it seemed to have no relationship to anything happening in Portugal. But, in fact, fascist Portugal, with its monopoly CUF and in collaboration with two Swedish and two Dutch shipyards, had built the great showy Lisnave dry docks because they expected a most profitable tanker business.

The complex at Sines was based on refining and petrochemicals and the expansion of motor vehicle assembly plants. But where a 25 percent increase in tanker business was expected, a 10 percent drop in oil purchases was the consequence of the quadrupled oil prices. The Western economic crisis, which was global, deeply affected Portugal, facing defeat in Africa and massive unemployment and strikes at home.

The human factor of this equation was not only the suffering. Some new forces of revolution were born. First, no less than one and one-half million (out of a population of 8.5 million) had seen service in Africa where they had been politicized by the national liberation movement. Secondly, the miserable conditions in Portugal sent Portuguese workers also to West Europe. By 1974 no less than 900,000 Portuguese had emigrated to West Europe, with 700,000 in France and 150,000 in West Germany. This move to the big cities abroad for employment was glossed over as if it meant economic development at home. Actually, the great number that left agriculture — there was a drop from 50 percent to 30 percent in agricultural production — meant not industrial development at home, but agricultural collapse. (6)

All these factors brought the women into production — industrial, agricultural — and into unemployment. They were the first to be hit by unemployment which, by 1975, numbered no less than 500,000. The women who established the Women's Liberation Movement (MLM) did not think that all their problems were "solved" by

(Continued on Page 8)

(6) "The Thorns of the Portuguese Revolution" by Kenneth Maxwell in *Foreign Affairs*, Jan. 1976.

(3) *The Struggle for Mozambique*, pp. 147-50.

(4) Maoist slogan, which appeared in the June 6, 1974 issue of *Lutta Popular* is quoted in Robin Blackburn's *Lisbon: The Fall of Fascism* (*New Left Review*, London, No. 87-8, Sept.-Dec. 1974). It also contains as appendix *The Lisnave Workers' Communique*.

(5) *Portugal: A Blaze of Freedom*, Big Flame Publications, (632 Bristol Rd., Birmingham 29, England) is both the most objective and comprehensive revolutionary study. It is the only one of the analyses that has a substantial section on the role of women, and its glossary doesn't suffer from the sectarianism of either IS that doesn't mention Trotskyist groups, or the Trotskyist groups, which go on endlessly just on themselves.

We print below the full introduction, plus several excerpts, from our newest pamphlet, *America's First Unfinished Revolution*. It is our first revolutionary contribution to America's Bicentennial celebration.

The bi-centennial year of the Declaration of Independence impels a return to its contradictory origins which, at one and the same time, raised the first banner of national freedom of any of the colonies in the world, and yet left the revolution in so unfinished and truncated a state that, in embryo, can be seen the totality of the crisis of today's world. There is a lot to be gained from a review of the past, especially since, when it comes to the masses in revolt, the full story has yet to be told. To grasp the untold tale, it is necessary to look at it with eyes of the American revolution-yet-to-be.

It is with this in mind that we are proud to print this pamphlet by two Marxist-Humanists, M. Franki and J. Hillstrom, who trace, in the dialectics of liberation, the specificity of the mass forces in the act of revolution. The modern-day "patriots", liberal as well as reactionary, extol the George Washingtons, Thomas Jeffersons, John Adamsses as "the Founding Fathers", wrap themselves in the American flag to use as the hallowed platform from which to shroud the near-annihilation of the Indians¹ — the only true native Americans whose land this was. These "patriots" rail against today's freedom fighters as "subversive" exactly as George III railed against those of 1776 as "sedition mongers." The present authors, on the contrary, focus on the actual mass forces who both sounded the tocsin of revolution and laid their lives down for revolutionary democracy. We see come alive the working people, male and female; the Blacks, free and slave; and, yes, the native Americans from whom we learned both the strength of unified action and the ways of guerrilla fighting. (At least one founding father, Benjamin Franklin, held that² up as model for our need to act as nation rather than as 13 separate colonies.)

With *America's First Unfinished Revolution* we become witnesses of new forms of organization—Committees of Correspondence—as they emerged out of the town meetings. Once these letter writers began, on the new ground of "The Boston Pamphlet", to attend the town meetings in multitude, these became totally transformed from town meetings of rich colonial merchants to people's self-participatory organs of dual power—the engines of revolution.

TONS OF TEXTBOOKS and "histories" have systematically distorted America's revolutionary history and, in place of genuine historic mass actions, presented "leaders" who reduced the liberating ideas which gave action direction to "constitutional acts."

"(Sam Adams) developed a fondness for mixing with dockworkers, merchant seamen and other laborers who frequented the waterfront taverns. The practice would acquire major importance. To him is often attributed the successful merging of McIntosh's South End gang with the North End gang . . . the heroism of James Otis and Patrick Henry was largely of an individual nature, Adams' was more social, moving boldly toward the masses."

It took over 125 years before a Sam Adams, the chairman of the Boston Committee of Correspondence and major author of the "Boston Pamphlet", was restored to his full stature. But even then the Committees of Correspondence were presented as if they had been adjuncts to Sam Adams' "personality," instead of the articulation of the forces from below that, before 1772 when the Committees of Correspondence were created, were struggling to make themselves heard.

For example, 1770, the year of the infamous Boston Massacre, was not the beginning, but the culmination of the laborers' struggles against the British Redcoats who tried moonlighting by taking away the colonists' jobs. These class struggles also against the rich American merchants have yet to get their full due. It took two full centuries plus both the African Revolutions of the 1960's and the Black Revolution in this country (not to mention another decade after the mass March on Washington during the alleged Camelot days of the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Administration), before the Smithsonian

¹ "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 dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation." K. Marx, *Capital*.

² The Iroquois Confederacy which so attracted Benjamin Franklin as a union of many tribes was hardly the model he used as a human relationship in a communal way where not only men were free but so were women. It would be centuries before "civilized" women gained what these supposed "savages" enjoyed—voting rights and not the minimal ones we have today, but actual veto over war powers of Chiefs.—See *This Land Was Ours*, by Virgil Vogel.

" . . . the American war of independence sounded the tocsin for the European . . . "

—Karl Marx

Institute finally "discovered" *The Black Presence in the American Revolution*. Even with that booklet we hardly see Crispus Attucks as more than the first to die for freedom. But in fact this Black freeman, in whose veins also flowed Indian blood, led the attack on the British Redcoats, led it unarmed. Another five years would go by before open rebellion would unfold that would not stand still until independence was finally won from Britain. At least in one crucial respect John Adams was right and ahead of his

"Not only were they (Blacks) engaged in street actions, but they expanded their freedom struggle into the legal arena. Massachusetts' slaves were attempting to 'bring an action of trespass in the local courts against their masters, to challenge the entire legal concept of slavery.' There were many such efforts. One was . . . Jenny Slew . . . not only Black—she was also a woman. Triply oppressed, as Black, woman and worker, she served not only as the vital link between them all, but also as vanguard transmitting to one the special urgencies and understandings of the other."

times, and that was his recognition that the American Revolution was present before the war, before the Declaration of Independence was written—and (he might have added, but didn't) defaced.

IT IS HARD to believe but it was 1970 before the first full study of the Committees of Correspondence—*Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts* by Richard D. Brown—was first published. But, just as the biography of Sam Adams deals with the Committees of Correspondence as adjunct, so this first comprehensive culling of 1,000 pages of letters and another 1,000 pages of minutes of the Committees of Correspondence meetings, presents the revolutionary role of the towns as well as of Boston outside of an all-national, much less international, context. Moreover it has nothing much to say of America's militia, i.e., native guerrillas. And yet, contrary to those who credit either Mao in the 1930s or Castro in the 1960s with "inventing" guerrilla warfare, it is actually in the United States where it was a mass movement. In this respect, it is the Tories, though as cynics and jesters, of course, who first discerned the vision of the common man's new-world "fantasies." Thus, Moore's "Diary of Revolution" records:

*"Down at night a bricklayer or carpenter lies
"Next sun a Lycurgus, a Solon doth rise."³*

The common laborers or farmers, hidden behind trees or walls, who aimed their rifles at retreating Redcoats, before and after Lexington, and not only in New England but throughout the colonies, were what made possible the victory against Britain. It is in the present pamphlet that you will see the soldiers, of whose lack of discipline George Washington so complained, assuring "his" victories because they were fighting it as a revolutionary war. It is no accident that in 1961 Frantz Fanon reminded revolutionaries that, though weaponry is important,

"it so happens that the liberation of colonial countries throws new light on the subject. For example, we have seen during the Spanish campaign which was a very genuine colonial war, that Napoleon, in spite of an army which reached in the offensives of the Spring of 1810 the huge figure of 400,000 men, was forced to retreat . . . the Spaniards, inspired by an unshakeable national ardour, rediscovered the famous methods of guerrilla warfare, which, 25 years before, the American militia had tried out on the English forces." (The Wretched of the Earth, p. 51)

What is of utmost importance is not the fact that the method of modern guerrilla war originated in the United States at birth rather than in China or Cuba in mid-20th century. What is decisive is how deeply it is rooted in the people—the relationship of the guerrilla fighter to the broad masses—and the underlying philosophy of freedom. Only then does it equal dialectics of liberation. Otherwise it can be used for reactionary purposes, as indeed the Confederate Army did against the Union forces in the Civil War. What made the American guerrilla a genuine revolutionary instead of a mindless terrorist was, precisely, what the Tories, American as well as British, complained against as "the lowest Mechanicks discuss the most important points of Government with the Utmost Freedom."

³ Quoted by Vernon Louis Parrington in *Main Currents in American Thought*, which gives a more rounded view of Colonial America than the "strict" histories.

AMERIC

by M. Franki and J. Hillstrom



THE POINT we wish to make here is that this pamphlet is the only one where the readers will get a total view of the human forces of the American Revolution, whether they take on new forms of organization, like the Committees of Correspondence when people begin flocking to the town meetings and outvoting the "gentlemen merchants", or new forms of fighting, like guerrilla warfare when General Washington wasn't exactly winning the war while the

" . . . One aspect of the New England social revolution was the restructuring of the militia system within the context of the Declaration of Independence. They had systematically weeded out the officers of the old system and democratized it to the point that officers were elected by their own ranks. Many of these new 'officers' were former blacksmiths, shoemakers and other workers. They were not 'officers' as Washington conceived them. Behind his pretensions to create a disciplined army out of the New England forces, Washington was in effect suppressing the social revolution that had surfaced so magnificently around Boston and the Committees of Correspondence."

unregimented yeoman army were delivering hammer blows to the Redcoats, or when a Tom Paine (whom John Adams had the gall to call "a filthy little atheist") pronounced, "My country is the world", thus extending nationalism to internationalism.

Take the question of Women's Liberation, an idea whose time has first come in our epoch. This, indeed, is why our age can shed the highest illumination on what was hardly noted in 1776. Yet, in embryo, it did begin then, and we are not just referring to Abigail's letters to John Adams on the needed freedom for women. They were not known in her time, or much later for that matter, and not because the John Adams-John Quincy Adams and their heirs kept these letters hidden. No, into the 19th and even 20th centuries, historians were telling the historic tale as his-tory, squeezed into the Procrustian bed of mid-Victorian male chauvinistic context, burying totally her-story as it was lived in the revolutionary period. Thus, when a woman, Black woman at that, wanted to fight in the revolutionary war she had to

S FIRST UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

Just off the Press

GET YOUR COPY NOW!

Price: \$1.00

(Plus 25c postage)

Order from:

**News & Letters
1900 E. Jefferson
Detroit, MI 48207**

bind her breasts and pretend to be man, as Deborah Samson Gannett did. Though she served for three years and was wounded twice with the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment, her story would never have been known had she not applied for pension. Indeed it is hardly known today, though in 1830, after her death, and though she married after the war, her soldier's pension was given to her husband who survived her.

Women historians are now finding the written and unwritten records, and are righting some distortions of history perpetuated by male historians. And we also hear of the working women for, though they had no

"Along with the retention of slavery was also the total disregard of women's rights. It wasn't only that what Abigail wrote to John Adams was unknown by anybody and unheard by John, it was an actual manifestation of the unfinished revolution."

"The women's struggles . . . were seldom separable from those of the men of the pre-revolutionary period. The colonial struggle that is shaping thus finds them together engaging the British power. The chief exception seems to be largely with the women of the upper classes, where the distinction of sex and economic roles was especially sexist."

vote, the women of the revolutionary period were often self-supporting and occupied positions we today rarely have open to women, as is the case with printers. Yet one of the early copies of the Declaration of Independence was printed by a woman printer-publisher, Mary Catherine Goddard. But to this day, women historians, as men historians, present women "as women" and not in the role of revolutionaries on a world revolutionary road. Thus, the last quarter of the 18th century is particularly rich in lessons for our day, including that of Women's Liberation. 1776, which, as Marx noted over a century ago, sounded the tocsin for 1789, was sounding the tocsin of revolution not only for both America and France but was heard as far as San Domingo as well.⁴ When in 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft penned the first Women's Manifesto—*Vindication for the Rights of Women*—she was writing neither as wife to husband, as was Abigail Adams, nor a statement for women, (but not for the most radical wing) as was Olympe de Gouge in the French Revolution. Mary Wollstonecraft wrote for revolution and belonged to a small radical club in London that numbered among its members Thomas Paine and one of the greatest of the world's poets, William Blake, who did not divide philosophy from revolution or from art or literature as he dedicated his fiery poems to the American and French Revolutions as well as to women liberationists, though he called them *Daughters of Albion* and *Mary*. It was he who warned Tom Paine that the British would arrest him if he did not escape.

IN A WORD, this was not just the age of the American Revolution. It was the age of revolutions—American and French; industrial and political; intellectual and social. Just as, on the eve of 1776, the Committees of Correspondence didn't just disappear but merged into the mass revolutionary movement which had a life of its own, so 1776 was also the publication date of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*

"The Town Meetings were also being superseded. It is easy to see why. Boston had a population of some 15,000 in 1773. A town meeting would allow only 2,500 of the populace to attend. The mass meeting, the 'Body', preceding the Boston Tea Party, was over 8,000. And several such meetings had taken place, within a short period of time, each one increasing in size. No restrictions existed; all could attend. Men and women, Black and white, young and old, rich and poor, all constituted the Body."

which created a revolution in political science with its labor theory of value. And, while this view of labor as the source of all value didn't reach the stage of theory until then, it was as early as 1729 that Benjamin Franklin's "A Modest Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of Paper Currency" anticipated that theory of labor value. By 1807 these revolutions reached the highest philosophic expression in Germany with Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind*. But it wasn't clear until Karl Marx discovered his new continent of thought and proletarian revolution, that the Hegelian dialectic was the source of all dialectics. In holding that Hegelian dialectics was the source of all dialectics, of liberation in life as in thought, Marx's historical materialism illustrated how this dialectical articulation of a genius was, in fact, the articulation of common people's struggle for freedom, transformed to method.

From America's *First Unfinished Revolution* the road opened for the next needed revolution. The seeds for it were laid as the first revolution ended and the John Adames turned against the French Revolution and became Federalists while a Sam Adams not only welcomed the Great French Revolution and became anti-Federalist, but distrusted the American Constitution and fought for a Bill of Rights. Tom Paine who had remained an unrepentant radical (Jacobin), held that "Reason, like time, will make its own way." But by the mid-19th century time had long run out and the inevitable irrepressible conflict erupted. The Civil War, which finally put an end to slavery, also remained unfinished as not only the Freedmen did not get their promised 40 acres and a mule, but capitalism sank into imperialism.

On the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation the News and Letters Committees published *American Civilization on Trial—Black Masses as Vanguard*. There it was shown that, what, for American capitalism, was the triangular trade for slaves, rum and molasses, was, for the Blacks—African, West Indian, American—the triangular ever-live development of ideas of liberation which led to actual freedom. Today it must be made total. The totality of the crisis makes it imperative.

When we look at our epoch, we can see that the movement from practice⁵ of the past two decades has produced a new generation of revolutionaries. We can start with workers' battles against Automation which had resulted in the famous wildcat strikes of the 1950s and the Montgomery Bus Boycott which initiated a new Black Revolution in the United States. Or we can turn to the East European Revolutions against Russian totalitarianism, beginning with the East German in 1953, through the Hungarian in 1956,

⁵ See Part I, "From Practice to Theory" and Part V, "The Problems of Our Age: State-capitalism vs. Freedom" in *Marxism and Freedom—From 1776 Until Today*. Also see Ch. 1, "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning: The Ceaseless Movement of Ideas and of History", in *Philosophy and Revolution*.

"Whether it was in England itself, or as far away as Haiti, where a young group of Haitians, including Henri Christophe who had participated in the revolutionary siege of Savannah and later fought for his country's independence; whether it sounded the tocsin for the great French Revolution as Marx saw in the 19th century or became an inspiration for Latin American revolutions, nothing so stirred the American colonists, nothing so stirred the international spirit of the age as the Declaration of Independence."

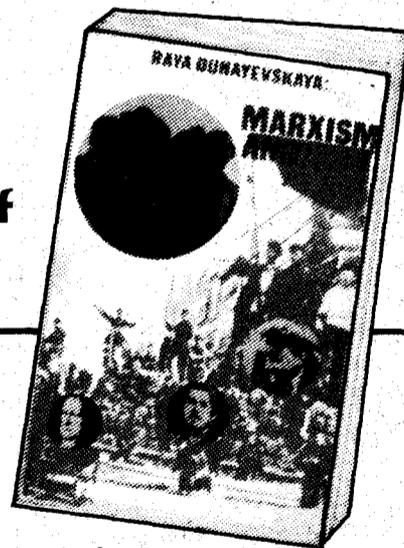
to the Czechoslovak in 1968 and the Polish in 1970. What is crystal clear, the world over, including China, where the Sheng Wu-lien youth challenged Mao, is the emergence of de-centralized, informal, rank and file committees, councils of workers, Blacks, native Americans, Women Liberationists, youth turning away from vanguardist parties to lead which mislead and searching for a philosophy of liberation that is inseparable from the actual revolution.

AGAIN, WHETHER WE LOOK at the high point reached by the youth in Paris, 1968, with its near-revolution, or the abysmally low death-points perpetrated by the Nixon-inspired massacres in 1970 in Kent, Ohio and Jackson, Mississippi, against the massive American anti-Vietnam war youth movement, and the Black Revolution, the fact is that the forces for revolution are present everywhere. But the crucial question today is not if a revolution is needed, but what comes after. This is the point of the political-philosophic maturity that our age represents, the very high stage of reason that the forces of revolution have reached. Instead of going in only for the destruction of the old, they want to make sure they will not have a new set of masters to replace the old ones, as they have seen in Russia and China. Now we are confronted with a conflict between them for global power on the same state-capitalistic ground as characterizes the United States and Japan, West Europe and the Middle East.

The reality of this bi-centennial year is stifling, exploitative, imperialistic, and so totally crises-ridden that a question mark hangs over the very survival of a civilization that is hemmed in by nuclear bombs. It must be uprooted, and totally new foundations laid for truly human relations. Toward that end we must first of all clear our heads and create a unity of philosophy and revolution. In no other way can a classless society emerge. As one step toward that arduous labor we are contributing this pamphlet, where a study of the past becomes a step toward the revolution-to-be.

**THE NATIONAL EDITORIAL BOARD,
NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES**

new,
seventh
edition of



MARXISM AND FREEDOM

from 1776 until today

by RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA
Author of *Philosophy and Revolution*
Preface by HERBERT MARCUSE

Only \$5 a Copy

This new, seventh edition is the fourth English-language publication of a work that has already been translated into French, Italian and Japanese and will appear in Spanish in 1976. Chapters have been copied in samisdat and circulated throughout the Russian underground. The section on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung", a penetrating analysis of Chinese totalitarianism, has been translated into Chinese and smuggled into mainland China.

In addition to the original Preface by Herbert Marcuse, this new British edition also contains a Preface by the legendary labor leader in Great Britain, Harry McShane. Its appearance on the eve of 1976—the 200th anniversary of the birth both of the U.S. as a nation and of classical political economy, with Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*—underlines the importance of this fundamental work that takes up 200 years of our modern machine age. It firmly establishes both the American roots and the world Humanist roots of Marxism.

Order from News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207

(In Britain, order from: Harry McShane, 31 Balbeg St., Glasgow SW1, Scotland,
or Bob Potter, 98 Addison Rd., Hove 2, Sussex, England)

⁴ That the Smithsonian Institute, in 1973, discovered a Black Presence in the American Revolution to be not only American but Caribbean as well, tells how international is our Black Revolution.

Will the revolution in Portugal advance?



Victorious MFA troops in truck are joined by happy civilians following overthrow of fascism in Portugal.

(Continued from Page 5)

the existing parties and unions. Which doesn't mean they didn't actively participate in all of them. It does mean, as was proved all over again at the May 1, 1975, demonstration where they were attacked by the CP and other so-called Left men who did not stop from also attacking their children, that not only was an autonomous movement of women necessary, but the Old Left had to answer today: what happens after the revolution on the most fundamental man/woman relationship.

An MLM leaflet, calling for equal pay for women at the Via Longa brewery and Pao sugar factory, was forced to state: "It is not only the bosses that are exploiting us; it's our own comrades that are refusing equal pay."

Or take the question of agriculture and the most reactionary Catholic hierarchy. Ironically, the entry of foreign capital — U.S., West German, Swedish, Dutch, French — built up not only big industry, like the Lisnave shipyards or the new airport at Farno, but also (in this case West German capital) an irrigation scheme in the Alentejo, which is exactly where the majority of workers were women, where the greatest activities, including the seizure of land, were most militantly fought for by women. Along with the militancy was the demand for a philosophy to fight against the ideological power of the Catholic and fascist tradition which had forced women into submission to God, man, family. They have a long tradition of strikes, arrests, imprisonments. Whether it is in the Alentejo district, where out of 10,000 unemployed, 8,000 were women, or in the cities where, besides industrial struggles, women are very important in health care service, or in ideological struggles, where surely one of the most revolutionary groupings, PRP/BR is headed by a woman — Isobel do Carmo — there is no way to escape the new, the pivotal role of women, the youth both on campus and in the army, or the poor peasants. On Feb. 9, 1975, 30,000 farm workers in Alentejo demanded confiscation of the properties of the owners attempting coups.

Instead of keeping away from "feminist" questions, the Old Left better learn to recognize new forces of revolution and new ways of emergence of those forces. Before the April, 1974 overthrow of the fascist regime, undercurrents of revolt arose among women, from literature to actual class struggles.

Thus, New Portuguese Letters (published here as The Three Marias and by no means "just literature" — though great literature it is) posed questions of human relations far more profoundly than the Old Left had. Their freedom from jail was by no means due only to the overthrow of the Caetano regime, but to the protests by the international women's liberation movement. (7) The symbol the women's movement, in agriculture especially, had chosen was Catarina Enfemia, assassinated by the National Guard during a strike for the eight-hour day.

Women became especially important in 1973 when a labor shortage sent them into textiles and electronics, and directly into the fight against multinationals: Timex, ITT, Plessey, and the garment industry (where Swedish capital owned 15 of the 25 major companies). It is in textiles and electronics and shipyards where the grass roots workers' movement first erupted, and where none questioned the militancy of women workers. But they were asking not only for a fundamental change in labor conditions, but for different relations at home.

Or take agriculture. Women's wages averaged only 50 escudos a day, 50 percent lower than men's. Just as in Lisbon, women workers took over a laundry plant to make it a free service so that "working class women will be liberated from housework," so they were among the most active in the peasant seizures of land and cultivating it on a cooperative basis. The peasants came in their tractors to take part in the Aug. 20 political demonstration to unite with the workingclass tenants and squatters who were occupying houses. At Caixa the peasants occupied the land of the Duke of Lafoes and turned that into a cooperative.

(7) When Maria Barrera, one of the authors of New Portuguese Letters (The Three Marias), was in the States, she not only insisted the international women's movement had much to do with freeing her and her co-authors from jail, but insisted: "I believe in feminism because for me it is the hope to change society." Her speech is reproduced in News & Letters, April 1975.

(8) Both PRP/BR's Manifesto and many other documents of the Portuguese Revolution have been reproduced by the People's Translation Service (1735 Allston Way, Berkeley, Cal. 94703) in Portugal: Key Documents of the Revolutionary Process.

Dual Power? CRTSMs? Apartidarism (Non-partyism)?

As the mass strikes showed the very first month after the overthrow of the fascist regime, these were no ordinary strikes and some ended in occupation of factories, the most important being the workers occupying the Lisnave shipyards. But while there is no doubt that one of the great developments was that at the Lisnave shipyard complex, neither it nor the Revolutionary Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors (CRTSMs) were nationwide.

Of all the parties that arose the one that was most indigenous and revolutionary, was the PRP/BR (Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat — Revolutionary Brigades). (8) So characteristic of the revolutionary situation is anti-partyism (apartidarism) that this group, a splitoff from the CP, tried to assign priority, not to the party, but to the spontaneous mass organizations. They called for, and were instrumental in organizing, Revolutionary Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors. The critical question became: were they really developing spontaneously and on a national scale? Was it the type of mass outpouring, and an arming of the working class that one could say these instances of self-activity created actual dual power?

It simply wasn't true that there was such a self-mobilization of the masses that actually challenged the new, but very much still the capitalistic government. Nor was it true that even the most "revolutionary" sections of the MFA equalled the armed people, quintessential for a social revolution. And least of all was it true that the Constituent Assembly was anything approaching such high rhetoric. The vote was just a vote, a mere consultative one at that, that didn't challenge continued army rule. To say, as one (9) of the Trotskyist groups maintained, that the Constituent Assembly was a "step toward a workers' and peasants' government," is utter nonsense, reformist euphoria.

By the time Soares' "democracy" won and Goncalves was thrown out of government, it was the end also of the unholy alliance of SP and Maoists, not to mention the Catholic Church hierarchy which is the true



Women's delegation at FRELIMO Congress.

winner as the counter-revolution unfolds its fascist face. A new united front of all Left groups (FUR included MES, PRP/BR, LUAR, LCI and others) warned, in its Sept. 10 Manifesto, (10) that the reactionary escalation would end in a rightist coup. On Nov. 25 it did.

The first stage of revolution has ended.

Counter-Revolution in Portugal, Against Africa

The revolution in Portugal was born in the African Revolutions. The counter-revolution in Portugal is "coinciding" with the USA-CIA-South African conspiracy to try to recolonize Angola. As against the revolutionary appeal coming from Black Africa as well as Portugal, South African apartheid increased its falsehoods along with its power, trying to make itself "part" of "The West." The one thing that characterized each of these total opposites (but hardly touched the revolutionary left in Europe that remained color blind as white), was its very organism, and not just the pragmatists' superstructure.

Thus, Admiral Bierman, South African Chief of the General Staff, wrote in 1972: "It is imperative that a superpower would be involved in the strategy of the southern hemisphere . . . We must persuade the West that communist penetration into the Southern hemisphere is a direct threat to Western Europe and the rest of the free world." It is this which is now appealing to the Ford-Kissinger-CIA dirty tricksters and deep organic imperialists.

(9) There are two Trotskyist groups in Portugal, one headed by the majority of the Fourth International Secretariat (Mandel), and one by the SWP (Joe Hansen). See Intercontinental Press, Sept. 8 for "In Defense of the Portuguese Revolution" by Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan and Ernest Mandel (24 pp), and the endless one about all the differences between the Fourth International and the SWP (70 pp) in the Oct. 13, 1975, issue of I.P. "For A Correct Political Course in Portugal" by Gerry Foley, Joseph Hansen and George Novack.

(10) Lutte de Classe (appears bilingually as Class Struggle) No. 31 and 32, Oct., Dec. 1975, takes issue with Tony Cliff's analysis, official Trotskyism and is itself Trotskyist. It doesn't shed new light but it is valuable in reproducing the most chauvinistic Maoist remarks both in France ("France needs a strong army"), and internationally by quoting L'Humanite Rouge. See especially 1-9-75 where the Maoists proclaim: "The two super-powers do not play the same role . . . The danger of the expansionism of Soviet social-imperialism is greater . . . from the activities of the 5th columns represented by the various revisionist parties."

While Kissinger's preoccupation, first with South Vietnam and then the Middle East and Russian detente, had, in early 1970's, not bowed to a close relationship to apartheid South Africa, by the time Angola won its freedom, U.S. imperialism was all ears to the siren call of all imperialisms and racism: South African apartheid, which, for more time than we really know, was listened to by "Communist" China for whom nothing takes the place of their own nationalism which considers not the U.S. but Russia Enemy No. 1.

Thus South Africa has won its point, West, East. And now it is not only the Ford-Kissinger-CIA-Moynihan cabal, but the journalists, and not only such as C. L. Sulzberger, but so-called English Liberals such as the actual head of the Liberal Party, Jeremy Thorpe, and the Manchester Guardian. (11)

All are out to brainwash about what type of government is in Portugal, and how Russia supposedly controls the MPLA lock, stock and barrel. Russian detente or otherwise, the cackle is out to teach us the "principles of geopolitics": how Portugal faces the Atlantic at the far western tip of Europe, while her islands are strategically placed astride the shipping lanes between Europe, the Mediterranean and the Americas, not to mention that her "African colonies" had the best port facilities for the Indian and South Atlantic oceans.

It is not that any of this is fooling the masses; it is not even fooling the Senate. But while the Senate and House will soon capitulate, American revolutionaries must not only oppose U.S. imperialism in Portugal and Angola (see "U.S. works with South Africa," p. 12), but the acts of solidarity with the Portuguese Revolution must not be separate from a serious theoretical summation of where the Portuguese Revolution was stopped, and how to try to advance under the whip of the counter-revolution.

Dialectics of Theory

As a first step in that direction, and in the hope that the discussion will dialectically develop, in Portugal most of all, let us begin with one of the points raised in the Draft Program of the Revolutionary Party — Revolutionary Brigades: "It is also the organization capable of making a synthesis between theory and revolutionary practice." (12)

That cannot just be stated. It must be worked out, beginning with the voices and actions that came from below, and questions asked of "what happens after" even as they raised the struggle for workers control of production, CRTSMs, and the ways of self-defense to fight the myriad forms the counter-revolution is imposing, as Portuguese and as part of world capitalism, as it conspires to get back total power.

From the very first proletarian revolution, 1848, Marx had drawn the conclusion "From the first moment of victory, and after it, the distrust of the workers must not be directed anymore against the conquered reactionary party, but against the previous ally, the petty bourgeois democrats, who desire to exploit the common victory only for themselves." (13)

Instead of quoting endlessly what Lenin said on the Party in 1903 — a position he many times revised (14) — why not see how Lenin reorganized his thought when he was first confronted with the betrayal of the German Social Democracy and raised the perspective: Transform the Imperialist War into Civil War, not just as a slogan, but the new philosophic, dialectical question of transformation into opposite. (15) By 1917, "All power to the Soviets" was rooted in the philosophic reorganization and its political expression in State and Revolution: that there can be no new society unless production and the state is run by the population "to a man, woman and child."

To reduce that to a question of the Party, the Party, the Party "to lead," as everyone from the Communists, Maoists, Trotskyists (of all varieties) are doing, is to doom the resurgence of the revolution.

Stop to think as well as to do.

(We will return to the subject in a future issue, after we have heard from Portugal.)

(11) See especially "Black and Red Don't Mix; Can Black and White" by Geoffrey Taylor, Manchester Guardian, 12-14-75

(12) The Sept. 10 Revolutionary United Front Manifesto was included as a separate page in People's Translation Service on Portugal.

(13) Karl Marx's 1850 Address.

(14) For the modification in the party concept, 1903-1923, see Ch. XI on "Forms of Organization: The Relationship of the Spontaneous Self-Organization of the Proletariat to the Vanguard Party" as well as Ch. XII on "What Happens After?" in Marxism and Freedom, pp. 177-209.

(15) Along with Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks (Vol. 38 of Collected Works), see his Critique of Bukharin's Economics of the Transition Period, reproduced as Appendix to that work (Bergman, publisher, NY).

Philosophy & Revolution

BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

Hardcover: \$8.95 Paperback: \$2.95

Order from: News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mi. 48207

Defense committee forms to aid Indian activists

Portland, Ore.—Defense efforts have gotten underway to focus national attention and pressure on the case of Indian activists Russell Redner and Kenneth Loud Hawk, who were arrested Nov. 17 on the Oregon-Idaho border following a shooting attack by Oregon State Police. They have been charged with "possession of an illegal firearm", "aiding in the escape of a federal fugitive", and other charges which, when examined closely, do not hold up.

Loud Hawk and Redner were arrested on U.S. Highway 80 following attacks by state police on a mobile home four cars away from them. Although the media billed the arrest as a "shootout between AIM members and Oregon State Police . . .", there has been no evidence produced to show that any Indian fired back.

The first charge against Loud Hawk and Redner was of "possession of an unregistered firearm", the alleged weapon being located in the mobile home four cars ahead of them. In order to explain this charge, the police are now claiming the pair were travelling "in caravan" with the mobile home.

Defense efforts have been hindered and harassed by the federal government. Loud Hawk and Redner have not been permitted to name the counsel of their choice, thus causing the attorneys defending them to serve without fee. U.S. Magistrate George Juba (a former FBI agent) has set an excessive bail of \$55,000 for each man.

Anti-CIA campus protests

by Jim Mills

Demonstrations at several colleges have erupted in the past months to protest CIA campus recruitment. The revelations of the Senate committee investigations have sparked much of the renewed activity by students.

The CIA prominence on campuses has grown as well owing to the agency's increased efforts to recruit more youth from minority groups.

One university spokesman defended the CIA as "a legitimate agency governed by the same employment rules as any other government agency." Everyone knows that this collaborator meant that the CIA is subject to no rules, which students instantly realized and acted against.

One Michigan State University student reported, "The CIA recruiting activity here during the past three months has been accompanied by surveillance of students. The purpose of the spying is to discover which applicants for government jobs would be 'undesirable.' Information about the CIA discrimination was published in a pamphlet circulated throughout the campus, especially during the recent anti-CIA demonstrations on campus.

"At my job in one of the libraries, my boss openly confronts me about the quality of my work, but this type of thing didn't happen before my involvement in resisting the agency recruitment. Other students fear for their jobs with the university for similar reasons."

At three of the campuses in the University of California system, demonstrations followed the disclosure of a meeting attended by college administrators in Langley, Va., called by CIA director William Colby to design a recruitment plan aimed at the three universities due to their heavy minority enrollment.

At the San Diego campus, the faculty Senate supported by the Black Studies Third College and the Center of Chicano Studies called for a referendum to decide whether to sever all ties with the CIA, including any funded activities. They earlier denounced "this shocking invasion of the campus by an agency of proven involvement in political assassination and other insidious actions."

At Berkeley, the student placement center was picketed, and several student organizations passed resolutions and organized two rallies of 300 students and faculty in Sproul Plaza to protest the presence of recruiters and demanded severing connections with CIA programs. At UCLA there were two rallies, including pickets around the Federal Volunteers Service Office set up on campus for CIA job interviews.

The revelations about and the recruitment drives by the FBI-CIA apparatus, and the protests against both, illuminate the alienation felt by students. The state-capitalist agencies are deciding what the educational institutions should be, challenging youth's right to that decision. As well, these domestic imperialists are now even using their services against the students!

The student farm worker support committee, when it was setting up recruitment interviews for UFW boycott organizers at the University of Florida, were assured by the director of the placement center that the proper notices would be placed in the usual publications and bulletin boards. None appeared.

It turned out that the placement center director was a former FBI official. In fact, a few years ago, after students and non-students stormed the placement center when Marine Corps recruiters were inside, he was given the privilege of writing the student rule book. He saw to it that state police could arrest outside demonstrators on the campus, and that demonstrations and distributing literature weren't permitted within 20 feet of buildings.

The point is that this atmosphere of repression works its way to the level that the student union, where the placement center is located, and even the rule book, are not really theirs, and both are used against them.

Instead of allowing them to post ten percent of it (as is customary) Juba is requiring full posting of the bond. Lena Redner (wife of Russ Redner) has been interrogated by the FBI and stopped by police several times.

In fact, Lena Redner expressed fears that: "All Indian people are aware of the 'accidental deaths' our people have suffered in the name of 'justice.' We are murdered and hung with our clothing (belts, sheets, garments) and called suicide victims, we are shot 'attempting to escape', and are beaten to death 'while resisting arrest'."

Defense efforts are aimed at preventing a railroad job on the pair by pointing out that the police were looking for Dennis Banks and Leonard Peltier and used the public tension built up by that hunt to pick off as many Indian organizers as possible.

The Loud Hawk-Redner Offense/Defense committee has been formed by various Indian and working class people and is now housed in the New Community Center (Church of Antioch), 301 SE 16th, Portland, Ore. 97214. (503-233-1663). The group is trying to obtain national support for the defense of Loud Hawk and Redner and funds are desperately needed to meet high legal fees.

To Will-who understood time

One Saturday morning about a year ago, people were bustling about the UFW office, cutting leaflets, assigning picket-duty and making last minute repairs on picket signs. One of our friends came in and worked his way across the office, exchanging greetings with everyone. . . . Everyone got a copy of his newspaper, News & Letters. He laid the remaining papers on a desk as he sat down.

New Years 1975 was a time of uncertainty for farm workers. An Election Bill had just been defeated in California. National journalists were vying with each other in predicting the doom of Cesar Chavez and the UFW. El Malcriado had announced one grim victory — farm workers could now collect unemployment benefits. Even with a record tonnage of grapes rotting in the fields because of the boycott, 1975 was clouded with uncertainty.

We talked of what had been won and lost, and he spoke of time and how it works on our side — if we use it. He showed me in the spirit of striking workers the rumblings and determination that would lead to victory.

I had learned some time ago that he was fatefully ill and I knew how he rationed his precious time so he could be with the farm workers. During the time we had together I learned to see part of his vision, a vision of a world where thought wasn't penalized or care downgraded.

The other morning, a couple of farm workers and I were adding up how the farm workers had used the time of 1975: A monumental new law so farm workers could choose their own union, Cesar marches 900 miles through the valleys. "Strike fever" in the melons of the Rio Grande. A contract with Coca Cola in Florida covering 1200 citrus workers. March on Modesto, home of E & J Gallo Winery — ends after one week with 10,000. The UFW second convention. The Gallo election, UFW wins nearly 70 percent of elections. Harris Poll reveals 12 percent of nation boycotts grapes.

Whenever I said goodbye, I never knew if I'd see him again, but I knew he could see down the road we would make it. The other morning I learned I would not see Will Stein again. But I will never forget him.

Blair J. McGowan, Detroit UFW

UFW gains auto worker support, farm votes

Detroit, Mich.—One morning just before the holiday vacation, auto workers entering GM's South Gate plant in California showed their support for the farm workers' struggle by contributing \$1,000 to help their organizing drive. This kind of class support by workers (and those South Gate workers face indefinite lay-off and welfare) is the best guarantee that the farm workers will defeat the bureaucratic hedging and the Teamster-grower sabotage of farm workers' rights.

In the balloting for contract representation, the United Farm Workers Union (UFW) has gained a considerable lead over the Teamsters since Aug. 28, when the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act was set up to hold secret-ballot elections.

Of 355 elections covering 54,844 farm workers, the UFW has won 191 elections covering 27,494 workers (50 percent); the Teamsters won 102 elections covering 12,344 workers (22.6 percent); "no union" was chosen in 20 elections covering 1,194 workers (4.2 percent); and 42 elections covering 12,712 workers (23.2 percent) are contested.

Governor Brown of California established a new administrative unit to help the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) with investigations of unfair labor practices. This is a result of the massive letter campaign urging that General Counsel in charge of elections, Walter Kintz, be replaced for allowing elec-



'Let's use the Bicentennial'

by Shainape Shcapwe

Because this is the year of the Bicentennial, I've been trying to decide whether I should, or how I could, observe this white man's celebration. I talked to some of my acquaintances and here, briefly are some of their responses.

Can we ignore it? One young Indian intellectual says he feels that it's not our Bicentennial, not our reason to celebrate. Why should we celebrate the tragedy and destruction the white man has brought us?

I agree with him that we can't celebrate. But now should be one of the best times to make other people aware of our history and our present situation. It's a good time for us to learn about our own traditions, too.

Another friend says she would like to see a demonstration around the Federal Building to protest the Bicentennial. I only hope that if it takes place, a lot more Indians will participate than there were in a demonstration there last year.

I talked to an older man from the reservation where I was born. He says that the oldest fort in North Dakota is in the agency town where all the government work for our reservation is done. Two years ago both the state and federal government put money into restoring the old fort, and in general to making the town look better. Now the federal government would like to get some national TV program to show all those contented Indians in their pretty little town.

Never mind that these people aren't working, or that their pre-fab houses are practically guaranteed to fall down around them in less than ten years. The houses are already beginning to fall apart due to the extreme weather, but the fort itself, which was restored to attract tourists, is holding up quite well. His Bicentennial project will be to try to keep this TV program from happening.

The national headquarters of the American Indian Movement is recommending that Indians boycott any Bicentennial celebration. I think that is fine as far as it goes, but we need to tell people why we're doing it.

A spokeswoman from Pine Ridge says that every year Oglala Sioux people from her reservation go to Washington D.C. to protest their own treatment in particular and the treatment of Indians in general. She was on tour around the country talking about conditions on Pine Ridge. She spoke to us at the UAW Weekend School (for workers). She invited both Indians and non-Indians to participate in their demonstration on July 4 in Washington.

One small way that I will be dealing with the Bicentennial is to find out as accurately as I can some of the history of the people on my reservation and pass it on to my children.

I'm going to talk to some schools about the conditions there. This will be a chore for me since I am very reserved — it is difficult to do any kind of public speaking. Also, I am hoping to go to Washington on July 4 to participate in those activities.

Finally, this column is a way for me to find out what other people are thinking. It makes me have to think seriously about our times and about what we might do to change things.



200 YEARS OF UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

A lot of people, especially the Blacks and some of the whites, are seeing more and more that even though the workers, the Blacks and women fought the revolution of 1776, it wasn't for us.

With these recent lay-offs in my plant and elsewhere, the people are beginning to see that we are not even represented in this government. Even though we vote, more people are all the time seeing that the Democrats and Republicans are two parties that represent the capitalist system and the workers are only the slaves to the system.

This is being talked about in the plant a lot. The December issue of News & Letters which gave a "preview" of the new pamphlet in the "Workers Journal" column, is really being read in the body shop and being passed around. I felt good that many people were interested in the Bicentennial and realized that the 200 year celebration was not for working people, Black or white.

They don't want to celebrate the Bicentennial; they want to continue the revolution. A lot of guys I've talked to say that the Bicentennial should be the kick-off of the second half of the ballgame. Unless we look at it in this way, this year's celebration will only be the celebration of being a slave to the system.

**Auto Worker
Pico Rivera**

* * *

No wonder so many Blacks don't see any reason to "celebrate" the Bicentennial. The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission just celebrated its tenth anniversary. At an MIT symposium on it, one of the keynote speakers reported that even at its alltime high point in the late '60's, Black family income had risen to only 64 percent of white family income. Now it has started dropping again. This economist concluded, "Nothing has changed in the past 30 years." Not quite. We're learning more all the time that this system can't be "reformed." It has just got to go.

**Ready
New York**

* * *

The Pentagon has just written a 24 page report on Wounded Knee, 85 years after the murder of 350 Sioux people. They are saying it "wasn't a massacre" because "an Indian fired first." Even the most conservative historians consider Wounded Knee a massacre.

This Pentagon report was written as a response to a bill introduced by Sen. Abourezk of South Dakota. His bill would award a sum of money to the descendants of the Wounded Knee victims. The Senator didn't introduce his bill because of what happened 85 years ago. It is the Wounded Knee occupation three years ago that is troubling him. The Pentagon's concern is the same.

The Oglala people are still struggling. In the face of the daily beatings, the more than 12 murders, economic and legal harassment and out-right robbery of their land since 1973, they have sent a group of their Chiefs to Washington. They have established an Embassy there and are planning to go enmasse to Washington on July 4 with supporters

to reaffirm their commitment to self-determination. The Pentagon is rewriting history in order to rewrite the present and write Native Americans out of the future entirely.

**Supporter
Detroit**

* * *

The debate among Blacks on the Bicentennial is very real. Take Lerone Bennett, the historian who has been digging up little known facts about Black history. The first time I recall finding out anything about even Crispus Attucks was in high school from Lerone Bennett. So when somebody like that says we shouldn't celebrate the Bicentennial it makes me really stop to understand what he is saying and why he is saying it — though the fact that the debate comes from *Ebony*, which is a middle-class Black magazine, doesn't make it a very clear-cut issue.

Black history has been revolutionary within itself to a lot of Black people. Bennett as a Black historian who has brought much of this out, played a great part at that stage of the revolution. But now we have to go deeper than Bennett. America's *First Unfinished Revolution* is about Blacks but also women, Indians and workers.

On one level, I have to agree with Bennett that there's not a hell of a lot to be celebrated. But when you start understanding the broader base, in terms of workers, women, and in another dimension Blacks, Indians and other minorities, then your celebration becomes revolutionary. When you begin to bring these revolutionary forces out, whether it be in a pamphlet or by other means, you can't by-pass the Bicentennial. Instead of seeing it as a mockery, you have to turn it to your advantage.

**Black Intellectual
Los Angeles**

* * *

We have to re-examine the origin of our own revolutionary action and make a distinction between what we're talking about in the pamphlet on *America's Unfinished Revolution* and the kind of thing that the rest of the Left is going to be talking about. All the established government is going to be talking about is how great we are and how we came all the way from the single shot gun to the Nike Zeus.

But what we're saying, one of the basic themes of this pamphlet, is that the American Revolution was the beginning, not the end. And it began with a lot of people who weren't land owners. They were working people, seamen, farmers. The Committees of Correspondence, formed by educated men, came out of the actions of common people such as those who terrorized the stamp act agents.

It was because the revolution was transformed into its opposite by the mercantile class and the landed aristocratic class in the Continental Congress, that we end up where we are now.

What we are celebrating as Marxist-Humanists is the unleashing of all those human forces that are still alive and growing in revolutionary fervor all the time.

**Student and Worker
Anaheim**

'ENDANGERED SPECIES'

It's hard to say why I haven't been reading N&L all these years. But I'm ready now. Enclosed is a check to pay for a subscription for me and four more subscriptions for people like me who should have been reading it all along and haven't.

It's just possible that the rising threat to Israel has put me back into harness. It reminds me where I belong—in the endangered species category. Perhaps my life has been too easy and pleasant. That, too, has gone. This fall's elections overturned the liberal majority on the city council and all the "people programs" are endangered or already tampered with. I'm ready to grab the farm-workers' red flag from the last demonstration I attended and wobble along again. Thanks for giving me a healthful jolt.

**Senior Citizen
Colorado**



**UNITED
FARM
WORKERS**

We distributed a leaflet to our union members at the plant gate just before Christmas, asking for help for the United Farm Workers Union. Even though a new farm labor election law is on the statute books, it has not brought peace to the fields of California. We felt our union members would remember how many times other workers have come to our help — especially in the 117 day strike in 1945-46 when there were no strike benefits and without a nation-wide response to our call for help the GM strikers could not have survived and won. We especially remembered the truckloads of food and toys that arrived just before Christmas.

We got almost a thousand dollars for the UFW at the gates — despite the fact that most of us expect to be laid off soon again and expect to stay off until March. The workers at our plant expect that the company will want us to be back to work around election time, though. So Ford can show how he saved us.

**Local 216 Auto Worker
California**

THE WAY IT WORKS

General Electric has been whittling away at our pay rates for a long time, and now they are throwing away another part of the contract, and the union is letting them. All job openings have to be posted so everyone can have a chance to bid on them, but the union, IBEW Local 2131, and company worked out a deal to provide two "new" jobs if the company could put the men it wanted into them. These jobs amount to assist-

Readers

ant foremen. The company had been working these two guys on these jobs without giving them the pay rate they deserved. When they filed a grievance, the union and GE settled on this deal, leaving many guys with more seniority unable to bid for the higher pay.

The business agent came to the plant to explain why he did this and found out that most people were pretty upset. People felt this was a bad precedent to set right before new contract negotiations. The BA left without taking a vote, however, and the union and company will probably go right through with their deal. I hope that's not the way we can expect the union to negotiate our new contract.

**GE Worker
San Leandro, Cal.**

* * *

Here's the way the auto companies work — or maybe it's how they don't work. During the time that our plant was down for Christmas the final repair people were called in and worked for five days, 11 hours a day, to repair the 2700 cars that had to be pulled from the line because the workers couldn't do their jobs right at the insane pace the lines were running before Christmas. The company was happy to pay us double time to get it all cleaned up before Christmas because it meant a tax break for them, somehow. It may make sense to them, but it seems crazy to most of us.

**Auto Worker, Dodge Main
Hamtramck, Mich.**



We are asking you and your readers for support for our *Prisoners Rights Organization for the Liquidation/Arbitration of Wrongs, Inc. (PRO-LAW)*, which we founded in October 1975. We are trying to bring about a real change by 1) establishing the right for convicts to collectively organize and bargain over living and working conditions, and 2) maximum restoration of civil and human rights for convicts. We are affiliated with the California Prisoners Union, and will support anyone who is fighting for the human rights of the people as a whole.

We want to stimulate public concern about the problems existing within correctional institutions as well as to help convicts return to society with a new outlook and a chance.

Funds are badly needed to make our aim possible. All donations are tax deductible and should be made payable to:

**PRO-LAW, INC.
c/o Bank of Carbondale
Carbondale, Illinois 62901**

P.S. Please remember that people who are incarcerated are also human beings.

PUBLICATIONS OF NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

- 1—American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Includes "Black Caucuses in the Unions," by Charles Denby 75c per copy
- 2—Notes on Women's Liberation—
We speak in many voices \$1 per copy
- 3—China: Voices of Revolt
Excerpts from Sheng-wu-lien 35c per copy
- 4—Russia As State-Capitalist Society
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy
- 5—Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution
Report direct from Prague 50c per copy
- 6—U.S. and Russia Enter Middle East Cockpit
By Raya Dunayevskaya 50c per copy
- 7—Dialectics of Liberation
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy

- 8—Rosa Luxemburg: Revolutionary Theoretician
By Lee Tracey 35c per copy
- 9—France Spring 1968
Eyewitness Report by Eugene Walker 10c per copy
- 10—Mao's China and the 'Proletarian Cultural Revolution'—
By Raya Dunayevskaya 25c per copy
- 11—Workers Battle Automation
By Charles Denby 50c per copy
- 12—Black, Brown and Red
The movement for freedom among Black, Chicano, Latino, and Indian 75c per copy
- 13—News & Letters—
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year \$1 per sub.

Also available by Raya Dunayevskaya:

- 14—Marxism and Freedom
Includes preface by Herbert Marcuse .. \$5 per copy
- 15—Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao .. \$2.95 per copy
(Also available in hardcover .. \$8.95)

MAIL ORDERS TO:

News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Det., Mich. 48207

Enclosed please find \$ for the following:
Please add 15c to each order for postage and handling.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
(Please circle number corresponding to literature desired as listed above)

Name
Address
City State Zip

Views

ANGOLA

The Angolan situation is terribly serious. The fight for independence has become a conflict between the super-powers. The people of Angola are made to count for nothing. Cuba seems to be playing a puppet role for Russia. South Africa may become fully involved. If Kissinger's policy is followed, we could have a world war involving more powers than ever before. Lord Chalcott has made it clear that Britain is interested in the conflict. The Helsinki farce is exposed, but the position is serious for all.

**Marxist-Humanist
Britain**

* * *

The picture you ran with your article on Angola, showing a young woman with a book instead of the usual guns and machetes was truly impressive—especially with that caption which reported how the children the MPLA taught how to read then argued politics with the captured Portuguese soldiers. That is what I call "dialectics of liberation."

**A. T.
New York**

* * *

I'm sure you're aware of the special impact the Angolan tragedy has had on the domestic Maoists, who've been thrown into disarray as I've never seen before. While Nixon's visit to Peking at the height of the Vietnam war, along with his support for fascist Pakistan against the independence movement of Bangladesh certainly turned me against Mao, what surprised me at that time was how few others turned against Mao. But today everyone seems shocked to see China, Zaire, the U.S. and South Africa all lined up on the same side. The question is will it be "temporary"?

**Intellectual
New York**

* * *

One of my sons is in the service in Italy, and another one is stationed in Germany. The one in Italy is in the Airborne, and he was recently put on special alert for combat. They were told they might be going to Angola. Some of the soldiers he knows have already gone to Africa on assignment. Kissinger's hands are greedy for Africa's wealth.

If the U.S. tries to send Black soldiers to kill Black people in Africa, there will be trouble. All Black people here need to be united to get the U.S. out of Angola. We do not need any more CIA plots and assassinations of Black people by Black people.

**Angry Mother
Detroit**

A STAND AGAINST WAR

Selective Service is raising its ugly head again. It will be in action next March when the news media across the country will be publicizing where and how young men who have turned 18 by the end of 1975 and have not already done so, can register their names with the Selective Service System. If a young man doesn't register, he faces five years' imprisonment and/or a \$10,000 fine. If he wants to be recognized as a conscientious objector, tough luck — those classifications will be suspended. Please tell your readers if they don't care for this further intrusion of the military into American life to maintain a list readily available for future Vietnams, they may want to help out with Taking a Stand Against War. Literature and information is available for the asking from:

**Central Committee for
Conscientious Objectors
2016 Walnut St
Philadelphia, Pa. 19103**

NATIONALISM, RACE AND CLASS

It was amazing to me that the "Two Worlds" column last issue on the Black Dimension and the "National Question" was written as long ago as 1944. It showed the power of a Marxist-Humanist analysis because it certainly predicted much of the future course of the Black movement in this country. I was especially struck by the treatment of urbanization and the prediction that this change in the North would have its repercussions in the South, deepening the revolt there. I suddenly saw a relationship to the Native American column, too—where Shainape Schapwe talked about the awakening of rural and urban Indians who joined together to form the AIM.

**Black Worker-Student
New York**

* * *

The National Question is one of the major areas in which I do not agree with you. I believe Lenin's theory of imperialism to be wrong and anti-Marxist. It claims that a "labor aristocracy" was created out of the super profits squeezed from the colonial countries. That is a bourgeois concept because it places national factors above class analysis, and leads to concepts like "proletarian" nations or "imperialist" nations. Nationalism and class struggle are irreconcilably opposed . . .

Nowhere has successful "national" struggle unleashed real class struggle. It is no accident that all national liberation movements repress any initiative of the masses . . . The disintegration of the British Empire would have led to the economic bankruptcy of this country if Lenin's theory of imperialism were correct.

**Bob Potter
England**

* * *

I recently visited several universities in Boston. Despite the intellectual radicalism everywhere, from Maoism to anarchism, and from academic philosophers to "people's" tenant unions and food co-ops which the New Left runs, Boston remains the most racist of cities. And that includes the intellectuals. The NAACP office was firebombed and completely destroyed while I was there, the week after Judge Garrity's decision putting South Boston High into "receivership." The Judge's decision was based on proven racism at all levels of the teaching and administrative staff, but the racist organizations called it "Black Tuesday" in posters all over the city, and boycotted schools and held up traffic on Friday. There was no response by the liberals or radicals I met to these latest outrages. Only one intellectual out of the dozens I spoke with even raised the issue of racism and busing while I was there.

**Disgusted
New York**



WOMEN'S LIBERATION

We especially enjoyed the article by Jade, "Women's Liberation in China," in your pamphlet, *Notes on Women's Liberation*. It's interesting that in the beginning of the commune movement many women resisted.

I was impressed by the fact that the Communist Party used the family as a weapon to denounce somebody who opposes the government line, just as in capitalist countries, especially Japan, where the family system is very uptight and is used to put pressure on people who go against the system. In Japan, the people in left movements have to fight against their own families. This is called "family imperialism" (kazoku teikokushugi). This is also why

WHO ARE WE

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.

many feminist activists here criticized their male comrades when they were involved in left groups.

Another interesting point: Even in China, being a leader's wife is still prestigious. I wonder what will happen to Chiang Ching after Mao's death.

We wondered why Jade did not give the names of the women she referred to in her article — especially the woman who committed suicide and the "tough" woman whose husband was loyal to her. I assume the second was Ting Ling. I think it is important to mention such names in order to save them from the oblivion which has been the fate of many women lost from history.

**Sawako Takagi
Femintern Press, Japan**

* * *

Editor's Note: Several very interesting English language pamphlets on women in Japan and China are available from Femintern Press, Box 5426 Tokyo International, Japan 100-31. We especially recommend "Ting Ling, Purged Feminist," by Akiyama Yoko, \$1.20 a copy.

* * *

I went to the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) convention here in December, that was to adopt a constitution. This was less than two years after the excitement of the founding conference in March, 1974. All I could think of was how far CLUW had gone in that time — backwards.

I don't think CLUW could have shut its doors more tightly against rank-and-file working women, for whom unemployment and self-organization, seniority and protective work laws, are not the "slogans" that all the factions at the convention used in their in-fighting, but are more urgent than ever as facts of life in 1976. They are the basis for raising new questions about not only a particular organization, but the whole reorganization of society.

**Through with CLUW
Detroit**

* * *

Britain just began enforcing two women's rights laws, one for "similar pay for similar work" and the other a more general law to end discrimination in other areas. They are pretending that the government gave these laws to women and weren't forced to by the militancy of the British women.

The struggle of British rank-and-file women is very deep. They have to fight not only the company, but the union and, in some cases, even their male co-workers. For example, recently part-time post office workers were fired so the men could work overtime. The union sided with the men and together they shouted down the women at the union meeting. What impressed me about these women was that despite the stab in the back by the men one woman said, "We don't want 34 men to lose their jobs. I think we ought to fight for higher wages for all of us."

**W L Activist
Detroit**

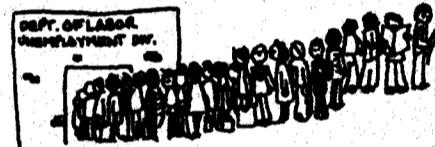
* * *

One of the things that disgusted me so much about *Time* magazine's, "Women of the Year," was their emphasis on "making it." We're supposed to feel good that there is a woman vice president of General Electric, and a woman on the board of AT&T, Kraftco and GM!

All these companies are horribly oppressive to women and men. For most women things have gotten worse. The difference between men's and women's wages has widened, and women and Blacks have been the first fired in our continuing economic crisis.

The women's movement started out not as a stepping stone to success for a few, but out of the realization that something is terribly wrong in this society where women and men relate to each other in such alienating and objectifying ways. What we want is a different world—one based on new human relations and it won't be a woman VP of GM who will get us there.

**Feminist
Detroit**



The economists are all coming out with their cheerful predictions for 1976. One headline in the *Detroit News* read: "Record prosperity seen in '76." Over it was a smaller headline: "Jobless rate is expected to remain high." I thought it must have been an error until I read the article. No mistake. It's "record prosperity" because "profits should rise 20 to 25 percent." They don't even blink an eye at the fact that eight million people are expected to continue without jobs.

What it all means, I guess, is that we'd better not expect them to worry about doing anything about us. According to them, we're enjoying "record prosperity," even if we might be starving.

**Unemployed for Nine Months
Detroit**

* * *

I read in the *Wall Street Journal* that unemployed workers are so desperate that many of them are trying to sell one of their kidneys to get cash. The medical director of the Kidney Foundation reported it has had at least 100 such offers recently. "Kidney for Sale" ads have also run in papers in New York and Pittsburgh. Happy New Year.

**Reader
New York**

SP OFFICE DESTROYED

Fire on the weekend before Christmas demolished the Milwaukee building in which the Socialist Party, USA, had its National Office. Police suspect arson. Almost all files as well as office equipment have been destroyed or are beyond use. The correspondence of both the Socialist Party and the Zeidler-Brisben Campaign Committee has been lost. We are asking the left and liberal press to carry word of the disaster to those who have had correspondence with either the party or the campaign committee. Until new offices are opened those who should be on either mailing list are asked to write:

**Frank Zeidler
2921 North Second
Milwaukee 53212**

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

U.S.-CIA works with South Africa to control newly-liberated Angola

After five long centuries of Portuguese imperial misrule and national oppression, the Angolan people organized a national liberation movement—MPLA, which through hard guerrilla fighting not only undermined Portuguese imperialism in Angola, but became the impetus for the overthrow of fascism in Portugal itself.

The MPLA which led the successful national liberation struggle was at once recognized as the legitimate government of the Angolan people by 20 of the African nations, who knew well that the competing movements—FNLA and UNITA—were, in fact, the outlets of Zaire and the CIA, topped by apartheid South Africa who was not only supplying money and arms, but white mercenaries.

Kissinger at first, when he was preoccupied in South Vietnam, showed little interest in who was winning the war in the Portuguese colonies. Russia did not really step in until it was clear that the MPLA had the popular support and was, indeed, winning the war against imperial Portugal where, moreover, a social revolution was emerging. But, whereas it is true that both super powers are fighting for world domination, it is not true that Russia can control the MPLA, or that the MPLA hasn't

carried on a genuine national liberation struggle.

Nor can there be any doubt about who exactly is Mobutu, that agent of the CIA who with secessionist Katanga conspired to murder Patrice Lumumba and pave the way for his domination over the rich Congo, now called Zaire. It is his brother-in-law, Holden Roberto, who heads the FNLA, and, together with UNITA headed by Dr. Savimbi, works hand-in-glove with apartheid South Africa to divide up Angola.

The *Christian Science Monitor* reports that 300 CIA troops are being trained at Fort Benning, Ga. for service in Angola with sophisticated weapons and helicopter gun ships, and over 150 U.S. mercenaries are already on the scene in Angola.

Kissinger's denials notwithstanding, it is clear that not only has he poured \$55 million into arms and other help to FNLA-UNITA, and not only has he moved from his preoccupation with genocidal war in South Vietnam now that the U.S. lost, but he does not call attention to any but Russian "invasions" while keeping totally still about actual invasions by the neo-fascist Indonesian rulers of another former Portuguese colony, Timor.

Indeed, Ford took time out from a visit to China

to visit Indonesia and toast its dictator just hours before Indonesia launched a 30,000-man invasion of Timor, using American supplies, warships, planes, tanks and helicopters against the newly-independent Peoples Republic of East Timor. FRETILIN is the popular native movement that declared independence from the old fascist Portuguese regime, has over 200,000 members and is modeled after the independence movement in Mozambique in 1974.

In free elections under Portuguese supervision it was elected to govern all but two of over 200 villages. The old Portuguese landowners conspired with the Indonesian military dictatorship to overthrow FRETILIN while the Ford administration lifted not so much as a little finger to help the people newly-liberated from 500 years of colonial and fascist rule.

Quite the contrary! The U.S. has now stooped to its lowest since the imperialist war in South Vietnam. It is doing so in the company of apartheid South Africa which has even more immediate and direct imperial designs there. The American masses must stop these dirty exploitative imperialist designs. Get the dirty CIA hands off the Angolan people!

Mexico

In a widespread rank-and-file protest condemning the class collaborationist policies of their union leaders with multinational corporations as well as Mexican companies, 200,000 workers took to the streets of Mexico city on Nov. 15. The marchers included hardhats, women carrying their children, and students. The three-hour long march was the most massive Mexico City has seen in a decade.

The movement organized within the electrical industry, which was nationalized 15 years ago, claims that it is still run like a private, profit-making monopoly with the government as the exploiter in place of the private capitalist. Their trade union leaders struggle for union power, expel the dissidents, and curry favor with their real boss, the government. So much for "National Planning".

Clearly, state capitalism in Mexico is no different than it is in a fully state-capitalist land like Russia. The point is the people did march. The organizers of the march said it was also in homage to those who were massacred at Tlatelolco in 1968 and to 15 students killed in Mexico City and Monterrey in June, 1971.

The top level union leadership which has tried to hold back the growth of the rank-and-file movement and expelled some of the rank-and-file leaders, now has to face not only trade union dissidents, but the dissatisfaction of the great masses of peo-

ple. Of such new beginnings, new masses in revolt can be expected. We cannot but be thankful for this information which the People's Translations Service and the Chicano Communications Center has made available at a time when the American bourgeois press has conspired to keep silent.

Senate Bill S-1

A 753-page bill, known as S-1, now before the Senate is the most oppressive piece of legislation to come before Congress since the McCarthy days in the 1950s. It would restore the death penalty; restore the Smith Act of 1940 which made any discussion opposed to government policy a crime; wipe out constitutional guarantees under the Bill of Rights; restrict the freedom of the press; prohibit the publication of "national security information" with penalties of life imprisonment or the death penalty. A journalist could get jailed for seven years for publishing a story that contradicts any official Pentagon version.

This bill, which was originally drafted to revise the entire U.S. criminal code, was started back in 1966 under Lyndon Johnson and stiffened up under Nixon as his "law and order" program. Convicted criminals former Attorney General John Mitchell and Richard Kleindienst gave it the final touches and it was introduced into the Senate this year.

The bill is opposed by the entire labor move-

ment, the National Lawyers Guild, and over 200 newspapers, including the *New York Times*. Hearings and discussion of the bill start in the Senate Judiciary Committee in January, 1976. To even discuss it makes a mockery of "Liberty and Justice for all" when it destroys all progress over the past 200 years.

The bill is so all-embracing that it is impossible to "soften" by amendments. It must be killed in its entirety. If this bill is passed it could introduce an era of political terror under law that would make the old McCarthy witch-hunts look like a pink tea party.

Chile

An Associated Press source in Santiago, Chile has reported that death sentences were proclaimed on two leaders of the underground Revolutionary Left movement — the nephew of the late President Andres Salvador Allende and Nelson Guitierrez—when they sought refuge in the embassy of Costa Rica.

The report is branded as an absolute lie from the Central Committee in Havana, Cuba, which claims that it was planted by the military dictatorship. "We denounce this attempt to execute these two revolutionaries," declared the committee. The military junta still holds thousands of prisoners, leftists, priests, nuns and other protesters in inhuman conditions of torture and misery.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

During the last few months the situation in Angola has taken on the features of a full-fledged civil war between the so-called pro-Russian and the pro-United States (together with China) forces. The capitalist press and politicians have come forth with numerous articles and analyses on Angola.

This interest is in marked contrast to the almost total silence that these same politicians and publications chose to bestow on the 15 years of heroism exhibited by the Angolan people in their fight for freedom against Portuguese colonialism.

This "new found" interest in Angola, in a way, may be more dangerous to the Angolan people and their revolution than the previous policy of silence. It does more to confuse than to enlighten, more to serve the interest of the counter-revolution not only in Angola, but in all of Africa. In some cases, like the *San Francisco Chronicle*, editorials have downright racist implications such as the one referring to the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) as "the grandiose title of a rather bloodthirsty force of warriors . . ."

In Washington the battle lines are drawn between the liberals of the Senate who want to cut off all funds "for activities involving Angola other than intelligence gathering" (Tunney's amendment to the International Security Bill), and the Ford/Kissinger hard position of confronting Russia over the issue of involvement in Angola.

There is no certainty that the Tunney amendment would survive the action of the House when it is taken up. And, even if it did, it would in no way stop the Administration from intervention into Angola by other methods and by other funds.

It is not simply the question of whether one branch of government is more devious or more corrupt than the other, but of the world-wide needs of the system of capitalism which is seeking the continuation of political and economic domination of Africa.

Angola needs masses' power

The departure of Admiral Leonel Cardoso from Luanda, on Nov. 17, may have signaled the end of 500 years of Portuguese colonialism. But the Admiral's refusal to formally give power to either the MPLA, FNLA or UNITA, was an indication that the Angolan revolution was not yet conclusive, one way or the other, and that it already was entangled in the world struggle of the super-powers—U.S., Russia and China.

This entanglement was most certainly not the desire of the Angolan peasants and workers, nor was the purpose of their long-anguished struggle for freedom from colonialism, to jump into the fiery arms of neo-colonialism.

Holden Roberto, head of the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola), has been an agent of the CIA since 1961, receiving from the U.S. government a "retainer" of \$10,000 a year. But this is chicken feed compared with the funds, materials and manpower that the U.S. and China are now pouring into the FNLA forces.

Pointing out how deeply the CIA is involved in Angola as the counter-revolutionary agent of U.S. imperialism does not condone or disregard the dangers that Russian intervention presents to the Angolan revolution. But for Ford and Kissinger to use the fact that Russia supports the MPLA as the reason to impose the U.S. brand of counter-revolution is sheer charlatanism. Only a few years ago, this was the same ploy used to justify U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

The Angolan revolution and its success is vital for an opportunity to expel neo-colonialism from Africa. Its defeat would mean another setback. However, there cannot be a victory over colonialism or neo-colonialism without, at one and the same time, the direct participation of the masses of peasants and workers in the struggle, and their desire for freedom as the philosophical foundation of a new society after victory.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

tries? Whose clothing was it that was found in his luggage? The lawyers claim that Ray could not have got his big toe into it.

Most Blacks agree with Rev. King's family when they ask for an outside investigator to look into the whole assassination, because the Justice Department cannot be trusted to find the truth. It was the good "liberal" Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, who gave the FBI the first OK to bug Dr. King's office and home.

One of the most sickening revelations in the recent investigation was the report by Gary Rowe, the former FBI agent, about how the FBI not only did not try to protect the civil rights people working in the South, but actually agreed to give the KKK a specific amount of time to beat them up.

A young white friend of mine, who had been an activist in the South in the '60s, began to shed tears when he read the report. He said one of his friends who was a Freedom Rider had been beaten so badly he suffered brain damage that destroyed his whole life. "It's ironic," he said bitterly. "There was a popular song we used to sing—'Brother Bob (Kennedy, of course), Where are you?' Now we find out that it wasn't just that the Justice Department wasn't there, but that there were actually agents plotting the killing and maiming of civil rights workers and reporting it all to the FBI. It makes you ill when you realize the full depths to which this country has sunk!"

The blame, however, does not belong all on the FBI for the dirty tricks that are its trade. The President of the U.S. is every bit as much to blame.

What we have to begin to understand is how it is that the people who swear to uphold the law are the main ones that break it—and after they are caught, they still get away with it. Any time the working people break the law, they go to jail, or worse. There is no other answer than to fight for a completely different society, a totally new kind of world.