

Introduction: Suddenly, U.S. imperialism has "a China card"

As the 1970s draw to a close, new revolutionary beginnings are emerging, be it in Soweto, or the South Bronx, Women's Liberation, or youth in anti-racism and anti-nuclear demonstrations throughout Europe as well as the U.S. These new beginnings, though they are the sheerest of beginnings, are forcing the Big Powers, China included, to undertake all sorts of desperate measures in search of global re-alignments to assure single mastery of the world by "One," be it either of the two nuclear giants, United States and Russia, or by . . .

Thus, from the banquet hall in Peking, on May 22, came the soft-spoken, yet rashly booming voice of President Carter's super-hawk, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski: "We share China's resolve to resist the efforts of any nation to establish global or regional hegemony . . . China and the U.S. oppose others who seek a monolithic world. We are confident that Sino-American cooperation is not only in our mutual interest, but is in keeping with the thrust of history. Neither of us dispatches international marauders who masquerade as non-aligned to advance big power ambitions in Africa . . ."

As if anyone could possibly fail to spell out "others" as Russia and Cuba, China's Foreign Minister, Huang Hua, flew first to the U.S. and then to Zaire to stretch China's designation of Russia as its "Enemy No. 1" to that of the "World's Enemy No. 1." Here, Huang Hua addressed that most hypocritical world confab, the UN—nuclearly armed to the stratosphere, but talking itself deaf and dumb about disarmament. There, he embraced the murderer of Lumumba, Mobutu. The flight to Zaire was timed for the opening of "the West's" meeting in Paris to approve France's acting as the world's policeman for the latest stage of neo-colonialism.

The daily press is too busy showing off its "know-how" about shifting global alliances, and how much of the sudden chilly wind reminiscent of Cold War days has been let loose for "home politics" because Carter's popularity is going down, as if what is involved is campaign-type politics of Carter vs. Reagan vs. Ford. The truth has nothing to do with that kind of "politics." The home front is at stake, but what is at stake on the home front is not Cold War politics, or detente. What is at stake is the deep economic crisis, the recession that refuses to go away. It

is a home front present in each of the countries. Neither Russia nor the U.S. can get out of this global economic crisis, whether, internationally, Cold War politics is unleashed or modified to detente. It remains primary for each.

In last year's Draft Perspectives, as we examined the global economic crisis along with that most horrifying of all weapons—the N-bomb which kills humans but leaves property intact—we called the thesis, "Time Is Running Out." None, however, thought it would come so soon, that is to say, **just when Carter stopped "the production" of neutron bombs, and just when he set out "to clarify" (i.e., "to modify") his National Security Hawk's views of "the China card," which actually meant to canonize that global reshuffling of alliances.**

Although not until the actual day of shooting begins do rulers close all doors—Carter could, after all, unite as easily with Russia against China as with China against Russia—still, as Commander-in-Chief, he indulged in such sabre-rattling at Annapolis, June 7, that he made even the announcement of a possible Salt II agreement sound like nothing so much as a **new phase of Cold War. Just as the 1962 missile crisis with Russia over Cuba permitted Kennedy to start talking all over again about detente with Russia, so the combination of "the China card" and possession of the N-bomb permits Carter to talk of "possible" Salt II agreement without any fear of being accused of being "soft on Communism."**

When Kennedy and Khrushchev were "eyeball to eyeball" in nuclearly-armed ships of confrontation, who could possibly have mistaken detente for "appeasement"? And when all is said and done now, who can doubt that **Pax Americana** still rules the roost? The ground is cleared for possible U.S. adventures in confrontation with Russia in the Horn of Africa. What, after all, concerns Carter in Africa is the oil route from the Middle East to the whole of "the West" as well as Japan. It is the Middle East that remains the hotspot both "in itself" and as it could set off nothing short of a world holocaust.

Ever since the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, when Saudi Arabia began to use oil as a political weapon as well as quadrupling oil prices, West Europe as well as Japan began to move away from the U.S.'s "leadership." Once not only the Nixon-

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Kissinger policy — of everything from outright military threats against the oil kingdoms to shuttle diplomacy — came to a standstill, but Sadat's spectacular trip to Jerusalem likewise got nowhere, Carter embarked upon his own twofold spectacular: (1) to tell Congress that Israel's arms deal would depend on his being given an arms deal with Saudi Arabia and Egypt; and (2) to send Brzezinski to get that "China card" by revealing some secrets the American people still do not know. Not that China, which had been rolling out the red carpet for Nixon ever since 1971, needed much persuasion, but Science — with a capital "S" befitting the N-bomb age — sounded especially inviting to technologically-bent post-Mao China.

And thus, U.S. imperialism — besides now having not one, but two imperialist outposts in the Middle East—has also "a China card"! All the more imperative does it become for us not only to say a loud "No!" to U.S. capitalist imperialism as well as to other state-capitalist adventurers, no matter how effective their charade as "Communists" continues, **but theoretically to prepare to transform the totality of the world's myriad crises into social revolution.**

That cannot be done by fiat or by the "vanguard party," much less by just standing aside to wait for "the right moment" when objective and subjective meet to become the pre-revolutionary situation. A serious beginning must be made with daily activities that, however, do not limit our vision to this year's Perspectives but consider that year in the context of the decade of the 1970s rather than limited to the high-point, 1968, as if the theoretic void did not help that high-point to abort.

New Beginnings that Determine the End . . .

I. The Movement from Practice and the Questions It Raises

The capitalists have every right to continue with their nightmare fear about the return of 1968. Revolutionaries cannot indulge in the 1968 euphoria of near-revolutions flowering into outright social revolutions without a theory of revolution. It is true that 1968 was the high point of the 1960s and "everything seemed possible," especially when not only students but 10 million workers went on general strike in Paris. It is not true that any revolution has ever fully succeeded that was not grounded in a philosophy of liberation.

1978 is the tenth anniversary of a year which shook up the entire world—from DeGaulle's France to Nixon's USA; from Mao's China to Latin America; and from East Europe, especially Czechoslovakia, to Africa. It ended in outright counter-revolution — with Russia's invasion of Czechoslovakia, and with the near-revolution in France, aborted without DeGaulle having to fire a single shot. The point is that revolutions abort not only because of the might of the rulers, but because the rebels themselves are not armed with a total philosophy that could have become the unifying force for the proletariat and the student youth, for the Women's Liberationists and the African Revolutions.

The 1970s may not be as activist as were the 1960s, but they certainly have raised new fundamental problems, whether that be the blue-collar blues at the point of production, or the need for a different philosophy of life; whether that be the struggle against the newest production

robot — Unimation — which only needs to be programmed and not retooled, or the need of unity between Soweto and the South Bronx. It is for this reason that the jumping off point for the decade 1968-78 is not so much France, 1968, as the USA, 1968, that is to say, the Kerner Report which had been forced by the 1967 Black uprising to admit that the U.S. was two nations, "separate and unequal." That had more relevance for the decade of the 1970s because it brings us



Drawn by Shari Kattoon.

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straight back to the economic base where there never was a boom and it is exactly there — the Black ghettos — where there is now a new Black consciousness, not just as "nationalism" but as class and social and world-wide. This is not because we say so, **but because Soweto showed that to be so.**

1970

It is necessary to begin at the beginning — the new dualities 1970 brought forth, with Nixon's extension of the Vietnam War into Cambodia and bringing that war home by shooting down the student anti-Vietnam war demonstrators in Kent, Ohio, and Jackson, Miss. It mobilized the anti-war resisters. Not only the youth, but the old, the Blacks and the Women's Liberationists, East, West, North and South, gathered in the most massive demonstration ever; one-half million soon descended upon Washington, D.C. It meant that there was no way for Nixon to get off the hot-seat **except** that the two state-capitalist powers calling themselves Communist — Russia and China — came to Nixon's aid and forced Vietnam to accept peace on Nixon's terms!

Internationally, too, there was no respite, in either the massive anti-war movement or in the workers' strikes. In Great Britain, for example, 600,000 came out against the Industrial Relations Act. 1970 also saw the Social Democrat Allende win the Presidency of Chile. Even in the totalitarian countries, there was the massive 1970 shipyard workers' strikes in Gdansk and Szczecin in Poland.

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Draft Perspectives—1978-1979.

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1971

Neither Nixon's tilting to Pakistan nor Mao's embrace of it could stop Bangladesh's freedom revolts. Not even the startling reversal of U.S. policy on China in 1971 and Mao's rolling out the red carpet for the state visit by Nixon could change the direction of the mass movement of opposition.

1971 saw the unabating Black Revolts. When in San Quentin the Soledad Brother George Jackson was shot down and the authorities tried to railroad Angela Davis, who had led the demonstrations for the Soledad Brothers, to jail, the mass pressure stopped them in their tracks.

1972-3

Nixon's scorched earth policy and the mining of Haiphong Harbor — as well as his plunge into state-capitalism and Dr. Strangelove Kissinger's threats against the oil kingdoms for using oil as a political weapon while quadrupling oil prices — only intensified mass unrest in this country in 1972-73. New forces of revolution kept appearing, as could be seen from the Indian occupation of Wounded Knee, on the one hand, and the wildcats of Chrysler workers, especially Black workers, on the other. That not only were the conditions of labor opposed but so was the whole capital/labor relationship, was seen from the occupation of the plants.

1974-75

The greatest year of the 1970s was, of course, 1974-1975, with the Portuguese Revolution. First, it developed simultaneously with the African Revolutions in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola.

In overthrowing fascism which had ruled Portugal for a whole half-century, it showed that it was not just the abolition of the old, but the creative unfoldment of new social relations. Thus, a multiplicity of new forms of the masses as rulers sprung up: from occupation of factories and creation of Workers' Councils; Peasants' Commissions and occupation of the land; Tenants' Councils and Women's Liberation groups; to challenging the vanguardist party-form of organization with the totally new concept of *apartidarismo*, non-partyism.

In this it disclosed how far beyond the Russian Revolution it had gone though it had only reached the February, 1917, not the November, 1917 full proletarian revolution.

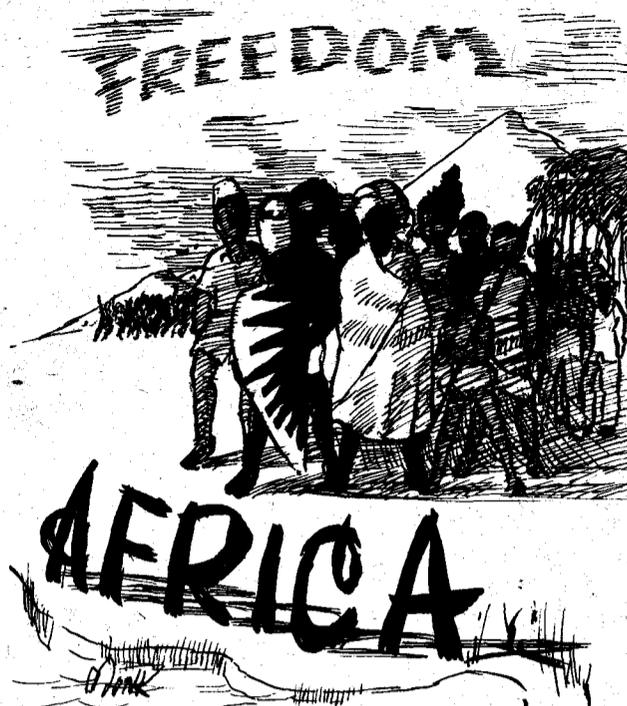
So deep was the revolution in both industry and agriculture in Portugal that when the counter-revolutionary military coup in November, 1975 took place, it could not totally reverse the achievements of these first stages of revolution. Despite all the pressure of the Big Powers — U.S. imperialism and NATO, not to mention tailoring also by Mao's China — and despite its native Social Democratic leader, Prime Minister Soares, who had been working hand in glove with NATO via West Germany's Helmut Schmidt, the workers' power in the trade unions has not been wholly dislodged any more than the peasant power on the land. With all the return of the land to the absentee landlords and factories to the multinationals, they could neither crush the revolution in toto, nor re-establish all the old relations. Unrest, strikes, new forms of organization are springing up.* By no means has the last word yet been spoken.

The myriad economic crises are holding all in its grip, but none of it has stopped the forms of revolt. 1975 saw civil war in Lebanon and could have become the jumping off point for genuine social revolutions in the Middle East had the P.L.O. not so concentrated on Israel as the "only enemy" that it diverted that civil war, welcomed the Syrian Army as if that were revolutionary only thereby to witness the most bloody counter-revolution by the right wing Lebanese Christian fascists.

1976

By 1976 a totally new page of revolt had begun in that most apartheid land, white, fascist South Africa. Soweto was not only a great, new,

*See *Workers' Power*, May 1, 1978 for a report on the founding Congress of the United Workers' Organization (UWO), supported by the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP), the Popular Socialist Front, and BASE. A full report is also carried in the April 15, 1978 issue of the Portuguese paper, *Pagina Um*.



Reprinted from N&L, May, 1976

very young uprising, but it was followed by a general strike as well as a total reorganization of thought — Black Consciousness not only for South Africa, but globally, beginning with Frantz Fanon as world revolutionary. Not far off was American Black Thought reaching for what Marx called "a new Humanism." Thus our new pamphlet — *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought* — not only starts a new stage for our development, but is so objective as to signal a new unity of objective and subjective as the 1970s close and new beginnings emerge. But first, let us look at the objective situation.

II. State-Capitalism of the 1970s

So decrepit had capitalism become by the 1970s that, far from the never-ending talk of growth, growth, growth, all capitalists could think of to stop the galloping inflation was zero "growth." What was worse still was the revelation of the Vietnam War, that the U.S. was not only the most savagely imperialistic country, but the one where, for the first time ever, there was a recession during an ongoing war, so much so that even the merchants of death complained of a decline in the rate of profit!

For revolutionaries to mistake the "arms economy," permanent or otherwise, as if it were equivalent to the booms of capital expansion — accumulation of such ever greater masses of unpaid labor as to counteract the decline in the rate of profit—is, at one and the same time, to blind oneself to the totality of the crisis, the

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actual structural changes of capitalist production in its death agony, and, what is far worse, fail to see the new forms of revolt, like the unorganized*, the new generation of revolutionaries, and the ever deeper layers of the proletariat fighting automation at its ultimate point of unimation.

The new in state-capitalism was, precisely, that even in the most affluent private economy, Nixon had to embark on state intervention—wage and price controls, especially the former, which is exactly the most characteristic feature of state-capitalism. With it came his attempt to stop the collapse of the international monetary system by devaluing the dollar and letting it float. This was so not because there wasn't enough gold, as DeGaulle thought, but because there wasn't enough production — not of destructive arms — but expanded production that means ever greater accumulation of unpaid hours of labor.

As we said in the 1972-73 Perspectives: "Nixon, the great believer in, planner and practitioner of shock treatment, brought 1971 to an end with, on the one hand, the finalization of the trip to Peking, without the consultation either with Congress or with his international allies, and, on the other hand, announcing, Emperor-like, a 90-day freeze of wages and prices, especially wages."

Just as, today, Carter is sabre-rattling while talking of detente and peace, so Nixon's forked tongue was nowhere more evident than when he threatened that if Congress failed to approve the extra billions for nuclear weaponry he would oppose the SALT agreement. That was, we said, "proof of only one thing: for Nixon, words have truly and fully lost all meaning. After all, he of the forked-tongue is the one who ordered the holocaust against Vietnam at the very moment he pontificated about a 'generation of peace.'"

By 1973 Nixon had devalued the dollar and we arrived at the floating exchange-rate system. No matter how the European big capitalists liked it, and U.S. capitalists decried what they called the "crap shooting mentality of the market," the truth is that Europe, too, came to a standstill in growth that was worse than the American. Because 1973 was also the year of the Arab-Israeli war and the quadrupling of oil prices, it looked as if — so the capitalist ideologues tried to make us think — the economic crisis was all due to that quadrupling of oil prices. It certainly didn't help Big Capital come out of the crisis. But the truth is that state-capitalism in the 1970s had reached the stage of zero growth, of stagnation. That is to say, production hardly kept up with the growth of the population.

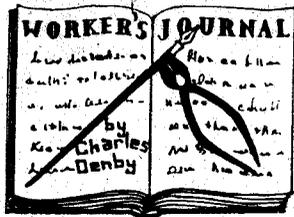
Nixon's gloating about the U.S. economy's reaching the trillion dollar mark hardly overawed world capitalism, considering the double-digit inflation and the fifth international money crisis in three years, with the dollar becoming the downhill champion. Nixonomics did not solve the economic crisis which, by 1974-75, became worldwide.

First and foremost was, of course, the never-ending unemployment, which in the U.S. is nowhere more ominous than among Black youth. It is there, too, that ever new forms of revolt appear. This summer is sure to be a long, hot one, even as last summer New York decided to celebrate "Christmas in July." What is staring the Carter Administration in the face is this unemployment which, though the inflation is no longer double-digit, is nevertheless producing the onslaught of the capitalists bent on turning the clock back on what little the unions have gained. Capital was under the illusion that it could also get labor on its side when Arnold Miller was willing to impose a still newer double-cross on the miners.

The militancy of the miners, however, was even more creative as it turned not only against management and the government, but also against its own labor bureaucracy. Thereby it opened a still newer stage of revolt. What was characteristic of this mass of labor unrest was not only that a halfway better contract was won, but that the rank and file gave notice that it had no intention whatever of giving up its right to

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*For the sweep of the unorganized working women, especially, who have been organizing themselves — from cannery workers to publishing house employees, from domestic workers to farm workers, from the offices to the hospitals — see *Working Women For Freedom*, published by Women's Liberation—News & Letters.



Union leaders encourage strikebreaking

by Charles Denby, Editor

I have just read an article in the Detroit Free Press which said that "strikes and picket lines have lost sanctity amid curbs and indifference." It pointed out very well what a strike and a picket line meant to workers in the late '30s and '40s, but it did not mention wildcats, which were as important as official strikes.

In the '30s and '40s, respect for a picket line was a holy obligation among trade unionists. Even those who had not yet joined the union respected a picket line, sometimes not so much out of brotherhood and sisterhood but out of fear of the consequences.

Not so today. That kind of spirit and feeling is gone. No one hears brotherhood or sisterhood mentioned today. It was not only the calling of people by that name, but the feeling of human relationship one got out of saying it.

There are many things that have happened to change this kind of unionism. First, the union leaders themselves went to fighting the workers who caused strikes. They came down harder on those who were responsible for wildcat strikes than the company in many instances, have workers whom they were afraid of disciplined and fired. The labor leaders began to call these workers supermilitant, and gave the companies more power to deal with them.

In the early days, trade unionists felt they would be taking food from another's mouth if they crossed a picket line. Today those workers that cross picket lines do not worry about being called a fink—they yell that they have mouths to feed and bills to pay.

Pat Greathouse, one of the UAW vice-presidents, said we are so damned fragmented sometimes that there is a lack of cooperation between unions at various levels. He blamed it on new labor laws, restrictive court injunctions, and the advent of the no-strike clause in union contracts. But what Greathouse did not say was that some workers and some labor leaders fought like hell against the union voting to accept the no-strike clause into their contracts.

For some reason, the strikebreakers who had been hired in may not hesitate at all to cross a picket line, saying that the union is no good anyway. In the late '30s and '40s, an auto worker had to wait one month before joining the union, but they got the same protection as old unionists. Today he or she has to sign up to join before being hired, but then the steward or committeeman cannot say a word for the worker for 90 days. Then these labor leaders can't see what is wrong with workers today.

Irving Bluestone, another vice-president of the UAW, thinks the answer seems to lie in a gap in commitment. There was a keener sense of solidarity in the '30s and '40s, but Bluestone was in school in the '30s. The late Walter Reuther began to recruit college students for the UAW staff instead of using workers from the plants. These college students did not know a thing about labor struggles.

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Thousands around world fight Nazi attacks

Chicago, Ill.—Five thousand demonstrators, some from as far away as Los Angeles and New York, surrounded the Federal Building in downtown Chicago, June 24, to protest the rally scheduled by Frank Collin and 25 of his Chicago Nazi stormtroopers.

There were Black, white, Latino, with many older people—including veterans and survivors—among the youth. The crowd was so large and so hostile that the Nazis' appearance was delayed an hour-and-a-half while the cops hoped people would get tired and leave.

Eight hundred police, in full riot gear and positioned in ten-deep rows, were used to protect the Nazis, who were escorted personally to the basement of the Federal Building in a police van by Police Superintendent O'Grady, and then out onto the square. Nothing is so stark a statement as to what side the government is on as the contrast between the massive police presence to assure the Nazis' public appearance, and the police violence against Black demonstrations in Chicago as recently as the King Movement Coalition marches just last year.

The day before, the Nazis had called off their much-publicized rally in the heavily-Jewish suburb of Skokie, in the face of an expected counter-demonstration of 50,000. When the Supreme Court ruled that the Nazis be allowed to go to Skokie, the city and federal governments immediately began working deals to offer Collin the chance to march instead in Marquette Park, a white area where they have some sympathizers, and which borders on the all-Black Englewood neighborhood.

When a Federal judge lifted all restrictions against Nazi demonstrations in Marquette Park, many politicians—like Congressman Mikva—who were going to the counter-demonstration in Skokie, expressed "relief" that the Nazis would be rallying in Marquette Park instead.

Against this attitude, there is finally a sense in the anti-fascist movement here that it is important to oppose

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From anti-nuclear to shop floor, youth revolts shake up capitalism

by Jim Mills and Peter Wermuth

In one single week this June, the world was witness to an outpouring of demonstrations that revealed the seriousness, variety and mass character of today's youth activity. Twenty thousand young people converged June 23-25 at the site of the proposed Seabrook, N.H. nuclear power plant, sparking anti-nuclear support demonstrations at other sites across the country from Monroe, Mi. to Rocky Flats, Colo.

That same day, thousands of youth led a furious counter-demonstration in Chicago against 25 swastika-wearing Nazis and the 800 riot police protecting them. Anti-fascist protests broke out that week from Detroit to London to the mass demonstration June 17 in Frankfurt, West Germany. (See participants' reports from Seabrook, N.H.; Monroe, Mi.; Chicago; Detroit; London and Frankfurt, on this page and inside.)

So numerous were the activities that it is literally impossible even to name them all—but they ranged from San Francisco's Gay Freedom Day parade, which, in the face of the new anti-gay repression, brought out hundreds of thousands of marchers and supporters, to the continuing resistance both inside and outside Iran against the Shah's murderous rule there.

SEABROOK'S MIDDLE-CLASS CROWD

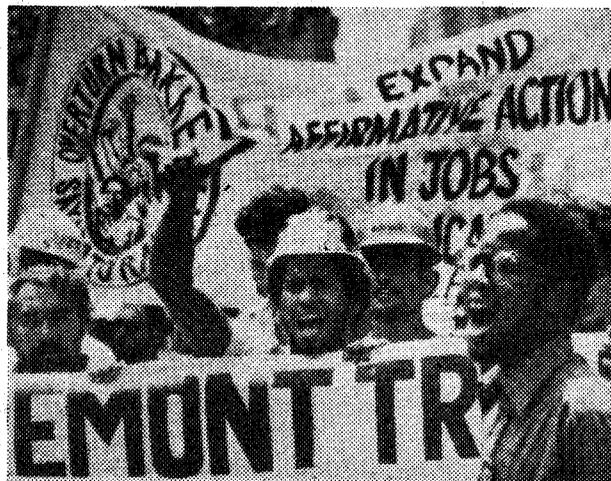
The Seabrook occupation represented the largest anti-nuclear power protest yet in the USA. Government officials and police had to recognize that the movement had grown and allow demonstrators this time to camp on the plant site without arrest, in contrast to last year when over 1,400 were taken to jail.

Yet even the impressive size of the occupations, and the participants' passion to block the destruction of environment and health could not wipe out the glar-

As we go to press, the Nixon-appointed Supreme Court has ordered Allen Bakke admitted to University of California Medical School, striking down the school's affirmative action plan, as "reverse discrimination." That this decision is a serious attack on Black America and on the women's movement can not be explained away by citing the "complexity" or "ambiguity" of the ruling, as some "leaders" have done. The demonstrators who immediately appeared show that the resistance to this attack will help make summer 1978 a long, hot one.

ing fact of the crowd's nearly completely white, middle-class character—unrepresentative of the U.S. youth movement. Worse, some anti-nuclear activists are convinced that workers aren't "conscious" on environmental issues. Certainly, no hand is being extended to Black, Latino and working-class participation. The truth, however, is that "youth" is not an abstract category. We are Black, Brown, and Red as well as white, women as well as men, and we aren't confined to the university campuses, but we are also transforming relations in the mines, auto factories and fields.

Look at another occupation in the month of June, less than 300 miles from Seabrook, by Latino students at Hostos Community College in New York's South Bronx slum—the only bi-lingual college on the East Coast. 98 percent of the students are Latino or Black, and they average 27 years old. Their three-month-long occupation of the "500" building finally forced City University to provide funds to renovate the building.



Nationwide protests, like this one in New York, erupted following Supreme Court decision upholding the Bakke case against affirmative action.

the Nazis in Marquette Park, where for years they have succeeded in precipitating violence against Blacks. We took our News and Letters Committee banner—"Skokie NO, Marquette Park NO, we oppose the Nazis wherever they go!"—to the Federal Building, and it got shouts of agreement.

Now the task is to have as massive and creative a crowd against the Nazis in Marquette Park on July 9. We all feel that they should have no "sanctuary" anywhere.

—Ron Brokmeyer

London, England—Having been soundly defeated at the polls and frightened off of public demonstrations by the strength and militancy of the opposition, the National Front and other fascists are turning more and more to acts of thuggery and terrorism.

On June 11, a mob of white youths ran riot through the Brick Lane area of London's East End which is inhabited mainly by Bengali immigrants. Wearing National Front and British Movement badges and chanting racist slogans, the youths threw bottles and stones, smashed the windows of shops owned by Bengalis and assaulted Black people. Although 30 youths were arrested, only three were charged.

The National Front denies any involvement in this riot, but it is known that 30 NF members were in the area selling their literature, as they do most Sundays, usually with police protection.

Meanwhile, Column 88, the underground Nazi paramilitary group, has threatened a campaign of arson and bombing against Jews, Blacks and Socialists.

As the Tories make racism respectable and the Labour leaders continue to try to solve capitalism's crisis at the expense of the working class, a polarisation is starting to take place. On the one hand, there are those sections of the ruling class who want a Chile-style dictatorship and are willing to use fascist gangsters to obtain

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Chilean women 'Relatives of Disappeared' challenge junta

(On May 22, 66 persons initiated a hunger strike in Santiago, Chile, demanding information on the whereabouts of 2,500 political prisoners who have disappeared since the Pinochet junta's counter-revolution of 1973. Support strikes led by Chilean refugees were held in over 40 cities and 20 countries, including the U.S. The following information is from a Chilean exile who participated in the Los Angeles hunger strike.—Ed.)

Los Angeles, Cal.—Beginning in Santiago, Chile, and spreading to Chilean provinces north and south, some 200 relatives of disappeared prisoners conducted a hunger strike—their third in less than a year—demanding that the Chilean authorities give them true information regarding the whereabouts of their relatives and all disappeared persons.

The Committee of the Relatives of the Disappeared, which was created in 1976, is a committee primarily of women. In June, 1977, they demonstrated at the Justice Ministry, and began a hunger strike at a UN office in Santiago. They agreed to call off the strike when the junta promised to give an accounting of the disappeared, but none was forthcoming.

Last December, shortly before Pinochet's rigged plebiscite, 60 women began a hunger strike at the church of San Francisco in Santiago. It was called off after two days because the Church leadership wished no problems during the plebiscite. Again, information on the disappeared was promised and not delivered.

This past May, some 200 participated in hunger strikes in several cities in Chile. The women, under the banner "One More Time: Our Lives For the Truth," declared:

"We cannot accept any more lies. We cannot wait any longer. We are declaring this new hunger strike on the conviction that by wagering our own lives, that by showing our unending love for our relatives, we will learn the truth.

"We call on national and international opinion to give us support. We call on those who have always been at our side. We call on the Church, on the workers, on everyone who feels close to us in our suffering; on the women, men and young people of our country who have understood us."

The latest hunger strike, which lasted three weeks, was ended after there was an agreement between the junta and the top officials of the Catholic Church to give information within 30 days.

The resistance in Chile today has taken on a number of additional forms. It took a new turn toward reactivation as a mass movement when 3,000 miners of the giant El Teniente mine struck for a couple of days in November. It was most important because the junta still had a state of siege and curfew, and the country was under martial law.

Under internal and international pressure, the junta has had to make a show of improvement, including the

announcement of a general amnesty. But it was a mockery, since 300 are still in jail, and the amnesty is not general. Those people involved in politics cannot return to the country, and it does not include the 2,500 disappeared.

The real resistance in Chile involves the women in the Committee for the Relatives of the Disappeared; it involves the workers; it involves a number of different forms. It is the social resistance, often semi-legal and underground, of soup kitchens, nursery schools, public clinics, some things under the support of the Church. It is unemployed men and women, who number some 200,000, some of whom have formed informal organizations where someone has a hammer, another person a saw, and together they start to organize themselves with the object of creating some work.

It is the underground existence of the major union federation, United Center of Workers (C. U. T.). It is the underground political resistance of the Leftist parties who are all working together at this moment under the Movement of Popular Resistance. And it extends throughout the Southern Cone of South America, where the call has been for the creation of a popular army, continent-wide, combined with industrial resistance.

Latinas demand Spanish forms

Detroit, Mich.—More than 40 people, Latino, Black and white, mostly women, including Women's Liberation-News & Letters members, picketed the Department of Social Services' southwest Detroit office on June 23.

We were there in the latest step of a five-year battle by the Welfare Rights Organization and Citizens for Welfare Reform to obtain bilingual Spanish-English forms and enough bilingual case-workers to meet the needs of the predominantly Latino community this office is supposed to serve.

The demonstration was sponsored by Citizens for Welfare Reform, which has been holding demonstrations for several months at Detroit DSS offices. We have been trying to change the way they treat all recipients—Black, white and Latino—as poverty objects. Many new women have gotten involved in the protests, but few women's groups or radicals seem to care.

The spirit and size of the demonstration was encouraging. We carried bilingual signs, and all of our chanting was in Spanish to express our refusal to be fragmented along racial lines, and our respect for those participants who didn't speak English. At the end of the protest, we chanted "We want equal treatment for all."

The DSS is constantly raving about the need to crack down on "welfare fraud," but they are prepared to waste money printing an expensive "guide booklet" to the English form, which would just cause further problems for Latino clients who have difficulty reading and writing English. Since our demands could be met simply and inexpensively, DSS is really exposing their campaign of harassment by their response.

Several of the Black women on the picket line were discussing Women's Liberation and the welfare rights movement. They wanted to talk about the direction of Women's Liberation today, because there are so many women coming into the movement who want to change everything, and they bought Women's Liberation-N&L's new pamphlet, *Revolutionary Feminism*. We are going to keep on demonstrating in Detroit and in Lansing until DSS recognizes that we are people too.

Poetry by 'Ordinary Women'

Ordinary Women: An Anthology of Poetry by New York City Women (Edited by Miles, Jones, Esteves, and Chiang; PO Box 664, Old Chelsea Sta., NY, NY 10011; \$3.95.)

The editors of this anthology have collected the poems of "ordinary women" to speak in a many-tongued wealth of the movement of our lives, and the poetry moves restlessly, expanding.

Women are awake and angry. The consciousness of self as woman is woven into the heart of the poetry, a consciousness assaulted each day on the street corner, but fighting back, kicking and questing.

"That being a woman is . . . not a cheap jam down the hallway of memories."

"Ordinary women": to be alive and be a woman, to create the sounds that echo the colors of the city streets and kitchens, is to be ordinary is to be extraordinary. The poetry of the women beats with tastes and sounds of Africa, the Caribbean, of China.

"Walking along the Bowery, can't help but think of the saddest place in the world, the street of blind prostitutes in Hong Kong."

If there is one theme through all the poems in this book, it is desire—desire for sense-experience; desire to define self, and communicate that definition and that process; desire for a loving that is the opposite of what the world makes it now: "a game of defeat plus defeat equals terror".

The book is unfinished. "Ordinary Women" speak new pages each day. "We were making our way in the world name the joy".

—Mariana Louise

WOMAN AS REASON

British socialist's theory of the family opposes Marx

The two-part article by Joan Smith, "Women and the Family" (*International Socialism*, Nos. 100 and 104), intends to begin to "fill the gap" of the British Socialist Workers Party's theory of revolution which from its inception, the editors admit, "neglected the massive reality of the oppression of women and everything it involved." Far from filling any gap, what the article revealed is how very far Joan Smith's analysis is both from Marx's conception of "What is theory?" and from today's Women's Liberation Movement.

Smith says she is trying to prove three things: "1. That the development of labor and the development of the family can be seen as the development of two forms of production . . . 2. That the different forms of Family are the basic Mode of Reproduction of all class societies and that it is impossible . . . for Capitalism to abolish the family. . . 3. With the development of Capitalism the State is increasingly forced to intervene in organizing and supplementing the Family as the mode of Reproduction: education, health, etc. . . The workers in the sections—largely women—are not productive workers, but necessary workers . . ."

The question I kept asking myself was, What is the basis for making these categories? For Marx, theory was not something made up in the mind of the theoretician for the purpose of arguing with other theoreticians, but had a relationship to the movement from practice, to actual human beings fighting for freedom. Smith's idea of theory, so divorced from reality, actually leads her to misread Marx.

She quotes from Marx's *Capital* that ". . . modern industry . . . creates a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relation between the sexes . . . although in its spontaneously developed, brutal, capitalistic form, where the laborer exists for the process of production and not the process of production for the laborer, (it) is a pestiferous source of corruption and slavery."

This section of *Capital*, Smith says, is Marx arguing "that women were set free by Capitalism." (!) Her conclusion is: ". . . the subordination of the Family as the mode of Reproduction to the Capitalist Property relations created enormous contradictions within the Capitalist society—and it is women who bear the brunt of these contradictions."

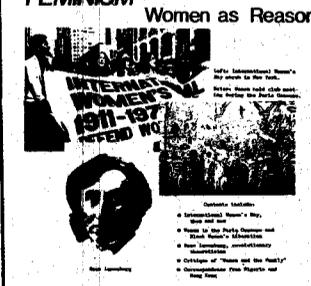
As against this reduction of contradiction to a capitalist idea of family vs. property relations, a contradiction totally stripped of Subjectivity, what arose from the Women's Liberation Movement is quite different. Sexism is not a relation between things. The contradiction is that I want to be a whole person, and this society is stopping that development. The women's movement showed this concretely when it challenged the men in the Left by saying: "If you are talking about freedom, then I want to see some changes here and now, between you and me in this organization."

Smith sees women's anger, not as a powerful impetus for change, but as something we have to "Harness . . . while connecting the struggle of women to the struggle of all workers against their common exploitation." This is just another way of telling women to wait until after the revolution, and to ignore the fight against the sexism of co-workers and the new dimension women bring to workers' struggles precisely because we are women.

What Joan Smith fears is not the "separatism" she criticizes, but the independence of the Women's Liberation Movement which will fight sexism wherever it is, be that in the so-called revolutionary "party-to-lead" or in the capitalist world. Her conclusion comes as no surprise. After she has stripped women of our history, our force, and our Reason, the only thing left to bring it all together is the Party—the very elitism that the women's movement rejected at its beginnings ten years ago.

—Terry Moon

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Women's Liberation-News & Letters Committee 50c

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women-worldwide

Hundreds of women dressed in black demonstrated in Paris across from Notre Dame Cathedral in solidarity with the weekly protests held by women relatives of political prisoners in Argentina. They carried a banner which read, "Argentina: 15,000 Disappeared."

About 800 women from several Washington, D. C. women's groups staged a "reclaim the night" march and rally on April 29 similar to those held recently throughout Europe (See N&L, June '78). Their demands included self-determination for women and justice for Dessie Woods, a Black woman imprisoned in Georgia, who is appealing her conviction for the "murder" of a white man who assaulted her.

The women's movement in Spain has been galvanized around the issue of rape which Spanish feminists interpret as any sexist aggression against women. The women are fighting male reaction such as that of Chumy Chuméz, a leading cartoonist, who said in an interview, "When I learn that someone has raped a 14-year-old girl, I'm envious, truly."

Over 250 activists picketed the national offices of the "Right-to-Life" anti-abortion group in New York City on June 10 to protest Congress' latest attempt to further restrict use of federal funds for abortion "except where the life of the mother would be endangered," and to demand a woman's right to choose.

Over 100 women and a sprinkling of men picketed the Iranian consulate in New York City on June 19, protesting the UN's choice of Iran as the site of the International Women's Decade conference in 1980. The Black, white, Latino and Iranian demonstrators demanded that the conference be moved to a country where women are not imprisoned and tortured for speaking their minds, and that poor and working class women participate in the planning of the conference, which purports to represent them but is being kept top secret.

Workers face hardships from Proposition 13

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

At GM South Gate it appears that the majority of workers may have voted for Proposition 13. But right now the fallout from that proposition might be making a lot of them rethink their vote.

The city of South Gate is considering a one percent tax on our wages, and to say the least, workers are really upset. Petitions began circulating immediately in the plant, demanding that the city council not impose the tax. Workers are talking about stopping GM from taking the tax out of our wages, or going down and stopping the city council from implementing the tax.

HIGH TAXES AND RACISM

I have been talking to a number of workers in the plant over the past couple of weeks regarding this proposition. There is no doubt that many of them voted for it because they "own" their home (along with the bank) and have seen their taxes shoot up as the value of their homes, on paper, sharply increases.

But it is a meaningless increase in home value because they are not in the house buying and selling game. They want to live there, and are finding the taxes impossible. So, many workers heard the slogans about lower taxes and voted for 13. They were tired of the bureaucrats always raising their taxes.

But at the same time, there is no doubt that some of the workers, some whites, were voting a race-conscious vote, with the code word being "welfare costs." In this way there was a division between the Blacks and the whites.

WORKERS LOSE SERVICES

But the question is what will happen next, now that the workers will find it is their children's schools that are being closed, and it is their weekly pay that will be hit with new city taxes. And other ways will surely be found to take the working person's money.

I think it has already started some rethinking. We need to stop these taxes. Really we need to change the whole system. But we have to ask: Won't the passage of Proposition 13 mean the rich are even more in the saddle unless we do something about it?

Danger at minimum wages

Hackensack, N.J.—Springfield Instrument Corp. has about one or two thousand workers, mostly Latin and Black. We get the minimum wage of \$2.65 an hour for very hard and fast work. There are many dangerous machines and every week someone gets hurt.

The other week one man was carried out by ambulance when a stack of cases fell over on him. This week a woman got her finger slammed by a machine and the manager just put cold water on it, wrapped it up with tape and a popsicle stick, and sent her back to work. She had to get it X-rayed on her own time.

I have never seen so many foremen. For every line of 25 workmen there are two foremen. A lot of people quit every week, they're so disgusted. But a lot more get hired, too. Most of the people have only been here a few months.

The foremen keep bothering you to work faster. On one machine, they told me I had to make 500 pieces an hour. They count the pieces and time you and can fire you.

The union is corrupt because it is only for a few people. If you join the union they do nothing for you but take your dues plus \$50 for your book. Some people have been here for two years or more and are still at minimum wage.

—Woman worker

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 3)

The most shocking news that I have ever heard is about Anthony Provenzano, the man that had another union official killed and is accused of helping kill James Hoffa. He has been put in prison for life, and before he had served a week, his 20-year-old daughter had taken over his job in the union as secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 560.

Provenzano's brother is the president of the local, which controls shipping and trucking labor activities in northern New Jersey. What kind of representation in workers' struggles can they get from that kind of setup?

NO DELIVERIES

When the late Myra Wolfgang headed Detroit's culinary union, she could always rely on the control exerted over the Teamsters by James Hoffa, then president. When Mrs. Wolfgang struck a restaurant, one call to Hoffa would halt deliveries of meat, groceries, ice, linen, milk and liquor. But right now in the Detroit area, Teamster drivers are crossing pressmen's picket lines to deliver the Oakland Press newspaper.

The Government has played its part in wrecking the activities of the unions. The Supreme Court just stripped from unions the power to discipline members who cross a picket line to do supervisory work. The vote was five to four, and four of the five were Nixon appointees. Workers can thank Frank Fitzsimmons for that. He would have sold out every worker in the Teamsters Union for Nixon.

There is no education program in the union today, where older workers can talk with younger workers about unionism, combating racism, or any of the things that make a union strong. Nothing is said about the relation of Black and white workers, although the UAW still boasts that it has the best educational program of all the unions. But who do they try to get to attend these programs? The only thing they can talk about is what the union is doing to get them higher wages.

Steward training UAW style

New York, N.Y.—District 65, Distributive Workers of America, recently held a shop steward training program. Our instructor was from the UAW. He told us how impressed he had been on a recent trip to China: "China has a beautiful system. They have 950 million people and each one has to work or he doesn't eat."

"But they have their productivity problems, too. Since they can't fire a worker from a commune factory they 're-educate them'—we might call it brainwashing but it's really subtle psychological pressure. The shop committee, including the director of the factory, will talk to the worker and see what his problem is. If that doesn't work they go to his home and talk to his family. That is also your function as a steward, to find out your workers' problems."

He also told us the UAW's "six W's" on filing a grievance—who, what, where, when, why, and the sixth most important one—"WHOA! Slow down!" We were instructed that a foreman calling a woman worker "girl" or even an insulting or derogatory term is no grounds for a grievance—it's "just a gripe"—unless you can prove it interferes with production!

On negotiating a contract, we were told, "It takes less men each year to make a car. This is necessary as the company must increase productivity or lose out to foreign competition. But that's to your advantage as you can use this as an argument to get the wage increase you want. This is a favorite UAW argument."

Nothing was said about freedom for workers, or working in a more human way. Everything was about fine psychological techniques of negotiation. These unions are so bound by what is that they have lost any idea of what could be. Their vision is so narrow as to be stifling.

—Steward, District 65

No free lunch at Uniroyal

Detroit, Mich.—Saturday, June 17, was Family Day at Uniroyal. It's nice to be able to walk in there once a year without dreading it, and to be able to give your family some idea of where you work. The pop, hot dogs and ice cream flow free—we've paid for it many times over the year with our work.

The way the company tries to make Uniroyal look like "one big happy family" of wage employees and management doesn't fool anybody. They don't show the visitor what it's really like to work there.

The only machines I saw running were in a radial operation on the second floor. But this didn't really show it either, since they were letting the builders work at a decent rate. It didn't give any idea of how fast radial building is, and how terrible it is the way it runs people at top speed.

One foreman, Joe Cobb, was drawing for prizes. When one of the winners of a color TV was called who didn't have a department or badge number, someone called out: "Hey, a salary employee! Come on Cobb, you guys keeping it all for yourselves?" I think that got a big laugh out of every wage employee there. On Monday we were all back at work again.

—Uniroyal worker

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich.—Dept. 9171 workers want to know why new general forman Stoner refuses to move to correct unsafe conditions in the department.

A worker was almost killed recently when a truck box swung down from the crane gear and slammed into his head. Only a few days earlier, the crane gear slid forward, releasing a wooden box which nearly fell on a worker guiding it down to the chassis. And earlier this year, the gear on the light line crane released a box which slammed into another worker's face.

We have submitted grievances demanding daily inspections for the cranes, but the body pick-up area foremen always say the problem is with the maintenance department—or they say we aren't careful.

This is not true. At the same time as the most recent injury, the crane came close to rolling the chassis into the pit as it dropped the cab with the fouled-up box. When the workers ran for safety, leaving the job unfinished, pit foreman Sam Wilson warned them not to miss operations. All he cared about was a few nuts and bolts, while four guys almost get snuffed out.

What Stoner has done is "crack-down" — which means getting out more production. On his orders to ride herd on probationaries, foreman Bill Grose, a known sexist and racist, fired a Black woman who had over 30 days in the plant. Everybody knows he did this in the last three minutes of the shift, without taking the usual disciplinary steps, and without calling a union rep.

As long as Local 140 puts grievances on a 90-day hold, we can expect little action on health and safety problems, and Stoner's crack-down — unless we take matters into our own hands.

—Main building workers

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—The main thing that workers at Fleetwood are talking about now is the latest speed-up. Workers are being ordered to double up on a lot of jobs, especially on the third floor, on door pads, seats and others. The union has been filing grievances on these incidents, but the company doesn't care. As long as the union isn't talking about striking, the company does what it wants.

Now that the elections are over, and Joe Wilson is the new Local 15 president, what difference will the new leadership make? Right now Fleetwood is getting the same production with many less workers — they haven't had to slow the line a bit because all over the plant workers have been speeded up.

But this is preparation for after change-over, when the line will be slowed down from 72 per hour to 65

per hour. They are going to lay some people off. Unless the union shows it is willing to strike, the company will know it can lay off many and still get production.

—Second shift worker

Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich. — Everybody who punches a time clock at the Dearborn Stamping Plant hates the computer time clock system. For one thing, your times in and out are not recorded on your card, which leaves a lot of openings for the company to cheat you out of your pay.

These computers are frequently out of order. When one clock breaks down, we are expected to go traipsing all over the plant, on unpaid time, to find a computer that does work. If you find that none of them are working, you are finally free to come or go. If there is a clock working, you're supposed to use it. If you don't, you may be in for a talk with your foreman, and be told that if you don't ring out then you won't get paid.

Another problem is that your foreman may have your time card on his person, and you can't go anywhere until he gives it to you. Some foremen you have to chase around to find, a minute or more after the whistle.

Nobody gets paid for the extra harassment and time spent. You begin work when the whistle blows for the shift to start, and when the whistle blows for it to end, you should be starting on your way out of the plant.

—DSP worker

Ford Mahwah

Mahwah, N.J. — The biggest problems in this plant are safety hazards, harassing people, and how the union is not working for the workers. If you have a union but the union is not for you, you can forget it, because the company can do what they want.

They're trying to eliminate some jobs and put the work onto other jobs. Speed-up is as usual. Right now they have technical problems, so they can't speed up as much as they want to.

They harass every day about absenteeism. They want you in there every day. If you don't come to work, you have to bring a doctor's note. If you tell them your car broke down, you have to show them the receipt from where you got it fixed. If you don't bring a paper, they give you two or three days off. For the second time, they give you one week off. After that you get fired.

The company wants you to come in every day, but when you start working ten hours a day, a lot of people stay home. They take a medical leave, that's all. They have a lot of Black foremen now, but harassment is still more against the Black workers.

—Black worker, days

U.S. RACISM AND AMERICAN BLACK THOUGHT

The truth of the U.S.A. is racism, and it's because racism in this country is all-pervasive that it deepens the class relation as it encompasses it. When you discuss race here you are discussing class. Everything that happens is on the backs of the Blacks. I even see this in relation to the Latin community. The lighter-skinned Latinos are in the small shops, moving their way up, while the darker they are, the poorer they are. **Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black thought** is not just a Black pamphlet.

Garment Worker
New York

I was not surprised at the Supreme Court ruling in favor of Bakke — not after Nixon appointed all those reactionaries to that bench and vowed he was going to push this country back to where it was before the Civil Rights Movement. Now, no matter what the case, all one has to do is appeal to the Supreme Court to get a racist decision assured. It is sure to give hope to many other racists, such as the Detroit police who have a case against affirmative action. The police already are protecting racists from the public everywhere they appear, letting them march with hate literature and even swastikas anywhere they wish. The backward push started with Nixon, but Carter's silence on all this shows where he stands, as well.

Black Worker
Detroit

The separation between Black leaders and masses was clearly shown when Baraka's recent conference in Harlem drew only 100 people, while a few blocks away over 1,000 attended the Harlem Book Fair. Black leaders never look to action from below. The Amsterdam News headlines "Black Leaders Take Charge" and discusses the old Black city politicians. Wallace Muhammad proclaims July 14 Patriotic Week. The new pamphlet is right — the fact that there are no recognized leaders in the Black community today is a new beginning for us.

Black Activist
New York

Ever since China has been buddying up to the U.S. and taking some unbelievable positions against the Black people in Africa, many Blacks seem to be breaking with Maoism only to run to the other side and begin supporting Russia. But why is Muhammad Ali playing that role? There are too many inhuman things going on in Russia for me

to believe he is all that innocent about what is happening there.

Retired Black Worker
Detroit

While I certainly do not agree with Muhammad Ali that Brezhnev is any "man of peace", I couldn't help liking the way he totally disregarded the new Cold War atmosphere being nurtured in this country. In fact, it reminded me of Ali's early (and brave) opposition to the Vietnam War.

Observer
Detroit

I was struck with the first section of the pamphlet **Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought** which quotes from the Kerner Commission report about the U.S. moving to two nations, one Black and one white. Because that is what Proposition 13 is all about. It has made the division along racial and class lines more evident. In the poorest, predominately Black districts in Los Angeles, the percentage voting against Proposition 13 was 76, 75 and 63. In the predominately white middle and upper class areas, the vote for the proposition was as high as 82 percent.

N&L Committee Member
Los Angeles

PROPOSITION 13

The people have told the capitalist bureaucracy they don't want to be taxed out of their homes and they want the fat cut out of government spending. They'll get cuts, OK, but they will be cuts of the young and minority workers and cuts to the welfare system and schools. They will not get cuts of any fat or profits or bureaucratic parasites, because they have tried to act within the Capitalist system and it cannot work.

Little do the middle class workers who are being eaten up by taxes realize that it is only time until they are eaten up altogether. The bureaucracy pits welfare recipients, minorities, teachers and students against the middle class anglo worker, while the bureaucrats become fatter and fatter nibbling away at him until the day he becomes part of the group he has been led to believe was his enemy. The only things the capitalist system has ever offered people are death and taxes.

Housewife
Los Angeles

At a primarily Chicano high school students walked outside in protest of Proposition 13. The teachers joined

Reader

them. The cancelling of summer schools will mean students missing a few units will be unable to make them up, but will have to come back for a whole semester. A group of student nurses were to graduate over the summer and take their exams in September, so they could get jobs. Now they won't be able to, and all are working class adult women.

Even some working class women in San Fernando Valley who voted for 13 are now saying, now that we can keep our houses, our children have no schools. The closing of schools for the summer for the handicapped children is a real tragedy.

Concerned
Los Angeles

APPEAL FOR WINNIE MANDELA

Winnie Mandela has been relentlessly persecuted by South African police, subjected to frequent searches, interrogations, prison detentions and harsh banning orders. Now it is learned that a knife-wielding "burglar" entered the shabby little house in the remote Brandfort ghetto to which she has been banished. With the help of a teenage daughter and a sister who happened unexpectedly to have stayed overnight, the intruder was driven off, but there is grave concern for her future safety. Arrangements to burglar-proof the house and garage are being sought, but the cost will be more than she can pay. Since her banning, she is entirely dependent on charity. Those who wish to help can contact:

International Defense and Aid Fund
Kenneth Carstens
PO Box 17, Cambridge, Mass. 02138

VICTORY FOR THE BLIND

The Michigan legislature has unanimously passed HB 5830, consolidating all services for the blind in the state, including educational, rehabilitation, and job placement. They will be extended to students and senior citizens, who had previously been ineligible.

After years of inadequate services, we were told last year that the existing agency would be merged with the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, which would have been disastrous since DVR can't handle the clients it presently serves, much less try to handle the needs

of harder-to-place blind people. Blind people from all over the state, led mainly by the National Federation of the Blind of Michigan, marched on the Capitol demanding that legislators appoint a committee to study the needs of the blind in the state. Starting with virtually no political support, we gained so much momentum through our own personal lobbying efforts that we completely stopped business in the office of one senator who tried to stall the bill shortly before its final passage. The task for us now is to make the autonomous Commission just established live up to its potential.

Blind Activist
Detroit

EUROPEAN MASS MOVEMENTS

Here is the beautiful graphic that one of our readers here did after reading Mike Connolly's article on Europe in the June issue. We thought it captured the spirit that his article conveyed.

Terry Moon
Chicago, Ill.



Mike Connolly's article the new and exciting movements in Europe really hit it on the head. I just read that a West German magazine, *Der Spiegel*, has reported on hundreds of youths who threw rocks and bottles at police in the East German city of Erfurt. The confrontation was evidently provoked by "extremely aggressive actions" of the police. It seems a fitting tribute on the 25th anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt.

Observer
New York

ANTI-NUKE/ANTI-WAR

The mass demonstration at the UN was very moving, the Japanese delegation especially. Their statements meant so much more than the reformist kind of things other people were saying. Compare for example, a statement that "if women were in power these past 50 years there would be no wars," with this, from an A-bomb victim: "We ask you to realize that the production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons presupposes their actual use; it is a disguised theory of preservation of peace which takes people as hostages." The Japanese women were strong speakers and had an urgency about them, concerning the use of nuclear weapons and war in general you could not ignore.

I would have thought NYC could have turned out 100,000 people, if it had really been publicized. But those in power must be terrified of every movement, even one so heavily church-supported. Just consider that over the four days of the mobilization at the UN, the opening up of the gambling casinos in Atlantic City commanded 20 minutes or more of news time, while the anti-nuclear demonstration of 20,000 got less than 2 minutes!

Working Mother
New York

Get acquainted with Marxist-Humanism . . .

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Views

FROM POLAND, ISRAEL, AFRICA: ON THE WARS OF THE '70s

The column on Poland in the last issue of N&L was great. Now let me tell you about the "Flying University." Following the tradition of Polish academics in czarist days, students last year organized solidarity committees in five main academic centers. Then 58 academics (now grown to 65) founded the Society of Academic Courses. The courses on history, economics, sociology and literature are given in private flats to groups of between 15 and 50. A recent library of officially unavailable books has been built up—I hope they have *Philosophy and Revolution*. The government is obviously afraid of the intellectual contagion of the "Flying University." Though the gatherings are legal the police have been raiding them, arresting people and jailing them without reason.

In some respects, the atmosphere is very similar to what it was in 1968 when I was there. For example, anti-Semitism is being whipped up by the government. I know someone who just went there and brought back a story of his friend who cannot get a job because he has a Jewish surname, even though his skills are very much sought after in Poland. All jobs are distributed by a government agency. What is different this time is that the whole movement was a direct response to workers' uprisings, beginning in 1970.

Urszula Wislanka
Chicago

There is a great deal of criticism in Israel now against the nature of the Litani Operation not only by the Left but by many middle-of-the-roads. The arms deal for Saudi and Egypt and Israel is also a cause to ponder on. We are in a state of "armistice". Peace will be an improvement for the Israelis only if it reduces the unbearable burden of the arms race and the need for such a disproportionately huge army. But when the U.S. initiates a new arms race, promising them to both sides, it forces us to remain a garrison state... Most of the wars of the '70s, even outside the Arab-Israeli conflict, concentrate in the area stretching from Morocco to the Persian Gulf. There is too much wealth and too many places of strategic importance for the superstates to leave things at rest. The local predators have simply realized that if you want to win wars you have to pick on weak partners and avoid conflict with the strong ones. There is some hope for our country for a while, but very little for the area as a whole.

Mordechai Cafri
Israel

Apart from the civil strife in the '60s, the killing of the ten university students (who were simply protesting 300 percent fee increases that would have ended their chances of continuing their education) was the greatest disregard of human life the Nigerian government has yet shown. Commentators are comparing it to a shooting down of miners in the colonial days and to Sharpeville. Believe me, the comparison is quite justified. And it looks like the government is going to get away with it.

Articles appear in the government-owned (60 percent of the shares) *Sunday Times* with no mention that innocent students were killed, students are still in detention and the Chief Counsel for the now-banned Students Union has been put on trial as a result of activities arising from his defense of the students.

Then there is the question of Zaire. Believe me, ominous things are happening in Africa. There is talk of NATO setting up an African Command to intervene in countries that "make the request." It looks like another scramble

for Africa, and like the first scramble, the middlemen like Mobutu are right there, inviting the imperialists in.

Correspondent
West Africa

LATIN AMERICA'S UNFINISHED REVOLUTIONS

Because Raya Dunayevskaya's article on the Latin American Unfinished Revolutions took up some 18 years of delusion on the part of revolutionaries as to the nature of Cuba, I went back to read the articles in N&L on Cuba written as far back as 1960. They already warned of what direction the revolution was taking. Evidently, if you have Marx's methodology, you don't have to wait 18 years, you recognize the laws of motion of a society even with the glow of the revolution still around. Just consider Lenin's arguments with his co-leaders right in the midst of revolutionary Russia.

Supporter
New York

In El Salvador, an alliance of workers, peasants and students shook the rulers so much they were discussing whether there should be a preventative slaughter of 20 to 30 thousand peasants, as in the 1930 peasants' revolt. In Guatemala 34 people were killed a few weeks ago in fighting between peasant squatters and landowners that included attacking an army outpost. There is a movement of landless peasants in Mexico. And much more. Yet the Trotskyist followers of the theory of permanent revolution persist in believing in the backwardness of the peasants. No wonder they can offer no solution to the unfinished Third World revolutions.

Marxist-Humanist
New York

Dunayevskaya was right to object to calling the Cubans mercenaries, because what they are doing is for something a lot more serious than just money. To dismiss them as mercenaries ignores the whole long development that is taken up in the new Political-Philosophic Letter on the Unfinished Latin American Revolutions.

Lab Technician
New York

Ed. Note: Copies of the latest Political-Philosophic Letter of Raya Dunayevskaya can be ordered for 50 cents from NEWS & LETTERS.

TELEPHONE WORKERS' BATTLE

We need your help in a court battle which may seriously affect the rights of all rank-and-file workers in organized labor. Our case involves Local 1401 of the Communication Workers of America, representing 11,000 NYC telephone workers. As an elected shop steward, in 1976 I initiated a shop newsletter and argued in it that the membership would be in a stronger position in then up-coming contract negotiations if we were prepared to strike. The local leadership removed me as steward immediately and the president announced that while members could criticize the local any steward who did so would be removed at once.

After being denied access to internal union appeals, 22 members filed suit against Local 1101 and the union was ordered to reinstate me. They went to Federal Court of Appeals, however, where the decision of the lower court was overturned. The Appeals Court held that "like any on-going enterprise" a union is a top-down organization and a steward is simply "an agent of the local's management." Until this time, courts have always ruled that union members do not surrender their free speech rights upon election to union office.

Who We Are

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

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

The CWA International has hailed the decision as a "major breakthrough" and similar cases have already been threatened by the Teamster and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Can you and your readers help? We need legal assistance, finances, endorsements, publicity, and contacts. We welcome suggestions, criticisms and comments.

Dave Newman
Telephone Workers Legal Defense
410 Seventh St.,
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11215

MOHR

The Margareth Miller Lesbian Mother's Defense case is now headed to the State Supreme Court. She has changed to another law firm, the same one that defended the VA Nurses, costing her \$75.00 an hour. A benefit Rummage Sale in Ann Arbor, July 15-16, and a benefit at the Casbah Bar in Detroit, July 30, tickets \$3.00, will help raise funds. For more information call the Detroit Michigan Organization for Human Rights (MOHR) 863-7255.

Don Mager
M.O.H.R.
Detroit, Mich.

REVOLUTIONARY FEMINISM

Your pamphlet on Revolutionary Feminism is quite good and I hope it finds its audience. You concentrate on the struggles of the female proletariat. I wonder, if, in reaction to bourgeois feminist ideology, you are slighting the arena of the family which, is, after all, the main incubator of Sexism. The problem there is much more complex to be sure, but I'd like to see what Marxist-Humanists could produce. All those sensitivity groups to work male chauvinism out of men are relevant to revolution. As an ex-MCP, I should know.

Ex-MCP
California

Ed. Note: See p. 4 for how to order REVOLUTIONARY FEMINISM.

I can't relate to the idea of: Women step back and be silent and we will deal with you after the revolution. This is sick thinking, just like the many times Blacks have been told to walk slow for our freedom. I reject such reasoning. Male supremacy seems to be woven into the social order as deeply

as racism. In order to change it we have to dig all the way down and rebuild all the way from the bottom with freedom for all people. Thanks for sharing your thoughts with us inside these walls.

Male Prisoner
Washington

I was angered that a Nazi woman in full dress had appeared when about 50 youth from Red Tide and the Brightmoor community recently picketed the Nazis' second headquarters. But I was furious that some picketers had called her "whore" and said "arrest her—isn't prostitution illegal?" I told some women from Red Tide, "Her presence puts women down, but she is as responsible for choosing Nazism as any man. Her sex life is not at issue—call her on the basis of those ideas." I think it shows why so many of the "action" groups and coalitions fall apart. We can't hope to defeat the Nazis without dealing with the racism, sexism, and homophobia within our own Coalition.

Anti-Nazi Activist
Detroit

CHINESE IN AMERICA

An historic, pictorial exhibit entitled "Images from a Neglected Past—the Work and Culture of the Chinese in America, 1849 to the Present," is on display at the Chatham Square Branch of the New York Public Library in New York's Chinatown through July 13. It has already created a groundswell of response in the N.Y. area. It consists of over 500 photographs, illustrations and objects, side by side with a running narrative, on the lives of Chinese in America. Did you know that Chinese workers were the first immigrant group excluded from the U.S.? Or that the IWW was the only union in the early decades of this century to allow Chinese membership? Or that 2000 Chinese railroad workers went on strike for the eight hour day in 1867?

We encourage everyone to come see our exhibit. It is a fine introduction to Chinese American history and people—too long unknown to the American public.

Asian American Resource Center
199 Lafayette St.
N.Y., N.Y. 10012

DETROIT READERS—A CALENDAR FOR JULY/AUGUST

The following pre-convention discussions, to which all readers are invited, begin promptly at 7 p.m. Thursday meetings are held at N&L offices, 1900 E. Jefferson. Sunday meetings at the Highland Park YWCA, 13130 Woodward Ave.

Sunday, July 9:
Revolutionary Feminism

Thursday, July 13:
Perspectives, 1978-79

Sunday, July 23:
Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought

Thursday, July 27:
Organizational New Directions

Thursday, August 3:
The Paper in The Battle of Ideas

Thursday, August 10:
Youth Report; Revolutionary Finances

DETROIT PUBLIC PREMIERE OF
"WITH BABIES AND BANNERS",
Wednesday, July 19, 7:30 p.m. — Community Arts Auditorium, WSU — \$2 donation.

1937-1977
THE STRUGGLE
CONTINUES

WL-N&L
banner
unfurled at
UAW
celebration

An inspiring film on the Women's Emergency Brigade, produced by the Women's Labor History Film Project, begins and ends with demonstration by Women's Liberation-N&L, Flint NOW and CLUW, demanding that Genora Johnson be allowed to speak at the 40th anniversary celebration of the 1937 Flint Sit-down Strike.

Thousands around world fight Nazi attacks

(Continued from Page 3)

it. On the other are millions of working people who are losing their faith in reformism. In order to not only defeat fascism but to advance to socialism, the working class now has to work out a philosophy of liberation, a new unity of thought and action.

—Terry Liddle

Detroit, Mich.—On one day's notice more than 150 people picketed the Nazi "hatequarters" in Detroit's Brightmoor neighborhood on June 25. Violence broke out when the youths who sprayed black paint over the storefront windows displaying the Nazi leaflets were first ignored and then suddenly arrested by police.

The crowd, led by many concentration camp survivors and young people from this largely white, working class community, rushed into the street and began pounding on the squad car yelling "Let them go!" Ten people were arrested. All have been released and several have asked for a jury trial to begin July 16.

These events reflect increasing outrage among citizens at the unwillingness of the Detroit City Council, especially so-called radical Ken Cockerel, to take steps against the Nazis. Although several "large, intimidating" Brightmoor residents have convinced the Nazis to close this headquarters, their captain immediately announced in a press conference that they would open another, and establish a second office in Oak Park, a largely Jewish suburb.

Frankfurt, West Germany—On June 17 in Frankfurt, West Germany, the fascist party, NPD, was supposed to hold their national conference. They dared to take the 25th anniversary of the great 1953 East German

Prop. 13—economic disaster

San Francisco, Cal.—Long before Californians will be able to count the billions of dollars that they gained in property tax relief, after they overwhelmingly voted in favor of the Jarvis/Gann initiative in the June 6 election, the impact of that election has already become an economic disaster for thousands of workers, minorities, poor families and children.

Governor Brown, who called Proposition 13 "a rip-off" during the election campaign, has frozen the salaries of 190,000 state workers and placed a freeze on hiring new employees or replacements. San Francisco's Mayor Moscone and the Board of Supervisors have declared a "State of Emergency", suspended the City Charter, and repealed an \$11,000,000 raise allocated for the 16,000 city workers.

Social workers in the Aid to Dependent Children program were ordered to "lop off \$2½ million worth of kids from the program." One worker said she felt "as though it were an order from the Nazis, putting the responsibility for which child survives and which ones don't on us."

Alameda and San Mateo Counties laid off over 1,000 workers, and it is estimated that eventually 200,000 more state-wide will join the ranks of the unemployed.

As a union local official put it: "Proposition 13 took a swing at government bureaucracy and knocked off the working people. The workers are unemployed now, but the bureaucracy is still there."

The victory of the Jarvis/Gann initiative has become a platform for every anti-union, anti-affirmative action program, and anti-environmental and pollution control idea that can be espoused. In this atmosphere it is not coincidental that Los Angeles County is now appealing to the U.S. Supreme Court for a ruling to overthrow a Circuit Court decision that it must step up its hiring of Black and Chicano firemen.

Gay movement wins gains

Detroit, Mich.—With a lot of hard work by the Michigan Organization for Human Rights (MOHR), the Ingham County Board of Commissioners voted unanimously two weeks ago to include sexual orientation in their civil rights definition. It is only the fourth county nation-wide to do so.

Also, every commissioner is up for election. Of course, it has not been publicized—it's a lot more fun showing revivalist ministers claiming "the people have spoken." Many people are starting to react against the phenomenon of Anita Bryant, who is taking the most irrational, Biblical authority-position into the ballot box.

The gay movement is bringing out certain contradictions within our society. This is why it has drawn support from people who are not gay, because they see these contradictions as real. We see the supposed separation of church and state in the referenda in four cities which have recently gone down against gay people, and which were argued persuasively on religious, not civil or constitutional, grounds.

When people become discriminated against and persecuted because of their sexuality, that forces them into the public arena. Then they are criticized for making a public stand.

—Don Mager, M.O.H.R.



—LNS

Over 800 police defended Nazis against thousands of demonstrators in Chicago on June 26.

workers uprising and claim it as theirs, saying "25 years of German freedom struggle" (!). They planned a march through the center of the city. Against this fascist march, counter-demonstrations were announced by all anti-fascist groups.

On the day of the march, the fascists gathered in the Northeast part of the city, while the counter-demonstrators converged on the center—anti-nuclear groups, citizens' initiatives, gay organizations and women's groups. There was a contingent from the Alliance of Victims of the Nazi Regime.

As soon as the counter-demonstration forms police contingents begin to surround it. They are dragging water cannons. The march makes its way to the Romer, where the fascists are supposed to meet. There are at least 7,000 counter-demonstrators. No one had expected so many. The police loudspeaker announces that the NPD event on this square was approved. The summons to leave the square is met by whistles. The order comes again. The whistle concert and the cries "Nazis out!" and "German police protect the fascists!" become louder and louder.

The water cannons begin, and the first stones fly. On the Berlinerstrasse, barricades are built, as the police try to clear the area. Out in Northeast Frankfurt, some 3,000 fascists are gathered in marching order. Their loudspeaker announces that the center city is blocked by counter-demonstrators; the police have now forbidden the rally. It is answered with cries like "All of them to the wall!"

In the center city, ambulances are now arriving to take away the injured. They are still using the water cannons and the riot police. The Romer area is filled with people against the fascists.

(Thanks to Informations Dienst, Hamburger Allee 45, 6000 Frankfurt 90, West Germany, for this story—Ed.)

Panama revolt then and now

(The following account of the 1964 Panamanian uprising against the U.S. occupation of the Canal Zone was written by a participant who was in the eighth grade at the time. —Ed.)

From the beginning of the Panama Canal 70 years ago, the Panamanian people have never accepted U.S. sovereignty over their land, and have never ceased struggling for sovereignty. This was shown most recently when two students were killed by pro-government people at the University. The students had attended a meeting to protest Carter's visit to Panama to "celebrate" the new treaties. Sovereignty is not negotiable.

One afternoon 14 years earlier, a contingent of Panamanian students had marched peacefully to the Canal Zone city of Balboa and raised the Panamanian flag alongside the American flag. By this act, the students hoped to test the titular sovereignty of Panama over the Canal Zone, as agreed to by President Eisenhower in 1955.

Panamanian students expected opposition, but not the vicious attacks they suffered at the hands of the Canal Zone High School students and by the Canal Zone police as they were forcibly ejected from the Canal Zone and their flag burned. The fate of the students quickly spread.

I watched as speakers, perched on a truck, spoke through bullhorns to the gathering crowd. Working people were now joining the movement and they implored the seemingly impotent Panamanian government to give them arms. Government forces could not, at this point, stop the now inflamed populace.

The Americans had the advantage of a well-trained, well-supplied military establishment. Panamanians, on the other hand, were armed primarily with outraged nationalism. Any known American property within the confines of the city was burned. I watched as the Pan Am building was rammed with a car, set aflame, and looted.

Panamanians seemed to taunt death. Using binoculars we watched the American soldiers at the Tivoli Hotel calmly eating or smoking. It became evident that this was no fantasy battle, however. In the aftermath, 22 Panamanians lay dead and hundreds were wounded.

Native American speaks

Friends aid Longest Walk

by Shainape Shcapwe

More than 500 Indian people are now participating in the Longest Walk, which began from Alcatraz Island on Feb. 11 with over 300 people. The Walk, which should reach Washington D.C. by July 15, is to both protest and to tell Americans about the huge amount of legislation before the U.S. Congress designed to take from Indian people everything from fishing rights, to child care, to treaty rights, as well as legalizing forced sterilization. (See N&L April 1978.)

Detroit-area Indians and many others responded to a telephone call from the marchers to the Detroit Indian Center during the first two weeks of June. Through a chain of calls from Indian to Indian, we learned that the march was passing through Columbus, Ohio, and that money and supplies were desperately needed.

Despite poor publicity, about 300 Indians came to a rally at the Indian Center on June 8. Our senior citizens cooked corn soup and fry bread, and on this food alone we raised \$83. So spontaneous was the response that about \$700 was raised altogether, and spare auto parts, tires, shoes, and useful clothing like jeans and jackets were contributed, along with quantities of non-perishable food.

I talked with two women and one man who lived a very traditional life in Oregon. He was walking with his wife and their two-year old grandson. He described the highly disciplined camp life of the marchers where smoking and drinking were prohibited. They had felt the need to organize themselves in camp because wherever they went the authorities regarded them as trouble-makers. But ordinary people, especially other minorities, were very receptive.

This man told me: "I know why I am walking. When they get through a law dealing with fishing and treaty rights we won't be a sovereign people. It's nothing new—it's hard to imagine that they would try to take so much at once. They have been trying to take that sovereignty from us while they say how much they are trying to help us."

"Ordinarily, I would not be walking, except that I saw that if the government takes away treaty and fishing rights, what a tremendous effect it would have on the people of Oregon and Washington. I thought a lot before joining the Walk, because you can't change a lot by running away from home. I know we can't all walk, but if you think about how the government is trying to kill us, it will make you want to help us."

This walk is very important to me because it seems to be the most positive thing since Wounded Knee. Not only are we getting ourselves together, but we are getting together with other minorities to say why we are walking. I'm glad we are talking to people—it is hard to even realize how vast an area the bills cover, and to what lengths the government is prepared to go to control our lives. For these reasons I will join the march in Washington, D.C. in July.

Financial contributions are still needed. These can be sent c/o Detroit Indian Center, 360 John R, Detroit, MI 48226, phone (313) 963-1710.

Blacks protest 'strangulation'

Brooklyn, N.Y. — A well known 35-year-old Black construction contractor died of "strangulation" after a dispute with 20-police in Crown Heights. Arthur Miller had been arguing with two white police who were trying to arrest his 21-year-old brother Samuel on a traffic violation. The two police panicked and more cops — both Black and white — arrived and jumped on the Millers, who were then handcuffed and driven away.

Later it was reported that Arthur Miller had died of "strangulation" from the scuffle. Hundreds of outraged Blacks held a mass meeting and, a few days later, a protest march from the Court House in Brooklyn across the Brooklyn Bridge to City Hall. There, Mayor Koch said he was sorry but added that "it was not a racial incident" because some of the police were Black.

New reports on the killing suggest that Arthur Miller had refused to make payoffs to the police. Whether or not this added dimension of police corruption was involved, one Black student said, "You may be important, but you're still Black. Black life is cheaper than white." A parallel between the circumstances of Steve Biko's death and Miller's was drawn by a few members of the community: "In South Africa they have Black police, too, which does not make the death any less racist."

Although a "full investigation" has been promised, the Black community is bitterly aware that no police officer has ever gone to jail in any of the cold-blooded police killings of Blacks — including Clifford Glover in Jamaica, and Claude Reese and Randolph Evens in Brooklyn.

—CUNY student



Demonstrators mobilize against arms race

New York, N.Y. — I joined 20,000 other people in New York on May 27 who also saw the need to "mobilize for survival." I was impressed by the internationalism of the demonstration for disarmament, especially by the 500 delegates from Japan representing some 33 million Japanese who had signed a petition which they brought with them to give to the UN Council on Disarmament.

I received about a dozen different pins representing the Peace movement throughout Japan, a small paper crane which symbolizes "the realization of one's hope," as well as written accounts of their own personal experiences of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki from many Hibakusha (victims of nuclear weapons) who have suffered atomic diseases for the past 30 years. The slogan they brought with them was "No more Hiroshima, No more Nagasaki, No more Hibakusha."

Most of the delegation were members of the **UN Confederation of A and H Bomb Sufferers Organizations**, who, as students in 1945, were forced to work in the city factories to produce for the war. Among the 500

S.F. Iranians oppose Shah

San Francisco, Cal. — Defying both San Francisco police dressed as storm troopers and threats of problems with U.S. immigration, over 1,000 Iranian students and a handful of American supporters held a march and demonstration in front of the Iranian consulate, June 5, to commemorate the anniversary of a massacre of unarmed Iranians demonstrating against the Shah's dictatorship in 1963.

The demonstration was organized by several different Iranian student groups in a rare show of unity. The point stressed throughout was that there is continuing turmoil and near revolution right now within Iran that we don't hear about from our news media (see articles in June, 1978 N&L). The U.S. government is all that's propping up the Shah's dictatorial regime.

Since the revolts now happening in Iran are mass, popular, and continuing, the U.S. may be forced to play the same "advisor" role to combat "Communist aggression" as it played in the early days of the Vietnam War. The message from these students to their U.S. counterparts is "Get the U.S. Out of Iran!"

The San Francisco police nearly provoked a confrontation with the Iranians in front of the consulate when they appeared in full battle gear and military formation, and began pushing people on the street. Several weeks earlier fights broke out between those police and Iranian demonstrators, leaving several injured.

A few days before the demonstrations, the principal of the Berkeley Adult School, where many foreign students go to learn English, warned Iranians that if they missed classes June 5 he would report their absence to U.S. Immigration. Since nearly all Iranian students at the school weren't there that day, presumably to be at the demonstration, the threat could have serious impact on the students' visas. As of now it is unknown whether he actually carried through with that threat.

demanding world peace and relief for A and H bomb sufferers were Koreans who were forced by Japanese militarism to migrate to Japan, beginning in 1939, for the purpose of labor and military draft.

With the disaster of the Bikini Atoll H-bomb test, a group of fishermen sparked a national movement of small and medium industries in the movement against A and H bombs, which today has a membership of over 300,000. One man said that he could not express the horror he felt when he heard that the N-bomb had been manufactured.

At the rally there were speakers from almost every industrialized nation and nationally both the Seabrook and Rocky Flats occupants were among people from many states represented. The composition of the demonstration included children with their families, religious groups, Vietnam veterans, students from Kent State, lesbian anarchists, Canadian feminists and the Gray Panthers.

I was disappointed, however, at the lack of Black and Third World people as well as NY youth. I am sure that the lack of publicity in these areas had a lot to do with it. Or perhaps it is because the movement hasn't yet thoroughly developed the crucial links needed with the Third World, Women's Liberation, youth and labor.

It has been over a week since I attended the demonstration, but I am still overwhelmed because I see the anti-nuclear movement growing globally with the potential to put an end to the arms race and for the people to take control of their own lives finally. This necessity of controlling our own lives was expressed by many, particularly young people who were active during the '60s and have since had time to think while observing a decade of world changes.

Detroit, Mich.—Although the nuclear protest rally staged in Monroe, Mich., near the Fermi II plant, on June 24, brought out only about 75 people, it was not just a small, isolated event, but part of a nationwide rally against nuclear armament and the misuse of nuclear energy.

It was held in honor of Karen Silkwood, a union steward who died when her car mysteriously caught fire and burned after she had assembled significant evidence concerning the hazardous conditions in the nuclear plant where she worked. Half the participants were older folks, and there were also a number of the very young. But it missed up in a number of areas, the most important of which was the participation of any significant number of Blacks.

One speaker suggested that the struggle can be fought not only politically, but in more individualistic terms that would enable one to be independent of the power companies—but many of the suggestions were financially inaccessible to most people. And, unfortunately, the skit which was presented not only included one insulting "joke," but in it, all the "evil roles" were acted out by men, and all the "victims" were acted out by women. It also portrayed scientists as "evil" characters in general. I hardly think that is what Karl Marx

meant when he wrote, "To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie."

The rally was capped by the release of dozens of balloons, to demonstrate the ability of air currents to carry aloft free-floating objects to distant areas. Self-addressed cards were attached to the balloons to be returned with their locations noted, when they had fallen to the ground and been found—by someone who would have surely been contaminated had the balloon been radio-active dust released by a reactor accident.

—Student scientist

Seabrook, N.H.—Approximately 20,000 demonstrators, mostly youth, converged here to protest nuclear power on June 25. The mass rally, one of the largest outpourings of the anti-nuke movement to date, was held on the construction site of the proposed power plant, where 1,400 demonstrators had been arrested last year.

This year, plans for civil disobedience were dropped by the sponsoring Clamshell Alliance when New Hampshire's right-wing Governor Thompson agreed at the last minute to allow some protestors to camp on the site for a four-day period.

While this no doubt represented a recognition of the growing strength of the anti-nuclear power movement, there is as yet no sign of any weakening of the power company's intentions to build the nuclear plant.

Besides the mass rally, the demonstration included exhibits of alternative energy sources, and workshops on the dangers of nuclear energy. Some demonstrators came from as far away as Idaho, Michigan, and West Virginia. While Left groups seemed to be not too well represented, there were some sizeable and spirited feminist contingents.

(As we go to press, construction on the Seabrook nuclear power plant has been suspended by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission which cited possible environmental damage for halting the project.—Ed.)

N.Y. anti-apartheid protest

New York, N.Y.—On the second anniversary of the Soweto uprising, June 16, anti-apartheid demonstrators turned out hundreds strong in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Harlem and Wall Street to protest the Manufacturers Hanover Bank's ties to South Africa. On Wall Street, while over 100 demonstrators marched and chanted slogans like "Vorster's army kills, while Manny Hanny pays the bill," several hundred office workers, Black and white, obviously sympathetic, watched from across the street. A few Blacks joined in the chants from inside the bank itself.

The Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa (305 E. 46th St., NYC 10017 tel. 838-5030) organized the protest. They had drawn up a very effective leaflet contrasting the Bank's huge investments in South Africa with its redlining of Black neighborhoods in New York.

—CUNY student

From anti-nuclear to shop floor, youth revolts shake up capitalism

(Continued from Page 3)

But they have refused to leave what has become a center for the struggles of not only students, but the whole South Bronx. Listen to the Hostos students speaking for themselves about their self-education and their struggle:

• "We have been able to maintain the struggle this long because Hostos is a catalyst for the struggles in the South Bronx. Many of the people working in groups like Raza Unida became active in the Hostos struggle. People from Hostos are drawn into broader community issues—like this week there will be a demonstration against the cuts at Lincoln Hospital."

• "There is no difference between struggles here and in the community, because most Hostos students are working people. The students' struggle has links to those of workers around the country, because racism is facing both of us. I worked in a factory before coming to Hostos, and if not for bi-lingual education I would not be here."

• "The most important things we learned is the relations of men and women. There were conflicts at first, as there is machismo on the part of the men. We made sure women did security, and that men did child care and kitchen work. This is very important for us because over two-thirds of the students are women. Everyone who has been through the Hostos struggle has been transformed in some way."

• "I think that the greatest contribution that the Hostos struggle has made to the South Bronx community is that Hostos is an incubator of ideas for change. Many nights, we got into discussions about everything from Puerto Rican liberation to socialism."

The Hostos struggles embody the new kind of creativity—and Reason—that Latino youth are expressing, from Houston demonstrations against police murders to Los Angeles high school walkouts against Proposition 13 cutbacks.

'ENVIRONMENT' IN THE SHOPS

In the same way, the environmental movement actually can find its most dynamic force in those for

whom environment is a daily life and death concern—as conditions of labor. A young chemical worker described the threat to workers and the surrounding community alike when fumes escape from his plant. The community is deserted or decaying with only people on fixed incomes left. And many workers are worried that they are sterile from daily contact with unsafe chemicals.

Young workers in the shops today spell out "environmentalism" in actions demanding nothing less than workers' control of production. This year's miners' strike has shaken up every auto plant in America as well. The fastest news to travel through the shop was which union was supporting or not supporting the miners today. Young auto workers were saying that miners "take their life in their hands every day they go down in the mines. They are fighting for something new and human for everybody."

It is the thoughts and actions of young workers which are making company and union officials stay up nights moaning about "bad attitudes", like those which erupted into wildcat strikes by thousands of workers against oven-like conditions in the plants last summer.

The "bad attitudes" also mean a complete opposition to what the company calls progress. A young metal shop worker told of his anger when he was laid off in 1974. When he returned, Chrysler had automated vast sections of his department and synchronized all the various production lines. They had the money to do this while unemployment benefits dried up.

Such "attitudes" are actually the beginnings of a new self-consciousness that, together with a profound internationalism, place the youth movements of the '70s on firmer ground than the generation of the 1960s, which reached its height—and end—in Paris 1968. Where the internationalism of 1968 did not extend much in the way of solidarity to Czechoslovakia's Prague Spring struggle—and less did they grapple with its impact on Left thought—today's youth movement is rooted in the revolutionary totality of Soweto, which has inspired new activity everywhere.

Soweto means a direct and necessary international-

ism, in opposition to apartheid South Africa, and to racism in the U.S. and Britain. Thus, the internationalism of anti-racism is expressed in the "Carnival Against the Nazis" in which 80,000 London youth joined, as well as in Washington, D.C., where 30,000 marched to overturn the infamous Bakke decision.

NOT A CONTINENT UNTOUCHED

The truth is that there is not a continent untouched by the new wave of youth revolts, which have circled the Third World, from students in Nigeria against tuition hikes to students in Korea protesting the Park dictatorship. And the Chicano movement against police murders in Houston, Texas crossed the border into Matamoros, Mexico when cops there murdered a 15-year-old. Youth sacked the banks and burned the City Hall.

Even the monstrous wall between East Germany and West Germany has not prevented a whole series of new joint actions by revolutionary youth in those countries as they seek to free political prisoners held by both governments. The case of imprisoned East German dissident Rudolph Bahro has generated great support in West Germany.

These outpourings of youth actions—and ideas—underscore a new direct challenge to capitalism, which stands on the separation of mental labor from manual labor, of thinking from doing. Marx's phrase, "the quest for universality", means, for us today, refusing to separate the self-liberation of the Third World from our own self-liberation or to separate the working out of a theory of revolution from the daily life of revolutionary practice.

A student at Occidental College in California caught the depth of the re-thinking going on now among youth when he described the situation as: "the subterranean shifts taking place beneath a surface calm that portents of an earthquake ahead." Those "subterranean shifts" can truly mean new beginnings in thought which will finally lead to unaborted revolutions—and to a human world in which youth can develop our own creativity without all the world's "previously established yardsticks."

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Hugo Blanco released from Argentina as mass unrest continues in Peru

A worldwide protest won the release of Hugo Blanco on June 9 from the claws of Argentina's dictatorship.

Blanco, internationally-recognized Peruvian peasant leader, Trotskyist, and candidate of the Workers, Peasants, Students and Poor People's Front (FOCEP) for the Constituent Assembly, was aroused from his bed by Peruvian secret police on May 25, a few hours after he appeared on television in support of the general strike in Peru.

Along with ten other labor and political leaders, Blanco was deported to that other military dictatorship, Argentina, where their very lives were in danger with each passing minute. All this occurred a little over a month after Blanco, along with other exiles, had been amnestied and invited to return to Peru, where elections were to be held in preparation for the return to civilian rule in 1980.

A ten-day wave of strikes, nationwide work stoppages, and demonstrations broke out soon after the government's May 14 decree abolishing price supports for the most common commodities like

bread, milk, and cooking oil. Prices immediately jumped 40-120 percent. The Carter Administration and the International Monetary Fund had demanded austerity measures because the Morales Bermudez government owed the international bankers to the tune of \$1 billion.

The government responded by not only raising prices on all commodities, but by closing all universities and cancelling the elections scheduled for June 4. On May 20, Peru was placed under martial law by the military government, and a wave of arrests swept the country. All newspapers except those run by the government were closed, union offices were raided and closed, and a reign of terror instituted.

The workers' response was the most massive general strike that Peru has ever seen. It was called on May 18 by the largest Peruvian union, the CGTP, and was backed by the miners, peasants, electrical workers, glass workers, students, teachers, brewery workers, bank clerks, and all layers of Peruvian society. The strike continued despite

the killing of 24 persons, the arrest of over 2,000, and the deportation of many labor leaders.

Immediately after Blanco's deportation to Argentina, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) launched an emergency campaign to ensure the safety of Blanco and the others. Protest messages from workers, students, trade unions, and political parties around the world poured into Argentina, addressed to President Videla. Picket lines were set up at Argentinian embassies, and several publicly-televised showings of the World Cup soccer matches from Buenos Aires were also picketed. On June 9, Blanco was allowed to leave Argentina for Sweden.

In the June 18 Peruvian elections, the first in 11 years, Blanco and 11 other FOCEP candidates won seats in the Constituent Assembly. Altogether, 27 percent of the vote went to candidates who are considered socialists. There is no doubt that the general strike forced the government to proceed with the postponed elections. The deep unrest in Peru has yet to run its course.

Soweto

Over 5,000 Black South Africans, chanting "amandla awethu"—power to the people—giving Black Power salutes, and singing freedom songs, packed Regina Mundi Church in Soweto on June 16, marking the second anniversary of the Soweto revolt. It was not only a memorial to the over 600 Blacks slain in June, 1976, but also a massive protest against South Africa's hated apartheid regime.

The Vorster government sent out police, armed with automatic weapons, to ring the church and line the roads leading to it. The day itself was preceded by a stepped-up police campaign in Soweto, with daily roadblocks and house-to-house searches. Although no deaths were reported, scores of Blacks were arrested.

At the three-hour rally, Dr. Nthato Motlana, a Soweto leader who had been detained for five months after the October, 1977 security crackdown that led to the murder of Steve Biko, said that 1976 showed "if we want to, we can change the system. . . . Let us dedicate ourselves until a new order is brought in."

The Soweto Student League, in charge of ob-

serving "Black Friday," organized a boycott of work and businesses. Many workers stayed home, sports were cancelled, and most shops were closed. At one point, hundreds of Black youths stoned a police car and bus owned by a company that takes Black commuters to Johannesburg. Many youths also spoke at the mass meeting. The anniversary events make it clear that nothing has stopped the certainty of a revolutionary transformation of South Africa.

Albania

We have devoted little space to Albania's theoretical bombasts since, frankly, Albania is not noted for being a fountainhead of Marxist theory. But when Albania begins to provoke China, it is worthy of noting that a small puppy is yapping at the heels of a big bull.

This spring, on the occasion of the state visit of Yugoslavia's Tito to China, the Albanian CP published as a pamphlet a 1963 attack on Yugoslavia titled "Results of N. Khrushchev's Visit to Yugoslavia," which was distributed to all foreign embassies in Peking. The article was written by Albanian Premier Enver Hoxha, and little imagina-

tion is required to substitute China's Hua Kuo-feng for Khrushchev. It is a two-sided attack on both Tito and Hua, and "those who" defend the "theory of three worlds," as expounded by the Chinese.

The theory states that the U.S. and Russia make up the First World, and the developing countries in Asia, Latin America, Africa and other regions make up the Third World. The new class-collaborationism enunciated by Teng Hsiao-ping in 1974 is the concept of the "Second World" of industrialized, capitalist West Europe, Japan and Canada, which could become acceptable allies of China "under certain circumstances."

Albania, which first broke with Yugoslavia in 1948 over territorial and nationalistic issues, seeks to inject its undiluted Stalinism into various Maoist groupings throughout the world. Interestingly enough, the one Maoist party that the Albanians call "authentic Marxist-Leninist" is the Portuguese. This is due to Mao's approval of their class-collaborationist line supporting Portugal's continued role in NATO, in opposition of the official CP line.

Albania has been able, so far, to maintain its independence by relying on the antagonisms between Moscow and Belgrade, and between Belgrade and Peking, but its luck cannot hold out forever.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

"The great success of the enemies of Africa is to have compromised the Africans themselves."

—Frantz Fanon

The military crisis in Zaire's Shaba province, around the mining city of Kolwezi, not only exposed the total bankruptcy of Mobutu's regime, but has shown to the world how ruthless European and American imperialism can be in their determination to keep Africa secured within the orbit of neo-colonialism.

When it became obvious that the repressive and corrupt government of Mobutu was militarily and politically impotent, and unable to cope with the rebellion of a few thousand Katangans, France and Belgium rushed in their elite troops, with the approval and aid of the Carter Administration.

France's President, Valery Giscard d'Estaing, would like us to believe that his deployment of Foreign Legionnaires in Shaba was an act of mercy to rescue beleaguered whites from an impending massacre. It is true that white people were killed in Kolwezi. By whom and under what circumstances may be unclear, but it is clear that all were not killed by Katangans. It is also true that many, many Blacks, including women and children, were killed. The glorified Legionnaires seemed to have spent much of their time terrorizing the unarmed citizens of Kolwezi, with the same expertise they showed previously, from Indo-China to Algeria.

PROXY ARMY FOR WESTERN IMPERIALISM

However, the military actions of the French and Belgian troops in Shaba is only a small part of the general plan of Western imperialism to insure its domination over Africa. The Paris meeting of the governments of France, Belgium, Britain, West Germany, and the U.S., over the crisis in Zaire, came to the realization that direct intervention into Africa by Western imperialism was no longer politically feasible. To get around this roadblock, the French government proposed the formation of an All-African Military Force to do the dirty work of the Western powers. Giscard has urged the neo-colonialist governments of Africa, which have close economic and political ties with France, to put this idea into action. Morocco was the first to respond by sending troops into Shaba to replace the Legionnaires. Other countries like Senegal are expected to follow soon.

But the logic of such a military force goes beyond

U.S.-Europe want Africans to fight neo-colonialism's wars

the rebellion in Shaba; it must eventually protect European and U.S. interests the length and breadth of Africa. It must, if it is to be of use for European and American imperialist interests there, act as a counter-revolutionary force, putting down all revolutions on the African continent which oppose human exploitation, misery and oppression. Such a force, whether it is all Black or Legionnaire, will play the same role that white South Africa has played from the beginning.

It is not sheer speculation to consider the possibility of an all-African army in the interests of imperialism, because just such a phenomenon occurred in the past, and Africa is still suffering tragically from it. In the early 1960s, when Europe was faced with the "Congo crisis," such an armed force was organized under the aegis of the UN. African nations, including Nkrumah's Ghana, sent troops to the Congo, and then found out that their mission was to function in the interests of Europe and not in the interest of the African Revolution.

FANON'S ANSWER TO NEO-COLONIALISM

Frantz Fanon, writing on the murder of Patrice Lumumba at that time, lamented: "The African troops in the Congo have suffered a historic moral defeat." These troops should have been sent to aid duly-elected Lumumba, but because they were UN troops, they participated in the destruction of a phase of the African Revolution, thereby setting back by decades the struggle for freedom.

This was "Africa's first great crisis" Fanon said. Only a militant, anti-colonialist Congo posed a real threat to South Africa, "that very deep-South Africa, before which the rest of the world veils its face." Fanon warned that the African revolutions must advance in totality, that there will not be one Africa that fights against colonialism and another that attempts to make arrangements with colonialism.

Africa is beset with enemies, both within and without, and if Europe and the U.S. could have their way, they would pull it into the global conflict between the "free" capitalist West and state-capitalist Russia, with the mass of African people becoming the immediate victims. This month, African leaders are sure to expose themselves on this East-West issue at the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Khartoum. Wrangling over which side to choose can only prolong the real problems of the African revolutions.

The verity of Fanon's analysis of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and the human force and reason that would overcome these capitalist, imperialist projections in the Third World, still remains the problem that Africa must solve or face another great crisis. It is still only the masses of African peoples who can provide that force and revolutionary reason to make true liberation in Africa a reality.

'Operation Namibia'

London, England—"Operation Namibia" began during 1975, when one of the leaders of SWAPO in Namibia asked for a library of books from Europe—not only as a practical contribution to the movement, but as a nonviolent action against South Africa's cultural imperialism in the territory. In response, a group of volunteers set sail in a vessel called "Golden Harvest." This international crew has been on the seas since October, 1976, and in Africa for the past year. It is expected that the boat will land in Namibia within the next three months.

The crew was received by the government of Gambia, and Presidents Senghor (Senegal) and Tobert (Liberia). The Ghanaian government, despite being a military regime, donated about \$9,000. Most encouraging was the reception afforded by students and other citizen groups. "Operation Namibia" has already recruited one African crew member from Gambia.

Another boat, the "FRI," plans to sail from the east around the Cape of Good Hope. The "FRI" is also crewed by an international team (with a number of Sri Lankans and Japanese on board), and it has been involved in nonviolent intervention against French nuclear tests that endanger the lives of the people of Micronesia.

Last September, South Africa incorporated Namibia's main port, Walvis Bay, into the apartheid republic. If it does nothing else, "Operation Namibia" will constitute probably the first open challenge to South Africa's control over Namibia's lifeline to the outside world.

Support, including money, is still required for the project, and will be gratefully received at: "ON," 5 Caledonian Road, London N1, England.

Roger Moody

Draft Perspectives—1978-1979

(Continued from Page 2)

strike over "local grievances." That is why all knew that what was really involved was the most basic question of all — labor productivity. That depends not on yet one more automated machine, but on the human hand and brain that will not produce at ever-greater speeds. Some very basic questions wait to be answered about what kind of labor should man/woman do.

Because the workers are asking such fundamental questions, our pamphlet **Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis**, at one and the same time, entered the battle of ideas on the Left,* and faced the actual global crisis where even the bourgeoisie had suddenly to acknowledge Marx's analysis of the decline in the rate of profit at the very moment when its technological method of mass production is at its highest.

For the Movement to limit its attack on capitalism by talking only about the oppression of labor without focusing on the equally integral dialectic of liberation, is to miss the proletarian **totality**. That is to say, the proletariat as Reason as well as muscle, as form of revolt from below which is that new beginning which determines the end. Because the crisis is so deep, all that chipping away at the economic law of value, or rather gilding it to make it fit into state-capitalism calling itself Communism, is more than truncating Marx's **Capital** as a book. Along with a violation of Marx's greatest theoretic work, it does nothing short of aiding in the aborting of revolution itself by removing from under it its ground, its very reason for existence.

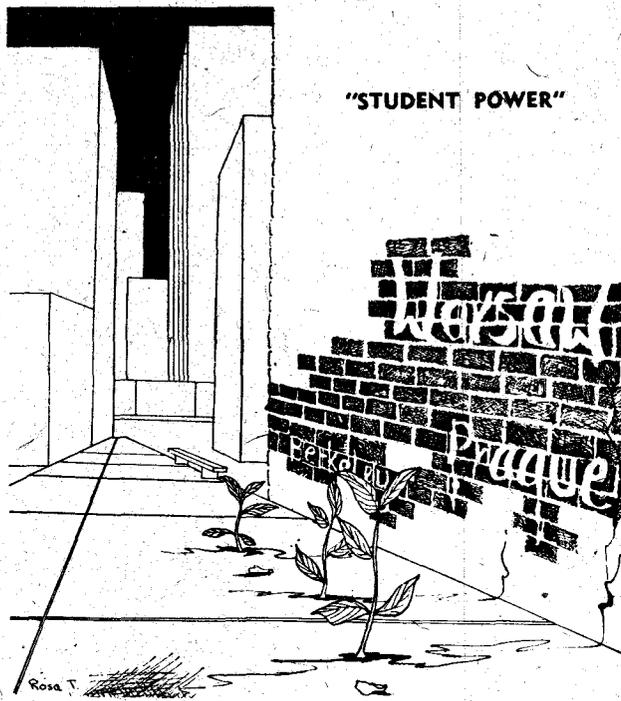
What is of the essence here, therefore, is not ever again to separate politics and economics, subjective and objective, philosophy and revolution.

China's False Alternative

When Mao first won power in China in the greatest national revolution of the post-World War II era, abolishing both the imperialist tentacles there and its lackey, Chiang Kai-shek, he feared nought about calling his own society state-capitalism since he was sure of the mass confidence in the new revolutionary regime. Therefore, he concluded, what was necessary to stress is that once political power is in the hands of the Communist Party, the direction of the economic relations—"the mass line"—would go in the direction of "socialism."

Surely, the end of imperialist intervention and the rule of the exploitative corrupt Chiang Kai-shek over a dismembered country meant the nation, as a unity, did "stand up." Moreover, it had at once been saddled with the Korean War and that neo-fascist General MacArthur wishing

*See the Introduction to this pamphlet, "Today's Epigones Who Try to Truncate Marx's **Capital**" for the critique of Ernest Mandel who still considers Russia a workers' state "though degenerate," and the Appendix on "Tony Cliff Reduces Lenin's Theory to 'Uncanny Intuition'" for a critique of one who remains an underconsumptionist though he does see Russia as a state-capitalist society.



Reprinted from N&L, April, 1968

to cross the Yalu River, and that, too, the new People's Republic of China had put an end to.

What transformed the confidence of the masses into opposition to the regime was (1) the movement from practice in Hungary, 1956, which revealed the alternative to state-capitalism is workers' power, armed with a total philosophy of liberation, rooted in Marx's original philosophy, which Marx named a "new humanism" and which the Hungarian revolutionaries brought onto the historic stage of their day. And (2) Mao's declaration that anyone who wanted to follow that path in China only "proved" that, instead of "100 schools of thought contending," there were "1,000 poisonous weeds that had to be destroyed." It is at this point that the duality, the sharp, class duality within Communism was expressed with guns in hand in Hungary, and Mao urged Khrushchev—who needed no urging as he had already sent Russian tanks into East Germany in 1953 to crush that revolt—to now crush the Hungarian Revolution. Naming his move against the oppositionists to his regime "How To Handle Contradictions Among the People" didn't convince the Chinese masses that there were no class contradictions in China.

III. Without Marx's Humanism, the Theory of State-Capitalism Is No Great Divide

Without Marx's Humanism, the theory of state capitalism, far from being the kind of Great Divide as that between the Second and Third Internationals, is but a journalistic cliché even a Mao could accept. Moreover, this was not just when he accepted it lovingly as a designation where the Communists had political power, but especially when he correctly applied it to Russia as a class designation. **The greatest tragedy of all in this era is that Mao had, in fact, accepted state-**

capitalism as the next world economic order!

Shocking as that sounds when expressed plainly, Mao had it in the back of his mind as early as 1957. He made only one exception to that type of vision: it was not Russia, but China, who would rule the world and thus assure its going to "socialism". This is what underlined his statement to Nehru that he had no fear of nuclear war; no matter how many millions would die, other millions would still be alive in China—and they would then win the world for "socialism."

Consider, then, the irony of the new divide among the Left, caused by the fact that not only do some still consider "nationalization of the means of production", "State Plan", "collectivization of agriculture"—no matter if the workers have no power whatever—as "socialism"; but even some who focused on the phenomenon that the first workers' state was actually transformed into its opposite—a state-capitalist society—still consider it only as a Russian phenomenon, or, at most, Stalinism. In truth, Stalinism is but the Russian name for a world stage of capitalist development that private, competitive capitalism had to give way to with the onset of the Depression.

Ever since the mid-1950s—when the movement from practice, beginning in East Europe, placed Marx's philosophy of liberation, which he originally called "a new Humanism", on the historic agenda of our era—it sufficiently shook up state-capitalism calling itself Communism, that the latter felt compelled to slander the revolutionary movement from below by calling it "revisionist." Furthermore, the Sino-Soviet orbit so tightened its undying friendship that none suspected it would soon become the Sino-Soviet conflict. Consider then, the other irony in the attitude to the false alternative China posed with the so-called Cultural Revolution, where not only "primary" and "secondary" contradictions could reverse places, but the superstructure's primacy over the economic base could, "and did," (sic!) send China directly to "socialism."

Just as what issued, **technologically**, from the decade of the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s deluded Eurocapitalism to think it could outdistance the American Goliath in economic growth, so the decade of the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, which produced China's Cultural Revolution deluded the Left to consider the Cultural Revolution as the alternative to the exploitative, racist, sexist world, Russia included. So great is the Left's resistance to philosophy, to the "new Humanism" that came from below that the very ones who left Russian state-capitalism for the Chinese Cultural Revolution are now ready to shuttle back like a pinball machine to Russia. In this the Old Left is joined by the New Left, whose distinctive mark was that activism, and more activism, would "do it", that is, "make" a successful revolution, leaving theory to be picked up "en route".

It becomes imperative, therefore, first to hold tight to what Lenin discovered when the first betrayal of Marxism that resulted from World War I brought down with it the collapse of the Second International. As Lenin grappled with a return to the Hegelian dialectic, he held that, far from philosophy being an abstraction, it is when a movement transforms revolution into an abstraction that betrayal is inescapable, and irreversible.

(Continued on Page 12)

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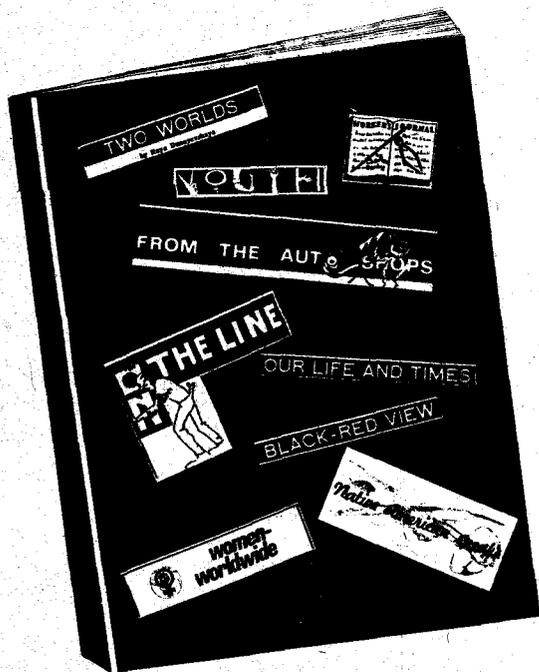
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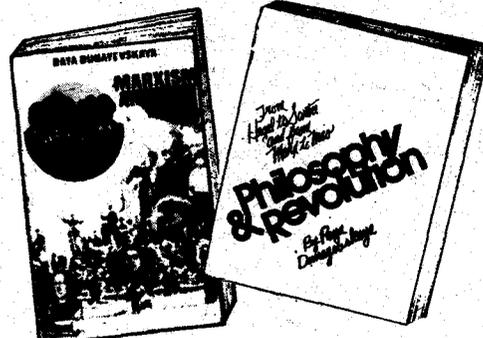
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Draft Perspectives—1978-1979

(Continued from Page 11)

Secondly, we must show that the theoretic void since Lenin's death resulted from not grappling with the methodology of all of Lenin's work that flowed from that study of the dialectic, specifically **Imperialism**, and **State and Revolution**. That is to say, it wasn't the "facts" of imperialism—that had, indeed, been analyzed both by the bourgeois liberal, Hobson, and the revolutionaries, Hilferding, Luxemburg and Bukharin—especially the latter whose book Lenin had introduced.

Rather, it was the dialectical principle of transformation into opposite: not only competition into monopoly capital, but a section of labor became transformed into its opposite—the aristocracy of labor. To retransform that opposite into proletarian revolution it was this time not only that the working class was needed, but also that the population "to a man, woman and child" would either run the state and manage production—or there would be no new society. In a word, along with the class distinction came the new universal: "to a man, woman and child." The destruction of the bourgeois state had to be the type of dictatorship of the proletariat that Marx saw in the non-state form of the Paris Commune.

While anarchists hold that neither this view, nor the whole pamphlet, **State and Revolution**, was anything more than "politics" to gain a majority in the Soviets and that Lenin "didn't really believe it," the Old Left has treated it as no more than a "re-write" of Marx's **Civil War in France**. Yet it is this, just this, that in our era the Chinese youth movement demanded the Cultural Revolution become, and because they meant it, Lin Piao's Army was called out to crush them. Today, their heirs are called "ultra-Left," and it is demanded of Chinese youth that they follow Huang to Zaire to embrace the murderer of Lumumba!

The passion for philosophy was limited neither to China's Sheng Wu-lien, nor to Russian dissidents, in and out of Russia, but covered the globe, including the Black Revolution in the U.S. as well as in Africa.

As against foco-ism, which had diverted a whole generation of revolutionaries from working towards proletarian revolution, and, as against 1968 when French youth deluded themselves that they could "do it" without theory, we attempted to re-think the 200-year history of dialectical philosophy and revolution in the context of the last two decades of the movement from practice.

The resistance from that Old Left was not just to a book, **Philosophy and Revolution**, but to that very movement from practice that was itself a form of theory, preferring instead to attach themselves to all sorts of alternatives—from existentialism to foco-ism, and from PLO-ism to "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"—everything, that is, except a total, social revolution with all new forces of revolution held as Reason, be they proletarian, Women's Liberationists, youth or the Black Dimension.



Reprinted from Working Women For Freedom

Once again, therefore, we must turn, instead, to where new revolutionary beginnings that would determine revolutionary ends are. Two developments stand out crucially. One is Latin America. (The Political-Philosophic Letter on "The Latin American Unfinished Revolutions" is to be considered an integral part of this thesis.)

Two, is the new stage of Women's Liberation. Where previously Rosa Luxemburg was disregarded even by socialist feminists because she hadn't written directly on women, many groups now not only relate Women's Liberation to Rosa Luxemburg as revolutionary, but, above all, pose it as integral to Marx's own theory of revolution.

In that, there is no distinction between Women's Liberationists and the youth movement that has begun to ask: what is Marx's theory of revolution for our age?

Thus, Rosa Luxemburg, **Women's Liberation and Marx's Theory of Revolution** becomes the urgent question of the day, as important as any of our activities, be they in labor struggles, or in anti-Nazi activities; be they with Women's Liberationists or with youth; be they in the anti-nuclear demonstrations or in all the Black liberation battles.

The new stage of militancy that the U.S. miners have displayed is more than only militancy, as great as that was. For it was simultaneously, with revolt against capital, also a revolt against the government and a revolt against their own labor bureaucrats. This stage of proletarian revolt is not the end but the beginning of the battles to come this year, because not only is the economic crisis unabated, but the onslaught of management in trying to turn the clock back on labor's gains, on welfare, on Blacks, is sure to first unfold as the labor contracts in all major industries will be up for renewal next year. This determines our tasks for the year.



Reprinted from N&L, May, 1978

IV. Our Tasks

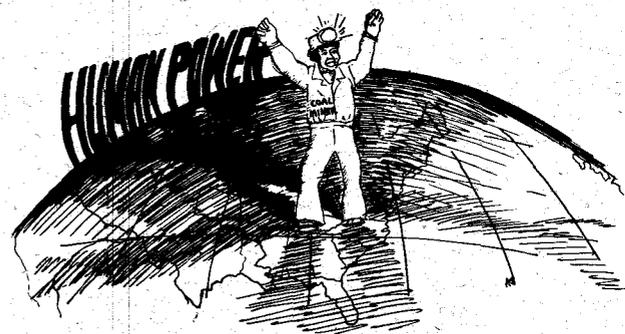
First and foremost come new avenues of activity opened by this stage of proletarian revolt. It is especially significant that the same miners' strike, and our analysis of it,* was of the greatest interest both to Europe and to Latin America. Indeed, it was translated into Spanish, as were also the Political-Philosophic Letter on "The Latin American Unfinished Revolutions," and the lead in our May issue, "The Latino struggle unites freedom fighters in North and South America." Along with these appear the youth revolt and the occupation at Hostos College in the South Bronx to constitute the first Spanish pamphlet to be published by us.

The fact that both **Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution** are now available in Spanish, and that we have, in fact, reached a new stage of relations with Latin American co-thinkers, marks an important new stage for our activity both here and abroad. The internationalization of **Philosophy and Revolution**, in fact, will be extended in 1979 both to France and Germany. These editions will not only carry the new appendix on post-Mao China, but also an appendix to Part I on Hegel, Marx and Lenin which deals with Marx's **Capital** in the light of today's global crisis.

The European trip this year has helped all this come alive at the very moment we were establishing new relationships, especially in Germany where on this, the 25th anniversary of the very first revolt from under Communist totalitarianism, we see the working out of a totally new relationship of theory to practice in the homeland of Marx.

Our modest growth this year because of the classes in **Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis** is sure to be further extended with the **Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought** pamphlet. This is not a quantitative matter of how many pamphlets on the Black Dimension we have published. Rather, **Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought** is a deepening and concretization of the Black Dimension as it has characterized Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. from its origin in 1955.

*See Editorial articles by Andy Phillips, **N&L** March and April, 1978, on "New Battle Stage for American Labor."



Reprinted from N&L, April, 1978

Thus, this year we will also see **Indignant Heart** published, and not only as it was published in 1953, before ever we were born as **News & Letters** in 1955. It will be a new book that takes in the 25 years since the publication of the original. We rightly felt from the start that **Indignant Heart** was not only a Black production worker's life story, but a reflection of the historical struggles of the Black masses as vanguard in all revolutionary struggles in the U.S. The new book will, at one and the same time, bring us back to our beginnings, and forward to the new Perspectives for 1978-79.

Toward this end, as well as for meeting the urgent needs of the office to function at full speed at the very time that the reorganization of the Center for the work on the Rosa Luxemburg book add extra responsibilities—and, above all, to assure the continued publication of **News & Letters** in its expanded form of a 12-pager three times a year and an 8-pager regularly—the REB is proposing that the Organization-Sustaining-Publishing fund for this year be a minimum of \$20,000.

This, of course, will be spelled out more concretely in the organization report. Here we mention it only in order to focus on what has been our distinctive characteristic from our very birth on the second anniversary of the East German uprising of June 17, 1953—the world roots of humanism as well as the American roots of Marxism; the relationship with ever deeper layers of the proletariat, with Black, youth and Women's Liberationists, without ever separating those activities from our continuous theoretical work.

This year we must create time for the chairwoman to complete the work on Rosa Luxemburg, which is by no means only on Rosa Luxemburg, great and important as she is in her own right; nor is it only Rosa Luxemburg in relationship to the Women's Liberation Movement of today, crucial as it is to see its direction. No, what the times, objective and subjective, demand is the relationship of both these subjects to Marx's theory of revolution. There is no way to theoretically prepare for revolution without concretizing Absolute Idea as new beginning in relationship to the forces as Reason of revolution for our era.

At no time has this been more urgent than for this year when the U.S. has decided upon the use, along with the N-Bomb threat, of the China card—not only in relation to Russia, but in support of reactionary regimes in Africa, be it Zaire or even that most benighted land, South Africa.

The Resident Editorial Board
June 17, 1978

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