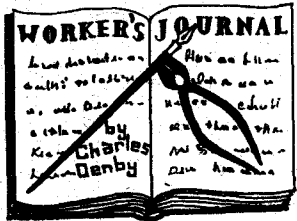


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## Chrysler puts relief and lunch together

by Charles Denby, Editor

An older Chrysler Mack plant worker was discussing with some retired workers how this depression has caused changes in many of the auto plants. He said you would not believe the changes that have taken place in the past three years. It began about four or five years ago, when the company was hiring young workers in their late teens and early twenties, mainly Blacks and a few whites.

As we older workers know, ten or 15 years ago a Black worker did not have a chance of getting on supervision unless it was in some small isolated place over all Black workers in an unknown corner of the plant. We often heard white superintendents tell Black workers that none of us had the ability to be a foreman.

After hiring a lot of young Black workers after the '67 rebellion, the company found that many revolted against working conditions and speed-up in the plant. These young Blacks sensed the racism in many of the white supervisors. One worker beat up a white foreman outside of the plant, and was fired. Several months later he was back, and he told others that after getting a lawyer he won because he was not on company property when beating the foreman.

After that news spread among other young workers, they began to tell their foremen they would beat hell out of them. The company began to hire older Black workers into supervision. That worked to some degree, but some were getting cursed out and threatened. Then the company began to put some younger Blacks on as foremen.

### BLACK FOREMEN GONE

Two years ago 70 percent of the foremen in the Mack plant were Black, but when the lay-off began last year in October, the younger workers were laid-off first. Now they are all in the streets, and most will never return. The company has called in older workers from other Chrysler plants, and now there are only four or five Black foremen left out of the 70 percent.

(Continued on Page 3)

## AFL-CIO rally: rank-and-file shouts down leaders

Washington, D.C. — The organizers who planned the AFL-CIO "Jobs Now" rally in Washington, D.C. April 26 decided to hold it out at R.F.K. stadium, and fill the program with speeches by union presidents and politicians. George Meany opposed any demonstration at all, and suggested that it might get out of hand. For once, Meany was right—even more than he knew.

As the buses began arriving, people got into discussions. I talked to a steelworker from the Sparrows Pt. mill near Baltimore who said that 5,000 out of 16,000 are laid-off there.

### FAR FROM WHITE HOUSE

The more people talked, the angrier they got. Many said their unions tried to limit the number who went—or refused to rent buses. Many workers were even more furious about the rally site.

Then the people who marched from the Capitol Building started coming. Thousands of hospital workers from Local 1199 came in a big wave, chanting and singing. There were groups of household workers, and welfare mothers' organizations, and a contingent from PUSH.

More than 60,000 rank-and-file union members, at least one-third Black and Puerto Rican, from all across the East and Midwest, poured into the stadium. Many of the marchers were already laid-off or were facing layoffs.

When we got inside, the loudspeaker was blaring some boring speech, but nobody was listening. The newspapers said that the sound system was faulty, but it isn't true. There was nothing worth hearing.

Suddenly a man ran out on the field with a sign, and the police chased him. 50,000 people cheered him. The police dragged him off the field, but then people started running out in twos and fives. In the stands everyone stood up and yelled "We want jobs!"

### WORKERS BOO POLITICIANS

The loudspeaker announced the next speaker was "Hubert Horatio Humphrey." You could hear the boos for miles. In no time there were at least 1,000 people on the field, and you couldn't hear a word Humphrey said. Vernon Jordan of the Urban League tried to get things back under control by telling people to chant "Jobs Now." Even though 50,000 people had been chanting it themselves a few minutes before, hardly anyone joined in.

Down on the field, we were chanting "Meany must

10¢

# NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

VOL. 20—NO. 4

27 Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

MAY, 1975

## Ford fails to prolong U.S. imperialism's war

# Thieu's Vietnam government falls; Khmer Rouge victors in Cambodia

By Peter Mallory

On April 21, when Saigon still slept, U.S. imperialism's puppet, Thieu, finally resigned. To an equally inglorious end, Thieu brought down Nixon-Kissinger's secret agreements with him, as well as Ford's attempt to prolong the 30-year war by giving Congress exactly nine days to come up with still another billion—\$722 million for military, and \$250 million for so-called humanitarian aid.

This by no means ends Pax Americana's imperialist designs, and we must begin by looking at those nine days since Ford addressed a joint session of Congress

on prime TV time April 10. In the face of the rejection by an overwhelming majority of the American people to any new intervention in South Vietnam and Cambodia, Ford, who himself was never elected president, dared request the new billion.

Under the delusion that the past 10 years of an active youth anti-war movement, the Black revolution, and the restlessness of labor in the present deep recession are the proper background to whip up a quiescent 1950-type McCarthy hysteria over "Who lost Vietnam?", Ford has succeeded in but one thing: making the Nixon-Kissinger Vietnam-Cambodia wars his.

### THE ROUT

Clearly all that concerns politicians in face of the death agony of U.S. imperialism (and its corrupt puppets Thieu and Lon Nol) is how to extricate themselves and create a scenario for getting elected by waving a Pax Americana global flag.

Instead, Thieu's so-called "strategic withdrawal", decided upon unilaterally or otherwise quickly, was proved to be a total lie as withdrawal was in fact a total rout. As province after province was abandoned by the ARVN army and millions of refugees fled South, the looting and brutality of those soldiers against their own people matched Thieu's corrupt and rotten regime withdrawing troops from the highlands to protect his personal power in Saigon and surrounding area, which is all that concerned him.

The last thing that Thieu wanted was millions of displaced refugees and defeated troops with guns in their hands entering his peaceful capital. They were stopped, disarmed, or sent off to offshore islands.

As the ring of guns tightened around Saigon, four attempts were made to overthrow the regime and the Presidential palace was bombed by the South Vietnamese Air Force. The American bankers packed up their cash and left. Within the city the divergent forces that comprise the would-be "clean" ruler are laying their plans and starting the struggle for domination over what remains, while the U.S. keeps prolonging the agony.

Still to be resolved for the U.S. as it takes its time withdrawing is the assessment of the impact of the still-secret deals Nixon made with Thieu. Ford-Kissinger maintain there are no secret deals only because to them it is all open and is the policy they continue to pursue—a policy directed against the Vietnamese people trying to wrench themselves free of a 30-year U.S.-imposed war!

### EVER SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II

The government of the U.S. through Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, Nixon and Ford, has spent \$150 billion, sent 500,000 troops to a foreign land, killed 55,000 of our youth, maimed and wounded over 100,000 more, killed over one million South Vietnamese and Cambodians, ravaged their lands, and saturated North Vietnam in bombing raids far in excess of the worst of World War II in a vain effort to control the lives and destiny of Vietnam. And this imperialist land that ordered My Lai dares talk of "massacres" by North Vietnam!

Thirty years ago, for a very brief interlude, the U.S. was perfectly willing to help the Vietminh defeat Japanese occupation. But as soon as World War II ended the U.S. gave France \$2 billion to re-establish its imperial rule over Indochina. And when once again heroic

(Continued on Page 8)



News & Letters photo

### 60,000 workers jam D.C. rally to demand jobs.

go!" and we prevented Shanker, head of the AFT, from speaking. But then several of the left groups got into chanting contests. Each group wanted to lead the rally itself. Some said "March to the Capitol;" others said "Come to a meeting after the rally;" still others got the microphone, but the sound became garbled. Finally the bureaucrats told everyone: "Go home, the rally is over."

Thousands stayed around. They didn't even obey this last instruction from the union leaders. One city worker from Baltimore told me: "I never came to anything like this before. I bet most of these people didn't either. You know there is no way the AFL-CIO is going to invite us back. Maybe we could call one ourselves. That would be something Washington has never seen."

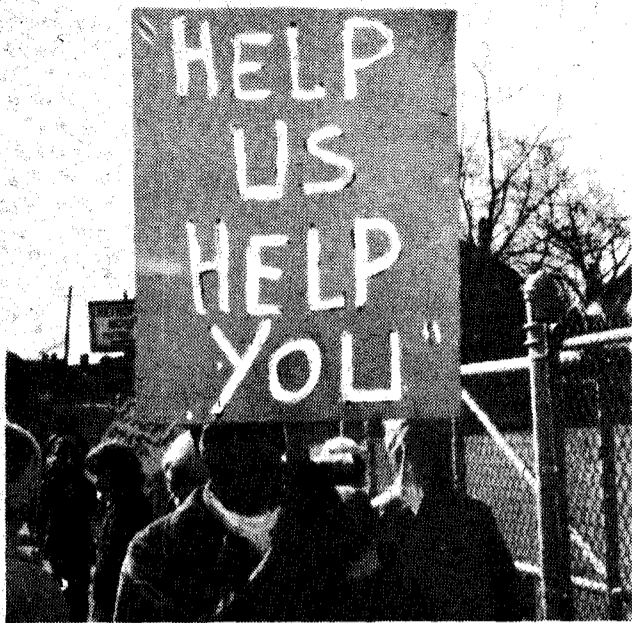
## Make Your Voice Be Heard Detroit Unemployment Meeting

Date: Sunday, May 4. Time: 3:00 p.m.

Place: DPW Local 26 Union Hall  
103 W. Alexandrine, Detroit

Sponsored by Detroit News and Letters Committee

## Hospital strikers demand more for patients, too



News & Letters Photo

### Sign of hospital picket asks for support.

Detroit, Mich.—Metropolitan Hospital workers in Local #42, OPEIU, went on strike Friday, April 18. They include dietary, maintenance, housekeeping, medical attendants, and clerical workers.

On the first morning of the strike, management pointed out certain leaders for the police to attack. Nine were arrested, but the workers said, "There's too much leadership in this union—they'll have to arrest all of us." The following statements are from Local #42's strike bulletin, and from the picketers themselves:

Hospital workers rarely go on strike. When we do the press attacks us mercilessly. A strike is tough on us because we want to service our fellow working people . . . Metropolitan Hospital faces an additional problem. Its Board of Directors is dominated and controlled by UAW officials, such as Emil Mazey and John Bateman . . .

Hospital workers are fighting to take their working conditions out of the dark ages . . . We have been some of the lowest paid workers in this country. Why are

## Local 400 overrules leaders—reinstates women organizers

San Francisco, Cal.—On April 15, the membership of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 400 (San Francisco City Workers) voted overwhelmingly to reinstate two women union organizers, Maxine Jenkins and Louise Statzer. These two women staffers had been fired from their jobs in early March by union boss Gerry Hipps on trumped-up charges.

Over the past year, clerical workers in the private sector, most of whom are women, have been increasingly interested in unionizing. In response to the many inquiries by groups of clericals at different workplaces, Jenkins presented a proposal to the International of SEIU last fall. The proposal was for SEIU to charter a separate local in San Francisco for private industry clericals, some of the lowest paid workers in the U.S.

### PROPOSAL SEEN AS THREAT

The proposal that SEIU organize several thousand women workers was regarded as a threat by local union bureaucrats. While no formal decision was made by the union, pressure began to mount when Jenkins and Statzer protested a move in February by boss Hipps to lay off staff members out of seniority. As a result of their protest, their salaries were cut and both were assigned to areas outside of the City during critical contract negotiations. That was the beginning of a process of harassment, intimidation and threats against both Jenkins and Statzer. Finally, they were fired.

The organizers turned to the union membership, which quickly created rank-and-file committees and an opposition caucus. They also received support from Bay Area women's organizations. The union executive board, at a 10-hour kangaroo court hearing, voted eight to four to uphold the firing. That vote was overwhelmingly rejected by the membership.

### WOMEN DEMAND VOICE

By their vote, women members of Local 400 have rejected the union's entrenched male leadership and have demanded more control over the union. (While most of the members of Local 400 are women clerical workers, only three out of ten organizers are women.) They have called for a union run by its members in a truly democratic manner. They have also demanded that their needs as women workers be recognized and satisfied.

The members do not plan to stop with this victory, but are already planning formal challenges to the bureaucracy and changes in the Local's by-laws.

—San Francisco clerical worker

women and national minorities given these jobs? Because we've been excluded from the better paying jobs. Well we are fighting back. We demand our rights, too . . .

**What do we want? No speed up, better wages, sick and accident benefits, holiday pay, health care for laid off workers who by and large are our husbands, and the right of free speech and assembly . . . We have struggled for many years to break down the divisions within us. Whites and Blacks, women and men all stand united in this just strike . . .**

\* \* \*

I think all hospital workers in Detroit can profit from this strike because then they will feel they can strike if they can't win their rights by any other way. Lots of people think hospital workers shouldn't strike, but I think everybody has the right to strike.

Hospital people have to live like anyone else. The way life is today, everything else is modern, but management here seems to think we aren't supposed to get modern, just keep the old stuff, and try to live with the old ways and the old working conditions.

We're out here for ourselves and for the patients. The people out here walking are really sticking together, and this is where management thought we would be divided. The UAW board members seem to have turned their backs on us, too, but we are showing them that this is a united local. I think it will be a long hard fight, but I do believe we will win.

## WL NOTES

In New Brunswick, Canada, 2,000 nurses have resigned en masse. They want to force the government to reopen their contract with the province's hospitals. They are demanding a 32 percent salary increase and a \$500 cost-of-living bonus.

\* \* \*

West Germany's Supreme Court judges were so fearful of the reaction to their unpopular decision overturning the recent liberalized abortion law, that they had the building heavily guarded when the decision was read. Since that decision, many demonstrations have taken place throughout Germany involving thousands of people.

\* \* \*

In Hull, England, 300 workers, most of them women, have occupied the American-owned Imperial Typewriter Co. after being told that their factory was closing and all would be fired. The occupation has lasted over three weeks, and as one woman said: "We won't be out — and no machinery's coming out either — until we get our jobs back."

\* \* \*

The National Organization for Women has called a "Day of Outrage" on Mothers' Day, May 11 at the Vatican Embassy in Washington, D.C. to protest the Catholic hierarchy's use of funds in an anti-abortion campaign. While planned before San Diego Bishop Maher's order to deny the Eucharist to women belonging to pro-abortion feminist organizations, it is now more appropriate than ever.

## Quote from Hegel sparks discussion on challenge to WL

The Detroit News & Letters Women's Liberation Committee discussed the last issue of *News & Letters* in terms of working out a new relationship between theory and practice for the women's liberation movement. To our surprise, it was a quote from Hegel that really sparked the discussion.

We discussed the lead article, "Women on the March," and the revolutionary practice of women today which has thrown a challenge to the women's movement to grasp the new organization of thought that preceded it. We said that Tommie Hope's article on Angela Davis is "second negativity" because he is not just criticizing Ms. Davis, but demonstrates the alternative to Davis — the Black masses who worked so hard to free her, and the importance of their reorganization of thought as opposed to "Communist tracts."

In discussing "Maria Barreno Speaks for Herself," we were impressed by her concept of creativity not as "individual creation" but as something that was "not mine alone, but common." How different this is from some feminists who think creativity means "making it" — either in the capitalist world or even as a "big shot" in the women's movement.

### QUESTION OF TOTALITY

It was when the question came up as to how Maria Barreno, a woman who had to organize her thought and activity under the oppression of fascist Portugal, could so well understand feminism and its totality, that I brought in a quote from Hegel that had meant a lot to me. He said that absolute negativity comes from those whose consciousness was "afraid for its entire being; it felt the fear of death . . ." It has "in that experience melted to its inmost soul . . . and all that was fixed and steadfast quaked within it." If it is not this total fear that is experienced but "rather some slight anxiety, the negative reality had remained external to it."

## New welfare harassment

Detroit, Mich. — The Department of Social Services (DSS) is sending out forms for the clients to fill out. They ask questions like where you live, how many in the family, who's living with you and about your bank account and car, if you have one. You have to bring the forms in with your utility receipts, separation papers, etc.

They also give you forms that two neighbors have to fill out for you. These ask what the husband's name is, where he works, when was the last time he visited and where he's living now. No neighbor would know things like that. That's your business. You might not want your neighbor to know you're an ADC recipient.

I told my worker I filled the forms out myself and she said I had to have a neighbor do it. If you don't fill the forms out and bring the necessary papers they cut you off, and if you don't return them in time you're automatically cut off. It takes from 30-45 days to get back on aid, so you know if they cut off 1,000 people getting \$300 a month how much money they'll be saving.

The executives of Westside Mothers urged the clients to fill the papers out because this is their source of income at the moment, and when you're on welfare you forget about pride. You really don't have any feelings when you depend on that source of income so they urge you to fill them out . . . even if they send them 20 times—fill them out, send them in.

Mr. Dempsey, the state head of DSS, is also sending out forms of his own. The reason he gives for sending out these forms is to try to find fraud. You know they're not going to get the people who are really cheating on welfare. If a woman works scrubbing someone's floors and makes \$12 two or three days out of a week, they'll cut her off and make her pay back. The ones getting thousands of dollars they won't do anything to.

## Taxi women demand restrooms

New York, N.Y.—The last few years have seen more women driving taxis here. Though still small in numbers, the women have been in the forefront of taxi-workers' fight for justice. The women have also waged fights over issues specific to them.

Many garages continue to violate women's basic rights by not even providing women's bathrooms. At 55th St. garage, which wildcatted last month, the women had been denied a separate bathroom. One young woman asked the boss about this and was fired. The union stewards were able to get her job back, but still no bathroom. Then another young woman walked upstairs and used the bosses' bathroom by the office as the only way of guaranteeing her privacy.

Management, in the person of a dispatcher, broke into the bathroom while she was there and told her to leave. Shortly afterwards, the garage wildcatted over many accumulated grievances, sparked by the firing of a driver over a 10 cent difference in his bookings.

Women have been playing a very important role in the organized Rank and File Coalition which opposes the Van Arsdale machine in the wildcats, and in other forms which taxi workers are choosing for our struggle. Such is the power of today's women's liberation movement, even in an industry where women are a tiny minority.

—Taxi driver

What this says to us is that the totality of view that is needed to transform this society will only be found in those who experience this society in its most oppressive dimensions. Most of our discussion centered on this question of totality, and one young student wanted to know why, with all the struggles against oppression throughout the ages, we haven't had a revolution that has lasted.

### PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

An activist in both the union and the women's movement answered her by talking about *Philosophy and Revolution*, and how, using the Hegelian Marxist dialectic, we can see how revolutions have been transformed into their opposite. She said this was because of the separation that always took place between the leaders and the masses. She pointed out the maturity of our age in which people demand to know beforehand the answer to the question of what is going to happen after the revolution.

It is this unity of philosophy and activity which can bring about a revolution in our time that will not turn sour. The fundamental question is how to make our philosophy and methodology concrete in our activity. This is a question that all of us in the movement of women for freedom need to answer.

—Terry Moon

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1 Bowling Green

A gathering of alternative and independent presses: Black, women's and radical; films and graphics. Admission free



## Workers aren't counted in 'The Family' at GM South Gate

by Felix Martin

Leonard Woodcock recently took a tour through the GM South Gate plant. It was the plant manager, Bill Harden, who rolled out the red carpet. In a Special Bulletin to the workers, he wrote:

"Dear Fellow Employees: Tomorrow will be a special occasion. Our chairman of the shop committee, Sal Astroga, has invited Mr. Leonard Woodcock, our President of the United Automobile Workers of America, to visit the plant . . . I know we are all proud of the South Gate team and the family effort that has gone into building our new town coupe, and I am certain our guests will also be proud of the enthusiasm and pride that we have in our family here at South Gate."

A number of the workers were gathered by the bulletin board talking about this, especially the concept of "The Family." A committeeman came up and said, "Well, what's wrong? We have a good relationship with the plant manager, and we get everything we want." A worker responded, "You must not be asking for anything that is important to us, because all we get is speed-up and discipline."

Back on the line, I started thinking about this relationship. Our local union president praises the plant manager in our Local 216 newspaper.

When Woodcock did come into the plant, the local president helped the plant manager direct the tour, being sure it went only where the spit and polish had been applied and away from the body shop, where the dirt and crud was piled up to our knees as no janitor had swept anything since coming back after an early year change-over.

How entwined must the International and the local union's relationship with the company get before we working people wise up to what has been going on since the first contract? Alfred P. Sloan, president of GM during the sit-down strikes, wrote of that period: "What made the prospect seem especially grim in those early years was the persistent union attempt to invade basic management prerogatives. Our rights to determine production, to set work standards, and to discipline workers were all suddenly called into question."

The present-day Sloans are no longer afraid of the

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**DETROIT:** 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit 48207 (961-1010)

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

UAW because our leadership is no longer a threat to them. They have joined the GM family.

What has this accomplished? We get free coffee and donuts for breaktime because our audit was high! And more speed-up, more automation, longer hours, tens of thousands of auto workers laid off, and wages that don't keep up with inflation. So who are the union officials representing? No wonder plant manager Harden called Woodcock our union president in his Special Bulletin.

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Most of these Black ex-foremen are back in production, but out of one crisis another one arose. The younger workers could make the production standards. In fact, foremen told them that when they made production, they were through for that day. So many workers on stationary operations could make their day's production in four hours and leave the plant.

But now, the older workers that came from other plants as a result of the recent layoffs can't make production in the full eight hours. The company was losing production, so one of the damndest things I ever heard of happened. With the sanction of the union, the company put a notice on the bulletin board that lunch time can be any time between 10 a.m. and 1:30 p.m., and that under a supplemental agreement with the local union, the line would not stop from 5:30 a.m. until quitting time at 2:30 p.m.

### COMBINE LUNCH WITH RELIEF TIME

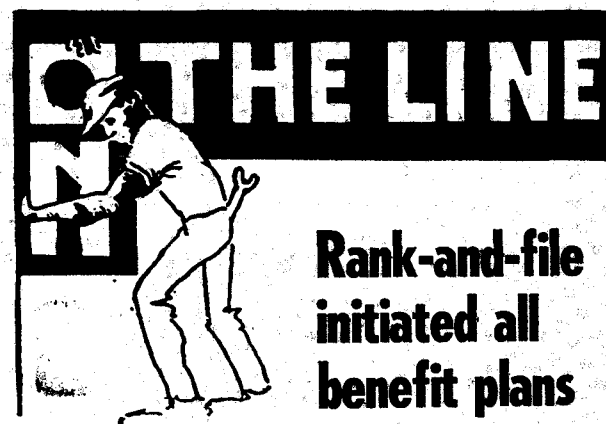
What's happened is that the company installed 16 reliefmen who start to relieve workers at ten in the morning. Before, workers were getting 12 minutes relief. When workers were yelling four or five years ago about how depressing and oppressive the line was, the union leaders' pacifier for workers was more relief time away from the line.

At Mack we had two 12-minute breaks in the morning and one in the afternoon. But now, 17 workers who are relieved at ten in the morning have to begin eating their lunch then and take a 30-minute relief at the same time.

### MASTER OF SUBSTITUTION

Some years ago, in a large union meeting, it was pointed out that the late Walter Reuther was a master at substitution, always stifling what workers really want. When we were yelling for a guaranteed annual wage, Reuther gave us SUB. And there were thousands of young workers without two years seniority who never got a dime in SUB pay.

What is happening at the Mack Avenue Stamping plant today is a reflection of the crisis in this country as well as the world crisis. Many unemployed workers are thinking and talking about a war. And they do not mean Vietnam, or Southeast Asia or the Middle East, but a war of their own against the leaders and rulers of this country. They are tired of being used as pawns.



Rank-and-file initiated all benefit plans

by John Allison

Ford Local 600 was the first auto workers union to build a strike fund—before the International UAW officers put it into effect. The workers at Ford Rouge assessed themselves \$1 a month and earmarked it to help themselves during strikes against the arrogant Ford Motor Company. This action by the rank-and-file made Local 600 a power and a leader in the labor movement. With some 30,000 workers and the dollar they voted, they had both human and financial muscle.

The UAW, under Walter Reuther's leadership, started the battle cry of "Solidarity Forever," and this campaign ended with Local 600 giving over to the International union the control of its strike funds. The International then took over the sole right to build a strike fund for all locals under its jurisdiction.

The birthplace for the strike fund was Ford Local 600, and the workers knew the need for strike protection—and did something about it—long before their leaders did anything.

Chrysler rank-and-file workers won for all auto workers the pension plan. They had long been trying to get this kind of security, and finally were able to get the UAW leadership to follow up on this in the contract. Every retiree in the UAW knows this to be a fact.

The GM workers for years were trying to get a cost-of-living clause in the contract, and hit the bricks to get that kind of protection that many workers have benefited from in many industries around the country. Most workers can understand that pretty well.

Then came SUB, the supplemental unemployment benefit. The workers were fighting for a Guaranteed Annual Wage, only Reuther substituted the SUB provisions in its place. Reuther has been called the master of substitution, and nothing shows this better than SUB.

Instead of having a guaranteed annual wage, we have partial payments that are all tied to provisions nobody can understand. Workers working for a wage understand the SUB plan less today than they thought they did when it first went into effect, and understand it less now that the SUB fund is broke.

One thing now is clear to every worker. Any program that hides secrets in words is a big rip-off for the workers and their families. SUB is a case in point.

## Where's Uniroyal's SUB fund?

Detroit, Mich. — The Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) of the Uniroyal rubber workers have run out and we all want to know why. We have been paying into that fund since 1967, and after we got only six months of SUB payments, the fund is finished.

At our recent local union meeting, 150 of us jammed into our union hall that can hold only half that many to demand answers to our questions. We wanted to learn the truth about reports that the SUB fund was used to pay for local union officers' traveling expenses and for other compensation costs.

It turned into a big yelling match between the workers and officers, and the meeting was adjourned with no answers from the officers.

A bunch of workers are talking about going down to the local union hall and occupying it and subpoenaing the company and union SUB fund records to get the answers to their questions. We all feel that there's something wrong about the way our SUB fund has been handled, and it means a lot to all of us.

We could at least make out when we had the SUB payments, but with just unemployment compensation, there's just no way we can make it. I don't believe in violence, and most workers don't. But I also don't believe in starving to death, and neither does anyone else I know.

We all can remember that it took setting Detroit on fire in 1967 before Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans could get jobs. Now we're all back to where we were before 1967, and we're going to have to do things different this time.

We sure can't depend on our leaders anymore. Nothing they've done has made one bit of difference. Things keep getting worse instead of better. It sure looks like we're going to have to make things better by ourselves since nobody else can or will do it.

## International Boycott Week

Join the UFW "March for Justice" in your area during May 5-10

## FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

### Fleetwood

We went out on strike for three days, but came back off the mini-strike without getting anything settled. The day we went back into the plant the angry remarks I heard were against both the company and the union for calling workers back with no change in the speed-up that caused the walkout in the first place.

Introducing the K-body (the mini-Cadillac) has been the excuse for adding work on to jobs throughout the plant. The jobs have been established on the basis of running 16 K-bodies an hour. Since the K-body is free on many jobs, the company took away workers or crews, or added extra work on.

But actually they have never run 16 K-bodies an hour, and as time goes on it seems they run less and less. In Dept. 11, a job like line glass that had a team removed has more work than the workers on it are supposed to handle. They not only have filed 78's on it, but the whole crew has been going in the hole with the extra jobs. The company hasn't gotten more production out of them.

—Dept. 11 worker

I heard of one of the laid-off workers who was called back, but on the day shift. There must be hundreds of workers on afternoons who have requested transfer to days, but he was called in on days without a request and put on the mat job in Dept. 11. Even though it had a lot of work added on like shooting a screw in the door handle plate that wasn't on the same job afternoons, the committeeman said the job was settled.

He said since somebody else had done the job, nobody could write the job up. It is a worker's right to write up a job at any time. When this worker hurt his back a few days later, supervision didn't even want to let him go get medical treatment.

These moves by the company are related to the depression or recession that we are in. No one now can afford to give up a job. Especially if you're Black, you may not get another job for years, or not at all.

—Dept. 21 worker

### Ford Rouge

They are having local union elections at Rouge this May. Just walk through the gate on your way to work and all you will see is a lot of teeth smiling at you. All you will hear is rhetoric.

The Ford Motor Company is saying that we will have to take our vacations during model changeover time, even though the contract is supposed to give us a choice of when we want to take our vacation. Change-over and vacation times were always separate. Putting them together would be a real step backward. Nobody wants it. But these bureaucrats won't do anything.

A friend of mine told one of them, who is supposed to be the main man in the DAP, "If you want my vote, tell me why have we been working 10-hour days and so many brothers and sisters are on the street?" He didn't even answer. Really, he hasn't got anything to say.

What is worst is the feeling of helplessness that so many of us have. This feeling is no accident. They keep track of who walks out in the summer. They want to get rid of the younger workers because they fight the hardest. They want you to keep thinking about all the people who are out of work and ready to step into your job.

What they don't understand is that all this pressure they are putting on us has got to blow up right in their faces. Nobody is going to sit around and starve when there is a supermarket right down the block, not in this day and age.

—DAP worker

## EDITORIAL

# As lay-offs mount, so does workers' revolt

The 60,000 angry workers — employed and unemployed—who poured into Washington on April 26 demanding Jobs Now, got their message over, loud and clear: They were sick of listening to their "leaders", whether politicians or labor bureaucrats. They wanted action, not more empty talk. (See story, page 1.)

So busy was President Ford telling the American people what to do about the whole world in his TV speech to Congress on April 14, that he had neglected to say a single word about the crisis right here in the U.S.A. Yet the impotence of the administration abroad was clearly a reflection of its inability to do anything to end the ever-deepening recession at home.

As Ford made his speech, the real facts of life in America 1975 revealed an "official" unemployment rate of 8.7 percent — highest since the Depression — and a total, including "discouraged" workers, of over 10 million people out of jobs. In industrial states, like Michigan, unemployment has climbed to over 15 percent, and in Detroit the figure is 26 percent.

Even the vaunted "New South"—the "economic miracle" built on runaway shops and cheap, non-union labor—is swept up in the new wave of layoffs. Textile and furniture plants are closing by the dozens, and jobless rates have soared as high as 13 percent in South Carolina.

### ATTACKS ON WORKERS GROW

More than one million workers have already been laid-off so long that they have exhausted unemployment benefits completely and HEW investigators are expressing worry over "the threat of large-scale starvation among children, the elderly and the unemployed."

Accompanying the massive unemployment has come a varied and vicious array of attacks on American workers. Inside the shops, those workers who remain on the production lines have been subjected to killing speed-ups. The number of disciplinary lay-offs has skyrocketed. Public employees, now being hit by big lay-

offs for the first time in more than 30 years, are fighting attempts to use the federal public works program (CETA) as a wedge to lower wages and break unions. And in Michigan, the State Supreme Court ruled that public employees who strike can be fired without a hearing.

### THE NOOSE OF THE LABOR BUREAUCRACY

Incredibly, the past month has seen literally dozens of columns in newspapers and magazines praising the "historic vision" of Walter Reuther, who, in devising the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) plan, "forced upon the system a new stability." No sooner had the words appeared in print than first Chrysler and then GM announced that their SUB funds had gone bankrupt. The sad truth is that the SUB plan was just one more scheme from that "master of substitution," Walter Reuther, instead of the guaranteed annual wage the rank-and-file had demanded.

It isn't that the career bureaucrats can't do better, but that they won't, because to do so would be to release a revolt from the rank-and-file over which they would have no control. This is why they have tried to reduce every March on Washington to a begging session with Congress. That is what the workers totally rejected on April 26. The kind of support the "labor leaders" are offering is the kind a rope gives a hanging man.

### LIBERAL FANTASY VS. WORKERS' CREATIVITY

Even worse are the liberals. So desperate are they for solutions that one of the best of them—Tom Wicker of the *New York Times*—is reduced to calling the Congressional tax rebate plan nothing short of "a policy of redistributing income."

Contrasted to this bankruptcy is the creativity shown by workers all across the country as they have found new ways of fighting back. From the United Farmworkers' march last month, which surprised even its organizers by the support it generated, to the meat and cheese sales in the cities by NFO-organized small farm-

ers, new ideas are springing up everywhere.

Where the labor bureaucracy and the so-called radicals are writing new programs calling for "30 for 40"—and in some cases accepting "40 for 30"—laid-off workers have begun unemployed newsletters to share ideas. And workers still in the shops are participating in a resurgence of shop papers, which don't separate their problems from those of the unemployed. In some locals, where the union leaders have refused to call meetings, workers have gone out and organized their own meetings. Everywhere the demand is for new ideas, new forms of organization.

An unemployed rubber worker in Detroit put it very clearly: "Nothing our leaders have said or done has got us out of the mess we're in. I'm sick of people offering solutions that aren't solutions. We have to do something completely different." This is the kind of thinking that rank-and-file workers are expressing. It transforms the question of unemployment into a demand for the total transformation of society, and challenges us to make that demand a reality.

## News & Letters

Vol. 20, No. 4

May, 1975

*News & Letters* is published ten times a year, monthly except for January-February and August-September, by *News & Letters*, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207. Telephone: 961-1010. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

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Second Class Postage Paid at Detroit, Michigan

### WORKING WOMEN AND LIBERATION

Thanks for the last issue of N&L. I always find your articles interesting and truthful, and your coverage on WL is about the best I have found in any Left newspaper. The article on Maria Barreno in this last issue was especially good. Women's Studies here is fairly shaky. Most of our energy is into attracting students into the program and we don't get much chance to work out our differences and agreements on revolutionary and feminist philosophies, though we want to very much.

Women's Studies Teacher  
Detroit

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I feel that a correct perspective on the WL issue is crucial, and read the April issue with much interest. While the articles were excellent as far as they go, the writers focused almost exclusively on only one dimension of the life of women in capitalist society — the economic-political dimension, and left untouched what men and women mean to each other. What is the nature and meaning of sexuality? What are the implications for equality of the biological and perhaps even spiritual differentiations between male and female? Until we begin to explore the dark, mysterious reaches of these kinds of questions, we've all still got a long way to go, baby.

Concerned Male  
Detroit

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The review of Angela Davis' book by Tommie Hope was completely different from any I have read anywhere else — either in the bourgeois or the radical press. Everyone else has simply praised it from one point of view or another, but missed the basic fact of the separation of the talented tenth from the Black masses that persists, which your reviewer caught.

Reader  
New York

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The Equal Rights Amendment has been defeated in so many state legislatures that it is now impossible for it to become law this year. The defeats were due to intense lobbying by right-wing groups, often the same groups who oppose the right to abortion.

Although the vague language of the ERA guarantees us no great improvements and the capitalists are trying to use it against us by abolishing workers' protective legislation, the fact is that its defeat is part of the sweeping counter-revolution against women's rights and all progressive movements.

Feminist groups should begin to work with working class women and their organizations to get the ERA passed along with specific legislation that will protect and extend their rights on the job. Then not only will the ERA have some meaning, but we may have the power to get it passed.

Feminist  
New York

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I learned about the meeting on the Work Incentive Program, which NOW sponsored, through the daily paper and decided to attend, but I was afraid I had missed a lot when I got there late.

I was inclined to agree with the speakers who called it a negative program because much of it is training for jobs that don't exist — at least not for Black women. Then a woman from NBFO told us she couldn't talk too long to us because their meeting downstairs was too important. (I felt she was unimportant to me because if there was one Black face in the room, these were the issues we had to deal with.) After more women in the WIN program told their experiences, we heard from one of our Black mayors, Mayor Blackwell, who attempted to intimidate the women for wearing pants and managed to mock every Black woman there. By the time the meeting closed I realized I had not come late enough.

A white woman approached me after the meeting and told me I must have come from downstairs (the NBFO). When I asked why, she pointed to my hat (red, black and green) and my one ear-ring, and asked, "Don't all of you wear that?" I couldn't help wondering about women like this who were sponsoring a meeting on Black women. I don't think they know enough about us to sponsor a trip to Cedar Point.

Black Feminist  
Detroit

### U.S. AND VIETNAM

I think it was because U.S. imperialism was so desperate for a "victory" somewhere that they were ballyhooing the "Babylift" as a great success — even after that plane crashed killing all those babies aboard. It is sickening to realize that they couldn't even do that successfully.

Disgusted  
Detroit

\*\*\*

The Right keeps talking about our loss of Vietnam. It reminds me of the way they used to talk about the "loss of China." Since when were they "ours" to lose? Now we are beginning to see the same old McCarthy-like feelers out to test the political climate — Goldwater and Wallace both talking about how the fall of South Vietnam just "proves" they were right when they wanted to settle it all with a nuclear war! I don't think there is any doubt the Right can be whipped up over this. The question is will they have any chance of making serious inroads?

Unemployed  
Detroit

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The smartest thing Ford ever did since he became President was to run away from the reporters at the airport when they started questioning him about Vietnam.

Observer  
Michigan

### TAX DAY PROTEST

A "tax day rally" to protest military spending and demand jobs and fair tax laws drew a crowd of over 200, who stayed and applauded. Demonstrations by pacifist groups in other years attracted only a few passers-by at the downtown location in front of IRS at noon on a work day. This year, the rally by the New York Coalition on the Economic Crisis and NYC War Tax Resistance was very lively.

Speakers included the Gray Panthers, working for senior citizens' rights, and the Committee to Stop Budget Cuts at the City University, as well as anti-war

# Reader

speakers. Many in the crowd took a leaflet on refusing to pay the federal telephone tax.

Office Worker  
New York

### SPANISH DEFENSE

The Spanish Defense Committee is organizing a petition drive to protest growing governmental repression against the Spanish people, especially against the imprisonment, and imminent trials of Geneveva Forest, Lidia Falcon and eight other young political prisoners who are being accused of a September bombing of a Madrid cafe.

Forest has been severely tortured by the police while the others have been heavily interrogated and tortured, all on the mere suspicion of having "refugios" (hiding places) in their homes which could be used for political kidnappings. Forest very likely could get the death sentence. Falcon and the others stand to get decades in prison.

The general opinion of a great many Spaniards is that the cafe bombing was a right wing move to discredit the Left. Police memos just prior to the bombing warning the police to stay away from the cafe building confirm the suspicion of a right wing plot.

An international protest week to support the Spanish people and to defend Forest, Falcon and the other political prisoners is being organized for April 26 through May 1. For more information and petitions to circulate, please write to:

The Spanish Defense Committee  
904 West Forrest  
Detroit, Michigan 48201

### AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

De-Stalinized Russian totalitarianism is afraid of even the idea of political conscience. On April 18, the KGB raided the apartments of four members and arrested two members of the new Moscow chapter of Amnesty International. Amnesty International works for the release and ending of torture of political prisoners throughout the world. The Mos-



# TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION**  
and **Marxism and Freedom**

Two reasons prompted me, on this year's Spring lecture tour on the East Coast, to talk on the relevance of the relationship of philosophy to political economy today. One was that the New York Union of Radical Political Economists (URPE) invitation stressed the fact that Marxist historians should tackle the problems of the day in the U.S. The other was the re-emerging Maoist Stalinism, especially those specializing in China studies. To the latter subject I will return in a future column. Here is an abbreviated abstract of my talk at the New School for Social Research.

## I. Concepts

"The law of motion" that Marx had set out to discern in his massive, rigorous study of the economic laws of capitalism "and its notions" led to two other discoveries. One was that the law of concentration of capital could lead to all capital concentrated in the hands of "a single capitalist . . . or single capitalist society" but change nothing fundamental in the role of labor. Two was the creation of "new passions and new forces" from the absolute opposite of capital accumulation—workers' resistance at the point of production, the class struggles and passion for philosophy of liberation and reconstruction of society on totally new beginnings.

Until the first, classic Revisionism—Bernstein's Evolutionary Socialism—called for the removal of "the dialectic scaffolding" along with the indispensability of revolution, none questioned the integrality of economics and philosophy, philosophy and revolution, theory and practice. Yet, though Rosa Luxemburg attacked Revisionism most profoundly in *Reform or Revolution?*, when she herself turned to analyze a still later stage of capitalist development, imperialism, and she found revolutionaries as well as reformists attacking her concept of "non-capitalist lands" being the reason for the

extension of capitalism's life, she too, suddenly, spoke against "the roccoco" in Marx's style. The truth is none were practicing dialectics, all Marxists merely "took it for granted."

Only when the outbreak of World War I brought about the collapse of the Second International did Lenin finally feel the impulse to return to the origins of Marxism in the Hegelian dialectic. It is only then that Lenin turned to the study of Hegel's *Science of Logic*, not as abstruse, bourgeois philosophy, but as "algebra of revolution" that could help the rebirth of revolutionary Marxism.

Until 1917, or, more precisely, 1918-21, it would have appeared that Lenin held the same view of state capitalism as Bukharin, whose book on *Imperialism and the World Economy* he had favorably introduced. Only with the Revolution had "the dialectic" become the center of all his writings and deeds and perspectives for world revolution, so that even his Bolshevik co-leader was characterized as "not fully a Marxist" because "he had never fully grasped the dialectic."

In a word, all the studies of the new stage of capitalism, from Hilferding's *Finance Capital* through Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital*, to Bukharin's studies both of world imperialism and the *Economics of the Transition Period*, were entrapped in the bifurcation of subject and object, economics and philosophy, history and revolution. This was hardly helped by Trotsky—who, alone, was left to fight Stalinism—not facing the reality of the first workers' state in history having been transformed into its opposite, seeing the degeneracy as arising only from the fact that Stalin's Russia was "the policeman" arrogating to himself "distribution." Since then, Marxist historians have either evaded the whole question by speaking of the imprecisions of "advanced capitalism," or used "state capitalism" only against Russia as if it were not a world phenomenon, or as if Russia became that only when Mao so declared it to be—once the Sino-Soviet orbit became the Sino-Soviet conflict.

## II. Actualities

Today's "New Left" hardly helps illuminate today's problems when it forces a discontinuity from the past under the delusion that theory can be picked up "en route". To dig deep into the world reality, including that of the Third World, and, inseparable from that study of "object", to see what is truly new from below, from Subject, from the movement from practice, is the only way the theoretic challenge can be met for our age. What are the continuities and discontinuities in actuality as well as in philosophic concepts, the totality demanding and expressing dialectics of liberation in the age of state-capitalism?

The Great Depression, 1929-1939, had demolished completely private, competitive, "free enterprise" capitalism which went into a wild scramble to save the

(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

cow chapter wasn't even directing its activities toward political prisoners in Russia. Ironically, a large proportion of the political prisoners A.I. has been helping are Communists persecuted by fascist regimes like Chile and Spain.

A.I. Member  
Detroit

## CANADIAN RACISM

Last year the Canadian government set up a 2-year college for Native peoples north of Montreal, Manitoa College. Now one of the French-language Montreal dailies, the *Montreal-Matin*, is waging a racist campaign to get the college closed. They are making all sorts of fantastic claims that "the Indians are poaching all the game," and that the students are giving the place a bad name. One of the dentists in the neighboring village of L'Annonciation won't even treat Indian patients!

Resident  
Ecovi, Quebec

A growing number of Ontario French-Canadians have been demanding their language rights recently. In Ottawa, the "national" capital, three citizens are risking jail for refusing to answer to traffic citations served up to them in English. At least 40 others have refused to renew their license plates for 1975 until the provincial government agrees to deal with them in French, an action which could also mean stiff penalties. The idea is catching on. Trudeau promised to make Canada bilingual, and some people are taking him at his word.

Observer  
Montreal

## PARK STRIKERS' APPEAL

On April 3, 180 people belonging to AFSCME Local 2428 went on strike against the East Bay Regional Parks District as a response to management's attempts to bust our union. Virtually no negotiations have taken place since eight months ago, when they were supposed to have begun, before our contract ex-

pired March 31. Management removed 18 people by name from the bargaining unit, and they want to get rid of at least a third of the members of the unit by unilaterally claiming them to be management personnel, people who have been in the union for years.

General Manager Richard Trudeau has been trying to break the union ever since 1968, when he succeeded in getting the rangers out of the union. They are now being used as scabs against us, as well as protecting other scabs. There is no money for strike benefits, and we need help. Please send what you can to:

Local 2428, AFSCME  
10290 San Pablo Ave., #102-103  
El Cerrito, Ca. 94530  
Attn. Walter Knight

## FARM WORKERS

Talk about retrogression! I just read that a House migrant labor subcommittee has approved a bill making it legal for children aged 5 to 12 to do hand field harvest work in areas authorized by the Secretary of Labor, as long as they work outside of school hours. Children under 16 who do hand harvesting on a piece-rate basis are exempt from minimum wage provisions under the Fair Labor Standards Act. Thousands of children will now be forced to toil for the lowest of wages because growers will have no compunctions not to hire them instead of adults who must be paid a minimum wage. If the conditions of the farm workers were bad before, what will they be like now?

Outraged Parent  
Michigan

The American Farm Bureau Federation has been promoting the idea that improving the conditions for farm workers will destroy the small independent farmer. It's the exact opposite. The use of cheap, seasonal labor on the larger commercial farms is what helps agribusiness in the assault on the small farmers.

The U.S. Census of Agriculture showed that 87.1 percent of all U.S. farms hire

one worker or less. That leaves 13 percent of the farms in the country paying 70 percent of the farm labor wages. (In California 7 percent of the farms employ 75 percent of the laborers.) The family farmer is being squeezed out by agribusiness.

Oren Lee Staley, president of the National Farmers' Organization, said that the small farmers could only benefit from the organizing attempts of Cesar Chavez's union, and stood by their right to bargain collectively just as he fought for the right of the small farmers to bargain collectively for the prices of their products.

Farm Worker Supporter  
Michigan

## ITALIAN SCENE

Strikes on the Italian scene continue to be continuous. It is not only the workers that go on strike because of the layoffs, but you never know when those that sell meat, bread, milk etc. might be on strike. Super markets simply close down completely on these occasions.

Now a new group here has been striking—the judges. They're striking because they say that 1) old fascist laws in direct conflict with the constitution make it impossible to make decisions, and 2) the pressure put on judges from "important leaders" makes it impossible to carry out "justice." In an indirect way the "feminist" movement has importance in this.

In the last couple of years centers have been put up by the Radical Party in which women could go to be visited by gynecologists for modest sums regarding birth control and abortions were done for \$50 to \$100 as long as they were considered secure. The government, encouraged by the fascists, arrested around 40 women at one center at Florence, as well as some doctors, and in Rome they arrested the leader of the Radical Party. It created a real scandal since Catholic France has legalized abortions. The judges in Florence are clearly embarrassed. They released the women in less than 24 hours, but the male doctors and party leaders are still in jail for this infraction of the law.

Correspondent  
Milan

## PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

I am very happy that another capitalist dictatorship has surrendered to the supposed will of the people. I am of ideal draft age and don't want to have to relocate in Canada yet. If the capitalists in this country want another war they are going to have to fight it themselves, because they can't give us a reason to go fight someone who wants only the same things that we do.

The only fight I ever want to be part of is to end capitalism, but we are all so separated by our political and philosophical beliefs that I wonder where we, as the human race, go from here? Why can't we all just unite and fight?

College Student  
Ohio

Would it be possible to begin a systematic evaluation of the various trends and lines in the U.S. Left today? I'd welcome a Marxist-Humanist analysis of the CP, RU, NAM, October League, SWP, etc. There seems to be an increasing popularity of the "new communist movement," and I keep wishing that the people who join them who are honest, serious revolutionaries could see the bankruptcy of their ideology and realize that there is an alternative philosophy. I know how important Marxist-Humanism was to me when I left RU. I have found it necessary to completely dissect the Maoist philosophy to make my break with that past complete. I've been studying Raya Dunayevskaya's article on the new Chinese Constitution as part of that study.

I'd also like to use *Dialectics of Liberation* to write a critique of bourgeois sociology's theories of social movements and to construct a more useful framework for understanding past, present, and future social movements from the viewpoint of those who make the movements rather than those who seek to crush them.

Student  
Pennsylvania

I congratulate you on your conviction that working people can think. While the notion may be eccentric among Marxists, it is more than acceptable among us heathen.

Reader  
Washington, D.C.

## UFW fears Gov. Brown sell-out in California union election bill

Oakland, Cal.—Governor Brown of California has introduced into the state legislature a "compromise" secret ballot elections bill for farmworkers that, if passed, would make it much harder for farmworkers to organize into an effective union. The United Farm Workers Union, which has been in the forefront of the farmworkers' fight, says it cannot support Brown's bill. Brown introduced it as a "compromise" between AB1, the bill supported by the UFW, and several other bills supported by growers and the Teamsters. The differences in the bills are:

The Allatore bill, AB1, is basically a fair secret-ballot elections bill for farmworkers that provides speedy procedures for holding an election upon receipt of a petition signed by 50 percent of the workers on a ranch. The election must be held within seven days to guarantee all workers being there to vote, and if there are any claims of irregularities, the votes will be impounded until after hearings are held. None of the other bills sets a definite time limit, so the grower could demand a hearing, then appeals, and by election time, the workers could be gone to another ranch.

### CRAFT UNIONISM HURTS WORKERS

AB1 is also the only bill that says the election will cover the industrial unit, instead of the craft unit. That means all the infield workers; pickers, pruners, tractor drivers, irrigators, mechanics, etc., would be all in the same union, instead of having separate bargaining units for each category.

Craft units would institutionalize all the racist hiring policies of the growers, giving white workers tractor driver and mechanics' jobs and keeping Chicanos, Blacks and other minorities as pickers and pruners, giving them no chance to advance as their seniority grows.

The grower and Teamster sponsored bills protect the existing sweetheart contracts. AB1 says that any contract is void and there must be a new election if it can be proven that the contract was signed without majority representation of the workers, and the workers have a right to immediate elections. Brown's bill also outlaws sweetheart contracts, but it's deceptive.

He states that signing a contract without majority status is an unfair labor practice, but doesn't allow for immediate elections. Instead, it would be taken through the courts, where it could drag on for years.

### NEED TO PROTECT BOYCOTT

Finally, one of the main differences is the union's right to use its economic power. Only AB1 protects all peaceful means to force growers to sign. One grower bill takes away the boycott altogether, others take away the secondary boycott in all circumstances. The union needs strikes and boycotts and other economic means to negotiate with the powerful growers.

It's not the old political hack game, where you give this and I'll give in on that. The farmworkers can't afford to compromise their own security or their ability to survive as a union. There is no middle ground—we need AB1 passed or none at all. People could help us by writing to Governor Brown in Sacramento and saying that AB1 should regulate farm labor elections.

—Chris Norwell

## Native Americans speak

by Shainape Schcapwe

The ABC special "I Will Fight No More Forever" (April 14) caused mixed reaction among people I know. One neighbor said he felt the presentation was all one-sided in favor of the Indians. He said it in a voice that let me know that he was angry about that.

I agreed with him that an account of the near-extinction of the Nez Perce tribe by the U.S. Army was pretty one-sided. I, too, felt angered but I suspect not for the same reasons he did. He quickly dropped the subject. I'm sure that the united movement by the Indians for our rights has stimulated enough of an interest to bring about a program like this. I know that before the takeover at Wounded Knee we wouldn't have been able to watch anything like this at prime time on a national network. I find this encouraging.

I had strong feelings when I learned that Douglas Durham, key aide to the AIM (American Indian Movement) leadership, was found to be an FBI agent. It's not unbelievable that the government would choose this form of oppression, but it is hard to realize that this man could have worked so long in AIM without being detected. I can't believe this could have happened at the time of Wounded Knee.

The positive thing is that in spite of Douglas Durham and other people like him, AIM and the participants at the takeover of the monastery at Gresham, Wisc. were still effective. Our organization is only as strong as we are willing to make it.

## BLACK-RED VIEW

(I am happy to turn over my column this issue to a young Black worker who has written movingly on the debate between Black nationalists and Communists now going on in THE BLACK SCHOLAR. The debate was launched by Don L. Lee's article in the September 1974 issue, "The Latest Purge: The Attack on Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism by the New Left, Sons and Daughters of the Old Left."—John Alan.)

The debate has some significance because it represents concrete positions within the Black community, positions which have emerged in the past and no doubt will emerge again. Each time it reappears in different historic conditions. For today what Don L. Lee claims is: "What is needed is an ideology of Black Africanism operating within the framework of traditional African philosophy of life and the best of its value system."

Rather than go into the pros and cons of the debate, the time is best spent considering the historic roots of Lee's position and in this way arriving at an understanding of it in today's context. Ever since our arrival on these shores as slaves, the self-activity of the masses of Black people has been one of resistance and struggle. Black-cultural nationalism has its origins in this initial struggle of resistance: the Black masses, alienated caste-like from American society, except to the extent of their exploitation, organized their resistance on these selfsame lines—as "coloured citizens". This was the context of David Walker's Appeal in 1829 as he pleaded for resistance to slavery and fought for its abolition.

The second tendency, that of a return to Africa, gained from time to time. However the position of those who decided to remain and fight, while keeping their Black identity, commanded the greatest following.

The various tendencies in the Black nationalist movement did not emerge overnight; rather, as the struggle developed, Black nationalism developed and transformed itself. The debate within the Black movement today actually centers around collaboration or non-collaboration with whites. Historically, the Black masses had no compunction insofar as achieving their ends in collaboration with whites was concerned. "The Liberator", the first publication arguing for the abolition of slavery, was a white publication initially supported by Blacks who constituted three quarters of the paper's subscribers.

Later, when the purely pacifist moralism of the founder-editor Garrison conflicted with the fact that the struggle required greater political and military involve-

## Echeverria can't fool students

Mexico City, Mexico—Publicly there has been harsh criticism of President Echeverria for accusing the crowd that "stoned" him at the National University in Mexico City (UNAM) of being inspired by the CIA. Private opinions see that accusation as a part of his general effort to pass himself off as a liberal nationalist and as such, an enemy of U.S. imperialism.

He has a past reputation to live down—his position as Minister of Interior during the massacre of Oct. 2, 1968, and the massacre during the student demonstration in Mexico City on June 10, 1971 while he was President. The students have never forgotten that he promised prosecution of the guilty parties within two weeks of the latter crime, but there has never been any official mention of that massacre since.

Repression still reigns in Hermosillo, especially on the campus. No meetings are allowed, writing on walls is severely punished, and very few posters are permitted. Otherwise there would have been much open analysis of the events in the UNAM.

The city is so controlled that Echeverria is planning a visit here in May, and the city authorities have gone so far as to hope they can bring him on campus just to prove how well their oppression is working. We doubt that he will dare to appear near the University, and expect "problems" if he should enter the campus which is still sacred ground to the students.

## Czech regime fears students

Czechoslovakia — Here is a recent example of how fragile the regime in Czechoslovakia feels itself to be. A couple of students at the philosophical faculty in Prague — non-members of the Socialist Youth League, the only youth organization — asked for a meeting where they could air the question of their discrimination. Non-members are not being sent abroad in summer on an exchange and are treated like third-class citizens. A career is possible only if one is a member of the League, from whose ranks future CP members are also selected.

Since the meeting was prohibited, a small party of students came together in a pub near the school. No responsible official of the League appeared, but a few days later they got some "results." Two of the students who signed the original appeal were expelled, and seven reprimanded.

It is said that Bilak was for prosecuting the students, whereas party head Husak was for "administrative" measures. It is clear that the leading party elite fears even these manifestations of legitimate grievances, especially among the youth.

## 'Black Scholar' debate grows

ment, there occurred a break. The masses of Blacks and their leaders not only collaborated with John Brown but jumped into the civil war against the South with both feet in the pursuit of their freedom. So the issue of whether or not to collaborate with whites in the pursuit of our ends was not an issue in the early days of Black nationalism.

It really began to emerge as an issue after a period of reaction with the Booker T. Washington, Garvey and DuBois conflict. Washington's proposal of secularization for the Black masses off into a corner of American society came after the re-emergence of white supremacy in the South. Standing opposed to Washington was DuBois, who advocated total involvement in all areas of American life. The mass support went to Garvey whose position expressed best the self-activity of the masses at that time.

The coming of the sixties brought with it once again a re-emergence of the tendencies within Black nationalism, however at a different level, a different point in time and under different circumstances. Greatly influencing the events of the sixties is the emerging of independent Black nations of Africa and the upsurge in the U.S. of yet another revolutionary movement of the Black masses — originating in the South and beginning with the Montgomery bus boycott.

The movement of the masses under the banner of Black nationalism broke down walls of segregation in the South, reaffirmed in no uncertain terms the rights of Blacks in this country, and spoke out against the war in Vietnam. Thus, the upsurge of the masses once again played a revolutionary role.

Lee's position is similar to that of the Muslims. He does not recognize the role of the self-activity of the masses in shaping their history. Lee is a cultural nationalist, not of the revolutionary cultural nationalism associated with the Black struggle from slavery to the present, but rather a brand of Black nationalism that is defeatist, fatalist and contemptuous of the struggle of Black people.

The movement of the Black masses, beginning with their initial resistance to slavery, has always been a movement to the left and is not an invention of late. If the existing left of any period in the history of the masses fails to understand successfully the self-activity of the masses, this is not due to the masses, but to weakness of the organized left itself.

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# Black students lead strike at Brown University

*Ed. Note: Immediately after the end of the strike described below, Black students seized an administration building and occupied it for two days. They won several main demands, including amnesty and increased minority enrollment.*

Providence, R.I.—The recent strike at Brown University came as a surprise to many, as Brown is a conservative school designed to train the sons and daughters of the ruling class. The student battle centers around proposed raises in tuition and simultaneous cuts in student services, faculty and financial aid. While the proposed budget places greater financial burden on all students, it is particularly directed at Blacks and minorities.

The proposed budget necessitated the formation of a student coalition whose demands were: an increase in financial aid commensurate with increases in student costs; more intensive efforts in the recruitment of minority students; no cutback in supportive services, health services and other student services; no further reduction in faculty; increases in the number of Black and women faculty; and a demand for the maintenance of and autonomy for the Afro-American Studies Program.

The administration, with support from the corporation, made it clear from the beginning that they were determined to exclude student participation in the de-

cision-making process, when they refused to release the necessary information for students to formulate an alternative budget. The coalition chose to attempt to negotiate to gain access to any piecemeal information, without attempting to involve the student body.

It was only the militance of Black students—who were veterans of university negotiations—and the refusal of the administration to soften its position, that prevented the coalition from totally compromising its position. The coalition refused to acknowledge the leadership of Black students, even though they knew that Black student participation was crucial to the success of the coalition. The student coalition had little to do with the students striking. It was the students that decided to strike.

The coalition demands fell short of asking for some type of student control and participation in the decision-making process. The students were striking for more control over their lives. At this point, students are reorganizing, based on recognition that further action of a more radical type is needed if the university is to concede to student demands.

—Black striker

## 'Is this what education is?'

Detroit, Mich. — The arson mess at our high school, Cass Tech, along with the stress on academic competition, shows that the administration cares nothing about students. In a period of 13 weeks there were 15 fires at Cass. The administration did nothing about the arsonist until a fire destroyed the math office.

Every fire had something to do with the arts. The stage was set on fire, as were costumes, trash cans and the music library. The board did nothing. Then their solution was to increase security and take away teachers' free periods to patrol the halls. They offered a \$100 reward for information leading to the arrest of the arsonist. To my knowledge, they have not caught anyone.

As for academic competition, it is always pushed so much that it is awful. High averages, good test grades and conduct are always stressed by teachers and counselors. Teachers have always shoveled out work as if you had no other classes.

There is also a different kind of pressure from fellow students. No one says anything, but you work and study and pound your brain through the wall to be like the student next to you who gets all A's without blinking any eye.

I have a friend who worked so hard and got so little sleep from researching and doing reports that she actually became physically ill and had to miss some school. Is this what getting an education is?

—Cass Tech student

## Lenny—from rebel to hero

Detroit, Mich.—For a while back in the late '60s it seemed as though the campuses might become the staging grounds of revolution and this possibility made many solid citizens tremble at the spectre of their own kids doing them in without even so much as a thank you for 20 years of permissive pampering. I was part of that time and I often remember what it was like.

We didn't really call ourselves Marxists then. I suppose that would have required too much discipline and we were more inclined to a sort of romantic existentialism ala Dostoevsky or Jack Kerouac. We'd often get together at night, put on some Bobby Dylan, and lament the alienation of life in the Technotronic society.

Certainly none of us felt that the American Way had anything to offer us. We were as alienated as hell. You know, Camusian rebels cast into the world but not really part of it. But like Sisyphus, we'd just keep on pushing.

Sometimes we'd check out one of these singles bars in order to have a few laughs at the expense of all those budding junior execs and sales managers with their fancy leather coats and corvettes parked outside.

I remembered all this in connection with this film "Lenny" because at first it seemed strange to me that it should have such an appeal to all the junior exec types that crowded in to see it. Until I realized that this erstwhile rebel, Lenny, was now the hero of these young suburban middle Americans. What a transformation had taken place! That what was once counter-culture, maybe 10-15 years ago, had now become Mainline culture.

The "outcast" Bruce was now St. Lenny, the martyr. But shouldn't this be cause for celebration? — that the society had been so radicalized as to now honor that which it had previously despised. Unhappily the leather coats and 'vettes parked outside said "no." Because what was revealed in these movie crowds was not really the radicalization of a society as much as the bankruptcy of a pseudo-radical counterculture.

So that now the Great Refusal which made us say "no" to the silly way of life around us was itself transformed into a silly, harmless fad of cultural self-indulgence. And at this point the nature of our own "cultural" rebellion back at school seemed a little clearer. Because the thing was that while we were digging Dylan and sweet Ripple, so were a lot of other jokers whose main loyalty was still tied to the American Way. The same jokers who'd hustle the singles joints and now rubbed elbows in crowded theatre lobbies.

# TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

system through state intervention and thus hoped to keep the proletarian revolution at bay. My study, from original Russian sources, was of the first three Five year plans and economic growth and degradation of labor. This was on a totally different basis than either that of the anarchists who were quick to throw "state-capitalism" at the Russian workers' state from its very birth, or those like Bruno R., who, in the shock at such a transformation into opposite, reverted to what totalitarianism was in feudalism, thus leaving room both for those who departed from Marxism as well as the early Shachtman who, though he saw "bureaucratic collectivism" as an "unforeseen, mongrelized reactionary part", nevertheless claimed it part "of the collectivist epoch of human history."

As distinct from that discontinuity of concepts, I retained the Marxian concepts of history and the basic relationship of labor/capital to study the actuality of Russia and there found the operation of the most basic law of capitalism: the law of value. Stalinism was but the Russian name of the new stage of world capital: state-capitalism.

A new world stage of development did begin in 1949 with the victory of Mao, but it was not of the scope of the Russian Revolution but of the national liberation struggles. In any case, Mao himself originally called his state "state capitalist", telling the Chinese masses not to worry because once they, through the Communist Party, held "the commanding heights", politically controlled the gun, then the state would be a "transitional one" only, leading to a classless society. But in fact anything but that happened. State-capitalism mouthing Marxist phraseology doesn't change the conditions of labor for the masses, or their "superstructure", that is to say, their freedom of thought. As is seen from the current debate in *The Black Scholar*, (See Black/Red column, p. 6) this is no more a question of China than the debate on Russian state-capitalism was a debate of Russia. Rather, it is a question of world revolutionary perspectives, especially of the American Revolution.

The governing point is that it is not "foreign", but involves us, American Marxists. The point is also that we will be entrapped in still another "faction" unless we begin with the new dialectic from practice which the masses established in the past two decades, whether it took the form of a liberation struggle from Communism, Russian Communism, as in East Europe, or from Western imperialism as it was in Africa, or from the Left within China, with the Sheng Wu-lien arising from within the "Cultural Revolution" that called for "a genuine Paris Commune" against "the red capitalist, Chou En-lai" or, finally the Black Revolution in the U.S. that stimulated the Free Speech Movement in academia as well as the totally involved youth in the anti-Vietnam war movement, thus giving rise to a whole new generation of revolutionaries, white as well as black, Women's Liberation as well as wildcats.

### III. Challenges to Marxist Historians: the Movements from Practice and from Theory

All history is contemporary history and all truth concrete. What were Hegelian concepts of dialectic were removed from ivory towers of thought and made into a new continent of thought and practice by Marx, who called his philosophy "a new Humanism" that united the ideal and the real, and saw history not as past but as present and as being shaped by living men and women. There are no Marxes or Lenins today but we do have the maturity of the age and that movement from practice that is itself a form of theory. To think that, as American Marxists, we can only talk of class struggle without participating in it, or talk "Left" without mentioning the different tendencies, actually narrows Marxism from its world roots, and allows bourgeois ideology to prevail. This doesn't mean that we will not concentrate on American studies. The very opposite is true both of concepts and of reality. When we attempt to restate Marxism for our age, when we study, in this age, be it the two-way road to revolution of Blacks in America and Blacks in Africa, or Nixon's "New Economic Policy", or the current deep recession, we cannot leave out the concepts of state-capitalism and the dialectic.

The dialectic is what makes us see the opposite in each unit and each unity and keeps us from the trap of one-dimensionality. Which is why Marx considered scientists as well as utopians "abstract materialists", and warned against "a materialism which excludes history and its process."

In this bicentennial year, as against the so-called objective historians, Marxist historians must dig deep both into the present and the past, not merely exposing the lie inherent in the Declaration of Independence which had made an abstraction of freedom, but in opening theoretical avenues for the second American revolution. Only by listening to the masses from below — especially during these past two decades when on all fronts, from Black Revolution to anti-Vietnam war movement, from Third World and East European Revolts to Women's Liberation and Sheng Wu-lien, they far outdistanced theoreticians stuck in "fixed particulars" and one-dimensionality—can Marxist historians bring about a totally new relationship of theory to practice and thereby bring to life what Marx called "the realization of philosophy", that is to say, make freedom a reality.

## Anti-war activist sees no freedom for Vietnam

New York, N.Y.—Just as many radicals called the Paris "peace" accords a victory for the U.S. anti-war movement of the '60s, today many are now celebrating the collapse of Thieu's regime before the NLF-North Vietnamese offensive.

As a participant and organizer in that movement, I don't share in the celebrations of many still-active radicals at Hanoi's victory. I was among the youth for whom Vietnam exposed the utter barbarism of the U.S. government, and for whom the Vietnam war led to a call for a total social revolution here in the U.S.A.

Except for some radicals of today, millions of youth who participated in these movements know very well that our movement failed.

The reasons for its failure, to me, lie principally in the tragic separation between the Black movement of the '60's and the mass anti-war struggle. And the blame for this separation rests for the most part on the shoulders of the whites.

We had a chance to win a totally new society in the 1960's and failed because of problems within our movement itself, as well as Nixon's demagoguery, racist appeals and naked repression.

The collapse of the U.S.-installed puppet regimes of Thieu and Lon Nol in Asia probably means an end to the bombings, the napalm, and 35 years of war in Indochina. Yet, a few American radicals cling to foreign state powers, be they in Hanoi, Moscow, or Peking, who think the one-party "peoples' republic" type state Hanoi will set up there, will mean freedom for the Vietnamese people. Freedom, whether here or in Asia, can only come when the people as a whole control every facet of society directly for themselves.

—Jack MacBride

## \$1.70 an hour, plus a sexist boss

Los Angeles, Cal.—Finding a job today is close to impossible. Those hardest hit are the same people who are hardest hit by any other economic crisis—working class and poor people, including a lot of youth. But just finding a job doesn't solve all problems.

I was talking to a young Black sister about her job experiences at a Pup N' Taco for \$1.70 an hour. She said: "The workers who were all young Black students were tight, helping each other during work. The workers were really close with the previous manager and then all of a sudden they changed management for no apparent reason.

"The first thing the new management did was fire one of the workers. The other workers organized a walkout during the rush. But guess what? All of a sudden he was rehired. Wasn't that nice of them? The new manager now attempted to put more work on us, but with no more pay or hours to do it in. Then he wanted to show us his sexism. He wanted an all-girl staff to bring in more customers. Shortly after all this, I and five others quit."

—Reprinted from UNDER 21 newsletter

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## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

## Portugal: a revolution at the crossroads

Portuguese voters, in a massive 92 percent turnout for their first election in nearly 50 years, made it clear that they wanted a true socialist nation that they alone will control, despite advance efforts of the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) to discount the significance of the election. The Socialists got 38 percent of the vote, the Popular Democrats won 25 percent, and the Communists were rejected with only 12 percent.

The MFA apparently rejects colonialism and had demonstrated its own independent political direction. The junior officers in the field and the ranks of the military learned very well from the African freedom fighters they were charged with subduing. The most important thing colonial troops encountered was the power of the idea of freedom. This was experienced not only through the inability to defeat the African liberation armies but also in discussions with captured prisoners. One MFA member characterized these discussions as "truly a political initiation." The organizational form of the coup, of overlapping cells, was copied from FRELIMO in Mozambique.

In the wake of the recent right-wing coup attempt, however, the MFA has instituted a constitution retaining ultimate authority in its own High Council for at least the next three years. What is worse is their proposal for a single labor federation to the exclusion of all others if over half the existing federations vote for it.

In addition, the three poles of world capital are doing whatever they can to divert the independent and multi-dimensional character of the Portuguese revolution. With the polls showing they would do poorly in the election, the Communists were agreeing with everything the ruling High Council did.

Kissinger has issued strong warnings about the consequences of "going Communist." Mao is refusing to take back the Portuguese colony of Macao in order to have some leverage to keep their "enemy number one", the Russian Communists, out of power in Portugal.

The independent activities of workers since the overthrow of fascism, however, have been ceaseless. Aside from forcing out all remnants of the police state, workers overnight formed their own inde-

pendent associations and staged countless strikes and factory takeovers. Farmworkers in the south have started seizing large estates. In Lisbon, workers from 43 different plants organized a workers council called Inter Empresa.

On Feb. 7, Inter Empresa called a demonstration against unemployment during a seven day ban on all demonstrations while NATO sailors were on shore leaves. The Communist Party and the government both opposed the march of 60,000 workers who shouted "NATO out" as they passed the American Embassy. The opposition of Portuguese fishermen put a stop to negotiations with the Russians on a base for the Russian fighting fleet in Portugal.

Another dimension of the Portuguese revolution has been Women's Liberation. While still under the old regime, when just meeting together was an act of rebellion, the three Marias raised the question of women's liberation and its inseparability from a total political philosophy. It was, says Maria Barreno, not the coup, but the pressure and depth of the international women's movement that won their case.

## Trinidad

From a Trinidadian correspondent we learn the following:

For the past several weeks, economic activity in Trinidad and Tobago has been at a virtual standstill. The oil workers, represented by the Oilfield Workers Trade Union (OWTU), are on strike for higher wages and better working conditions. The sugar workers, represented by All Trinidad Sugar Estates and Factory Workers Trade Union (ATSEFWTU) which had successfully demanded a 100 percent increase in wages, have been on strike in support of the oil workers and also for demands of ownership by the sugar workers in the sugar factories. There is also the further demand by the workers (both oil and sugar) for the recognition of Island-wide Cane Farmers Trade Union (ICFTU) instead of the present company-oriented bargaining unit, the Trinidad Islandwide Cane Farmers Association.

Through all this, the government has had nothing to say and has remained totally aloof. The labor leaders have even paid an "emergency" call on the Governor General to ask him to persuade the Prime Minister and his Government to intervene in the matter but without any success. While the "leaders" from labor are busy shopping around at getting a hearing with the Prime Minister, who has now decided to use soldiers as strikebreakers, the workers have gone ahead and created a coalition of oil, sugar workers and farmers, and also the transport and industrial workers (TIWU), against the government and the oil and sugar owners.

This United Labour Front (ULF) maintains that not one barrel of oil will be refined nor any canes sent to the factories until their demands are met. The significance of this ULF is twofold: for the first time since the famous oil riots of 1937, agricultural and industrial workers have been able to join forces in an attempt to change their conditions of work. Secondly, even though the prices of both sugar and oil are at historic highs, the workers have been steadfast in their demands despite obvious personal sacrifices.

## Saudi Arabia

After all the protection, money and military aid paid out to the P.L.O., and the seemingly insurmountable protection of a massive military network made possible by oil dollars, the feudal lord of Saudi Arabia, King Faisal, was assassinated last month. The assassin, however, was not a foreign enemy of Saudi Arabia or even one of the millions of the poor who have to endure this authoritarian regime. The assassin came from within the ranks of the royal family itself.

Reports came immediately that the killer, Faisal's nephew, was "mentally deranged." Though you don't have to be crazy to have wanted to get rid of Faisal (and later it came out that his nephew was quite within his senses), the sad part is that nothing has changed, and nothing can ever change as long as it is done from the top. The royal family has closed ranks behind a new king who is, in every sense, of the same breed.

## Scotland

The following letter was received from Harry McShane in Scotland:

Soldiers are being used to do the work of the cleansing drivers who have been on strike for about 10 weeks here. The prevalence of rats and the health hazard has split many people away from those who, rightly, are protesting soldiers being brought in.

The Glasgow Trades Council leaders have been inept. Everyone who opposes them is "ultra-Left". The term is used in the same manner as they used the term "social-fascist." Having run away from the class struggle, they attack all who are on the rank-and-file Left.

We are now in the position that the Labour politicians are admitting that their policy in the crisis is no different from that of the Tories. The budget is designed openly to reduce our living standards. The prices on food and everything else will now go up. Healey said that unemployment will reach a million workers this year.

This comes when both Right and "Left" were going all out to make the Common Market the main issue. Jack Jones will be unable to prove that withdrawal from the Common Market can solve the present problem. Only last weekend he appealed to the workers to keep to the social contract.

The social contract is the most blatant piece of class collaboration we have had this century. The Communist Party claims to be opposed to it but will not utter one word against Jones. He is against the Common Market and they are concentrating on that issue because of Russia.

## Thieu's Vietnam government falls; Khmer Rouge victors in Cambodia

(Continued from Page 1)

Vietnam gained its freedom, defeating France at Dien Bien Phu, that Kissinger of yesteryear—Foster Dulles—saw to it, this time with the help of China and Russia, that Ho Chi Minh was forced to accept the division of the country into North and South.

The only grain of truth in Ford's hysterical speech was the reminder to a balking Democratic Congress that "Under five presidents and 12 Congresses U.S. was engaged in Indochina." That precisely was the fatal imperialist error.

As Ford is bargaining with Congress on ways to cover up the total defeat of mighty U.S. imperialism 10,000 miles from home bases by an indigenous peasant army, Thieu has introduced a final bit of scandal. The imminent fall of Saigon is not his preoccupation. His own affluence somewhere "in exile" is. The paragon of "virtuous" anti-Communism the American people are still asked to save tried to force a special Balair (a Swissair affiliate on a humanitarian mission) to take a load of no less than 16 tons of gold marked as the "personal property of Thieu-Nol" out for safekeeping in

Switzerland! Balair refused. No doubt Thieu is relying on Ford-Kissinger having the American Airlines not refuse! Is that his last piece of blackmail?

Surely the final curtain must be brought down on that most shameful chapter of American history.

## GLOBAL POLITICS AND THE LEFT

The defeat of nuclearly armed American imperialism's running wild all over the globe cannot but be welcomed by the American people. They can see mighty U.S. capitalism as impotent at home as in South Vietnam, totally incapable of solving any fundamental problems, be it the raging unemployment, racism, poverty, especially Black, in this richest land in the world. Solidarity with the Vietnamese comes naturally, especially where the struggle for total freedom signifies knowing that the main enemy, the class enemy, is at home. (See Editorial, Page 4.) To act as jubilantly, however, as does the "New Left", as if Vietnam's victory over American imperialism is the equal of Russia, November 1917, launching a new epoch of world revolution, and that on proletarian foundations, is to sow new myths.

It is to close one's eyes to the fact that, at this very moment, when victory is within grasp, both North Vietnam and the Vietcong would still prefer class compromises with the Big Powers ("the Paris Accord") rather than outright civil war. In one thing all existing state powers are the same: anything, anything at all to avoid spontaneous revolutions, with destiny in the hands of the masses themselves.

It is to forget that, from the very start, 30 years back, when the struggle for national liberation began, the Vietminh was as brutal against its own Left (Trotskyists especially), who opposed dickering with everyone from De Gaulle in 1946 to "Geneva Conference", 1954.

It is to disarm oneself, actually as well as philosophically, for the next stage of struggle for true liberation on totally new, class-less humanist beginnings as against the capitalistic Sino-Soviet conflict which already is playing global politics, even as Ford does, in

the struggle for single world mastery.

The latest example that has come to light is Mao's refusal to accept Macao on the China coast which Portugal wants to return to the People's Republic of China. Instead, Mao's China told the new Portugal the only thing they have to worry about from China is . . . Portugal letting itself be "dominated" by Russian "revisionism." How like the euphemism Defense Secretary Schlesinger used to define NATO's attitude to Portugal: treat them "like outcasts without casting them out."

So long as Russia continues to be "Enemy No. 1," Mao indeed finds himself in strange company. Thus, C. L. Sulzberger, (N.Y. Times, 4-13-75) in pointing to the good omen signified by China's ambassador's visit to Andre de Staercke (Belgium's dean of NATO's diplomatic corps), proposed following the old tradition: "The enemy of my enemy is my friend."

The shift in world power balances doesn't mean that Russia isn't doing the very same thing as is China—playing with U.S. imperialism. That's exactly it. State-capitalists, calling themselves "Communists", like private capitalists, are part of this insane exploitative capitalistic world system nuclearly armed.

That the American people are sick and tired of their rulers in this bi-centennial year was clear once again in the boing accorded President Ford at Concord. The mass demonstration thus united the struggle against the Vietnam War with the present struggle against the recession here.

The fall of Thieu can in no way be equated with full liberation. The real liberation of the country will take place when the men and women now caged in the inhuman tiger pen prisons of the Thieu regime and the 17 million people who have survived the ravages of this war have expressed themselves and set up their own government—free of the domination of any and all of the superpowers whose efforts to govern them have resulted in such failure and misery.

## For our West Coast readers

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