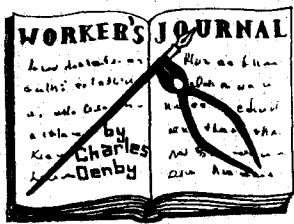


ON THE INSIDE

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Crime hurts poor, in and out of jail

by Charles Denby, Editor

There are many citizens today discussing the nerve-racking decisions by many courts and judges and the turning loose of many known criminals back into the community, knowing they will continue to victimize innocent citizens. Some have said our society is responsible. Some say it is a lack of state laws, others believe that city and county laws are not firm enough. Still others say it is judges and lawyers, who are sure to be getting extra pay from some of these criminals.

As one citizen said, "The only thing that I heard Nixon say when he was running for President, before he was ever elected, was that we would have law and order in this country under him. But crime doubled and tripled under his Administration, and it is now proven he was the biggest law breaker of them all. Under him higher values were put on money than human lives."

LETTERS FROM PRISONERS

We receive in the News & Letters office many very powerful letters from prisoners across this country (see page 7 for one such letter) and there is one theme that is repeated over and over. As one prisoner put it: "Many of us feel bitter at the so-called 'law and order' they have going in this country. Those outside of the prisons cannot imagine the ugliness that happens inside, and the simple due process of law that is denied us. The laws seem to be made only for the rich and in most cases the white people of this land. Many of us know we have done wrong, and we are sent to prison. But we know that those that do far worse will never have to come to this hell-hole. We are digging for better truth, which is very hard to find from the inside, looking out. I know all too well what is happening behind the walls of this prison — but it is the top of the crime in this country, such as Watergate, that needs to be understood."

Criminals in many instances use what they call

(Continued on Page 3)



—News & Letters photo

Marching from San Francisco to Modesto, migrant UFW workers gain massive support.

15,000 UFW supporters march against Gallo

(Editor's Note: On Feb. 22, in San Francisco, over 1,000 farmworkers and supporters gathered to start a week-long march to Gallo's headquarters in Modesto, 110 miles away, to publicize the boycott of Gallo and all wines made in Modesto. That same week, farmworkers gathered in Fresno and others in Stockton to march on Modesto.

By the next Saturday, March 1, 15,000 people were in Modesto to march by the huge refinery where Gallo's products are made, and to support the workers who went on strike from Gallo's vineyards in June, 1973. The march was several miles long, and organizers described it as the greatest farmworker demonstration ever held, far exceeding all expectations. The following report is from a marcher who went the whole route from San Francisco.)

Oakland, Cal.—We had at least 250 people all the way from San Francisco to Modesto, varying from 500 people the first day to over 1,000 marching into Modesto. There were many people there, young, old, men, women, workers, students, whole families. The families had to be involved. Because of the economic situation, everybody is affected.

Many different labor organizations were there, including the ILWU, teachers, and some rank-and-file Teamsters. People from Gay Liberation were there, which is good because in San Francisco gay people have a lot of political and economic power. Many legislators in Sacramento came out that week to endorse the boycott, so it looks like AB1, the secret ballot elections bill for farmworkers, will have a good chance of passing this year.

The march brought a lot of attention nationwide on the Gallo boycott which a lot of people didn't know about. Chávez said that as a result of the publicity, several hundred stores across the country have taken Gallo wine off their shelves. Mayor Bradley of Los Angeles endorsed the boycott, and Rev. Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference came out with an endorsement, and many legislators, too.

BOYCOTT GOES TO THE PEOPLE

This was millions of dollars worth of publicity for us, while Gallo spent hundreds of thousands in full-page ads in all the Northern California newspapers trying to counter the march. All they did was to further get the word out. Their ads won't be effective, though, because Gallo public relations men sit behind their desks and

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NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

VOL. 20—NO. 3

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APRIL, 1975

Unorganized are organizing

Working women on the march

By Olga Domanski, National Organizer
News & Letters Committees

The 5,000 who filled Fifth Avenue from sidewalk to sidewalk on International Women's Day this year made it the biggest women's liberation demonstration since the Aug. 26, 1970 march proved that Women's Liberation was, indeed, an idea whose time had come. It was not only the size and diversity of the march that were important this year, but the strong labor component—and the fact that it commemorated the march of thousands of garment workers on New York City's Lower East Side to Union Square on March 8, 1908, to demand an end to sweatshop conditions.

In 1908, they never made it to Union Square, where the rich lived, because cops on horses trampled them and wouldn't let them leave their Lower East Side ghetto.

Yet those women, the majority of them aged 16 to 25, set in motion the wide-spread strikes that culminated in the "Uprising of the Twenty Thousand" the following year and gave birth to the ILGWU.

It was no accident that the best speech made in 1975 at Union Square, where the march ended, was by a woman from the Household Workers Union, and that even Betty Friedan's speech centered on women as breadwinners who are being hurt by "the chaos of a massive depression" and will not accept it.

The truth is that the rate of unemployment for women today is 33 percent higher than for men. The unemployment rate for women who are the heads of their households—and no less than 21.3 million Americans live in families headed by women, including almost 25 percent of all Black families—is two and a half times the rate for male family heads.

The greater truth is that despite the efforts by big industry and sweatshop owners alike to use the recession as a club over both employed and unemployed, the incidence of strikes is continuous, across the entire country. It is only because the vast numbers of wildcat strikes that erupt weekly go unreported by either the daily press or the labor press, unless they are so massive that they cannot be ignored, that they appear isolated and unimportant. Moreover, the voices of working women are among the most militant and truly new voices that have been appearing for the last several years.

NEW WORKING WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Consider the scope and depth of these drives, involving primarily women, that are going on right now:

- The California Homemakers Association has organized more than 2,500 women in Sacramento County in the last year. It is the first union to win collective bargaining for domestic workers, always considered "impossible to organize." The idea is spreading across the country—a national convention of Household Workers in New Orleans in October claimed 25,000 members in 41 locals already.

- Publishing employees in New York City from 25 different houses, inspired by the successful strike of Harper and Row employees, are continuing their unionization drives, despite mass illegal firings and intimidation (180 were fired by Macmillan in two days), and setbacks by the NLRB.

- Close to 3,000 workers at three area hospitals in Baltimore struck for 10 days just before Christmas after their wages had been settled, to demand programs to train them for better jobs and improved pensions under union control. A hospital workers' strike in Birmingham, Ala., that began last February, when 400 workers were fired for attempting to unionize, continued through the entire year, meeting at least twice weekly with more than a hundred people showing up. Organizing drives are on in hospitals in St. Louis, where they are calling 1975 "the year of the union."

- The 600 employees at Mastercharge, whose starting wage is \$450 a month—typical of the banking and insurance industries, which have remained unorganized until now—began a spontaneous organizing drive and then went in search of a union to join that would let them control their own drive and write their own leaflets. Once they chose the union to affiliate with (Service Employees International) they collected enough authorization cards in two weeks to call for a union election.

- Seasonal cannery workers in Northern California, primarily Chicana, have formed a loose network of rank-and-file committees to challenge the abuse of workers' rights by giant food processing corporations and Teamsters' Union bureaucrats. They are organizing around three major issues: racism and sexism in hiring, pro-

(Continued on Page 8)

Maria Barreno speaks for herself

(Ed. Note: We print below excerpts from a talk given in Berkeley, Cal., last month by Maria Isabel Barreno, one of the "Three Marias" who authored "New Portuguese Letters," reviewed last month on this page.)

We were three women, three friends living in Portugal under a fascist government. All of us worked, and all had sons. We had to work and be responsible for our children. We discussed the condition of women in Portugal and decided we wanted to discuss this with more women. So we began to write.

Some people see individual creation as someone who has an inspiration and creates by himself. It's his own property. I always thought this conception completely wrong because, though I was an author of this book, I felt my experience was not mine alone, but was common. Only because it was so, could it be understood by others.

THE REASON THE fascist government banned our book was the fear of such a book written by women — three women. They were very aware of the danger when people are together. Every kind of meeting, even a little one, was forbidden. So it was very important that three of us had got together.

The Portuguese government chose to charge the book as "pornographic" and an "outrage." Much of the material in the book could have been charged as political subversion. But to have a book banned because of political suppression in Portugal gave it prestige, and the government did not want that.

WSU forum

Highlights women's creativity

Detroit, Mich.—A crowd of both women and men participated in the discussion that followed a talk on "Women's Creativity and Liberation: Nationally and Internationally" by Raya Dunayevskaya, chairwoman of News and Letters Committees, at the March 7 celebration of International Women's Day sponsored by Wayne Women's Liberation at Wayne State University.

Ms. Dunayevskaya began by emphasizing that creativity is not just individual, but comes when masses are in motion to uproot society. She described examples of women's creativity expressed in: 1) 1946 in West Germany when miners' wives in the Ruhr closed down the mines; 2) a spontaneous strike in 1929 by Eastern Nigerian women, the famous "Aba Riots," and 3) 1955 in Montgomery, Ala., when the refusal of Rosa Parks to give up her seat on a bus sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott which began the Civil Rights movement.

Ms. Dunayevskaya pointed out that today we face the counter-revolution everywhere—with the racism of Boston, both in the schools and the conviction of Dr. Edelin, as only one example. She gave as a reason that the WL movement of the '60s did not have a philosophy of liberation along with the activity of liberation and this separation of theory and practice leads to a reverse movement.

She maintained that besides exposing male chauvinism, it is time to get to a criticism of ourselves. Within that framework, she analyzed three contemporary woman theorists: 1) Simone de Beauvoir — an existentialist who concludes that since men oppress us, they have to free us; 2) structuralists, like Juliet Mitchell, who oppose male domination, but follow the thought of chauvinists like Freud and Althusser; and 3) Shelia Rowbotham who believes that the problem with all revolutions has been that they are "male-defined," thus both degrading the women's role and winding up with vanguardism.

Ms. Dunayevskaya contrasted this lack of understanding of the dialectics of liberation with the greatness of Maria Barreno. (See "Maria Speaks for Herself" above.)

It is important to see that we do not have just "mindless" activity, or even great activity — but activity together with a philosophy of liberation.

—Joan Buchheister



CHARGING THE BOOK as obscene and pornographic was an important symptom of the way women are seen by society and not only the fascist government. If men describe society or write of their relationships with other men, their books are considered to be, whether political or non-political, about cultural or social questions. But when women speak about their problems it is called "just a female book." We dared to seek equality, so it was a way of breaking the official specification of things. Women must be put somewhere nobody can see them.

During the trial journalists coming to interview us in Lisbon asked, "Is your book political, or is it just feminist?" When women are fighting for their freedom it is not seen as a political matter.

One way to oppress people is to hide them. Women are the most hidden people. It is not by accident that housework is not seen as work. It is seen as a natural duty and so it is not paid. If it was taken as work, the entire economic structure would have to be changed.

Another thing hidden is the question of children. The children of society are the future workers, soldiers. The reason the government says abortion is illegal and that contraceptive methods are not allowed has nothing to do with morality. It is to force women to produce children even against their will. Abortion is forbidden when society needs an increase of births. In France, for instance, the laws against abortion were made more effective during the last war; they needed soldiers, so women had to produce them. Today that is not such a strong problem, so abortion is allowed in France.

OUR BOOK IS ONLY a little experience, but for me it is the beginning, and a good example of how women have to work for change. I believe in feminism because for me it is the hope to change society. That does not mean changing only some little things, or letting women do the same things men are doing now. For instance, there is an official way of thinking, the "rational" way. That may be good for some things, but we want also to create things, and not in the "rational way." And there is the question of the division that is made between work and play. Work has to become something we enjoy.

And there is also the way we are involved in politics. I believe in political involvement only if it is, before everything else, a kind of practice, a new experience, a new way of involving ourselves, a new way of doing things. Our book was only a little thing, but I saw it as women having to create a new culture. And this is perhaps the most important point about feminism.

PEOPLE ARE OPPRESSED by images—Black and white, men and women, and even countries. The images given about countries are to keep people divided, so they

A young Black working woman looks at Angela Davis

Angela Davis: *An Autobiography*, Random House, New York, \$8.95, (1974).

This book begins very dramatically as Angela puts on a wig, to make her escape from California, but since I did not understand why an autobiography begins that way, I turned at once to where the story of her life begins, on p.78, at age four, in Birmingham, Ala., where she already lives near a white neighborhood. The very next page she begins to talk of the Scottsboro Boys case, in which her parents had been active, and I couldn't figure out how she knew all those dramatic events when she was eight.

What struck me throughout this period is that from childhood on she wanted to escape from being Black. And, sure enough, when she is still in grammar school she does begin thinking of escaping from what she calls the "provincialism of Birmingham." One thing is clear—she is not involved in any Black struggles. She is not swept up by any civil rights movement. And she doesn't choose a Black University, Fisk, in Tennessee, but a white high school in New York, when both schools offer her scholarships. I just couldn't relate to any of it.

She travels in white groups not only in New York, but then off she goes (in 1962) to the World Youth Festival in Helsinki, to universities in Germany and in France. It is in France where she reads of the bomb that struck down the Birmingham church and killed the four little Black girls. She is very moved; she is in deep grief and leaves her white friends to be alone. But still she does not return home.

STILL NOT INVOLVED

When 1967 comes, she is in London; she hears Herbert Marcuse, who will become her professor in California, and Stokely Carmichael and is greatly impressed, but once again she does not get involved. What impressed me, instead, was how she begins to prepare the reader for her view of the intellectual importance, saying "sporadic headless anger of those who fell under the police clubs in Alabama—it would solve nothing in the long run." And now she speaks of the "two steady rays of lucidity that shone through the confusion—James Foreman (SNCC) and Franklin Alexander of the Communist Party."

Whatever her reason for continuing to choose college life and working for an academic degree, she does, finally, join Che-Lumumba Club and the Communist Party in 1968-69. Even when she is involved, like when



MARIA BARRENO

will not understand the true problems. It was great happiness for us that in the second year of our trial the international women were talking about us. Something going on inside Portugal was known outside. And it was the women who were taking this first step against the ignorance about Portugal. They understood they had to fight for all women and not only themselves. When we saw the publicity in the U.S., Germany, France, Holland, Italy—then our fight had meaning.

THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT was uneasy with the publicity our fight made around the world. Many people said the coup last April freed us. But this is not so. This is another way to hide the fight of the women. We would have been freed anyway. When the international fight began, our trial changed completely. In the last session, before the coup of April 25, even the prosecutor did not attack the book. He praised it. We can see how the struggle of women worked. When we are together, we are really strong.

Now that I am in the U.S., I think more about how we are taught about other countries and other people. In Europe and Portugal, the U.S. is thought of as a society where women have all rights and are completely free. I never believed that. The ideas and the laws are not so different between the U.S. and Portugal. We have to be aware that our oppression is really common everywhere, because the same roots exist everywhere. The form of oppression in Portugal is more open than in the U.S.—but women are always placed as mothers and housewives.

NOW WOMEN MUST go on, taking the Marxian concept of the socialist philosophy and going on to the analysis of their specific oppression. Marx did not go very deeply into the oppression of women. I am trying to take some concepts of Marx's philosophy and analyze the oppression of women specifically, because I feel that in Marxist thinking and in socialist philosophy, there are many things that can join well with the feminist movement.

she describes her trip to Cuba, which (p.214) she calls "the great climax in my life", and she does mean openly politics, even there it seemed to me she just enjoyed herself.

BREAK WITH RUCHEL MAGEE

But the most serious point is, of course, the arrest, trial and work for the Soledad Brothers. It is first then that I did return to the first chapter of the book. I could then relate also to the McCarthy type of atmosphere that the U. S. Government was trying to use to rush her to death, and against the "Free Angela" Committees where I was active. The shock, then, came where—at this exciting moment when we all worked so hard to free her and the Soledad Brothers—she introduces a separation between herself and Ruchel Magee.

They had a big disagreement on whether or not to have it in the state court or the federal court. She also made one attempt to end the disagreement between them: if Ruchel's motion in the federal court were denied, they would jointly fight in the state court. She later stated that she was equally certain beyond a doubt that the motion would in fact be denied so she never earnestly considered the possibility of fighting the case in federal court. Then she went on and on about her defending herself. Never again do I remember a thought or a word concerning Ruchel Magee.

This is not the Angela Davis I thought I knew and heard so much about. She was a totally different person. I laid down the book, a very sad person, because instead of really learning her life or that of the whole anti-racist struggle, I felt I was getting a Communist tract with not a single word of truth of what they really stood for. It was all just propaganda and no feeling for us, the Blacks, the "lower" people who worked so hard for her freedom and wanted to continue the fight instead of subordinate it to white Communists and their plans.

And last, in her Epilogue, she thanks all her Communist comrades here and abroad for her freedom. She forgot the Black people and poor people who helped to free her. She claimed that they were proud to have forged "unity among Communists, Socialists, Radical Democrats, and nationalists; . . . between workers and students." But, in fact, these lines only cover up that she still doesn't understand the Black Movement or people, because she escaped from our world long ago.

—Tommie Hope

For International Women's Year

- Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak in Many Voices \$1
- Rosa Luxemburg: Revolutionary Theoretician, plus State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism (with an analysis of Luxemburg's Accumulation of Capital, by Raya Dunayevskaya) 50 cents
- Philosophy and Revolution, (particularly Ch. 9, "New Passions and New Forces") by Raya Dunayevskaya, paperback \$2.95

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

NY taxi wildcat at 55th-St. garage gets driver rehired

New York, N.Y.—The firing of a driver, David Ross, last week over an argument with a dispatcher about ten cents in bookings, led to a solid strike at our garage. Two weeks before, after a long shape-up, David was credited with 95 cents to take several drivers who didn't get out, to another garage. Since the meter ran to \$1.05, the dispatcher insisted that he pay the extra 10 cents himself. They started arguing, and David was fired.

The shop committee tried to negotiate the matter with the big boss, who said David could come back if he admitted he was wrong not to pay the 10 cents. David refused to do this, so the boss said he could stay fired.

As the day line came in, our group of drivers convinced them not to work. At most two or three out of 84 cabs rolled. Management came out and read a telegram that we'd all be fired, which was ignored.

Finally, at noon, Eric Schmertz, the "impartial ar-

bitrator" for the taxi industry called all the way from Washington, D. C., and we negotiated over the phone. The tentative settlement included immediate arbitration of David's firing and other grievances, no reprisals, and credit for a day's work toward benefits and vacation. At this time, the union vice-presidents Elias Rick and Harry Mendez finally showed up and were booed by all of us, especially when they started criticizing us.

An inside worker got up and said we couldn't go back yet unless some of their grievances, such as no heat, which had been filed up to five years ago, could be settled. The VP's had to spend about an hour promising that they would fight for us on these issues. We went back, but it was agreed that we might go out again if nothing was settled within a week's time.

—Taxi wildcatter

New ILWU contract mostly bad

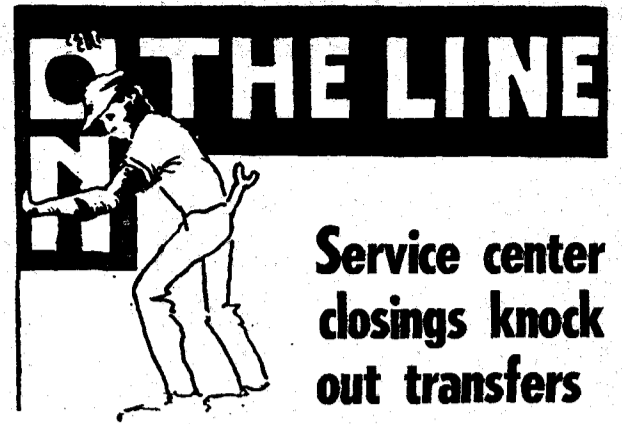
San Francisco, Calif.—The new longshore contract has kept some of the bad provisions, gotten rid of some good ones, and added a few more bad ones. Somewhere the negotiating team has let us down in terms of working conditions. This is tied to the steady-man clause (See News & Letters, Jan.-Feb. 1975). Those that are steady men are thinking only about their hip pocket. But more dollars and cents don't necessarily mean a better contract.

What is the use of making as much money as we do if we are not getting any work? Two and three days a week is all we are getting. And now most people have overspent and are so tied to the little that we do get, that they are afraid to speak out on working conditions.

I don't have all the answers, but a couple of things come to mind. One is this thing about PMA paying for half the operation of the hiring hall. On the surface, that may look like it has been saving us money. But aren't we paying for it a different way? Now we have PMA influencing us.

Another area is a training program. There is no real one for training everyone who wants to be trained. You might learn a little on the side but that is not really the answer. If we can't deal with some of these problems, then the union will cease to have a real function for us. It will just be functioning for PMA.

—Longshoreman



Service center closings knock out transfers

by John Allison

Chrysler has created a mixed bag of horrors that Detroit auto workers have seen before: layoffs, overtime and plant closings — all at the same time.

Chrysler Highland Park Service Center is being phased out. The building that housed the operation is being torn down. Some 60 auto mechanics and body repairmen are without a job. Jefferson Service Center, which did new car preparations, was closed down last September.

With the Highland Park Service Center now closing down, it means that there can be no transfer of Jefferson mechanics and body repairmen to the Highland Park operation — they're all in the same boat . . . all of them out of a job with nothing comparable to go to. In most cases, these workers will wind up on an assembly line in one of Chrysler's plants.

This only spreads the suffering. Some young workers waiting to be called back will find out that Chrysler closed the Service Centers and these workers will have to be placed before the younger workers will be able to be recalled to work. This is because the workers in the Service Centers have high seniority, so they will go back before the younger workers.

Chrysler is closing up departments large and small, operations of long standing. In the past, Chrysler closed up plants for the reason of going to new locations — in the South or in other states. Now they are just closing up. Period.

In the meantime, the misery of the unemployed just keeps building up. The kind of hope some of them are looking for just isn't in sight. It's time to start building our own hope — and build it quick.

GM ties plant to Monza — how long will it stay open?

by Felix Martin

On our first day back at GM, the foremen told all the night body shop workers to assemble in the mess-hall. They had a little welcome-back party for us. We went up there, and the superintendent, "Jungle Jim," spoke to us.

He said the reason they finally got to call us back was that we were such good automobile workers, getting high mark-up in the audit of the Vega we produced in the last model year. Now we were going to build the Monza—a car in which you have to take the engine out in order to put the spark plugs in.

The superintendent was explaining that if the people buy it, we might have a job, but if they didn't buy it and we still built two for each showroom, we would work for maybe six months. But the feeling of the workers is that if the Monza doesn't sell, this will be the best way to get rid of our plant at South Gate. This is the only car we are presently doing, and you better believe we will be out of business if they decide to discontinue it.

One worker, looking around at how few workers were in the room, wanted to know, with all the automation in the plant, and so few workers representing the night shift in the body shop, and with the government worrying so much about making the social security payments of people who are retired, how were the automated machines in the plant going to pay any social security? When it came time for him to retire, would there be some money left?

Two old-timers were disturbed by the talk on social security. They were going to retire in two or three years, and felt that even when they retire, there won't be money to cover them. And people are wondering, if GM and the auto industry go under, where is the retirement money from the corporation going to? The solution always seems to be the government taxing us more for retirement. How in the hell can they tax us more when we don't live on what they are leaving us now?

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

plea bargaining to gain their release. It seems to be the same as what some of Nixon's people used, what they called immunity. In plain words they say to the courts, "I am as guilty as my friends are, but I will tell or say all I know if you can promise to free me."

A Black woman said, "This society is responsible for much of our crimes. I can understand a person who is out of work and cannot feed his family getting in such a desperate situation that he burglarizes in order to feed his family. Especially when our government is wasting millions and millions of dollars to keep some dictator in power in East Asia, and in the same breath is cutting all social programs here at home that aid the poor and working people."

Government officials are always yelling about welfare cheaters, but everyone knows that they are the real cheaters. One of these officials cheats the state and government out of more money in a year than all the welfare cheaters do together.

So what is really needed is a total change in this society, from top to bottom, where people, common people, will have some voice in government affairs, and begin to put human values above material values.



Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — Fleetwood went out on strike Wednesday, March 19. We had taken a strike vote three or four weeks ago, right after the company laid off 20 percent of the work force. They reduced line speed in order to bring in the K-body, the mini-Cadillac, but nowhere near as much as they laid off.

There were grievances (78's) from every department which the company just ignored. The union said there were 656 unsettled 78's.

After the strike vote, the UAW International finally gave its authorization to strike for Monday, March 17. Then the union postponed it to Friday, but told us to come in on a day-to-day basis.

But the company had pulled several more jobs overnight and had fired a day-shift committeeman on Tuesday. By 9 a.m. several departments were ready to walk. The union committee went into a quick meeting and at 11 a.m. they were telling us it was an official mini-strike, come back next Monday.

Although the union was forced into calling the strike, some workers are saying the union went along with the company on this mini-strike. We are supposed to return to work next Monday even if not a single job gets settled in the meantime. I think the company's idea is to let us cool off through the weekend, and meanwhile work out troubles in the K-body production without having to pay us unemployment.

—Fleetwood worker

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—Workers at Mack Stamping Plant do not believe the majority of the laid-off workers will ever be called back to work. This is mainly because of the speed-up older seniority workers are experiencing.

Even in skilled and maintenance, one worker is doing what two did before the lay-off. In the tin shop, a maintenance welder was assigned to work, and another was assigned to the press room. Last week, the tin shop man was removed, and now the press room man has to take care of both places.

Maintenance was one of the very best places to work some five or six years ago, especially when it was a lily-white department. But since Black workers have knocked down the walls of segregation, the company has made it just the same as the production line.

We would welcome the return of our unemployed

sisters and brothers. But as long as the company and the union force one worker to produce what two or three workers did before the lay-off, plus give us forced overtime, we do not think many of them will ever be called back.

—Mack worker

GM South Gate

Los Angeles, Calif.—When we got called back at GM, in the body shop we were greeted with more "automated men" that have meant the elimination of welders. When we were producing the Vega last year, we had two of them in the body shop. Now they put in four more, so we have a total of six, which run with the use of computers.

The workers are being eliminated. There used to be close to 200 night body shop workers. Now we are around 100 or a little more. The plant as a whole has gone in two years from 3,500 to about 2,200 workers.

Our first few days on the job meant both the day and night shift combined and working the same jobs, splitting the jobs in half. But even with the split-up of the job, we are still running for every job and working up a sweat. I don't know how one man is going to do a complete job when we split the shifts.

—Night body shop worker

Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—We are working six days a week at the D.A.P., nine-and-one-half and ten-hour days, except for Saturday, when we work eight hours—with thousands laid off!

Some of the foremen are so scared they will have to bump back to the line that they are trying to act nice. This doesn't help much, though, because they keep speeding up the line. They were running 63 jobs an hour when we came back from layoff. Last night they were running 67.

It hurts all the workers on the press wheelhouse job worst of all. This job isn't hard—it is impossible. I have seen workers walk off and quit right in the middle of a shift because this job is so hard. I call it the discipline job. I have heard the foremen talking to each other, saying that some worker had messed up somewhere else in the plant, and that he was going to be on this job or on the street.

—D.A.P. worker

EDITORIAL**CIA and FBI—created by visible government**

The latest and most fantastic CIA spy story that may blow sky high any SALT talks, the story of Russian nuclear submarine Glomar, further rivets our attention on the never-ending news leaks which continue to give increasingly chilling disclosures about the "legal" and "illegal" activities of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency with additional sidelights thrown on the secret police actions and programs of the FBI. Every new expose confirms that the activity of the CIA around the world is aimed at destroying all opposition to the imperialist goal of global domination by the U.S., while the FBI is dedicated to the destruction of all opposition to the government within the U.S.

INTERVENTION — AND ASSASSINATION

The reported atrocities in which the CIA has been directly involved include the assassination of Congo Premier Patrice Lumumba. We said of Lumumba's murder in an editorial then (*News & Letters*, February 1961): "The crocodile tears shed by American Ambassador to the UN, Adlai Stevenson, cannot absolve the United States from the responsibility of having created a condition for the rule of government by assassination." By now the CIA assassination reports range from Dominican Republic's Trujillo to Chile's Allende, and are coupled with disclosures of worldwide intervention to subvert governments unfriendly to the U.S.

CIA operations reached the point where President Johnson, no slouch himself in the exercise of naked power politics at home and abroad, reportedly declared after he took office in 1963 that "we had been operating a damned Murder Incorporated in the Caribbean."

In the meantime, we are being bombarded by exposures of both the FBI and CIA at home, ranging from the illegal surveillance practiced by the CIA against tens of thousands U.S. citizens in America, to the deceit, lies, illegal searches and the full scale of harassment by the FBI against every group organized to protest administration policies—any administration. Targets of the FBI included not only Rev. Martin Luther King, but other leaders and activists fighting for an end to the Vietnam War, racial equality, Indian freedom, labor's

emancipation from capitalism and an end to U.S. imperialism.

VISIBLE GOVERNMENT IS THREAT

What must be remembered, however, is that it is not enough simply to expose the truth of these invisible arms of the U.S. government serving disintegrating and degenerate capitalist politics and practices. As the muck-rakers of the early decades of this century discovered, while they were concentrating on exposing the crimes and exploitation committed by the "invisible" government of politicians and their business allies, the visible government passed legislation more repressive than anything countenanced by the "invisible" government.

Indeed, J. Edgar Hoover got his start as the right-hand man of the notorious Attorney General Palmer who unleashed the lawless reign of terror in 1920 which resulted in thousands of "Reds and foreigners" being deported. The real basis for this national hysteria, however, had nothing to do with either "Reds" or "foreigners", but was aimed at stopping American workers trying to unionize on an industrial basis. The 1919 Seattle General Strike as well as the great steel and coal strikes of that year, plus the rise of the first mass Negro organization of Garveyism, were the reasons why capitalism wanted to build a secret police force. It was so effective against labor that it took a depression and a nationwide series of strikes to break Big Capital's stranglehold and create the CIO in 1936-37.

While the CIA was created during World War II, then as the Office of Secret Service (OSS), both it and the FBI are charged with the task of preventing any serious challenge to the status quo. And since every freedom movement, whether from the Blacks, labor, youth or women, necessarily strives to change the status quo in a totally fundamental fashion, they will continue to be the targets of secret police arms—regardless of what name they are given.

The fact is that it is the visible government, the established power, that creates the FBIs and the CIAs to protect it. The scandals that are now being exposed will not change that one whit.

REPRESSION PLANNED AT HOME

We need to ask why there is the present emphasis on exposing the illegal actions of the CIA at home. By concentrating on this, the hope is that the heat will be taken off of the CIA's work overseas. This is where the concern of the politicians in Washington lies, because the anger of the people in other countries at how the U.S. has manipulated or coerced their governments to do its bidding may explode into serious revolution against their own rulers.

Those who think that since the "dirty tricks" politician Nixon is out of office there is nothing to fear, should recall that the current rash of CIA and FBI exposures occurred not under Nixon, but under that great "liberal" Kennedy in the so-called era of "Camelot". It is total self-delusion to think that the era of secret police terrorism and deceit will disappear. The truth is that with the deepening of the social and economic crises at home and abroad, there will be more, not less, repression set in motion to try to stop the growing revolt of the unemployed Black and white workers, women and youth. The visible government will do that.

News & Letters

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WAR AND PEACE

More than half the population here is not yet 18 years old. It is like this in most of the underdeveloped world. And with an average income one-tenth of that of the rich nations, how are the poor to survive, to save and to build?

We are each of us sitting on the 10,000 pounds of TNT-equivalent the arms race has provided us, just to make sure nothing is left when the final spark is kindled. And what a mountain of tensions exists and grows to provide that spark. At the moment greed and hunger are in a race to see which can more quickly reach the explosive point. Will it be oil or will it be food?

Vigil Voice
Costa Rica

The U.S. is currently spending \$4 billion a year to keep the war going in Indochina. You know what \$4 billion could buy? Choose one: 250,000 more civilian jobs; 264 low cost housing units; complete elimination of hunger in America; three fully equipped schools for each 200 American communities,

plus 30,000 one-year teachers' salaries; rebuilding of every blighted urban area in America.

Could anybody be surprised that the latest poll revealed 82 percent of the American people oppose Ford's request for more money to continue the slaughter in Southeast Asia?

Fed-up
Chicago

Where is the anti-war movement now that we need it? Why do we just sit and watch Cambodian children blown to bits or die of starvation nightly on TV? It was the mass anti-war movement that kept Lyndon Johnson from a second presidential term, motivated Congressional hearings, and forced Nixon into the charade of troop withdrawals and the return of the POW's. But it didn't stop the war.

Although the recent widespread coverage of Cambodia on TV is no doubt designed to take our minds off the war on us, at home, couldn't an active anti-war movement coming from the masses

ago nothing was said on so-called violations of attendance or tardiness standards because management was worried about high turnover rates. Now, with the shortage of work, they are really turning the screws tighter and tighter. Some leave, but the majority have to live with it, as it is almost impossible to get another job.

Working Mother
Hartford, Conn.

Sorry, the \$1 enclosed is the best I can do out of my Social (In)security check.

Supporter
California

EDITOR'S NOTE

The generous response of our readers to our urgent appeal for financial help has helped not only to pay for the special January-February issue, but will help us expand our work in the long, hot summer in store. If you have not yet sent in your contribution, please—do it now!

THANKS FOR YOUR RESPONSE TO OUR APPEAL

The need for continuous activity seems even more important as the times get harsher and more and more of us are joining the unemployment lines. Now that I'm working part-time again, I can afford to set aside a few dollars from each night's tips and will do so on a regular basis from now on. Enclosed is \$20 as my first "installment."

Part-time Employee
Ontario

We enjoyed your special issue and are relieved to see you react towards the current crises. How about a series of articles on *Das Kapital*? We need philosophy, but can we afford to sit by and wait to see which comes first, fascism or revolution? . . . Enclosed find \$10 to help keep you going.

Supporter
Ann Arbor

Enclosed is a small contribution . . . things are really tightening up in the insurance companies here. A few years

Reader

of outraged Americans turn the Southeast Asian war around once and for all? Over the last ten years we have learned, from My Lai to Kent State and Jackson, from Attica to Watergate, that the only real solution is the total destruction of this capitalist economy and the creation of a new society based on the human being instead of the profit motive.

Angry Mother
Detroit

"DEAD" CAMPUSES?

Graduate teaching assistants and students at University of Michigan won a big victory with their unity. The GAO—the grad student-teachers' union—won union recognition, agency shop, anti-discrimination affirmative action, a 5.6 percent raise, and a ceiling on their tuition. In other words, the union swept their demands!

Without a doubt the grad student-teachers should be hugging and kissing most of their students! They not only honored picket lines for three bitter cold weeks, but in many locations on campus student pickets were in the majority throughout the strike. Add to this a special vote of thanks to the Black and Third World students' occupation of the Administration Building (on related issues) during the strike and you have the makings of a really fine victory on one of our so-called "dead" campuses of the 1970s.

Grad Student
U of M

A friend of mine who teaches in junior high school recently asked his students what they thought the advantages and disadvantages of modern industrial society were. The students listed, as advantages, television and "the freedom to go where you want." Unemployment, inflation, discrimination, and pollution were listed as disadvantages.

Then one student said, "We really don't have the freedom to go where we want, though. We have to come to school everyday, and when we get older, we'll have to go to work everyday. You have no choice at all."

The teacher asked if voting wasn't an advantage. The students' reply was, "Voting makes no real difference."

I think the bourgeois press keeps harping on the relative calm and apathy of college students only so it can overlook and ignore the growing ranks of revolutionary youth in the junior high and the high schools.

Liam Ryan
Hartford, Conn.

RACISM IN CANADA

Although half of the 40,000 members of the Canadian section of the Machinists union live in Quebec, English is the only language allowed in that union. At a large conference recently in Montreal, a Quebecois delegate requested that the meeting be conducted in both languages. Myke Rygus, vice president of the Canadian IAM, said that it had been decided at a meeting in Winnipeg (a town notorious for this kind of racism), that only English would be permitted in all union discussions and documents. When the delegate insisted, Rygus told him that he could no longer be considered an official delegate to the conference!

Observer
Montreal

THOUGHTS AT TAX-TIME

We the working people of the USA are always the losers. We pay all of the taxes to support our nation and we provide the labor to produce all of our commodities. We provide everyone's income to be able to buy these commodities because their income reverts to the laborers' production. They keep having us produce equipment to eliminate a job for our fellow man. Each time we do this we eliminate another taxpayer.

When we started working there were great promises, such as unemployment insurance, disability insurance, and social security when we become too old to work. There will not be any of these things left if there are not enough people working to support all these lovely dreams.

Ex-farmer
Pico Rivera, Cal.

TWO WORLDS

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

PART II

The pure Maoism that governs the new Constitution and its very, very old "new" leadership⁽⁴⁾ is Mao's most unMarxist and most original philosophic contribution "On Contradiction," which rested on substituting for class contradictions, the relationship between economic base and political superstructure and so equalizing the two as to make his "superstructure" (i.e., his political line of the moment) every bit as decisive as the production relationship.⁽⁵⁾

Ever since the 10th Communist Party Congress in 1973, new and very important documents, the Wan-sui⁽⁶⁾, have finally become known in the West. These shed new, and in some cases shocking, light on the whole question of the relationship between base and superstructure, which drags in Lenin, along with Stalin, as Russian "comrades" who "underestimate" the peasantry. Since the voluminous writings of Lenin on the peasantry, and the further development of the colonial question after the conquest of power, led Lenin to relate the question of world revolution to the Orient — "If not through Berlin, then perhaps through Peking"—Mao could not possibly, not through the wildest leap of nightmarish imagination, make such an accusation against Lenin. Here is how he tries nevertheless:

In 1955 — after the death of Stalin, but before Khrushchev's deStalinization in February 1956 — Mao embarked on his type of fantastic collectivization and criti-

(4) The top leadership is octogenarian, the majority are in the 70's and the "young" in the triumvirate, Chang, is 62. From the new elections in 1973, the one that was played up as youth and who appears not to be at the top but in any case is on the Central Committee, Wang, is in the mid-40s.
(5) "Stalin only talked about the relations of production but not about the superstructure." Part of Mao's analysis is in Wan-sui, below.
(6) Wan-sui is the abbreviation of Mao Tse-tung ssu-hsiang wan-sui (Long Live Mao Tse-tung's Thought) which appeared in 2 volumes (1967, 280 pp; 1969, 720 pp) for an elite, limited audience in China. Taipei got hold of the books and photo offset them in 1973. At present a lengthy discussion by many China scholars is appearing in *The China Quarterly*, Jan-Mar. 1974, Dec. 1974, and still going strong.

cized Stalin's final document, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*.⁽⁷⁾ There he accused Stalin of overestimating technology and giving priority to "things instead of people." Mao says, "What we use to regulate things is the Plan" as if that, just that, wasn't Stalin's god!

Nevertheless he goes on mindlessly, reducing to a single slogan, Lenin's voluminous writings on the peasantry and on the soviets as something that arose spontaneously, as did the Paris Commune, and thus charted a road for Marxists, on the eve of 1917, to realize that a new society means "the population to a man, woman and child" controlling production and the state. That single slogan is Lenin's "Communism equals soviets plus electrification."

Characteristically, what Mao does directly after quoting that sentence out of context is further, deliberate obfuscation by letting the slogan dangle in the air as he continues his argument with Stalin, as if that also covered Lenin, and contrasts to them his "mass line."

What concerns us in 1975 is that Chou, like Mao, spells out "mass line" as workers needing to work hard and harder, while they obey "the battle call" and "battle task" set out by the present Congress to achieve "big and rapid increase in industrial production this year." So it isn't superstructure, after all, that the Chinese "theoretic contingents" are concerned with, as is seen in broadcasts from Huanan which lauded "the great blueprint for building China."⁽⁸⁾

"PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE" AND THE "SECOND WORLD"

Also enshrined in the Constitution is "peaceful co-existence." It is hard to believe that after all the shrill propaganda against Khrushchev on "peaceful co-existence" as a sell-out to capitalism and imperialism, Maoism would so blatantly proclaim the same. For those who think Maoists have an out, since "theirs" is based on the Bandung Conference (which indeed preceded

(7) See my analysis in *Marxism and Freedom*, the chapter on Stalin.
(8) Some of the quotations from the new Chinese leaders appear in an article by Joseph Lelyveld in *The New York Times*, 2/11/75.

Khrushchev's espousal of the slogan in 1956, but was tied directly to the Asian-African Third World), read and read again the new Constitution and Chou's speech and Teng's April speech to the UN last year where he first "created" a "new world" he called the "Second World," which turned out to be nothing short of West European capitalism.

Here is how Chou spelled it out this time: "We support the countries and the people of the Second World in their struggle against super-power control . . . We support the efforts of the West European countries to get united in the struggle." And since they fight, not capitalism, but only the two super-powers, and two super-powers—USSR and the U.S.—are once again distinguished so that Russia is the worst, there is no doubt whatever that "pure" Maoism and its unique Cultural Revolution's achievement, making Russia "Enemy No. 1," lives in full bloom.

(Continued on Page 7)

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA is the Chairwoman of NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, which practices the unity of worker and intellectual, and of philosophy and revolution, and totally new human relations. NEWS & LETTERS is edited by a Black production worker, CHARLES DENBY. It was born in 1955, the year of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, on the one hand, and the wildcats against Automation, on the other. It is a monthly publication which does not separate reports of the activities of workers, Blacks, women and youth against capitalism, racism, sexism, and imperialist war, from the activity of thinking and working out theory for our age. Participation in the freedom struggles and the creation of a forum for all the new voices from below by the publication of the paper, pamphlets and books are all forms of activities we invite you to join in working out with us.

Views

Hanging hang-dog low today? Something to make you feel important: YOU pay more income taxes than United Airlines, Texas Gulf, and Freeport Minerals. Percentage-wise the average taxpayer tops two dozen of the corporate giants, including Bankers Trust, Texaco, Kennecott Copper, Chase Manhattan, International Harvester, Gulf Oil, Standard of Ohio, Chrysler, Mobil Oil, McDonnell Douglas, and Con Ed of N.Y. — with the accent on the CON.

Frank Ray Davis
Los Angeles

A NEW ANTHOLOGY

We are not theoreticians or academics, but writers who have tried to use both traditional and innovative forms in making poems and fiction that serve to advance the possibility of a second American revolution. We do not have an ideological line and are not members of any particular organization.

Because the Left has few pages for the creative arts, we decided to launch our own cultural effort. The first product is a small collection of stories and poetry, which we have called "3 Red Stars" by b.p. Flanigan, Dan Georgakas, and Lenny Rubenstein. It sells for \$2. Would you let your readers know we plan other anthologies and would welcome good submissions? Books and information can be obtained from:

Smyrna Press
Box 841
Stuyvesant Station
New York, N.Y. 10009

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Indian women organized the first Michigan chapter of the North American Indian Women's Association (NAIWA) at Northern Michigan University on February 14 and 15. The NAIWA Executive Board came to help, and to plan the Fifth Annual NAIWA National Conference to be held at NMU on June 13-15.

An Indian woman I know, on learning of this, immediately stated she would

attend the National Conference. "Indian women are raised never to make decisions," she said, "and that has affected my life very seriously."

Indian women have participated in every phase of the Indian Movement. More women than men were indicted after the Wounded Knee occupation, though publicity centered on the men who were the "leaders". Indian women organizing themselves as women will develop and deepen both the Indian Movement and the struggles of all women for freedom.

Feminist
Detroit

I really got a charge out of the news that when International Women's Day was celebrated at the UN with a special all-day conference, the women employees presented a petition to the Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim, calling for an end to discrimination against women right at the UN. It turned out that 2700 of the 3000 UN employees had signed it. Talk about being concrete!

Delighted
Detroit

LEADERS AND RANKS

A headline over a story in the *San Francisco Chronicle* telling of how Harry Bridges, International President of the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, drove through a picket line of office workers employed by the ILWU, stated, "New Role for ILWU Chief."

As a boss, Bridges acted consistently. This wasn't the first time he crossed a picket line. A boss is a boss is a boss. A labor bureaucrat is the same. . . . So what else is new?

Member, ILWU Warehouse Local 6
San Francisco

LEFT IN DISARRAY

A letter titled "The Left in Disarray" in last issue's Readers Views brings to light a very basic problem — the politi-

cal plight of the Left. The present anti-political "politics" are doing nothing constructive in furthering the movement's goal of instituting a government of leftist ideology. "Success" in these terms shall only come about by a revolution marked by anarchy and the high probability of bloodshed, both of which have been witnessed far too many times in this century. If this is called success, then it is better to never start up that road in the first place.

Student
Trinity College, Conn.

A suggestion for N & L—some analysis by workers of the intellectuals and their place in working class movements, with an eye toward the Russian and other experiences.

Reader
Washington, D.C.

I was at one time very close to the Revolutionary Union. What sparked my split from them was their position on the ERA, which parallels their position on busing. Their position on busing comes directly from their conviction that narrow nationalism and not white racism is the principle contradiction in the movement today. Their position may be motivated by different motives than the Hicks-Kerrigan machine, but objectively they play the same role as the racists.

Student
Penn State

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

I was fascinated by the development in *Philosophy and Revolution* of the Hegelian dialectic that has been so oversimplified. Your analysis is that it begins with subjective human consciousness that goes to "Nature" (I prefer to call it "the nature of things and human objectives in a determined historical period") to objective conditions that in a later historical period often have to be negated by a new human, subjective,

creative consciousness. Considering this in relation to Mao's "to come from the people and go back to the people," the latter idea becomes silly.

However, what I really consider important is that the people are subjects (subjectively creative persons) and not objects. No one should be surprised that Marxists imbued with "economism" or with modern sociological theories of the "mass media" consider human beings objects, but there are many people and groups that continually talk about "workers' control" and "the class struggle," who in the final analysis say that all people are objectively conditioned "objects" without any real class consciousness who have to be "guided."

Correspondent
Italy

ART FOX

Art Fox, revolutionary Marxist and militant trade unionist, who never ceased his activity against capitalism and for a classless society, died on March 10 in Detroit, where he had centered his work ever since the end of World War II. From the moment he joined the revolutionary movement, as a youth, his anti-imperialist activity and his proletarian activity were inseparable. He became an auto worker not because that was "the line", but because he wished to be with the workers who would end this exploitative society.

He came very early to the theoretical conclusion that Russia, far from being a workers' state, was a state-capitalist society, and although he never broke with Trotskyism, he never swerved from the state-capitalist theory, extending it to the class nature of China, as well. To the day of his death he continued his work with rank and file groups from the factories.

We mourn his death and extend our deepest solidarity to his wife, Edie, and son, Steve, in whose work Art's revolutionary life's struggles will be continued.

A second view

Voices from below missing in 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'

Alfredo Carmona's review of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in the March issue of *News & Letters* is most welcome when it is concrete, when it exposes what "a terrifying barrage of racist I.Q. tests, textbooks, and curriculum" U.S. educational institutions are, and how they must be changed totally.

However, I cannot agree with him that Freire's book introduces such a total change, or really has the attitude that the oppressed is the subject. It is true he speaks of the oppressed as subject. However, not only do you hear only the voices of interpreters, or what he calls "critical reflection," rather than the masses from below speaking for themselves.

But worst of all, there is no critical reflection on such opposites as Martin Luther King and Erich Fromm, Ortega y Gasset and Marcuse, Althusser and Fromm. To single out some abstract quotation from any of these works, as Freire does, without showing that on this event, on this day, such and such was said, covers up more than it illuminates.

For instance, how can Althusser be quoted as being for human beings as subject without noting Althusser's silence on Russia's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, when that East European subject was in motion. Far from helping us see masses as subject instead of object, such picking and choosing by Freire ends by covering up present-day Communism from what it really is: state-capitalism.

Let us stay on Czechoslovakia to draw out the point. Freire footnotes a reference to Erich Fromm's editor-

Noble Knit exploits Latinos

Long Island City, N.Y. — Noble Knit Mfg. is corrupted. This is true in many different ways. When you've got a friend or a pretty face, the bosses protect you, and someone else has to produce for you. That's the story of our class, workers. We have to sweat while they are on Pompano Beach, and they blame us if they don't get millions in profits.

Noble is a corporation owned by white Americans. They try to keep all the foremen white so they stay in complete control against the workers. They don't want Lat'ns to be in that position, as they might get too close to the workers.

And it's not just that they won't hire Latinos with education. There are men who've been doing the job for many years and know it inside out, who could be put in charge. Instead, they hire some young guy who knows nothing about the job but is the same race, maybe a family friend, and is a flunky of the bosses and enemy of the workers.

The union, Local 155, Knitgoods Workers (ILGWU), works together with the bosses to exploit the workers. Generally they only want the dues every month. For example, they keep people working two weeks, then off two, instead of laying off, so they can keep collecting dues from each miserable paycheck, which is not enough to live on.

Conditions of work are very poor. For example, there has been no hot water in the sinks since about 1965. They save money by this. They don't care about the workers. We want people to know the situation of how they treat us. They treat us like animals, or slaves. The wages are slave wages, only instead of working on a plantation, we work in a building.

The higher-paid employee, such as a cutter, might get \$8,000 a year. In one day, a cutter will produce 200 dozen sweaters selling for at least \$7 a piece. That means \$16,800 in one day. In other words, in one-half day a worker has produced his wages for the whole year. The rest of the year he works for the bosses. That's the situation at Noble Knits, one of the large corporations that lives by crushing the workers.

—Noble Knit worker

Dominican independence day

New York, N.Y.—On Saturday, March 2, over 750 Dominicans gathered to commemorate the independence of the Dominican Republic on Feb. 27, 1844. The mood among the families and other participants was very enthusiastic during the program of poets and singers from the Dominican Republic and other Latin American countries.

One singer from Argentina, Bernardo Palombo, received cheers twice during one song, at the lines about woman not being an object to be used, and about revolution being a lot more serious than just getting together a few rifles and cannons.

Despite the factionalism of a few small groups who felt compelled to stand and shout their slogans every five minutes, the feeling was one of unity in struggle. The Comité Conmemoración Independencia Dominicana that organized the program distributed a statement saying in part:

"We Dominicans . . . found ourselves forced to leave our country on account of unemployment in the cities, the misery which stalks the fields where our farmworkers suffer for lack of land, the repression to which students are submitted, and the lack of civil rights or respect for the most elemental rights of the human person . . ."

ship of Socialist Humanism, but without showing that very nearly all writers within the volume, writers who consider themselves Marxist and Socialist Humanists, are nearly all on the very opposite side of the fence from Althusser, or even Castro, on that one question of Czechoslovakia. Castro had a great revolution against American imperialism and Batista, but does that have to mean an acceptance of Russian Communism as the true Humanist alternative? But Freire does not comment here.

For us in the United States, for whom American imperialism and capitalism are equally the enemy, we must unfurl a totally independent Marxist-Humanist banner, untied to any existing state power. For this reason, one has to look with caution on Carmona's emphasis on education "raising the level of consciousness." Aren't we thereby leaving loopholes for vanguardists to get in, instead of opening wide the doors and ears for listening to the voices from below?

Or, as Marx notes, "The materialists' doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that circumstances are changed precisely by men, and that the educator himself must be educated . . ."

—Eugene Walker

15,000 in UFW march

(Continued from Page 1)

never meet the people, while all the volunteers for the farmworkers are out on the streets every week talking to people, telling them what's happening.

While we were walking along the road, nearly every trucker we saw beeped and gave us support signs, which was good because they are mostly Teamsters. People in the small towns supported us, and some of the kids would join the march as we walked through the town. I didn't see any hostile reactions except for one guy in Modesto, and, of course, the police, who didn't want us to march through the towns. I was amazed at the amount of support we had going through the valley. There were a lot of press people marching with us various parts of the way, even national news networks.

The boycott is going very strong. I hear some Gallo insiders said sales are down 30 or 40 percent, and two Gallo distributors resigned during the week of the march, because so much pressure is put on them to reopen sales in stores that refuse to stock Gallo.

MARCHERS CONFIDENT OF VICTORY

There have been all these predictions of the death of the UFW by the *New York Times* and all these others, but every farmworker I talked to knows they're going to win. They have no doubts about it at all. An organizer of the Franzia strike told me "Chavez is going to win" with absolute certainty in his voice. One farmworker told me, "We came from Delano. We want work and money, and we got to fight for it. Gallo will sign this time." It's such an amazing thing to see this confidence when so much has been against them. Half the victory is in the spirit of the people.

—UFW marcher

Eritreans report on revolt against Ethiopian repression

(Ed. Note: The following two views are from Eritrean student activists.)

New York, N.Y.—The people of Eritrea, largely due to their country's strategic location on the southwestern flank of the Red Sea, for centuries have had to fight against alien invaders. The toiling masses of Eritrea have a history of resistance and struggle in the defense of their national and democratic rights against colonialism — Italian, British, and now Ethiopian.

In 1953, the Eritrean working class, conscious of its role and its strength, formed its own organization—The General Union of Labour Syndicates—one of the earliest trade unions in Africa. The organization, however, was short lived. In the same year, the Ethiopian government banned it and forced its leaders to flee the country. Those who remained in Eritrea continued to fight the growing Ethiopian oppression through clandestine means.

In 1958, they organized the biggest mass strikes ever seen in Eritrea. The capital city, Asmara, and all the major cities were completely paralyzed for four days. The Ethiopian occupation authorities responded by killing 88 Eritrean workers and wounding over 500.

In the last few weeks, the imperialist news media have lifted their "conspiracy of silence" against the Eritrean struggle for national liberation.

In Eritrea, the junta has tried to terrorize the people through massacres and threatening mass extermination. They have also come up with the farce of "Ethiopian Socialism." The junta's attempt to crush the Eritrean struggle is a clear indication of its true nature. Socialism is not something that can be decreed or come about by the stroke of a pen. Its realization requires the political consciousness and support of the masses.

Fairchild closes N.M. plant after Navajo take over

On March 3, the occupation of the Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corp. at Shiprock, N. M. ended. This takeover was brought about by the lay-off of 140 employees, mostly Navajo women. The American Indian Movement (AIM) felt that the occupation was successful on five points. Among these were that Peter McDonald, head of the Tribal Council, agreed not to prosecute anyone who participated in the strike. He also agreed to try to get the 140 workers reinstated.

Later, we learned that Fairchild was closing the plant. The owner said he felt that there wasn't enough of a guarantee that there wouldn't be another takeover. Now over 450 people are jobless.

A spokesman from AIM said that documents were found indicating that the plant was going to be shut down and taken to one of Fairchild's "offshore" facilities (Korea) if government subsidies didn't come through. (In Fairchild's Indonesian plant, wages are 12 cents an hour.)

When we first heard of the plant, it was touted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) as one of the best working situations the Indians could have. There were about 1,500 people employed then. Everyone seemed to be satisfied. Later, the employment figures indicated that the plant was cutting back and that the lay-off of the 140 workers, although sizeable, was nothing new.

There are other plants built on the Fairchild model. It seems significant that the occupation by 20 people was threatening enough to cause the closing of the plant. It means that the workers were taken seriously by the government.

I only hope that the workers in other factories like this one will take this as a hopeful sign. I hope, too, that the workers will watch very carefully their dealings with the government. But mostly I hope that they will not be frightened out of fighting for their rights.

—Shainapwe Shcapwe

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BLACK-RED VIEW Food crisis starves millions

by John Alan

The twin to the oil crisis is the food crisis which has encircled the globe since 1972 like a galloping plague, bringing millions of Africans and Asians to the brink of famine and death without any substantial relief or hope.

While the oil crisis shows itself in higher prices paid for petroleum in the industrialized Western capitalist nations, the food crisis raises the prospect of the imminent extinction of millions of Third World people through malnutrition and starvation.

Undernourishment and scarcity of food for the poor city dwellers and peasantry of Latin America, Africa and Asia has long been a permanent feature of these continents. But it was not until the severe drought of 1972, which drastically affected the people and economy of the Sub-Sahara nations of Mali, Upper Volta, Niger and Chad, that any wide Western governmental concern was focused on the fact that at least half of the world's people are now in a permanent state of destitution and starvation.

It was the oil crisis—with all its economic and political ramifications which posed the threat of control over the sources of fuel—that forced an investigation of the growing world starvation. Last November, the World Food Conference was convened in Rome, Italy. Among its prime movers, of course, was the U. S. Not only did the conference fail to provide meaningful relief for the starving, it became a platform for the presentation of U.S. political and economic policies.

Henry Kissinger, in his address to the conference, revealed that the U.S. priorities, the interest of U.S. imperialism and the capitalist type of production were the only solution to the world food problem. Yet, it is precisely that which is the cause of food deprivation.

The Secretary's highest priority was for the increase of agricultural production in the advanced countries. For the "developing" countries, the emphasis was for improved technology which would create greater agricultural products. Never mentioned were all the social and political hurdles standing in the way of adequate food production and consumption in these countries. Nor was he concerned with the phenomenon of how both technological improvement and increased agricultural yield failed to abate starvation.

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 4)

Finally, only one question remains regarding Maoism without Mao. The most fantastic, literally insane of all Mao's brainstormings, was the one regarding the A-bomb, and that was before China got the "know-how" in 1964. **THE BOMB**

In 1957 when Mao was in Moscow, he projected to Nehru the idea that the Third World, China especially, had nothing to fear from a nuclear holocaust since that would do away with "imperialism" and the civilization that would rise on its ruins would be "higher." This effectively shut up Nehru.

No one, indeed, dared speak about it, and it remained secret, until first, a British trade union delegation heard of it and was not shocked into secrecy, and then the Sino-Soviet conflict broke into the open, and the Russians never tired of referring to it. No matter what purposes the Russian Communists put this knowledge to, the point is: Mao did say it. Mao did think it. Mao never deviated from that projection. Indeed, this is precisely what accounts for his acceptance of state-capitalism (which he calls "socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat") as the next stage of humanity's "development."

The only thing that is new now is that the documents that became known in 1973, which were meant for the elite of China during the Cultural Revolution, back up this view by quoting Mao as saying: "In Chinese history our population has been destroyed by half, a good many times."

Is that what the "new" leadership likewise sees as what, as Mao put it, "would sweep the world clean of imperialism" after which "we could rebuild again"? And is this what leads the "New Left" in the West to consider Mao the revolutionary who moves "from revolution to revolution to revolution"?

New York, Baltimore, Washington Readers — Hear Raya Dunayevskaya in your area

- "Women's Creativity and Liberation" 8:00 p.m., Wednesday April 2. Rm. 301, Hunter College, 68th and Lexington, New York City
- "Dialectics of Liberation and Today's Myriad Global Crises" 7:30 p.m., Friday, April 4 Workmen's Circle, 45 E. 33rd St., between Madison and Park Avenues, New York City
- Fordham University Radio 11:00 a.m., Tuesday, April 8 "Today's World" program
- "A Humanist View of Philosophy and Revolution" 12:30 p.m., Thursday, April 10 Towson State College, College Center Building Baltimore, Maryland

Between 1965 and 1972, India more than doubled its wheat production, yet none of this increase benefited the masses of India's poor because it was all accrued as profit to the three to four percent of India's large landholders who were able to technologically improve their production methods.

The Transnational Institute, specializing in world economic problems, claims that in Colombia, chicken production has doubled in less than a decade, but only 20 percent of the population can afford even one chicken a year! Yet, Colombia is better off than the Dominican Republic, where Gulf & Western has a sugar cane operation so self-contained the locals get no benefits at all.

As long as the "developing" countries are caught in the grip of the world market, no amount of technological improvement will benefit the masses. The more they produce food for export, the less will be available for the native population, and the greed for dollars will continue to supersede the needs of the destitute hungry.

Perversion rules prison life

Racism and repression against prisoners, like the recent murder conviction of four Black Holman-Atmore prisoners involved with Inmates for Action, an Alabama prisoners' organization fighting for basic inmate rights, is not limited to the South. In the following story, an inmate tells about life in an Illinois prison.—Editor

Do you know what a world ruled by perversion can be? Let me tell you about it.

Imagine, if you can, a world where men have regressed into a state of bestiality parallel to that of dogs, where they mistake other men for women and snarl, bite and destroy each other for their favor. Where a thousand psychotics, of every conceivable description and variety, are turned loose without supervision or medical attention, spreading paranoia among the same community — members, keepers and kept alike — as liberally as the air we breathe and as toxic as the deadly smog within it.

A community where the products of the American Tobacco Company are a social religion, and God himself is a pack of cigarettes; where dominos, homosexuality and the pursuit of cigarettes rule the mental faculties of man. A world of justice where Blacks and Chicanos do more time for petty crime and the sickness of narcotic addiction, than does a white offender for rape, murder and mayhem.

A business community where men are forced to produce products for public consumption for wages of two pennies an hour, operating the most dangerous machinery without any form of industrial compensation insurance. The danger of their employment is enhanced by the fact that many of them cannot even read the safety instructions on the machinery they operate.

A considerate community, where visiting with one's family is encouraged by allowing a visitor who has travelled more than 400 miles, less than two hours twice monthly. An urban city of steel where two men are forced to live in a four by nine foot space, 16 hours a day, while the Health and Safety Code demands that a gorilla, whether he be ten months or ten years old, have a living space of 1,065 feet.

Unbelievable? But it's happening every minute of every day. Prison is a place where legal injustice nourishes a monster in the depths of man so terrible that America's favorite monster, Mr. Frankenstein, is reduced to the status of a gentle soul by comparison.

As others see us

Slavic Review of P & R challenges view of Lenin

Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre, and from Marx to Mao. By Raya Dunayevskaya.

If one seeks the central idea of Ms. Dunayevskaya's work, it may be found to be that of praxis—but the idea used as backdrop rather than analyzed in depth. I have in mind not what Marxists have said about it and made of it in translating it as "practice" but what Karl Marx himself understood by the term . . . or, in Dunayevskaya's phrase, "an activity both mental and manual, (a) 'critical-practical activity,' which Marx never separated from its revolutionary character" (p. 265). But from the moment when Marx's thought became transformed into an ideology . . . and when this ideology became the doctrine of an agency in power (party or state), there was substituted for the praxis of Marx a voluntarism more or less uprooted from the analysis of the reality and the movement of a society.

IT IS around this issue that Dunayevskaya organizes her analysis of the relations between philosophy and revolution. In the first part of the work she places on the same footing Hegel, Marx, and Lenin, considered as philosophers in search of the concrete universal. In the second and third parts, she shows why recent Marxists and philosophers (Trotsky, Mao Tse-tung, and Sartre) have been unable to fill the theoretical void of the Marxist movement . . .

In Dunayevskaya's view, of particular importance are the different resistance movements which from 1956 to 1970—in Warsaw and Budapest and Prague, Gdansk and Szczecin—have united workers and youth from various countries of Eastern and Danubian Europe in revolt

Union disgusts musicians

Windsor, Canada — What do rock musicians and assembly line workers have in common? They belong to unions. And like the great majority of organized workers in Windsor, many of the active musicians here are bitter and frustrated when their union is discussed.

The Windsor Federation of Musicians is part of an international union, the American Federation. It has about 700 members, but only around half are actually working as paid musicians. Of those who work regularly, perhaps two-thirds are younger members playing rock, country and western music in Windsor's many bars.

These musicians are the most alienated from the local federation. Dissatisfaction can be seen in the high number (over 50) of younger performers suspended for not paying union dues in the last six months.

The union's lack of support for the bar bands in their confrontations with the bar owners is the major complaint. Many owners will not hire bands at the minimum fee set by the local. If bands play under union scale without signing contracts, they not only lose money, but without a contract the owners can fire them at will without notice, a common occurrence.

Another grievance concerns the bars in Windsor that will not hire Blacks. One owner broke a contract when he found out one of the band members was Black. The union has done little to stop this discrimination.

The union represents the owners more than it does the performers. With that kind of dissatisfaction you would expect the monthly meetings of the local would be packed with angry members demanding to be heard. Instead only 20 to 30 regularly attend the federation meetings.

They are older, experienced musicians who vote each other into office and look to their own interests first.

When I was told this I was struck by the similarity between the musicians' union and my own, the UAW. Our local has over 10,000 members, yet usually less than 200 attend the regular meetings — and most of these are elected officials. Only the other politicians in the local can get a word in edgewise.

Everyday problems that face musicians are often very different from those of Chrysler workers, yet we both have to deal with unions that are undemocratic and unresponsive to our needs.

The musicians have been wondering if kicking out the present leadership and electing a reform slate will be an improvement. Perhaps, but the history of other unions has always seen the reformers become the establishment once they get into power, repeating over and over again a vicious circle.



UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA students crowd into the administration conference room to confront UF President Marston with their opposition to recent educational cutbacks and a proposed tuition hike.

against the inhuman oppression of local Marxist-Leninist regimes . . . She asks, "Is it not time for intellectuals to begin, with where the workers are and what they think, to fill the theoretic void in the Marxist movement?" (p. 266).

The fundamental question is nevertheless not that but a different one. It lies in the philosophical equating of Hegel, Marx, and Lenin, from the viewpoint of the dialectic of negation . . .

In returning to Hegel when he read the Science of Logic in 1914-15, Lenin seemed to overturn the ideas which he had expounded a decade earlier in Materialism and Empirio-Criticism. Dunayevskaya is doubtless right to challenge the "reductionism" of B. M. Kedrov, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Nevertheless a more detailed study of the written work and later actions of Lenin would be required in order to conclude that these new ideas of his, which he recorded only elliptically, governed his work in 1917-24. . . .

No more than Marx's dialectic of negation can that of Lenin be equated with that of Hegel. In Lenin as in Marx, other philosophical elements are also present which radically alter the configuration of the whole and no more arrive at a concrete universal than does Hegel's dialectic. It is probably only in exploring other paths, which Hegel called "the seriousness, the suffering, the patience and the labor of negativity," that it will be possible to arrive at the real liberty of all men. Dunayevskaya's book may aid in this discovery as a result of the questions it raises.

Henri Chambre, Paris/Vanves
Slavic Review, Dec. 1974

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Yugoslav government purges Marxist-Humanist professors

For the past decade the Philosophy Department of the University of Belgrade, Yugoslavia, has been a thorn in the side of Tito, teaching Marxist Humanism. Eight professors in the department, all Marxists, have been fighting the bureaucracy of the Serbian Communist Party to maintain the self government of the university which had been granted to them under law.

When, after years of trying every trick in the book to silence them, censure them or throw them out and finding that they had the complete support of the entire faculty and student body, the Serbian government has passed a new law which dismisses

the professors and bans their internationally known publication *Praxis*.

An international reaction has resulted, with professors from the United States and numerous European nations sending letters of protest to Tito and the Yugoslavian Ambassadors in the various countries.

Praxis has gained an international reputation for the publication, both in Serbian and English, of dissenting but objective articles on the problems facing the Communist world. Its concern for Marxist philosophy has drawn wide attention and contributions from the leading Marxist philosophers.

Its destruction at the hands of the Serbian government strikes a serious blow at free discussion and academic liberty that will not go unanswered.

The eight professors who have been dismissed say that over the past seven years all other measures against them have failed: banning their books and journals, threats, harassment, denial of passports, imprisonment of their students, threats to dissolve the entire faculty and changing Serbian law twice to deny the university self government.

Contributions and copies of letters of protest should be sent to Dr. Robert S. Cohen, Dept. of Philosophy, Boston University, Boston, Mass.

KURD REVOLT

The Kurds are a people without a country to call their own. Kurdistan has been broken up and occupied by Russia, Syria, Iraq, Turkey and Iran. They are Moslems and the two million of them in Iraq have been fighting for their independence from the Ba'ath Socialist Party since last March.

The fighters call themselves Pesh Mergas (we who face death). Armed with handguns and homemade grenades, they number 50,000 to 60,000, backed up by another 50,000 Kurdish irregulars who face 90,000 Iraqi troops using 1,200 modern tanks and 200 jet planes. The Iraqi army has driven them up into the Zegros Mountains. They obtain fresh supplies by raiding Iraqi detachments.

The presence of oil in the Kurdish area has stiffened the Iraqi government's resistance to give up the territory. They are using Russian bombers to wipe out entire villages and set the crops on fire, but they cannot exploit the oil fields as long as the Kurds control the mountains and can raid at will.

The Kurdish people have an ancient tradition and culture that demands independence from the countries that hold them in bondage. Self-determination is their right. They receive no help from any of the "Western" countries and their enemies are well supplied by Russia.

During the recent OPEC Arab summit conference in Algeria, the so-called "socialist" government of Iraq reached agreement with the Shah of Iran settling the border dispute between the two countries. Iraq demanded and got agreement with the Shah to cut off all aid to the Kurds. Within a day of signing the agreement, the Iraqi army began a major offensive against the Kurds.

INDIA

Despite the continuous use by Indira Gandhi's government of instant jailing and brutality against any open opposition, at least 100,000 Indians marched through the streets of New Delhi on March 6 demanding an end to the policies of the present government.

Ms. Gandhi's answer to the deepening crisis in India, where now nearly 60 percent of the population are facing starvation, is to rely increasingly on the use of force and the still-in-effect emergency security measures she instituted during the 1971 Bangladesh war. The four long years of the use of security measures to jail strikers and dissidents without charges shows all too clearly whom Ms. Gandhi considers the real enemy to be.

The leader of the new movement, Jaya Prakash Narayan, was a disciple of Mohandas K. Gandhi and played an important role in the struggle for independence. That the 72-year-old Narayan was himself beaten by federal police in a demonstration, indicates the full turn-about India's rulers have taken since winning independence. Instead of the promised "Green Revolution" where science and technology were to be used to bring a healthy diet to everyone, there has been the development of the atomic bomb along with mass starvation.

Ms. Gandhi is now secretly dealing with the U. S. and its new policy of peddling arms on the Asian subcontinent, while officially denouncing that policy with regard to Pakistan. Indira Gandhi has decided that the \$1.2 billion in arms from Russia in the last decade is not sufficient. The Indian masses, however, have a whole different future in mind than the accelerated militarization and repression of the present regime.

SPAIN

Ever since the African freedom fighters forced an overturning in neighboring Portugal of an even more brutal and seemingly invincible regime, Spain just has not been the same. Especially since November there has been a wave of strikes and protests that culminated Feb. 20 in a "Day of Struggle" that involved all layers of the population.

While strongest in Madrid, the protests were widespread, and included 6,000 miners in Asturias and 10,000 workers from 20 different factories in the Basque port of Bilbao who stopped production on the job; students who either boycotted or closed nine different universities; and women in Madrid who kept all 72 markets in that city empty during a 24-hour boycott.

The Feb. 20 protest was preceded by strikes in oil, rubber, and textile industries. Workers at the SEAT (a Spanish subsidiary of Fiat) automobile factory engaged in work stoppages in November demanding, among other things, a 40-hour work week, control of the work pace, and freedom for their own independent union. By January SEAT workers were occupying the factory and holding their meetings there. In order to keep production going the government not only had to surround the factory with military police, but had to put special police called "Political-Social Brigades" right in production areas.

The depth of the revolt is so great that even 500 government officials sent a letter to Franco calling for a "democratic state". They were threatened with dismissal if they did not retract their statement.

The government talks of reform—but with the catch that it must approve all opposition.

Unorganized are organizing: women on the march

(Continued from Page 1)

motion and pay; health and safety conditions; and the exclusion of worker participation in the Teamster locals which have had sweetheart contracts with the canneries since the '30s and '40s.

● In Boston, clerical and technical workers at Harvard Medical School, earning \$6,000 to \$7,000 a year declared, "We can't eat prestige," and launched an organizing drive that came directly out of a group of women students, faculty and employees who had met for a year to discuss common problems. One of their first actions was to convince the scientists with whom they work to hold meetings to explain the overall purpose of the research being done.

● As we go to press comes a report from the Bay Area that teachers and foodworkers are honoring the picket lines of teachers' aides who are paid for six hours but expected to work many more — and that retail store workers are striking for union recognition and an end to job applications that include questions such as "How many times a week to you have sex?" and "What kind of birth control do you use?"

NEW VOICES

The list could go on and on. The whole past year has been filled with militant women's actions — from the 21-day strike of California nurses last summer, to the 21-month strike by 2,000 Farah workers in Texas; and from the organizing of garment sweatshops in San Francisco by Chinese women after 50 years of unsuccessful attempts, to the continuing decade of activity by UFW women, and the vital role played by the miners' wives in Brookside, Kentucky. Now the United Mine Workers picket lines in Sheridan, Wyo., are being run jointly by the miners and their wives.

These new voices from below have been rising in crescendo for a full decade. Many of the struggles of the '60s, which were seen as a part of the Black dimension — or at most as race and class — can now be recognized as a vital part of the women's movement.

The idea for the Maryland Freedom Unions (MFU) that CORE set out to organize in Baltimore in 1966 was inspired by the Mississippi Freedom Union organized by SNCC and by the grape workers of Delano, acting without the labor bureaucracy. But it was the Black, all-women workers at Baltimore's Lincoln Nursing Home, who organized themselves and then called CORE to say

they were already on strike, that gave the idea life. And it was the Black women nurses' aides of Charleston, S.C., in 1969 who led thousands of people through the streets, mobilizing the entire community for month after month, who finally won the dignity to be seen as whole people.

Moreover it is this coalescence of all three dimensions — Black, workers, women — that gave such totality of view to their demands, and that has been caught by others in their own struggles.

The current wailing of the liberals over the horrible conditions in the nursing homes of this benighted land can scarcely match the power of the Nursing Home workers of the MFU who made inseparable their own demands for better working conditions with the expose of the unspeakable conditions of their welfare patients, Black and white. The demand for better patient care was a hallmark of the registered nurses' strike last summer — and it surely must have helped to inspire the current New York doctor's strike for a reduction of their work-week to 80 hours to help ensure better patient care.

This totality of view is seen also in the efforts of the welfare mothers who are now reorganizing in New York, as The Council for Human Rights, to work not only with recipients at the welfare centers, but with the unemployed, with veterans, and with an organization of high school dropouts.

WOMEN ORGANIZE THEMSELVES

The UAW promised to organize the unorganized as far back as 1952, when they proclaimed "Operation Dixie" — a still-birth that is not even remembered today. The unorganized are now organizing themselves.

And it is the women who are leading the battles because, as they have been fighting their way into the labor force in ever greater numbers, they are the ones who have been pushed into the lowest-paying, most unorganized sectors. Women today make up 40 percent of the labor force. Their average earnings are only 57 percent of men's. More revealing, of the 38 million women workers today only 4 million are unionized.

One year ago, on Mar. 23, over 3,200 women startled the labor bureaucrats by showing up at the opening convention of the National Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) — 1,000 more than had been expected. The bureaucracy's first point was to exclude membership to the non-union women who had come because they wanted

help to organize. CLUW now has 1,000 less dues-paying members than came to that first convention.

Now CLUW is faced with the critical problem of unemployment, which has completely eliminated the women in many plants. In Linden, N.J., the 2,400 workers laid off by GM included all 350 women in the shop, and in Fremont, Cal., GM laid off 2,300 workers of the 4,466 employed, including all 500 women — vulnerable because they had not been hired until 1968, four years after passage of the Civil Rights Act. The response of the CLUW leadership to the snowballing unemployment has been to limit their protest to lobbying and public hearings with members of Congress, while their rank and file members are demanding demonstrations, rallies and forums.

REVOLUTION; COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Meanwhile, the true depth of the current challenge to women in their battles can be seen in the facts that:

● Farah, where women finally won union recognition for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, has laid off one-third of its workforce, and has completely closed two plants, one of them the plant that began the organizing strike.

● Passage of the ERA in some states has resulted in systematic discrimination and harassment against women when equal jobs have been opened. Women at an aluminum processing plant near Youngstown, Ohio, are protesting being put on the heaviest jobs. One woman, three months pregnant, has been forced to lift 75 pounds, while no men in the plant have had to lift weights more than 40 pounds.

● The Boston racist verdict against Dr. Edelin threatens to push the problem of abortions back to where it started — especially for poor women who can obtain abortions only in those hospitals which will now become more restrictive.

At this point, when the women's movement is threatened with a backward move on many fronts, listening to the new voices from below will show that we are on the threshold of a whole new stage — comparable to the movement from below of Black and unskilled workers that exploded into the CIO. A philosophy of liberation that will join with the activity of liberation begins with recognizing the power of masses in motion.

(FOR MORE ON A PHILOSOPHY FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION, SEE PAGE 2.)