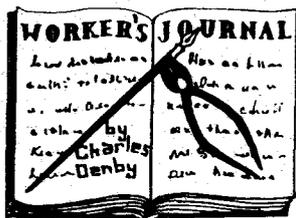


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## Carter ignores pledges; Blacks face divisions

by Charles Denby, Editor

President Carter seems to be continuing to carry out the policies of his predecessor Ford, and is completely ignoring the wishes of the people who voted him into office on the basis of promises that he made to them. He has dropped the \$50 rebate that he promised all workers and the poor to help them pay their high utility bills, because he says the country is on the upturn, and he seems to think that the rebate would cause more inflation.

At the same time, in Canada there are more than a million people out of work, more than in the darkest days of the depression of the 1930s. There are over 10 million out of work in this country, and that does not count those that were not on the unemployment list, those who never had a job, or ran out of benefits. Meanwhile, every day everything that you have to buy is higher than it was the day before.

### NO JOBS FOR YOUTH

Carter is as unpredictable and changeable as he was from the very first day he took office. There are many youth out of a job, Black, white, and especially Latino, and yet another thing Carter is playing politics with is the youth job corps. It is something which could be helpful to many youth who are yelling for some kind of work, something that will take them off the streets. But it is the question of racism that is the big obstacle.

Andrew Young, the Ambassador to the UN, is being criticized every time he speaks about Africa and brings up the question of racism as it applies to Africa. While everyone knows that the worst racism against Blacks in the whole world is in Africa, especially South Africa, Young must not say it—because he is a Black man, and he is in the UN to carry out the policies of the Carter Administration.

When Carter yells about human rights out of one  
(Continued on Page 6)

## Report from Italy

# 10,000 women demonstrate at public rape trial

by Mary Holmes

Rome, Italy — Over 4,000 women, including students, housewives and youth, rallied on April 4, to protest in front of the courthouse where seven men accused of raping 18-year-old Claudia Caputi last August are being prosecuted.

Claudia was viciously attacked again on March 30 and slashed with razors by four men in retaliation for her decision to make the rape trial public and to demand justice. Heretofore, neither publicity nor justice have characterized rape trials in Italy which are seldom held at all.

The very same day Claudia told of the second attack, over 10,000 women came out in Rome to support her and to protest this latest and especially brutal violence, which is felt also to be a political act against the women's movement. Claudia has said, "Le femministe, they're the ones who have given me the strength to fight."

On April 2, the police made known that they did not believe Claudia's report of the second attack, and implied that she had made it up. They were not only questioning any alleged discrepancies in her testimony, but the fact that 10,000 women came out in protest the very same day.

For the April 4 demonstration, the police came out in force. As the women gathered in the morning they tried to enter the courthouse but were barred by police.

Direct report from Europe  
New revolutionary movements in Portugal, Italy and England

Speaker: Mary Holmes, co-author of Working Women for Freedom

IN NEW YORK: Friday, May 6 at 7:30 p.m., at Free Association, 5 W. 20th St.

IN DETROIT: Wednesday, May 18 at 7:30 p.m., at Wayne State University Student Center Building, Room 261 A-B.

# NEWS LETTERS

10¢

'Human Power is its own end'

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## Indian masses reject dictatorship of Indira; demand basic social changes

by Kevin A. Barry

The massive popular anger at Indira Gandhi's repressive policies and general move to abolish even elementary democratic rights through the so-called Emergency Decree, 1975, expressed itself so decisively at the polls that the newly elected rightist Janata Party may labor under the illusion that it will get away with the fig-leaf of limited bourgeois democracy.

But as one of many expressed it, "There were just too many abuses in this emergency business. The boy, Sanjay, birth control, the police pushing people around, putting them in jail—it was too much" (NY Times 4-6-77). This 57-year-old farmer made clear that it was an anti-Gandhi vote, not a pro-Desai vote.

The American bourgeois press, led by the NY Times, is touting the Indian elections as proof that "democracy" has returned to that country. While certainly India enjoys more freedom of expression today than under the Emergency, this "democracy" disregards conditions of life and labor, not to mention the totally reactionary concept of Untouchables, who cannot even take possession of land legally ceded to them as part of "land reform", under threat of death.

Newly elected Prime Minister Moraji R. Desai makes no effort to hide his pro-business, "pro-Western" and especially pro-U.S. views, and it is clear that he will take India out of Moscow's camp and into that of Washington, despite all talk of "genuine nonalignment". This single fact goes a long way toward explaining all the euphoria in the U.S. bourgeois press over the Indian election, and all their talk of the "world's biggest democracy".

Perhaps more important than "democracy" in this election poll, was how Indira Gandhi's repressive policies in the cities and villages affected the mass of the people. Thus, during the Emergency, strikes were banned, yet in October, 1976, over 100,000 textile workers in Bombay went out on strike, and went out again in December, this time setting up their own strike committees in opposition to the official unions, and winning some concessions from an already worried government.

### THE RURAL POOR

In the villages, especially Moslem ones, the relentless campaign of sterilization to control population growth, led by Indira's son, Sanjay, often involved coercion and trickery. And none asked if it wasn't the "backwardness" of the rural masses, but rather the advantages of large families over smaller ones in the present economic system, that made the peasantry resist birth control.

Thus, there were riots, as in the Moslem quarter of the village of Muzaffanagar, 100 miles north of Delhi, in the most dramatic incident that filtered through Gandhi's controlled press. An unknown number were killed by the police, with bodies left lying in the street; but afterwards, the number of sterilizations performed there dropped from over 10,000 in October, at the time of the riot, to 200 in February.

Thus, Gandhi's dictatorship meant increasing the burdens of the rural poor. As a member of her Congress Party told the Manchester Guardian (3-5-77) "What can we say to the people? The villagers say: where were your MPs when we were being sterilized, where were your MPs when the land tax was increased by four times?"

### THE JANATA PARTY IN POWER

The opposition now in power has already indicated its rightist and anti-popular character, though it must tread softly in its first days in power. Business Week (4-4-77) reported that: "By and large, the political factions that make up the Janata Party, and its key supporter, the newly founded Congress for Democracy, are on the right . . . The Janata victory seems so sweeping that the leftists are unlikely to have much to say in government."

Business Week is as wrong as is the Janata Party if they think a new stability has been found. Even its "key supporter" Jagivan Ram, is not so far to the right as Desai. And Ram already felt the need to justify his support by claiming that Narayan, one to the left of Desai, convinced him.

More important still are the masses and the many  
(Continued on Page 8)



Police attack women protestors in Rome, Italy, where 10,000 massed to demand justice for Claudia Caputi.

The women then began sitting-in to block the doors, and chanted slogans such as "Freedom is not a utopia—the woman who shouts it is I," "Rapists come out now for we are making the trial," and "Woman, Woman, woman—don't stop fighting, it's all of life you have to change." The chants reached the ears of the magistrate, who ordered the arrest of "whoever was making a disturbance."

One slogan must have particularly goaded the police into a frenzy: "We are not a product of the barracks but women in struggle for liberation."

The protest ended with police violence. Many women were beaten and arrested. But the women are determined that their explosively spontaneous movement and Reason will not only win justice for Claudia and end sexist violence against all women, but will move in a revolutionary direction to change all of Italy.

(Ed. note: As we go to press, the seven youths identified who were among 18 or 20 who had raped Claudia, have been found guilty by the court in Rome. Four received 2½ year suspended sentences, two were sentenced to three years in prison and one to four years. It was only the second time in Italian history that a rape trial was not held behind closed doors.)

# Authors exclude thought of working women

by Suzanne Casey

*America's Working Women: A Documentary History—1600 to the Present, compiled and edited by Rosalyn Baxandall, Linda Gordon and Susan Reverby. (Vintage Books, 408 pp., \$6.95)*

The three authors of *America's Working Women* have written this book "to correct . . . a political distortion: the virtual exclusion from history of working class women's work."

While much research has obviously been done for *America's Working Women*, and while the information is very valuable, by dealing mainly with studies, reports and writings of middle-class men and women about working women, the women become the objects of someone else's study—not the Subjects and shapers of the history of which women's liberationists today are a part. There is not one selection in which the authors, themselves professional women, elicited directly from a working woman her own ideas on her life and work.

In contrast, the authors of the pamphlet *Working Women for Freedom* begin by saying that women have not only been hidden from history but also from philosophy. "Working women, here and now, whether in production or in the home, or in political activity or just thinking things through, are hewing out new paths to liberation, and it is their stories that must be told and become the basis of the new action and the new theory . . ." (See ad, col. 3.)

Baxandall, Gordon and Reverby cite the alienation of working class women from the "feminism of more prosperous women," and yet also say, "Working-class women have not yet been able to build an effective movement to fight for their own interests" because of "a difficulty in understanding fully what those interests are."

Native American women are mentioned at the beginning as "The First American Women," but are never mentioned again in spite of Wounded Knee and their continued leadership in the Indian movement. While the authors do treat slave labor, Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth's names do not even appear—Sojourner Truth who went farther in thought than Frederick Douglass by refusing to separate women's rights from the struggle for freedom for slaves, and who inspired educated white women to come out to speak themselves.

Despite descriptions of sweatshops and strikes in the garment industry of New York City, there is nothing on the origins of International Women's Day in the mass marches of working women as early as 1857 and their socialist demands for the eight-hour day and an end to child labor.

There is nothing on miners' wives and the role they have played in out-thinking the coal bosses and acting as the backbone of so many strikes. Mother Jones, who

## Feminism and racism workshop

Detroit, Mich.—I went to a meeting on "Feminism and Racism" at the University of Detroit. Most of the women were Black but quite a few white women came too. There were two speakers, one Black and one white. They talked about how they became involved in the women's movement.

I felt the discussion told a lot about the relations between Black and white women. The discussion kept going back to the question of "trust" or "strength." Black women wanted to know what white women say when they aren't around. Is racism inside Women's Liberation? This question of trust was at the heart of the controversy.

There was also a division between Black intellectual women and Black working women. One "professional" woman tried to say that Black women didn't have their own movement. She said that they didn't have the money and power to publish their own books and magazines or to run offices. Until Black women got these things, she said, their organizations couldn't survive.

I couldn't agree with this. Power is what the capitalists have. Having it doesn't make you free by itself. Freedom is what we are fighting for, not just power. If we had the money that *Time* magazine has, or even *Ms.* magazine, where would we be? I read *Ms.*, and I don't like their idea of freedom.

I hope this discussion on "Feminism and Racism" continues, because it is one place where Black women and white women have tried to get together. The group is supposed to continue meeting.

—Detroit feminist

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**CHICAGO:** PO Box 11865,  
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spent 50 years organizing coal miners and their wives is never mentioned, nor is the role of the Women's Emergency Brigade in the Flint sit-down strike of 1937.

And lastly, despite the fact that the authors say that for them "the women's liberation movement was an outgrowth of participation in the civil rights and New Left movements," there is no mention of Rosa Parks, a seamstress who began the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

The most recent piece in the book is from 1972, by Annemarie Troger on the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). By ending with this piece, and not commenting to the contrary, I can only assume that the authors agree with her that "If CLUW becomes a mass organization of working women, these principles will have a far-reaching educational impact on all workers by giving political direction to their strong but vague feeling of dissatisfaction with the unions."

If they had asked even one working woman, they would have found more than a "vague dissatisfaction" with CLUW itself, and that working women do not see "reform of the labor movement" as their goal. The book ends as it begins assuming that working women need their consciousness raised instead of recognizing the activity of working women as the expression of their very high level of consciousness and relating it to today's women's movement.

## Disabled sit-in to back demands

San Francisco, Cal.—One hundred fifty disabled persons are still holding firm inside the HEW building at 50 Fulton Street, in San Francisco. They have vowed not to move until their demand for Regulation #504, UNCHANGED, is signed by HEW Secretary Joseph Califano and approved by President Carter. This regulation, promulgated in September 1973, vetoed by Nixon, overridden by Congress, forgotten by Ford, reads:

"No otherwise qualified handicapped individual in the United States . . . shall solely by reason of his handicap, be excluded from the participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

This sit-in, the only one of ten throughout the country which has defied the harassment by Federal officials who have destroyed their food, removed their showers, cut off the phones, prevented adequate medical care, locked them in at night, has generated tremendous community support which forced a special Congressional hearing in the midst of the sit-in.

The support demonstration of April 15 in San Francisco brought thousands, including hundreds of disabled, to demand the signing of 504, unchanged, now.

Hear some of the voices of the 36 million disabled in the U.S. speaking from the sit-in:

"We are trying to work for a change in national attitude and human attitude as well as a change in legal attitude."

"We are not like other groups in our society; we felt dehumanized and worthless, now we have pride in ourselves."

"I'm over 40, I'm a woman, I'm Mexican-American, I'm disabled. How many minorities can one person be? If Carter does not keep his campaign promise to the disabled, is he going to keep his other promises?"

Write, phone, telegraph, petition and picket Califano and Carter until they sign Regulation #504 unchanged. Let your Congressmen know: this demand is not negotiable. Eight of the disabled have been on a hunger strike for over a week—their lives may depend on you. They know they cannot depend on HEW!

## Conference asks 'Why Marx?'

Washington, D.C.—Two major presentations by Raya Dunayevskaya highlighted the full-day conference held Saturday, April 2 at Goddard College and sponsored by the Washington Center for Socialist Studies, 1716 New Hampshire Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C.

Complementing the theme of the conference, "Why Marx? Why Now?", Ms. Dunayevskaya's morning address, titled "Today's Search for an Effective Praxis: The Relevance of Marx's Humanism," focused on current problems of theory within the framework of three decades of Marx's works: 1. Praxis—a new humanism; 2. Historical materialism; and 3: "A new world"—Marx's phrase for the period ushered in by John Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry. Tracing Hegel's philosophy, which gave to Marx an understanding of the inseparability of theory and practice, she illustrated the subsequent development of Marx's thought which always gained new dimensions under the impact of objective events.

Her evening speech, "The Dialectics of What To Do: The Relationship of History to Today's Events", concentrated on decisive European and American historical periods and the subjective movements uncompromisingly rooted in the concept of freedom, which helped to create the objective movements to realize that freedom in life. Here the historic sweep encompassed the First American Revolution, the Abolitionists and the Civil War, the Russian Revolution, the East European revolts of today and the conflicts of America, 1977.

Responding to Ms. Dunayevskaya's challenge for the creation of a "philosophical-action group," several participants set immediate projects for themselves.

## Native American speaks

### Women abused by sterilization

by Shainape Sincapwe

Now there is a lot of publicity about sterilization among native women, and some statistics say 60 percent of the women are sterilized, others say one out of five. I read an article recently that reported 3,400 Native Americans had been sterilized in the past three years. I didn't believe the figures; they just seemed to be too high, too exaggerated.

I called a friend of mine, a native woman, and asked her what she thought about the figures, and she also thought they were too high. But then we started to go over a list of native women we both knew—and out of 30 that we named, 14 were sterilized! We were shocked at the number.

Some of these 14 were informed and knew what they were doing. But many others did not know, and were actually misinformed. One girl, a teenager, was actually in labor when they brought the papers for her to sign "authorizing" the sterilization. She didn't have any idea what she was signing. Another was given the impression that the operation was reversible and agreed to the sterilization on that basis.

It's good that more is being exposed about sterilization now, and it is clear that the ones who suffer the most from this are the Blacks, Native Americans and Chicanos. Those of us who have known about it should have been talking more about it. Maybe we should have been talking about it with the women's movement.

But it's very hard for us to do that, because many of us feel that the Women's Liberation Movement hasn't lived up to its ideals. Women having control over their own bodies is a basic principle, and if anything should apply to that it is the question of sterilization.

I think the reason is that NOW, and the women's movement in general up to now, has been a middle-class movement, and sterilization is not particularly a middle class problem. And this separation over problems has made it hard to communicate those things that are important to poor and minority women.

What is even more important is where you think the problem is and how to attack it. What we are dealing with is the way of thinking of a whole society—the same one that permits PBB to contaminate mother's milk that will have unknown effects on our children; that permits the use of DES that produces malformed children.

Those of us who have suffered the most know it is not this problem or that problem, this reform or that reform, that is at the heart of what we're talking about. We're talking about changing the whole society, from top to bottom. There just isn't any other answer that means anything.



## women- worldwide

International Women's Day was observed for the first time in the Basque country of Spain as 1,000 women in Bilbao held a mass meeting and march demanding amnesty for women imprisoned on charges of adultery or abortion.

Thalia Rotas, an Athenian woman, has formed the Greek Union of Housewives and has called on her comrades to band together to fight for a better life. The union's aims are pay for housework, state health care and abolition of the dowry system.

Japanese women have formed an organization to end compulsory sex segregation in Japan's public schools where boys are trained for a career and girls are taught cooking and sewing. The Ministry of Education proposes to have elementary education completely segregated by sex by 1980 but recent polls show that more and more Japanese women are opposed to this method of education.

### Special Offer

#### Working Women for Freedom

by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes  
With special appendix by Raya Dunayevskaya:  
'Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries'  
and

#### America's First Unfinished Revolution

by M. Franki and J. Hillstrom  
Both for \$2 — including postage  
Order from: News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson,  
Detroit, Mich. 48207

## Bay Area machinists strike against benefit cuts

San Francisco, Cal.—More than 1,000 workers representing 70 shops within District 115 of the International Association of Machinists (I.A.M.), AFL-CIO have gone out on strike in the Bay Area.

We have refused to accept the contract offered by the employers, which would take away health and welfare benefits, offers only a two percent wage increase, and wants to establish a "new" category of workers—"unskilled workers"—to replace the traditional journeymen and apprentices at one-half the pay! In my local,

### Still no contract at Uniroyal

Detroit, Mich.—At Uniroyal our contract still isn't settled. The latest question that has come up is our COLA payment. There are notices out all over the plant from the union saying that the talks are snagged. But none of us really know what is happening since you have to practically be a lawyer to figure out what the union puts out.

Right now, it looks like they've settled for six cents an hour, which makes a dazzling \$2.40 per week. The union also says that they're working on a Dental Plan—but that it will come out of the COLA payments, so that doesn't leave much for cost-of-living.

We don't have much representation with that kind of proposal and settlement. None of the employees really know what kind of contract we're working under, and you can't get anything in writing about it. It's funny how the union officials don't know how to speak plain clear English when talking about our contract. The workers here really don't have a contract—the union and the company have a contract.

—Uniroyal worker

No. 68, 840 workers voted to reject the contract, while only 70 voted to accept.

Due to the very small strike benefit fund, there is heavy pressure on us to end the strike as quickly as possible. But the workers in my local are well aware that there is a concerted effort by the employers to destroy the effectiveness of the local union, so they can lower the benefits and wages to the lower scales of other areas.

There has been practically no publicity about this strike in the local media. If strikers want to know what's happening, instead of being able to attend frequent meetings or have an accessible executive committee, we are told to phone a "dial-a-message" recording.

At our last union meeting, one worker said, "We cannot depend on the AFL-CIO for a serious struggle for any victory for us. This 'leadership' would rather resolve our problems by accepting contracts which would lower our wages and benefits."

The instrument through which contracts are negotiated with locals in District 115 is the C.M.T.A., an employers' umbrella organization. If a local signs a contract with an employer during a strike, the shop owner has to pay a fine of up to \$12,000 to the C.M.T.A. So far, one shop has signed a contract and paid the fine, but no one seems to know the terms of that contract.

The I.A.M., which formerly had two million members nationally until the runaway shops moved to non-union areas in and outside of the U.S., now has about 800,000 members. Our union paper, which used to be a weekly but is now a monthly, keeps the rank-and-file and the union executives even further apart and eliminates any timely contact with other locals and their activities.

—Striking machinist



by John Allison

Whenever there is a sick claim by a worker, the burden of proof is still on the worker, and the new review board set up in the last UAW contract won't change that. Sickness and accident insurance covers workers who get sick or hurt outside the shop, while workmen's compensation pays for accidents inside the plant.

But even when a worker is hurt inside the plant, management in most cases will suggest the worker take S&A benefits. S&A pays more than workmen's comp, but the difference insofar as the company is concerned is that if a worker does not return to work when management orders under S&A, the worker is subject to discharge. Under comp, workers return when they are well, and there is no monkey business.

S&A is tied to production and a worker's work record. For management, death is more suitable for a worker than to remain on the sick rolls for a long time. As for the union, they can point their finger at the insurer, Aetna, and try to stay out of any conflict.

The fact is that sick pay disputes generate more grievances than almost anything else and are not solved because there is no appeal if the company turns down the grievance. And what has happened is that many Chrysler workers have been unjustly disqualified for benefits because doctors are controlled by the company.

Under the plan, Aetna has the right to have a claimant for S&A go to a doctor to assess whether a worker is totally disabled and unable to work. This has caused disputes over whether a doctor properly judged a worker's condition. Too often workers are sent back to work when they should be sent to a hospital.

A provision in the last contract sets up an "impartial" medical opinion (IMO) group, with one representative chosen by the company, one by the union and the third supposedly neutral. In any dispute, the IMO decision is final.

This means more red tape for workers who need their sick pay right away when they're not working. It also means that Chrysler and Aetna, with the union's help, have found another way to save money for themselves at the expense of workers.

## Auto wildcats sweep U.S.

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

Thousands of auto workers across the country are on wildcat strikes against management abuse.

Local 1226 of Indianapolis, Ind., is on wildcat strike against management's reinstatement of a foreman who beat up a union steward at the Chrysler parts plant there. Chrysler went to court to get an injunction against the union. The judge issued the injunction and levied a fine of \$200,000 a day against Local 1226, but this didn't force the workers back to work.

"To hell with your fine," said the workers. Then Chrysler fired all members of the Local 1226 Executive Board from their jobs at the plant, obviously for the Board's failure to control the workers.

Ford Motors Assembly Plant in Hazelwood, Mo., was shut down by UAW Local 325 to protest speed-up. Management had cut the work force by 10 percent, yet demanded the same amount of production as before.

Local 1364 of Fremont, Cal., was out on wildcat strike against the physical and verbal abuse dealt them by management. But the International Union forced them back to work, although the trouble has not been settled.

"To hell with this damn contract!" is the sentiment voiced by the workers of Local 216 in South Gate, Cal. They say, "The contract is not for workers, it is to keep us in line while G.M. uses us as they want. In 1937 we had a 40-hour week—in 1977 our contract calls for up to a 53-hour week." The union calls this progress. Progress for whom?

On Monday night, April 4, management said, "The line time is 1:30 a.m." This called for nine hours and 18 minutes work. The workers in the body shop said, "No, not one minute over nine hours." The union was called, and the fight began. Then the union and the company told us that in order not to work over nine hours we have to fill out a required form each week (See GM South Gate report on this page). The superintendent and foremen, with committeemen, distributed the forms.

After 40 years, we find a good relationship between the union bureaucrats and management, but neither one of them has a good relationship with the workers.

The workers on the production lines are beginning to see that the production situation should be in their own hands. This is the only way to solve the problems of production. Who should be more qualified to make the decisions than the workers themselves?

## FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

### GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal.—Assembly line workers throughout the plant are rebelling against forced overtime and excessive workloads by turning out hundreds of incomplete, inferior, and damaged autos. The bad jobs coming off of final assembly were so numerous the repairmen were unable to keep up and, as a result, the backyard filled to overflowing with autos. The first time this happened the company had to shut the plant down one night and send everybody home after only four hours of work! The second time the company was forced to go from nine-plus hour days to eight hours a day.

The nine-hour days scheduled for both shifts meant nine-plus for the night shift. But when the foremen in body shop announced a line time 30 minutes over nine, furious yelling came from the door line and several calls for the committeeman were made from two sections. Some workers walked off the line to put in a call. One worker demanded a group grievance signed by every member of the body shop. Another worker said, "I don't want to even work over eight — time over that for the company is just that much less time for ourselves — but I damn sure won't work a minute over nine!"

The next day the word was being passed around in Body, "Walk-out after nine." Union and management wasted no time in passing out request forms for no overtime over nine hours. Workers signed and handed them back right on the line. The following two days were not nine but eight and 7:48 hours in length. The reason given by management—a backyard full of bad products. Or was it also the fear of workers' strength and a walkout?

While this was going on in Body, workers in the cushion room shipped incomplete jobs until cushions filled the shop floor and the foremen were forced to turn the line off.

The following week the work days continued at eight hours—one day a few minutes over, the next a few minutes under. Apparently workers here have found a way other than walk-outs to halt the onslaughts of production.

—GM South Gate worker

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—One problem that I feel should be discussed is the way 63A's and 63B's (transfers) are handled at Fleetwood. Anybody who works here knows that it is done on the basis of favoritism many times. One instance that I know about is in the 63A's for the loaner pool. This is a new thing in the national contract, where you are supposed to be able to transfer to an open higher-paying job on the basis of seniority.

I personally know of a worker with only two years who got it, while workers with five years or even more are still waiting on the list. It can really hurt you to have put your time in on the line and see someone who just came in get a better job.

It is not necessarily a racial thing. It is more a question of foremen and committeemen manipulating

63A's and 63B's for political or personal reasons. A foreman could have a job open and not send it to the employment office, but just fill it himself. Or a committeeman can play with the list to help his friends.

Fleetwood is becoming a shady place when a decent person can't work. New women workers come in and get put on hard jobs. Then they are told by the foreman or the committeeman that they can get a better job if they "go along". What do they call this outside the plant? It's time that we cleaned up this kind of corruption in our union.

—Body shop worker

### Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — A Black worker with about five years' seniority at Dodge Truck is facing the loss of his job because his racist general foreman, Danny Robbins, is trying to fire him. The worker has been given five days off without pay twice for missing work: the first time was a couple of months ago, and the last time a couple of weeks ago. He is now threatened with being fired if he "messes up one more time."

This worker is on the spot because the union did not follow up on a grievance he filed when he got the first five days off. If you get five days off twice, and that's still on your work record, you're open to be fired.

He had doctor's slips when he missed work, and didn't have serious problems before.

Then he got a new foreman, Gary Guilbault, who doesn't know a thing and takes his signals from the general foreman. Gary is accusing the worker of letting unfinished jobs go through, so the worker checked with his job inspector who said that he's missing no more jobs than the other workers.

The general foreman is always harassing workers, and has many grievances against him. That's what makes this worker so mad, because if the union steward and committeeman would push these grievances, the general foreman wouldn't feel he could push the workers around as much as he does. That's what needs to be done to get this general foreman off the workers' backs.

—Afternoon worker

### Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich.—The recent exposure of the Teamster corruption and fund scandals, and the failure of the Teamster leadership to represent the needs of the membership is of interest to many of us in the Assembly Plant. We know that our union, the UAW, is not representative or responsive to our needs. It's clear the problems we have are related, whether we are in steel, auto, trucking or mining.

We're all groping to make our working lives better. We know our work days are intolerable, though we are forced to tolerate them. We seek better work conditions, shorter work time, and know that nothing will change until voices are heard from the membership demanding change, and are followed up with action.

—Ford Rouge afternoon worker

# EDITORIAL Nazis, KKK step up attacks against Blacks and Jews

The despicable attempt of the American Nazi Party (National Socialist White Peoples Party) to open a "Rudolph Hess Bookstore" in the heart of a Jewish community in San Francisco was ended abruptly by an enraged neighborhood. When the uniformed Nazis sadistically placed a large swastika in the window directly across the street from their synagogue, these German Jewish survivors of Hitler's concentration camps waited impatiently for five days for the Nazis to be evicted, and then demolished the store and its contents, determined to be rid of it by Passover.

But this Nazi outrage was not just an isolated act of a lunatic fringe. It is part of a new stage of anti-Semitism that is world-wide and assumes an alarming variety of forms. In West Germany neo-Nazis celebrated Hitler's birthday by smearing swastikas and anti-Jewish slogans in a Jewish cemetery; and in Austria Nazis have been holding open meetings, marching with guns in the countryside and plastering Vienna with swastikas—which no one has torn down. In Russia, where the anti-Semitism is backed with state power, an official history magazine recently declared that "Zionists" conspired to set up a pro-Nazi Zionist state before World War II. And, in the U.S., a Northwestern University professor, Arthur Butz, published a book daring to call the extermination of six million Jews by Hitler's Germany nothing but a "hoax".

What is worse, although the American Nazi Party is using Butz's book as a fund-raiser, the university—like the "good Germans" who looked the other way as Hitler rose to power—refuses to touch him, on the grounds that the university officials are "great First Amendment people."

## THE ROOTS OF A NEW STAGE

The new stage of anti-Semitism has been growing for a decade—ever since the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli conflict—and it has been the Left in this country and throughout the world that has helped to open the door to it. "Anti-Zionism" has become an accepted euphemism for outright anti-Semitism everywhere, and we are faced with such spectacles as a UN Resolution last year equating Zionism to Racism, or an African-Arab summit this year voting unanimous support for the Arabs against

Israel in exchange for a paltry sum promised Black Africa by the Arab oil potentates.

The truth is that the roots of anti-Semitism are as deep as the roots of racism, and intimately intertwined. It is because the ruling class has never been able to solve a single fundamental problem of this society that they are constantly in need of a minority "scapegoat". Divide and conquer is a time-tested maxim—and helps hide the truth that it is the rulers who are the real minority. Racism is an integral necessity to capitalism.

## ANTI-SEMITISM IS RACISM

The new outcropping of anti-Semitism in this country goes hand-in-hand with a renewed spewing forth of KKK and Nazi activity against Blacks, much of it in the North:

- In Queens, N.Y., a large, well-armed Klan chapter has just been uncovered—the first discovered right within the city since 1920. Though the Klan is planning cross-burnings in May against Blacks and Jews at the city beaches, the police stress they are only "investigating" and that "the Klan is not illegal."

- At Camp Pendleton, Cal., ten Black Marines, charged with assault on six white Marines, have exposed the widespread activity of a highly organized KKK at the country's largest Marine base, where there was open wearing of Klan insignia and barracks had stickers debasing Jews, Blacks and Chicanos.

- In Chicago, Nazis are allowed to freely attack with rocks and clubs Black marchers of the King Movement Coalition trying to integrate white Marquette Park.

- In Michigan, Klan leaflets are openly distributed in parking lots at shopping malls.

- In Boston, the Klan and the Nazis have found fertile recruiting soil among the anti-busing forces.

And not all of the array wear bedsheets or swastikas. Whether they parade under the name of the National States Rights Party, now strongly suspected as the instrument used for the assassination of Martin Luther King; or the name of some anti-busing group, supposedly dedicated to the protection of "neighborhood schools", they are all the frightening symbol of the deep racist cancer eating at this land which will never be rooted out

until it is faced. And fought.

In Florida, 100 white-robed Klansmen, attempting to hold their first open march in Tallahassee since the Black Revolt was born early in the '60s, attracted, instead of recruits, a crowd of opponents that soon swelled to over a thousand, about equally Black and white, who quickly put the Klan to rout.

In Chicago, on the other hand, the King Movement Coalition has been fighting, very nearly alone, the attacks of club-wielding Nazis who now threaten to attack Jews in Skokie on May 1. The Coalition, refusing to allow their concept of freedom to be fragmented, recently marched with and challenged a rally of leftists who were protesting against apartheid in South Africa, but have never supported King Movement demonstrations against apartheid in Chicago, with a leaflet that asked: "Where were you in Marquette Park? Where will you be in Skokie? . . . Isn't it time that we stop separating world problems from our own back yard?"

The stench of anti-Semitism and racism is the stench of a society that has already decayed, but has not yet been buried. It is long past time to do it.

## News & Letters

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## MAY DAY 1977—TODAY'S LABOR STRUGGLES

We hear through the grapevine that the Ford plant in Pico Rivera has had as high as 52 percent absenteeism since they began scheduling 9 hours a day six days a week. In GM on the day shift we had 166 absent. The night shift had to shut down for relief. But if it's true at Ford's it is something very new. Up to now most workers at the Ford plant seem to have seen themselves as part of the "Ford family". Now they are seeing themselves as orphans.

GM Worker  
Pico Rivera

I was glad you published the long list of brand names that J. P. Stevens sells under. The boycott is going to need a lot of help—it's hard to find a brand that isn't J. P. Stevens, once you start looking at labels. I'd like your readers to know that an inspection of two North Carolina plants by the Occupational Health and Safety Administration showed the 1700 workers employed there were exposed to more than 12 times the amount of air-borne cotton dust permitted by federal standards. The dust causes Brown Lung. One more reason to back the unionization drive at J. P. Stevens!

Boycotter  
New York

**Editor's Note:** Following is the boycott list for sheets, towels, blankets, carpets, table linen and hosiery: Beauti-Blend, Beauticale, Fine Arts, Peanuts, Taste-maker, Utica & Mohawk, Yves St. Laurent, Angela Donghia, Forstmann, Contender, Gulistan, Merryweather, Simtex, Big Mama, Finess, Hip-Lets, Spirit.

When Maynard Jackson was running for mayor of Atlanta, he marched in the streets with striking city workers and opposed anti-labor actions of the white mayor Sam Massell, who had fired them all. Now, as Atlanta's first Black mayor, he has just fired 1000 sanitation workers who struck after he reneged on their promised 50-cent-an-hour wage increase. The money was used to give "all 5800" city workers a bonus of \$361—including some who make up to \$20,000 a year already. The sanitation workers make an average of \$7,000.

What makes it even more disgusting

is that at the very moment the striking workers were holding a vigil at the grave of Martin Luther King, Jr., on the ninth anniversary of his assassination (while he was marching with striking sanitation workers in Memphis) Martin Luther King, Sr. was supporting Jackson's actions and shouting, "Fire the hell out of them!"

I agree with the word the AFSCME spokesman used to describe the situation: Obscene.

Observer  
Atlanta

Despite the fact that a law was finally passed in 1974 making it illegal for growers to employ children under 12, it is seldom enforced, and when violators are taken to court the fines are merely token. The infant mortality rate of farm workers is 125 percent higher than the national average, and TB is 260 percent higher. After 12 years of sacrifice we know the only way to protect the rights of our children is to expand our small democratic union. We are getting stronger but we continue to need help and support. Those working for the UFW still receive only \$5 a week plus board. Every dollar goes to basics — food, printing, phone and gas. Contributions can be sent to:

UFW  
La Paz,  
Keene, California 93531

Cleaning women from Local 79 of the Service Employees International Union began picketing the National Bank of Detroit here on April 11, when they tried to break the union contract by subcontracting another cleaning company and laid off almost a third of the 67 women employed. These women—middle-aged or older—walk long hours on the line. One told us, "People aren't used to seeing cleaning women on strike. We have always been in the background—who cares who cleans the buildings? But look up at the buildings all around you—there's a cleaning woman in every one. What they're trying to do to us here is happening all over. We are determined to fight." The Women's Liberation movement should make it our fight, too.

WL-N&L Committee Member  
Detroit

## Reader

### TAXES FOR WAR

April 15, income tax day, has come and gone—with the usual rightful amount of grumbling about how much the government gets. One daily paper carried a diagram that showed that over one third of a worker's weekly toil is spent to pay taxes. What none of the dailies will focus on, however, is that over a third of those taxes go for current military expenses. In 1940, before World War II, only ten percent of the American people paid any income taxes. It was the skyrocketing military costs, beginning with that war but never ending since, that saw the government shift from a "class tax" to a "mass tax" policy. It is war we are paying for through the teeth.

Tax Protester  
Detroit

### DISSIDENTS, HUMAN RIGHTS

The London Times carried a letter reporting this story: One of the signers of Charter 77, Pavel Kohout, opened his door when the bell rang one day, expecting to find the police, and found instead a group of workers holding a bottle of wine. They said they were a delegation from their factory. When they had gone to collect their wages the week before they had to sign two documents — one the usual receipt, and the other a protest against Charter 77. Unless they signed, it was clear they would not get their money, so they signed. But they were so ashamed that they came to visit Kohout and ask for his forgiveness. Before they left, they all had a glass of wine to each other.

Reader  
England

That smooth-talking hustler Jimmy Carter makes me sick with his slick pretense of concern for "human rights". He is supposedly so concerned about the human rights of dissidents and prisoners—in other countries, that is.

Listen: I have been down at my local courthouse here in "good ol'" racist

America, and I have seen Blacks and Latinos/Chicanos and Native Americans railroaded by all-white juries through the courts and into the prisons. These people are our sisters, brothers, lovers, and we won't take this grief much longer.

Revolutionary  
Detroit

Federal charges against four women, accused of aiding and abetting illegal aliens through their work as counselors at Tucson, Arizona's Manzo Area Council, have been dropped after they agreed to comply with a directive issued Jan. 25. The directive forbids social service organizations from aiding a person suspected of being an undocumented alien until that person has presented himself to the Border Patrol. Arizona's new U.S. Attorney, says he may re-write the directive so it would not hamper counseling. There is little doubt that the 800 confidential files seized by the Border Patrol during a raid, and used to deport more than 150 persons were taken illegally. The Manzo case cannot be looked upon as an isolated case: the bourgeois press has stepped up its use of migrants and national minorities as scapegoats for unemployment, and the Border Patrol has launched a door-to-door "survey" that violates constitutional rights.

Supporter  
Detroit

A newly adopted Civil Rights ordinance prohibiting discrimination against Gay people in Dade County, Fla., is being challenged by a group calling themselves "Save Our Children From Homosexuals Inc.", whose main spokesperson is Anita Bryant, the top hawk for the Florida Citrus Commission. Miami's climate of homophobia is on the rise. In the month of March there were several firebombings, and harassment drove one Gay man to suicide. Bryant publicly announced her opposition to the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. All this has led to discussion in the Gay Community

## TWO WORLDS

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

The second volume of Tony Cliff's three-volume study of Lenin\*, which has just been published, is a most curious compilation. Though subtitled, **All Power To The Soviets**, and although it follows the first volume which already had centered on **Building The Party** (and is so subtitled), it is that same vanguardist theme that permeates Volume II as well. Indeed, the Foreword explains that the reason for the book, when Trotsky's monumental **History of the Russian Revolution** had already covered that period so magnificently, is the latter's "serious defect": "The one thing noticeably missing is the Bolshevik Party: its rank and file, its cadres, its local committees, its Central Committee." (p. ix)

So weighted down is Tony Cliff with the concept of the vanguard party to lead and the "calibre of leadership", that he does not deign so much as to mention the philosophic break Lenin experienced at the shock of the simultaneity of the outbreak of World War I and the collapse of the Second International.

The Chronology does list: "23 August/5 September Lenin arrives in Berne (Switzerland)"—and then proceeds to mention that Lenin presented his thesis on war to a Bolshevik conference. But neither there, nor in the whole 411 pages of text, Notes, and Index, is there a single word that Lenin repaired to the library to study Hegel's **Science of Logic** and that Lenin's "Abstract of Hegel's **Logic**" took from September to Dec. 17, 1914 to complete (1)—after which followed 1915 and more "On Dialectics" and everything from **Imperialism to Marxism and the State**, the first version of **State and Revolution**.

ON JAN. 5, 1915, Lenin addressed a letter to **Encyclopaedia Granat**, for which he had written the essay, "Karl Marx". He was trying to recall it in order to make "certain corrections in the section on dialectics . . . I have been studying this question of dialectics for the last month and a half and I could add something to

\*Tony Cliff, **Lenin**, Vol. II, Pluto Press, London: Distributed in the U.S. by Urizon, \$17.50.

## Tony Cliff degrades Lenin as theoretician

it if there was time . . ." Evidently there was no time—or at least the bourgeois Granat found no time—to allow Lenin to make his corrections, much less to try to figure out what had happened in those six weeks in Lenin's thought. No doubt it was hard to understand why Lenin, in the midst of a world holocaust, was so preoccupied with dialectics.

Sixty-one years later, a Marxist theoretician like Tony Cliff is still so little concerned with Hegelian dialectics that he fails to see its relevance either to Lenin or Marx—or **Imperialism**, to which he does devote Chapter 4. That chapter is the perfect proof that empiricists who are bereft of methodology cannot appreciate methodology in others because they so totally deviate from the revolutionary vision. Thus, Tony Cliff informs us that "in terms of the actual description of modern capitalism, Lenin is not original at all, and borrows practically everything from Bukharin." (p. 61) This follows a statement on what Lenin "owed to the people who had studied modern capitalism before—above all Hobson and Hilferding." (2)

That happens to be exactly what bourgeois economists—who have never pretended to be concerned with dialectics as have Marxists (either as philosophy or as revolution)—have always contended. Tony Cliff does them one better by drawing the further conclusion that "the difference between the two books (Bukharin's and Lenin's on **Imperialism**, rd) is radical—a difference between a theoretical treatise on imperialism and a political pamphlet on the same subject." (p. 61)

THE GROUND FOR this degradation of Lenin as theoretician is, in fact, laid in Vol. I (p. 256) where Cliff writes: "It was hardly an exaggeration for the Bolshevik historian M. N. Pokrovsky to write, 'You will not find in Lenin a single purely theoretical work; each has a propaganda aspect.'" In Vol. II, Cliff not only leads up to Chapter 4 by telling us (in the chapter on the National Question) that "many of the leading comrades in Russia did not understand why Lenin was so vehement in his opposition to Bukharin" (p. 56 fn), but in the very chapter on **Imperialism** he skips to Lenin's **Will** (12/23-24/1922) to quote Lenin on Bukharin as the "big-

gest theoretician", without so much as mentioning that a "but" follows: "but his (Bukharin's) theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxian, for there is something scholastic in him. (He has never learned, and I think never fully understood, the dialectic.)"

What is this dialectic that made Lenin say—and not just in a polemical way, but in his **Will**—that his Bolshe-

(Continued on Page 7)

### WHO WE ARE

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

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

## Views

both on a nationwide boycott of Florida orange juice and the Bill being re-introduced to Congress to include Gay people in the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Florida might as well be the testing ground.

Gay Marxist-Humanist  
Los Angeles

### TERROR TACTICS

On April 8 I was selling **The Militant** in front of a supermarket. A car circled the corner, and a man got out and said he was an organizer of the U.S. Labor Party. He was selling **New Solidarity**. He started in hasseling me, kept asking me my name, where our meetings were held, how often we met and how many we were. I turned my back and went on selling. A few minutes later I was surrounded by five people, trying to push me into the busy street. They yelled that I was a trouble maker, a whore. When I told them to move out of my way the organizer yelled at me, "when Rockefeller tells us to move we say—you. Now you tell us to move and we are not going to say—you, we're going to knock you down right here and rape you sister . . ." A young Black man came out of the supermarket, took my arm and led me out of their circle, offering to stay with me until my ride picked me up. I thanked him and told him I would be alright. He then went back into the store to tell people not to buy their paper.

Jody R.  
Grand Rapids, Mich.

### PRICE ASSAULTS

Thanks for your issue about the British students' protests. Canada is also increasing fees for overseas students. However, the Canadian ruling class is one of the wiliest and few have noticed. When the fee increases were first announced, all the Vice Chancellors, as if on cue, condemned them. They all promised to make sure that no needy student would suffer. But their charity extended only to those already in Universities. They

quietly went ahead to implement the government recommendations after successfully blunting any opposition. It was like having a Sadat or Gierek leading the anti-price-increase marches.

Ex-Overseas Student  
In Canada

Consumers Power Company is seeking a \$164 million gas and electric rate increase. They have sought almost continuous rate increases since 1973, and have usually been successful. The immediate cause of the increases was the sharp increase in fuel prices in 1973. Consumers Power is allowed to pass along all of its costs and receive a "reasonable rate of return" on capital assets. This means they engage in capital improvement as a form of state guaranteed investment, without regard to actual power needs. Nuclear plants are favored because they represent a heavy capital investment, and Consumers Power gets an automatic rate of return for capital invested. A nuclear plant on Lake Michigan was shut down for almost a year for reasons of safety. Nevertheless, Consumers Power was allowed to pass along this cost to its customers.

Sharp increases in utility rates have caused tremendous hardship in Michigan, especially over the recent winter, when many people had their heat disconnected for inability to pay their bills. Interesting ideas, such as a lifetime (lower) rate for the first 300 kilowatt hours of residential service, and state ownership, are being proposed by various groups. But utility rates are part of a larger assault on the living standards of the poor and the workers which will never cease under capitalism and which demands a total social revolution.

Lawyer  
Flint

### PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

N&L is a little too Hegelian for me—i.e. calling Russia and China "state-capitalism" without describing a little

more what limits them from being "socialist" countries. Can "socialist countries" exist?

Reader  
California

Raya Dunayevskaya's **New Essays** are excellent.

I have had another look at Lenin's notes on Hegel. It seems to me that his exclamation about the lack of understanding for half a century was due to excitement over the clarity he had suddenly experienced. Who among the writers on Economics saw the Dialectics in the early chapters of **Capital**? Who saw the full implications of the categories outlined by Marx? They felt they knew it all when they dealt with machinery and the division of labor. They did not see mankind as Marx saw it. It is here Dunayevskaya has rendered tremendous service. It is clear that Marx never forgot the philosophy of Hegel for a moment.

Harry McShane  
Glasgow

I've been reading through the pamphlet by Denby on workers fighting automation. It shows clearly how the machine affects the human being. That is a vision (or nightmare?) that a remote intellectual like me has to keep reading about. It is not my immediate experience, but I can empathize and understand.

Professor  
Athens, Ohio

Albie Sachs, a white South African lawyer and member of the Communist Party wing of the ANC, presently in exile, gave a two hour talk recently on the Black struggle from Sharpeville to Soweto. When he credited the ANC with the "organization" of the struggle in the aftermath of the June 16 Soweto uprising, I pointed out that nowhere could you find a description of those months of rebellion that in form or character resembled either the ANC or the nationalist PAC "tactics." It was the consultation that developed between the youth, the workers and the black railway engineers that resulted in the immobilization of the Johannesburg economy. His vanguardist mentality has blinded Sachs to what makes Soweto both a break in the black movement and a continuity in the long history of resistance in South Africa,

namely, that the revolt issued from below as the self-organization of the entire population "to a man, woman, and child" in the bringing fourth of freedom.

Louis Turner  
Los Angeles

The Western Press does have its own reasons for being anti-Amin, but the man is a criminal and it is absurd to excuse him just because the American press is against him. It is not the first time the African ruling class has maintained a conspiracy of silence in cases where Black people terrorize other Black people. The justification is always the same—no interference in the internal affairs of other African countries. Another favorite excuse is that Southern Africa should first be liberated before anything else. Until that day Amin can go on murdering at will. To the murdered it is small consolation that their murderers are Black.

Correspondent  
West Africa

The new form of anti-Semitism among the so-called Left is very careful to insist that it is not anti-Semitic, but only anti-Zionist. But when you ask them where they attack the repression of Jews, or where anti-Semitism exists today they can't answer. The Left is not free of racism and anti-Semitism is the oldest form of it. The various state powers use it to keep their own masses in check, but if you back China or Russia, you're not about to start looking for the contradiction in each country.

Student  
New York

I am abhorred by the "shortminded" actions of the ACLU in their defense of the "constitutional rights" of the American Nazi Party. In Chicago they and the KKK have the freedom to physically attack peaceful demonstrations of the King Movement while the ACLU is busy apologizing for defending them. It is the final straw I needed before I dropped my membership in the ACLU. My money is needed elsewhere. I am enclosing \$100 to help pay for the new "Black Thought" pamphlet.

Marxist-Humanist  
Chicago

**BLACK-RED VIEW**

by John Alan

The warm welcome that Tsietsi Mashinini received in the Bay Area, from the students on the various campuses to the rally in Kimball Park in the heart of the San Francisco Black ghetto, was not due entirely to what he had to say, but rather because he was the personal symbol of a new stage in the ongoing revolutions in southern Africa.

I doubt whether today, that any of the old line African leaders could arouse the enthusiasm and support for the African revolution that Mashinini did. The credibility of the old leaders has long been tarnished by their complicity in neo-colonialism. Many of them have no base in mass support and rule only by the force of the military.

What is significant about Mashinini is that he is new. New in the sense that he has come from a totally new experience in Africa's struggle for liberation. He represents a new generation and a new passion and a new force in the African revolution, one that has no allegiance to the old class of leaders who are hopelessly enmeshed in neo-colonialism.

However, the turning point of the Soweto revolt that made it totally different from all previous opposition to apartheid, was when the Soweto workers joined the revolt by refusing to go to work in Johannesburg, thus striking a serious blow at the economy of South Africa.

What had begun as a student revolt opposing the apartheid system of education, was now developing into a class warfare, aimed at the heart of the apartheid system. The revolt in Soweto revealed a high degree of consciousness and organization that was literally a movement from practice to theory—which is a form of theory itself—to a theory of total freedom in South Africa.

From the details that I have been able to gather, it is apparent that this process of revolt in Soweto was carried out in the most democratic and meticulous manner, with the students playing the role of initiators and coordinators. Student bodies within the schools were the conduit through which forms of action to be taken were relayed to Soweto's population, so student attendance was kept at the maximum during the revolt. Once the students had turned their schools into vehicles of revolt and organization, the police began to pass out forged leaflets, instructing the children to stay home!

Another aspect of this revolt was the concept of con-

**Soweto—new stage of revolt**

sultation . . . for example, the SSRC (Soweto Student Representative Council—the organization that Mashinini helped establish; he was its first President) points out that the success of the last two strikes was due, in great measure, to the consultations that they had with the taxi drivers and the railroad workers, which resulted in the stoppage of all traffic to Johannesburg.

What has emerged, in a very concrete way from the revolt in Soweto, is that the students, workers, women and children of Soweto had devised an organization, a method, and a theory of struggle, outside of all existing old organizations, whether they were internal organizations, like the ANC, etc., or external organizations which pay allegiance either to Moscow or Peking.

What was NEW in the Soweto revolt was that it was a self-liberating process, and therein lies the greatness of the South African movement. It was not just 'action' but also revolutionary thought.

Only an ideology which recognizes the greatness of thought and action in the self-liberating movements from below, which is independent from all state powers, and is based on the movements from below, can hope to be the banner of human liberation.



News &amp; Letters photo

On Easter morning over 300 people picketed the arrival of a South African cargo ship in San Francisco. The organizers, a coalition of groups supporting African liberation movements, considered the demonstration successful since most longshoremen refused to cross the line to unload the cargo.

**WORKER'S JOURNAL**

(Continued from Page 1)

side of his mouth and condones what is going on in South America and here at home, there is no wonder that Russia is able to react the way they have. The Supreme Court has just ruled on mass arrests, that in case of a disturbance, if the police say a district is off-limits, the police can arrest anyone in that boundary.

That is Nixon policy, but Carter is as quiet as can be. If he is such a believer in human rights, what does he see that is so right about this, or so human?

Let human rights be a policy for everyone, not just something you can pick and choose and call it human rights. One must be opposed to Russia holding thousands of people in prison, many for their political beliefs. But

let us also oppose police state tactics in Africa, in South America, and most of all here at home.

There are divisions within the Black movement, especially among some of the leaders. Some are making some of the most anti-Semitic remarks, like what the Nazis and the KKK are saying about the Jewish people. It is as though they have forgotten that whatever those two groups say, it is always about Blacks first, and Jews second. (See Editorial, p. 4.)

Black people are losing many of the gains they have made in recent years. They lost representation in Congress recently when John Lewis lost the election to a white former Atlanta councilman for the seat that Young held before he was appointed to the UN post.

Some say the reason Carter wanted Young as an appointee to the United Nations was that he knew there was a possibility that a white would get it, leaving one less Black Congressman.

Young said that he would have been more help to his constituents in Congress than he would be as Ambassador to the UN, but Carter had made so few appointments of Blacks to high posts that he felt he should accept it.

Young had gone to Georgia to campaign for Lewis because he felt it was important for a Black to keep his seat in Congress. Almost as many Blacks live in that district as whites; but those whites did not vote for Lewis. During the Reconstruction period the Blacks were more together, and voted for those who would help their cause and sent more Blacks to Congress than we have today.

**Challenges Roots review**

I want to comment on the article in the Jan.-Feb. 1977 issue: "Roots: Africa and America in Making the History of Freedom."

Actually it was worth the "wait" to see who would be the first (of many Black intellectuals) to dissect Brother Haley's work in terms of its (a.) historical context/accuracy, (b.) failure to place Black women in a favorable perspective . . . You fail to realize that the "new stage of Black consciousness (of which you speak) did not occur from merely watching Brother Haley's superb chronicle depicted on T.V. It was easy to see the media tried to invent certain elements (not in Haley's book) that would show white people in the worst possible light. I appreciated the Brother's "factional" approach and effort to trace "his own personal" background . . .

I realize Africa, as shown on T.V., was not a Garden of Eden. The same interaction between people existed in Africa that existed in many other civilized areas. Slaves were sold by Blacks for a variety of reasons: victims of war, physically inferior—or even as a crude means of controlling overpopulation. I cannot see how a brother's knowledge of how the "local black chieftain" sold him into slavery would provide any gleeful consolation and allow him to accept his present captor-oppressor or his present inhumane environment with feelings of joy and thankfulness.

Also, the sisters you mention—beautiful, beautiful sisters, our poor sisters, our neglected sisters. Their purpose was fully and truly understood—as to the role played in family, and in no way was it not fully appreciated. They were an integral and forceful part of the entire Black African family structure, a bountiful warehouse of wisdom, strength, compassion, knowledge and understanding. A beautiful, universal relationship existed (with their men) that enabled them to insure the continuity of the family—a necessary ingredient to any "decision-making" process. I do not feel they would have been concerned or aroused by a general question of "E.R.A." type inequalities.

It is also possible that the knowledge of many sisters who fought for freedom was kept secret, in view of the fact that the more the "Massah" found out about his slaves, the better he could refine his enslavement.

Finally, perhaps *Roots* is the vehicle that will launch us all into the peaceful revolution of sincerity, love, peace and goodwill we all seek. As a matter of fact it is happening now.

—A Brother

**N&L interviews Mashinini**

The following interview with Tsietsi Mashinini was made by a NEWS & LETTERS correspondent during Mashinini's tour of the U.S. last month.—ed.

Question: What is the role of women in South Africa?

Mashinini: South African women are the most oppressed women on the whole of this earth. They have taken tremendous steps to be involved with the men in the struggle. They have done a lot of things in the interest of the Black struggle in South Africa, and they show most of the resistance.

Q.: What forms of organization have come up? For instance, I know the old organizations of the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) were big party organizations . . . but I hear that with the Soweto uprising there are new forms of organization, new decentralized forms.

M.: The new forms of organization that came out of 1968 were the Black Consciousness movements, which were basically three movements. The Black People's Convention works with adults. SASO works with university students, and SASM works with H.S. students . . . Then the handwagon was the Soweto Representative Council, which decided that it was not going to accept the laws that Black people are not to demonstrate, trade unions are illegal, and so on. They organized under the defiance of the order; that we are people; that we're going to do it; and we're going to tell our parents to help boycott, stay at home, get out in the streets and protest . . .

Q.: In Chicago there's a youth movement called the Martin Luther King, Jr. Movement, and we're part of it. They see a relationship between what they're trying to do against racism there in Chicago and what you're doing in South Africa. Do you see more of these kinds of relationships coming out?

M.: Basically the struggle here in America is linked to the struggle in the whole of Africa all the time. What the government here is trying to suppress from coming out is exactly what the minority regimes are trying to suppress in Africa. And the struggle that is going on in South Africa now is based on the same principle as the struggle that is going on here . . .

Q.: You mentioned before that you came through London. We just received news — actually it's been blacked out all over the Western media—that most of the colleges in London have been occupied by students, mostly Third World students. This is because they have just upped the tuition. I think I read somewhere that you plan to go to school in England. I was wondering if you had heard or what you think of that kind of development?

M.: (Reading News & Letters, March, 1977) I haven't heard anything about this. I know that the British authorities have tried very hard to cut down on foreign students in Britain. They blame unemployment on them, and don't blame unemployment on the capitalistic system and so on. I believe that it is one of the struggles that will keep going until there is some sort of change on a global basis.

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## Rust College: students fight massive Black school cutbacks

by Peter Wermuth

Black students at Rust College in Mississippi set fire to an administration building March 31 after a quarter of the schools' students rallied to protest cuts in financial aid and increased harassment by administrators.

Students were particularly angered at the re-hiring of the college president, who has tolerated worsened dormitory conditions, slashes in student aid programs, and reductions in student enrollment.

While the militancy of this latest action took many by surprise, the protests at this all-Black college have been continuous since last December, when students boycotted classes for three days. The basic grievance today is the same as then: the administration is making cuts in student services and course offerings that threaten to reduce student enrollment.

Last year enrollment at Black colleges dropped by seven percent while national student enrollment increased by four percent. Should this trend continue (and the recent cuts in federal loans for college students indicate that it will), much more than the gains of the 1960s in Black education will be lost. So will the very existence of many Black colleges.

The seriousness of that threat was shown the same week as the Rust College protest, when students demonstrated at Virginia State College in Petersburg, also an all-Black school. The Virginia State students insist that merger or incorporation into white colleges is no solution to the financial plight of Black colleges unless there are guarantees that the decline in Black enrollment cease—which requires an end to ALL cutbacks.

College education nationwide is even more segregated than the public schools, and over 80 percent of Black college students in the South attend all-Black colleges. Most recently, however, federal courts ordered the University of Tennessee (an all-white school) to merge with all-Black Tennessee A&I.

## Colombian Indians fight rulers

(Ed. Note: the following excerpts were translated from a leaflet sent to N&L from Colombia.)

The Indian and peasant community of Caloto publicly condemns the following deeds:

Since February (1976) when we saw ourselves obliged to bring out our first public condemnation, the landholders' repressive attack hasn't diminished. On the contrary, at this minute our community is suffering from one of official repression's most ferocious persecutions.

Brothers ADRIANO VELASCO and MOISES ACOSTA were called to testify in a court in Caloto. In spite of the fact that there was no official accusation against these comrades, they were detained and held incommunicado. In our small village of Chocho, seasonally there appear bands of police who break down the doors and enter to confiscate our belongings and ask threatening questions.

We condemn the detention and persecution of our comrades, knowing it to be the work of landholders ARTURO SILVA and CAROL JARAMILLO. The only crime for which they are persecuting us is that we have refused to continue paying rent for the land we farm, and we are farming land that belongs to us, which Silvas and the Jaramillos snatched away from our grandfathers.

This attack on our community is not an isolated case. At this moment our comrades in Toribio and Tacueyo are enduring a strong military campaign. Some, our comrades from the Vetica and Santa Ana reservations, detained in Santander are very ill.

We the Indians of this region are not going to run away from the struggle for our just rights; on the contrary, each day we find ourselves more united, now that we are convinced that united is the only way we can defeat our enemies.

## March for UFW in Coachella

Coachella, Cal. — 3,000 Coachella Valley farm workers marched through the 12-mile valley on March 27, in a show of solidarity with the United Farm Workers Union in the upcoming election campaign there. Hundreds of supporters came from all over southern California to join in the march and rally.

At the rally one Chicano supporter said the farm worker movement represented the new that had been achieved by the La Raza movement since World War II, "Before World War II, in the Pachuco movement, we fought with our fists but after the war we learned a better way of fighting—with our minds."

Located 120 miles east of Los Angeles, Coachella is the home of 5,000 field workers and packing shed employees. Elections scheduled there last year were never held because funding for the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) was cut off. Thus the Teamsters continued to hold the contracts, in opposition to the workers' revolts as expressed by wildcats. Following the peace agreement reached in January between the UFW and Teamsters, elections are once again being scheduled.

But new obstacles to the farm workers' self-organization have appeared in the continued harassment of UFW supporters and the formation of company unions. The election of a company union in the Imperial Valley was certified by the ALRB in February. But as the new obstacles appear so do new forms of workers' revolts, as shown by the sit-ins at the ALRB (see News & Letters, April, 1977) and the march through Coachella.

But these belated moves toward desegregation are occurring at the same time as Black colleges are facing cutbacks and a nosedive in freshman enrollment. The Virginia State students do not want a desegregation plan that will serve as a convenient means of destroying the Black orientation of their college.

The feeling is that the budget crisis is the form in which the latest racist attacks are showing themselves. This is occurring right now at the 'integrated' City University of New York, where two years of severe budget cuts may result in 25 percent drops in Black student enrollment at some campuses.

In confronting the national racist attack on Black students by attacking the actual relations on campus between students and administrators, the Rust students have developed a new way of fighting against this nation's historic educational inequalities.



—South End photo

Wayne State University law students in Detroit sit in at law library protesting standards resulting in high failure rates of minority students. The protesters charged that over 60 percent of the minority students in law school are dropped, and demanded a change in the rating system. The sit-in ended in negotiations, but the issue is still unresolved.

## Roots and the eternal blues

Looking back, it's easy to see what was wrong with *Roots*. Did you notice it hardly ever showed anyone working? Yet South Carolina, the model slave state, set a slave's legal work day at 15 hours. Ante-bellum writers noted slaves' slow movements, dull eyes, and thin, drawn faces. The more perspicacious blamed malnutrition. But in *Roots* the slaves looked in better shape than the slave owners. It's one thing to show racist murder, rape and torture; it's another thing to show slaves as sweated labor, overworked, unpaid, and underfed. People might forget slavery was abolished.

With this off my chest I want to say that *Roots* moved me deeply, especially the first two episodes. After I watched the slavers run Kunta Kinte down, I put on a record and found a song I'd known for years and never understood:

### The First Time I Met You

The first time I met the blues  
people, I was walking through the wood  
The first time I met the blues  
I was walking down through the wood  
You stopped by my house first  
blues, you done me all the harm you could  
The blues got after me  
people, you know they run me from tree to tree  
The blues got after me  
and run me from tree to tree  
You should have heard me beggin'  
Mr. Blues, don't murder me  
Good morning, blues  
I wonder what you doin' here so soon  
Good morning, blues  
what are you doin' here so soon?  
You be with me every morning  
every night and noon

So I'm back to where I started. A British television crew was here in Chicago in January, 1976. They filmed a night at Eddie Shaw's club, and a Little Brother Montgomery/Edith Wilson set in Little Brother's home. They had earlier filmed blues artists in St. Louis, Mississippi and Memphis for a five-part BBC documentary series, "The Devil's Music: A History of the Blues." It was to be shown in England and Germany (and thus behind the Iron Curtain) but not in the U.S.A. Meanwhile, here in Chicago the "highly acclaimed" public TV series "Soundstage" refuses to film Black musicians unless they are owned by a major recording company.

Haley talks about *Roots*: if the roots themselves ever made it on TV, you'd hear Huddie Ledbetter sing:  
Home of the brave/land of the free  
I don't want to be mistreated/by no bourgeoisie  
In the bourgeois town/Oh the bourgeois town  
I got the bourgeois blues/I'm gonna spread the news  
All around

—David B. Lenoir

## TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

vik co-leader, Bukharin, who had never betrayed, who was always a revolutionary, who was, in fact, "the favorite of the whole party" and a "major theoretician", was "not fully a Marxist" because he had "never fully understood the dialectic"? The very work that Tony Cliff considers so theoretically superior to Lenin's popularization was the one that Lenin had first introduced favorably but after grappling with Hegel's dialectic, found so non-dialectical that he undertook his own study.

Secondly, and foremost, Lenin found Bukharin's opposition to self-determination not just bereft of the "dialectic of history", but so total an impediment to working with new national revolutionary forces, such as Irish revolutionaries, that he designated Bukharin's position as nothing short of "imperialist economism".

TONY CLIFF'S SINGULAR empiricism — like all empiricism, bereft of all methodology — is beyond comprehension of Lenin's theory — theory, not just a "popular outline." By leaving out Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* (3), Cliff not only skips over "philosophy", but the dialectics of liberation as self-developing Subject, that is to say, the actual masses in revolt. Thus by no accident whatever, the chapter on the "National Question" on which Cliff is supposed to agree with Lenin, not Bukharin, has not a word to say about the Irish Revolution, which was the concrete "topic" under discussion. What was decisive were live revolutionaries. Their appearances on the historic stage had sharpened to a fever pitch all the tendencies fighting Lenin's position.

This was not the Austrian Socialists in the 19th century (where Tony Cliff chooses to begin), nor even Poland, 1912, when the National Question was still debated just as "principle", as "theory", nor the Bund. Though he still keeps away from referring to the Easter Rebellion, Cliff is finally forced to quote Lenin: "The dialectics of history are such that small nations, powerless as an independent factor in the struggle against imperialism, play a part as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli, which help the real anti-imperialist force, the socialist proletariat, to make its appearance on the scene."

But meanwhile they hadn't, 1917 was still to be. And when it did come it was preceded by Lenin's *State and Revolution* that was first begun in those same critical years, 1914-16, when Lenin was grappling with Hegelian dialectics as philosophy, as politics, as economics, as self-developing Subject. "The dialectics proper" — Lenin's phrase — had to be shown as "the living tree of living, fertile, genuine, powerful, omnipotent, objective, absolute human knowledge" because "it is impossible fully to grasp Marx's *Capital*, and especially its first chapter, if you have not studied through and understood the whole of Hegel's *Logic*. Consequently, none of the Marxists for the past half century have understood Marx!"

By eliminating this from his study of Lenin, it is no wonder that Tony Cliff reaches the climax of his comprehension — I mean non-comprehension — of Lenin by singling out Lenin's "uncanny intuition. In a period of great changes, the number of unknown factors, not only in the enemy camp, but also in our own, is so great that sober analysis alone will not suffice. An unsurpassed ability to detect the mood of the masses was Lenin's most important gift." (p.278)

What then of Cliff's indispensable party to lead? Ah, Cliff brings it all back in the penultimate paragraph: "The crucible of October furnished the supreme test of his (Lenin's) strategy, and of the calibre of his leadership of the party and the class."

(1) When Moscow finally published Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* in English in 1961, they not only left out Adoratsky's Introduction to the first Russian edition of 1930, but also the Lenin Institute's listing of what books Lenin called for not just in Berne, 1914-16, but in Russia after taking power. It bears repeating Adoratsky: "Despite the fact . . . of the extreme situation and the necessity to give all attention and all energy to practical questions, Lenin continued to interest himself in questions of philosophy. This is evident from his readings . . . On June 24, 1921 he asked for a Russian translation of Hegel's *Logic* and *Phenomenology of Mind* . . . Lenin not only read but wrote on the question and philosophy. Nine-tenths of the remarks on Bukharin's *Economics of the Transition Period* concern the question of method."

(2) Cliff picks out the quantitative fact of "148 books, 232 articles" that Lenin read and annotated, but says not a single word that while preparing the pamphlet he had read *Phenomenology of Mind*, much less any attempt to dig into the abbreviated "popular outline" to see there such dialectical principles as "transformation into opposite", or the relationship between Hegel's "attitudes to objectivity" and Lenin's analysis of those "other studies" that Lenin "owes" so much to.

(3) In Vol. I, Cliff does have one single reference (p. 291) to "dialectically terse and lively *Philosophic Notebooks*" at the point where he criticizes *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. One would have thought that, even if Cliff had no time for concretizing his terse single statement on the *Notebooks*, his preoccupation with the Party should have led him to see that, Stalinist detractors notwithstanding, Lenin himself had not a word on "partyness of philosophy." Instead, Cliff's point is that it was supposedly only "in the period of reaction after the revolution" that "Marxist philosophy inevitably came to the fore" (Vol. I, p. 289) No wonder he could not see the *Notebooks* as Lenin's philosophic preparation for revolution.

# OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

## Jumblatt's assassination will not stop Lebanese revolt

The counter-revolution in Lebanon claimed its most prominent victim on March 15 with the assassination of Kamal Jumblatt, the foremost spokesman of the Lebanese Left, who headed a coalition of over 11 groups and parties which a year ago controlled over 80 percent of the territory and 75 percent of the population. These groups and parties, comprising both Muslims and Christians, were engaged in a revolutionary class struggle to overthrow the corrupt and privileged regime ruling Lebanon. The nightmare-vision of the Left gaining victory in Lebanon struck fear in the hearts of the Arab rulers, whose rivalries were put aside as they joined forces to crush the revolutionary Lebanese and Palestinian masses, using the subterfuge of Syrian troop "peace keeping" intervention to end the civil war.

Jumblatt, while not a Marxist, had developed into a revolutionary under the impact of the political, social and class injustices he witnessed from the time of his youth. Born into a rich and powerful Druse feudal family, Jumblatt early demonstrated his political independence and broke with the established political order. In 1943 he was elected to public office, served in a variety of opposition political capacities, and organized the Progressive Socialist Party in 1949.

An independent and dedicated socialist, Jumblatt spearheaded efforts through his party to achieve political reforms aimed at easing the economic and social suffering of the large majority of the people and reducing the influence of the opulently rich who dominated national politics and economics. His efforts ended in frustration, and he came to the realization that the old ruling plutocracy would never voluntarily surrender any power it exercised.

Convinced that the reformist path could not succeed in abolishing the misery of the masses, Jumblatt led his party in 1965 into a new left coalition. In 1969, Jumblatt served briefly as Minister of the Interior, and had the responsibility of establishing the regulations governing the relations between the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese state, a very sensitive relationship since there were some 400,000 Palestinians in Lebanon.

Subsequently elected secretary of the "Arab Front for the Support of the Palestinian Revolution," Jumblatt became aware that the solution to the Palestinian problem was indivisible from the class struggle to overthrow the oppressive Lebanese political structure. It was this combination of forces which resulted in the objective situation which brought the established Lebanese rulers to the brink

of defeat—and which unleashed the counter-revolutionary actions resulting in the Syrian intervention.

The tragedy is that Jumblatt and others in the Left coalition, including Yasir Arafat, could have been misled into accepting the Syrian "intervention" as neutral, or left-leaning, since Syrian dictator Assad is universally known for his absolute totalitarian and counter-revolutionary philosophy. The class nature of the intervention became almost immediately confirmed when the Syrian troops attacked the revolutionaries, assuring a continuation of the old oppressive relationships.

These are the developments which set the stage for the assassination of Jumblatt, not the seemingly mindless sectarian war between the Muslims and Christians which the western press, including that in the U.S., has continuously projected.

The assassination of Jumblatt by the counter-revolution has removed an historic figure from the leadership of the Left in Lebanon, but it has not, and cannot, remove those whose passions for freedom created Jumblatt: the masses of Lebanese who, while they mourn the death of Kamal Jumblatt, will be even more steeled by the assassination in their determination to achieve freedom in the only way left open to them—the overthrow of the existing rulers.

## Argentina

The first anniversary of the present dictatorship in Argentina on March 24 was marked by demonstrations and meetings in the U.S. Despite the worst repression in Argentina's long history of revolutions and counter-revolutions, resistance to the Videla government is both open and spreading.

According to a speaker from MASA in New York, industrial sabotage and demonstrations take place continuously, even with the military occupying the streets. The electric company employees were on strike throughout January and February. Profits are down due to workers' resistance at Renault, and at G.M. 25 percent of the cars are coming off the line damaged.

The dictatorship has responded to Jimmy Carter's criticism of its "human rights violations" by refusing \$15 million in anticipated U.S. aid, but did not bother to refuse another \$49.3 million that Congress had already approved.

Carter's policy on human rights is just a new face for the old imperialism, according to MASA. The U.S. wants more popular governments in Latin America only because there is too much instability

and crises from murderous dictatorships like that in Argentina.

## Youth unemployment

In New York City the word went out: the Federal government was financing 50,000 summer jobs for youth at \$55.20 a week for seven weeks. The response was overwhelming. At various points throughout the city, over 20,000 young people showed up.

In the Bronx they started forming a line at 3 a.m., with over 3,000 in line for the 2,100 jobs available. The bureaucrats in charge were set up to handle only 400 a day. Then there were qualifications to meet: you must come from a family of at least four whose income is below the poverty level of \$5,850 a year, and turn in four recent pictures of yourself (which many did not have).

Federal officials estimate that in New York City alone, 500,000 young people could qualify for these temporary jobs, but only one out of ten will get a job because of lack of federal funding. Over 20 percent of the youth in the city is unemployed.

In the face of this crying need, how can Carter contend that inflation is a greater problem than unemployment?

## Indian Ocean

Despite Jimmy Carter's call for the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean, a program is underway to turn the island of Diego Garcia into another Pearl Harbor. For the past six years the U.S. Navy has been working day and night installing an airfield, dredging the lagoon to accommodate the largest aircraft carriers—to prepare a first-class naval base.

Russia meanwhile has established a similar base at Berbera in Somalia, with other facilities available at Aden, Umm Qasr, Mogadisho Kismayu and the Seychelles. With a fleet of better than 17 Russian warships permanently on station in the Indian Ocean, the struggle for domination of the area between the superpowers is on.

Since 50 percent of the world's oil passes through this area, and 85 percent of Japan's supply, militarists of both superpowers find it to their best interests to maintain a strong military presence in the area.

The U.S. government has already sunk \$173 million into Diego Garcia, money that would be better spent helping the unemployed at home.

## Indian masses' rejection of Indira scores demand for basic social change

(Continued from Page 1)

who have been, or will now be, released from prison. There were 43,630 held under the Emergency, according to the latest figures, and tens of thousands more held for political offenses before 1975, most notably the "Naxalites," who challenge landed property in West Bengal.

Desai is openly hostile toward women, having told *Time* magazine that he once favored women in office (which was a lie), "but I have changed my views after the experience of history and three women prime ministers—Sri Lanka, India and Israel . . . You see, women on the whole have better, softer qualities than men, and on the whole they don't go as devilish as men. But when a woman becomes devilish, she beats all records. No man can equal her." While he soon apologized to the women who are national leaders in other countries, such as Bandaranaike and Thatcher, he refused to apologize to Indian women.

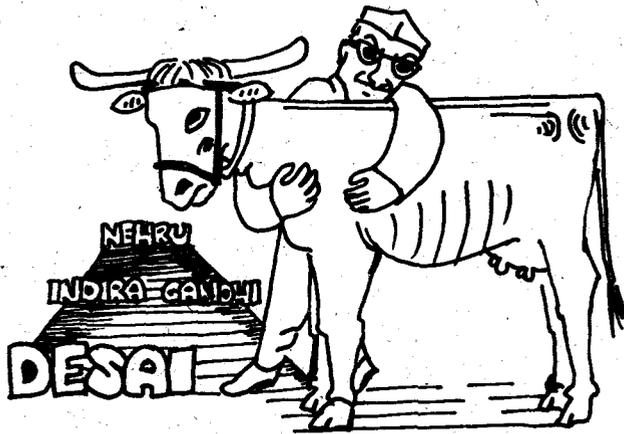
### NARROW-MINDED AND RUTHLESS

Considering that he is a teetotaler and abstentionist from sex since 1925(!), and that he put these personal ideas into practice while Minister of Bombay in the 1950's by imposing prohibition and draping nude statues, one wonders if his opposition to forced sterilization is founded on concern for human rights of the masses, or on his virulent male chauvinism.

Indeed, Desai has always been considered part of the pro-business and pro-"Western" right wing of the Congress Party, long before he left it in 1969 to form the Organization Congress. Before leaving the government, he had always coveted, in addition to the post of Prime Minister, that of Home Minister, responsible for the national police.

When he did enjoy police powers at the local level in Bombay, he ordered the police to shoot down rioters mercilessly during the language riots between Gujaratis and Maharashtrians in 1956.

Desai's friend Charan Singh, also a rightist, has been given the post of Home Minister. To the Foreign Ministry, Desai appointed the ultra-nationalist Vajpayee from the Jan Sangh Party, while giving the former editor of that ultra-Hindu and anti-Moslem party's newspaper, L. K. Advani, control over radio and TV.



### NO CHANGE IN HUMAN RELATIONS!

The Socialist and railroad workers' strike leader George Fernandes, who had first refused to join this reactionary cabinet, has accepted the post of Minister of Communications, one supposes to "balance" the Jan Sangh, yet the television and radio are clearly far more important in a nation of widespread illiteracy. Even power-hungry Jagivan Ram, the Congress bureaucrat who "represented" the Untouchables for 30 years, and who defected from Indira Gandhi at a crucial moment to help seal her defeat, at first found the Desai government too rightist, calling Desai a "capitalist"—only to capitulate the moment the key post of the Defense Ministry was offered to him.

### THIRTY YEARS OF STANDSTILL

In the 30 years since Independence was won from Britain in 1947, India has gone from crisis to crisis, as not one of the rulers, from Mahatma Gandhi to Nehru to Indira Gandhi—and it will be true also of Desai—could or would do anything to change the fact that no basic change in human relations followed Independence.

It is a country where the vast majority are illiterate, barefoot and often subject to famine. In West Bengal, farm workers do not know what their legal wages are. The country's seven million serfs still don't know the government has twice freed them from bondage—the

last time in 1975.

It is a country with a long history of peasant, worker and student revolt, with the peasant rebellions in West Bengal and the great railroad strike of 1974, both of which were brutally crushed, standing out as high points of the mass movement which forced Indira Gandhi to resort to the Emergency.

The many revolts against the standstill and for different conditions of life and labor did not bring down the government only because, in each case, whether it was the Sino-Indian War, 1962, or Pakistan, 1971, it was a "foreign invasion" that sparked both patriotism and the sympathy for self-determination for Bangla Desh.

But if the government fails to recognize that the Naxalites, for example, in their challenge to landed property in West Bengal, have sympathy from the masses, they are badly miscalculating the underlying upsurge manifested in the elections. To try to turn the clock backward as Desai is doing, with his "traditional (feudal) village life" is to live anywhere but in the 1970s.

This is shown also by Desai's sexist and pro-business statements, as well as the new leadership's fawning before U.S. imperialism, just as Indira Gandhi had done before Russia, all in the hope of "aid". He has already given those Third World countries who call themselves non-aligned a jolt by stating at their conference in New Delhi on April 7 that: "We must persist in solving our own problems . . . I do not think we need indulge in the commonplace that the rich are getting richer and stronger." All as if the big powers, who control the world market, are no longer to blame for the crisis facing the Third World.

The student strikes, the peasant revolts, and the worker strikes will by no means end with the end of sterilization. The peasants will want to know also about the increase in land taxes, and the questions of wages and unemployment remain likewise unresolved. And not to be disregarded is the possibility of a genuine left development which will not align with Russia or China. The masses have not had their last say in the election poll. There is no doubt that now that they threw out of power the attempt at creating a political single party dictatorship, they will rebuff this further move to the right which is sure to come on the production front.