

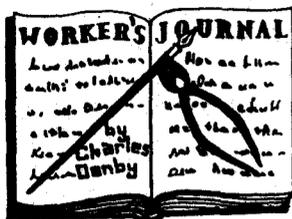
## ON THE INSIDE

Counter-revolution and revolution

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## Strong stand would end busing mess

by Charles Denby, Editor

Several workers called saying how happy they were about the New Hampshire defeat of Louis C. Wyman, Republican candidate for the Senate, by John Durkin, the Democrat. When asked why some workers were excited over Durkin's victory when there is a big majority of Democrats in the Senate and House, and President Ford gets away with a veto of practically anything he does not agree with, one worker said: "Yes, we know that some Democrats are more reactionary than some Republicans, but this election in New Hampshire was where Ford and Reagan went to campaign for Wyman.

"All the newscasters were saying the two were putting their prestige on the line, Reagan to get out all the right-wing voters and Ford to get out all the middle-of-the-roads and liberal Republicans.

"Everywhere that Ford has gone to help out a candidate, the candidate has lost. At work we were saying that if this continues, there will be all Democrats in the Senate and House and Ford's vetoes will be overruled."

### FORD WITH BUSINESS

Many workers say Ford is the most racist President that has ever sat in the White House in modern times, as well as the most anti-labor. The Nixon-Ford policies are with big business corporations, and big business gets more, while the poor and working people get less.

Ford has cut money from every progressive and social program that was established in the 1960s. Many have been cut out completely. He is saying that school busing won't be an issue in next year's national election, but everywhere that he speaks to an all-white audience, he states his "better way" position against busing, only never says what the "better way" is.

When President Eisenhower dispatched U.S. troops to Little Rock some 20 years ago to force integration, he stated it was because integration was the law of the land. Twenty years later, this appointed President Ford never once mentions the law of the land or integration.

A Black steelworker from Birmingham, Ala. I was talking with said if the government had taken a forceful position in all integration cases, there would not be any talk or discussion on school busing today. It would be all over and forgotten, and everyone would be getting on with the business at hand.

### FIGHT FOR INTEGRATION

Birmingham was the most segregated city in this country. After the big revolution there, when the Civil Rights Acts became law, a government official came into the steel mill, telling management that segregated facilities had to go, and gave the company so many days to rid itself of all segregated signs.

Everywhere in the plant there were signs, "White Only" and "Colored." There were no signs "Colored Only." The reason was that if a white used the colored facility he was not breaking a law, but if a Black worker was caught using white facilities he was breaking a law and could be fired.

Many Black workers never dreamed they would see the day this change would come, and when it did, many white workers accepted it. But extreme racist and KKK elements yelled they would quit first before bathing with a Black or drinking from the same fountain. They

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# NEWS LETTERS

*'Human Power is its own end'*

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OCTOBER, 1975

## Labor unrest, peasant 'land invasions', guerrillas

# How long can U.S. 'in perpetuity' imperialism last in Latin America?

by Eugene Walker

Nothing has so enraged the Latin Americans against U.S. imperialism recently as its self-righteousness about the cocaine traffic. President Alphonso Lopez Michelsen of Colombia has even compared it to British imperialism's 19th

century opium wars against China, adding, "We cannot invade the U.S. with our cocaine unless there's an American connection." As he landed in Washington, D.C. today (Sept. 25), his language was a great deal more diplomatic, stressing "other" problems he will discuss with Ford and Kissinger.

One thing we may be sure that neither the American connection nor the Colombian presence will discuss is the actual condition of the peasants and workers in Colombia. This "liberal" president who was elected in 1974 (when Colombia had an election for the first time in 20 years), has done little with his "agrarian reforms" to ameliorate the land problem. The big landowners—4.3 percent of the population—control no less than 67.5 percent of the land while 73.1 percent of the 24 million population hold only 7.2 percent in parcels under 25 acres each, which is way too small to support a family at bare minimum.

The government calls peasant attempts to take matters into their own hands "land invasions" and represses them ruthlessly. Last week this resulted in the assassination of Gen. Quinones, inspector general of the armed forces. This is not only a question of the specific guerrilla force — the National Liberation Army — which took credit for the killing. It is that the peasants have given them sanctuary because they can no longer tolerate conditions in the country.

There is one irony in the fact that it is a Colombian dignitary who is here this week when Kissinger is so worried about Panama and the possibility of a "nationalistic guerrilla type of operation that we have not seen before in the Western Hemisphere."

### 'IN PERPETUITY'

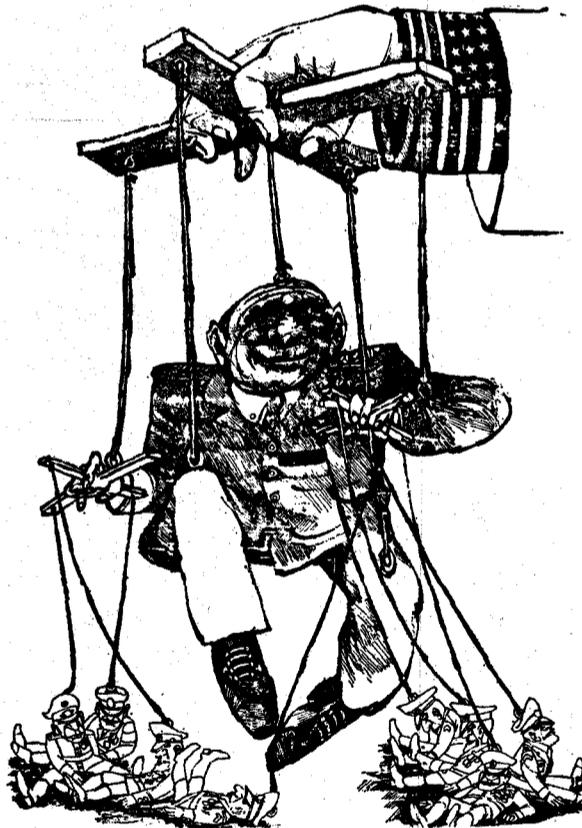
It is that Panama is precisely the country that was created by our earliest imperialist, Teddy Roosevelt, when, in 1903, Colombia balked at terms for a Canal, and he promptly financed a revolt in what is now Panama. Roosevelt, sending a cruiser with Marines to prevent Colombia from quelling the revolt, recognized the country in three days, and in two weeks had a treaty which ceded to the U.S. a ten mile wide strip from sea to sea "in perpetuity."

Today 70 percent of the traffic through the canal either originates or ends at a U.S. port. The toll rates set by the U.S. when the canal opened have never been increased in all the years of operation. Panama meanwhile receives a small annual fee. That such an infinitesimal fee makes a contribution to the Panamanian budget only indicates the totality of their underdevelopment.

"In perpetuity" has been and is the naked truth of U.S. domination of all of Latin America. The Canal Zone, with the Defense Department's U.S. Southern Command headquarters, its 13 major U.S. military installations, its 10,000 members of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines, its 6,000 Defense Department civilians, its U.S. Army units of the Americas where some 50,000 Latin Americans have been trained in such areas as counter-insurgency warfare, has served as the military's guarantee of this domination.

The U.S. "man in South Vietnam" Ellsworth Bunker, (ambassador 1967-73) has now become the chief negotiator for a new Panama Canal Treaty. "Eventually without a treaty we'll face a confrontation with the Panamanians," he warns.

(Continued on Page 8)



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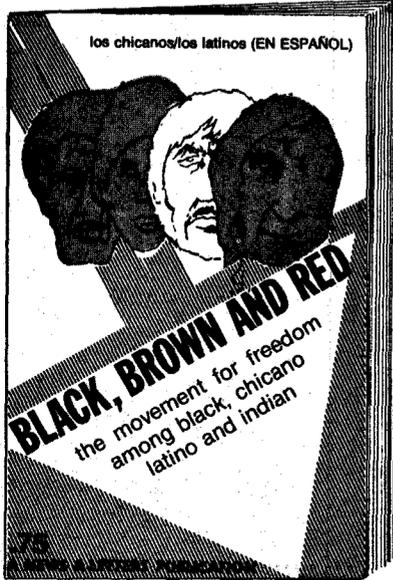
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## 'Welfare system treats us like prisoners'

Los Angeles, Cal.—The welfare system is one of many institutions whose theory is to keep recipients dependent on the crumbs of capitalism.

You are guilty until proven innocent. There are some cases of "fraud" found in the system, but the welfare system causes "fraud" as it is impossible to live on the welfare grant. We are now being classified as the ABC's of the welfare rolls: Asians, Blacks and Chicanos, as if we are the only color on welfare. I refuse to use the word "race" as the system does because as far as I know there is only one race — the human race.

The system treats us like prisoners who have been let out on parole. We have to report to our parole officer every first of the month in terms of the W-2 form. The W-2 forms ask such questions as: what other income do you have, work expenses, child care, cash on hand or in the bank; who moved in or out of the home, went to jail or the hospital, quit or started school, married, became pregnant or gave birth, started or refused or quit a job; have you bought or sold anything since last report day.

If this isn't bad enough, the District Attorney's office has to get in on the act with missing fathers. Now keep in mind your monthly report (W-2) which says neither you nor your children can be denied assistance because you fail to provide information concerning the identity or whereabouts of an absent parent.

Yet the question on the District Attorney's form states: "Are you sure that he is the father of the child? Has he acknowledged this to anyone? If so bring these witnesses to my office with you when you come in. Also any pictures of the children and father together, besides a full description of the father and any of his friends."

These are some of the things that we are facing. Too bad we can't do like our Congressmen who found out that a hamburger cost ten cents more in the Senate cafeteria than it did in the House lunchroom, complained, and gave themselves a ten percent pay raise.

—Audrey Williams

Detroit, Mich. — I work as a teacher's aid and my wages are so low that welfare subsidizes my income. This past year, the Department of Social Services (DSS) cut my check \$70 a month and raised the cost of my food stamps \$40 a month, with only one month's notice. That really, really hurt. These cuts were part of the DSS "Corrective Action Plan" which resulted in 21,000 families being cut off welfare, and about 30,000 more families having their grants reduced.

The government says it only takes me \$40 a month for work expenses. Now out of that \$40, I have to pay for health and grooming, half-way decent clothing, and transportation. I have to drive 15 miles round-trip to work each day and I am told that I can not have a car valued at more than \$1,000.

Since it costs me money to work, I had actually thought about quitting. But the DSS told me I couldn't quit my job without a "good" reason or my grant would be terminated.

Women are being forced to take low-paying jobs that never get them off welfare. The newest "plan" is that everyone on welfare in Wayne County will have to work for no wages just to get their check.

Now I haven't always been on welfare. I was two

If you have a story, or want to contact News & Letters Women's Liberation Committees in San Francisco, Detroit, Los Angeles or New York, write to the addresses in the box on page 3.

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

suffered and were miserable, and Blacks along with some whites had a field day ribbing them.

Rather than shower with Blacks, these whites would drive home dirty and in their muckers. Some were being stopped by police in an all-white neighborhood, mistakenly thinking they were Black. Some wives would not let them in their homes until they pulled off their clothing, taking them blankets out to the car. Every day those whites that had accepted it would tell some Black worker what had happened, and they would laugh.

### BLACK FOREMEN

Then the company began to put Blacks on supervision. Again there was hollering by some white workers that they would never work for a Black foreman. After several whites were fired by Black foremen, and the firings were upheld, that changed those racists' thinking and actions.

"Today," the steelworker added, "you would think the plant had been operated in this manner from the beginning of time. Blacks are in every skilled job, and Black-white relations are as good as in any plant in this country. We discuss politics, the world crisis, and subjects of importance. We feel this is how it should be."

months pregnant when my husband left me. I worked as long as I could and after I couldn't manage it, I went down and applied for welfare. I was ashamed and embarrassed, even though I had worked 10 years prior as a cook.

I joined a Welfare Rights Organization (WRO) and learned that I did have certain rights as a welfare recipient, things the workers knew but would never tell us. I also learned that people who are on welfare are still human beings and they're entitled to some dignity, pride, and respect.

I started making speeches and when I went to a National Organization for Women (NOW) meeting, I found out I was a feminist. I've been one for years but I just never knew it.

My consciousness had reached the point to think "I am proud to be a woman and I'm entitled to equal pay for what I do." I am now trying to help the feminists understand that there are other women besides the middle-class suburbanites, but it's difficult for them to identify with Black women like myself.

But I think all of us are going to have to learn to respect each other for what we are and to learn to live together without separatism. That's about the only way any of us will survive.

—April Holiday

## WL NOTES

Four hundred catering workers, mostly Asian women, are striking London's Heathrow Airport demanding better working conditions and higher wages. The women prepare and clean food in ankle-deep water and unbelievable heat and stench. Planes have already been forced to make stops at other airports to pick up food.

\* \* \*

Protesting proposed welfare cuts, 60 demonstrators disrupted the Massachusetts House of Representatives shouting, "Jobs or income now!" and "Restore the welfare cuts!" This action comes on the heels of demonstrations by day care workers, governmental employees, and the elderly, all protesting cuts in human service funds.

\* \* \*

At the South African Women's Freedom Day celebration, women of South Africa and Namibia expressed solidarity with each other. A spokeswoman said, "Past history and today's life shows that the infinite power of unity can overcome the most formidable enemy." The celebration commemorates the first massive demonstration on Aug. 9, 1913 — organized by women — against the racist South African "pass" laws.

## IWY Conferences: issues lacked clarity of philosophy

by Molly Jackson

The International Women's Year conferences in Mexico this summer contained a hectic mixture of feminism, nationalism and superpower politics. So overwhelming, at both the official UN conference and the unofficial Tribune, were the "revelations" that the majority of the world's women live close to starvation, that no one could pretend "women's issues" are unrelated to total revolution.

Even within the poverty-stricken places, however, women's lives are so much worse than men's, that even the presence of many anti-feminists—from official delegates at the UN conference to organized disrupters at the Tribune—failed to suppress a tremendous feeling of "one world" among the women there.

### NATURAL INTERNATIONALISTS

At a recent NOW meeting, one woman reported: "The U.S. Government tried to take over International Women's Year, the Mexicans tried to intimidate it, but the 'Communist' countries, while claiming their women were already liberated, seemed the most scared of it."

Nothing better sums up the actual two worlds within each country — the world of the few who control work, culture, education, even the air we breathe, and the world of the many who have little control over their own lives.

All the "Communist" countries, both Russian and Chinese varieties, claimed their women were already liberated and were attending only to give moral support to others. A Russian man boasted that they plan to further free their women by importing more washing machines and other labor-saving devices, and that they wish their women were "as slim and attractive" as women in other countries! Women share such similar social relations in every society that we are naturally internationalists as well as revolutionaries.

### INFORMAL VS. FORMAL DISCUSSIONS

Some of those who attended from NOW were naive and surprised at both the strength of anti-U.S. nationalism and the realization of their own cultural and class biases.



## Oglala Nation re-established

by Shainape Shcapwe

I feel as excited now about the movement for freedom among the Indians as I did when I first knew about and took part in the Civil Rights Movement. There is so much happening that I have mixed feelings about the different directions this movement is taking.

I think the most important development since the occupation of Wounded Knee has been the establishment of the Oglala Lakota Nation:

"We the traditional people of the Oglala Lakota Nation whose governing body is the Lakota Treaty Council, hereby declare to the Government of the United States that we terminate ourselves from the present Tribal Government . . .

"Before United States Governmental interference in our internal affairs, we were capable of managing ourselves. Today our traditional form of government remains strong, while the one imposed on us by your government has brought only confusion, poverty, death and destruction.

"Therefore, in order to retain our national identity as a sovereign people, we see no other recourse but to follow our traditional leaders who have determined that we must return to our own way of governing ourselves. In future matters we will deal only with the Secretary of State or the President of the United States himself."

The resolution from Talking Leaf calls for enforcement of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. Since 1868 the Federal Government has taken millions of acres from the people without their consent. On June 26, Dick Wilson, Tribal Council President, ceded one-eighth of the Pine Ridge Reservation to the Federal Government, including one-half of the White Clay district where the shoot-out with the FBI occurred on the same day. I don't see how that could have been a coincidence.

Larry Red Shirt explained: "The people are the ones who make up the Oglala Nation, who sat down in meetings and directed the chiefs and headmen to hand-carry the resolution back to Washington . . . giving back control to the people at the grass roots level." Milo Yellow Hair described the growing resistance to the harassment, intimidation, and assault: "We're having a lot of meetings, young and old. We're getting tighter . . . We started looking to the old people for advice because they carry the Oglala Sioux tradition."

This concrete action by the people is so important because the Oglala Lakota Nation is dealing with the U.S. with the most powerful weapon it has — the full involvement of all of its own people.

Several women reported that a Nigerian at the Tribune who refused to use the word "feminism" was in fact the most militant feminist there.

The best discussions were not at either conference but in the small meetings in the halls, where women felt freer to speak their minds. Some purposely sat in the halls so they would not have to vote the way their governments had instructed them to.

The U.S. had the audacity to send an official delegation of political hacks headed by a right-wing government administrator-businessman to the UN Conference. Dominated by the power politics of the U.S., Russia and China, it had little to do with women. The "World Plan of Action" which they finally produced, takes ten long years to fulfill and addresses so few women's problems that one Australian at the Tribune commented, "You would think women never did anything besides lactate."

### PHILOSOPHY IS LACKING

The Tribune was not representative of most women, either, who could never afford such a trip, but it did attract many who are deeply involved in women's causes. They created the feeling of "one world" but what are we left with? Feeling good about women, even on an international level, does not change the world. Only when mass movements, including the masses of women, tear up existing society and begin to create a new one, will women have control over their own lives.

Thus, while there was much discussion about women's issues at the Tribune, there was none about a philosophy of women's liberation. This lack of a total view of social revolution is what allows those like the Latin American "anti-imperialists" to mistake feminism for an enemy, and the NOW women to accept the disrupters' claim to being "Marxists."

Whether their class bias would permit the NOW women, despite their deep feeling for women's freedom, to accept the new continent of thought that Marx discovered, they should know that Marx worked for women's rights and completely opposed what he called "vulgar communism", a change in property forms without a total change in human relations. It was he who worked out a philosophy of liberation for our age, and we have yet to make real his vision of freedom in any society.



## Uniroyal cuts workers' break time, blasts medical leaves

Detroit, Mich. — Uniroyal management had everyone in the plant attend a second meeting to tell us we had to do better on the scrap, and we had to build more tires. It was the same threat, that if we don't pick up production, there's a possibility of shutting the plant down.

They're also trying to cut out medical leaves. Management said there were so many people going on medical leave that it was costing the company a lot of money, and that they were going to take some kind of steps. I know one woman who was dismissed for being on medical. She had to go to arbitration to get her job back. Then it was with the stipulation that she had to work a year without being off.

They say we take too many medicals, yet they don't do anything to prevent us from getting sick. The plant should be ventilated properly, because during the summer months we really suffer. And there are things they can do to cut out the noise.

**When the production standards are so high and you work every day, you are bound to get sick and so run down that it takes a medical to get well again.**

You can't go to the office and say you need a day off because you're moving, or you have a sick baby, or you can't find a babysitter. You have to call in sick because you just can't explain anything to those people—especially if you're a woman. If you're of childbearing

age, you're going to be sick.

Before, management allowed us to take a break every hour. All of a sudden, when they brought the new machines in, they discontinued it, even though we were getting our production out.

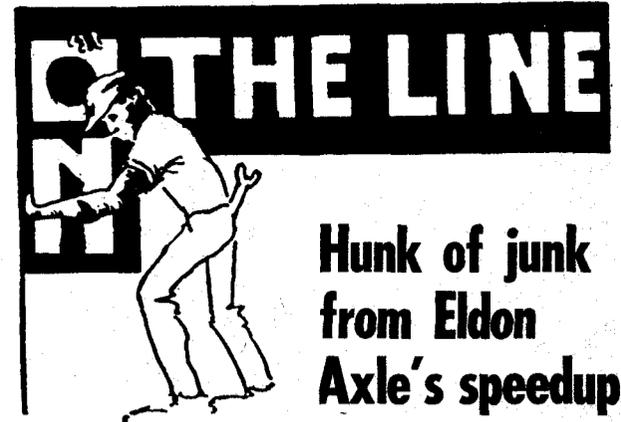
**It seems to me that for an eight-hour work day, you should be allowed more than an 18-minute lunch and two 10-minute breaks.**

We have no relief people. We used to have relief women, so that if you had to go to the bathroom, maybe you could get one of them to work in your place. A man can walk away, because there's two of them working together, and the other one can carry on while he's away. But if a woman leaves her job, the whole thing stops until she gets back.

**Now if you get sick and go to first aid and the machine stops, the builders don't get paid for the time you're gone. They only pay those idled when the machine stops if it's because someone is hurt on the job.**

Another problem with down time that was brought out in the meeting is that if your machine is broken down for an hour, the supervisor is supposed to OK it so you get your regular pay. But they scratch it off and say they're not going to pay you. This keeps the workers' morale way down. They are trying to strip us of every last thing, and the union says nothing about what is going on.

—Uniroyal worker



## Hunk of junk from Eldon Axle's speedup

by John Allison

Chrysler's Eldon Axle Plant management's latest lecture to the workers is that they have to start inspecting their work better. But here's a new twist to this latest quality control push.

Now it is true that more inspection is needed. When management is pushing for higher production quotas and a faster work pace, there's bound to be bad pieces coming out of any operation.

But what management doesn't say is that there are many inspectors who were laid off but were not called back to their department. Instead, they were placed in production departments, which means there's a shortage of final inspectors, and that results in problems for the car buyers.

Parts produced at the Eldon plant are vital for the running of every car. If these parts aren't right, you'll end up with a hunk of junk — and a very expensive hunk of junk with the out-of-sight prices they've got on new cars.

But that's just a part of it. Since the inspectors are working on production, management is trying to force them to do both the production jobs and inspecting jobs at the same time. This way the company saves the wages they'd be paying the inspectors, so it's another way to speed up the work to get even more profits.

Management keeps threatening the workers that if the quality isn't kept up, the jobs will be shipped out to other plants. Right now they say that Eldon is working overtime because the Syracuse plant is down, and that the workers better get all of the time in that they can. And what's worse is that the union is peddling this same company line.

What it all boils down to is that management is pulling out all stops to get as much production as possible, pointing to the big recent layoffs and the thousands who are still out on the streets. It's the old scare ball game that management has always used to speed up the job, and they're not fooling anybody with their tricks.

## Anti-busing racism aims to divide workers on shop floor

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

I was visiting Louisville, Ky. during the beginning of the school year when the busing demonstrations were taking place. I felt sad when I saw what many members of the white working class were doing. The Ford Motor Co. assembly and truck plants were closed down because many workers went to the demonstrations against busing for integrated schools.

How have so many workers been poisoned so that their class militancy can be used in such a way? One answer I found in a church I visited in Jeffersonville, just outside of Louisville. The first thing I noticed was that the church was filled to "standing room only" with white working class families. The sermon was about the "rights" that the government has supposedly taken from the people — prayers in school, neighborhood schools. In listening and watching the people, you could almost see the white sheets over their heads. It was almost like being at a KKK meeting.

**A second answer is Pres. Ford's Administration and local governments which are creating this turmoil to turn white, Black, poor and working people of all races into political enemies. Ford with his anti-busing statements and the school board in Boston are the demagogues that keep exploiting the situation.**

Why is it so hard to see that racism is the tool of capitalist society? One white worker in Louisville told me that the busing of Black and white children in the working people's communities is only another way to keep the working people fighting each other.

**But it isn't the busing that divides the Blacks and whites. It is how the government, the capitalists, work to divide Black and white workers through racism. They are using busing as the issue to do it.**

Why is the government spending all this effort to divide the working class? It goes back to the point of production. As long as they can keep white and Black apart, workers will not unite against what is happening in production.

Look at the power of the working class together in West Virginia, going out on wildcat strike for the right to strike. But how can that power ever express itself in Louisville when the white working class is blinded by racism? Don't they see what that will mean for both white and Black on the production line?

## Rank-and-file coal miners' strike draws new battle lines

Morgantown, W. Va. — The month-long August wildcat strike of rank-and-file coal miners proved to them that when they take actions into their own hands to fight their work and safety grievances, they have to struggle against not only the coal operators and their police and courts, but also their own union.

They tried to get a clause to strike over local grievances in the contract negotiated with the coal operators in December 1974, but the operators rejected this and United Mine Worker President Miller went along with them. Instead, a "streamlined" new district grievance procedure was supposed to be set up in two months to speed up the handling of grievances. Instead of two months, it took the strike seven months later, to get the grievance procedure set up in District 17, where the strike began.

**Grievances are matters of life and death for miners where it comes to matters of safety. It was bad enough under the old contract, when grievances often took months to be settled — if even then. Now the miners had nothing, and grievances were piling up by the hundreds.**

The coal operators had a field day. Instead of trying to settle our grievances, they challenged every one, knowing nothing could be done since there was no grievance appeals board to act on them.

A strike in a mine in Logan County, W. Va. lit the fuse, and when the coal operators went to the courts to get an injunction against the strikers, the strike exploded into seven states and involved some 80,000 miners who shut down three-fourths of the coal industry in the country.

The injunctions were granted under Nixon's Supreme Court 1970 decision in the "Boys Market" case, which ruled that a no-strike clause exists in a contract if it has a grievance process and binding arbitration provisions, which the miners' contract contains.

With these injunctions, the operators had strike leaders fined and jailed, and sued the unions for hun-

dreds of thousands of dollars.

In the meantime, the union was bearing down on the Executive Board to get them to return to work. The UMW Executive Board passed a resolution giving it the power to bring charges in emergency situations against members whose actions "seriously jeopardize the integrity of the union." The Board also acted to refuse to defend miners charged with picketing mines other than their own or to pay strike fines. Never before has the union come out so openly against its own members.

But perhaps the worst thing about the strike was that at the end, there were miners who crossed picket lines on the orders of their own union. This is something that miners have never done before in modern history.

More than one battle line was drawn in this strike. The operators and union bureaucrats may have won this fight, but they are mistaken if they think the battle is over. The rank-and-file miners have long been the shock troops of American labor, and they are showing the way that future battles will have to be fought — against the bosses, the operators, courts, police and their own union.

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

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## FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — On the night of Aug. 28, a new-hire up on the sixth floor was pushed to the point that he attacked his foreman with a rubber mallet, then ran off. That same night someone jumped off the Springwells bridge in front of the plant onto the I-75 freeway and killed himself. Although that incident was hushed up, we have heard it said that he was the same worker.

The new-hires in the plant now are being used to settle jobs, all with a lot of work added on. **That is one thing the union shouldn't allow. Jobs should never be settled by workers who have no union representation and can't object, and after that any worker has to do it. But more and more of the union isn't representing any workers. Thousands of 78s filed six months ago or more are still just sitting.**

Meanwhile the committeemen say keep doing your job. They give us a lot of reasons why not to write up a foreman, and at times lately they have refused to answer a committee call.

It is the company that sets production, and they are adding work onto every job, and speeding up the line. But workers are angrier about what the union is doing, because the union is supposed to represent us. Instead, it takes care of company business.

**One day in Dept. 11, it was not a foreman, but the fourth floor alternate committeeman, who came up to the glass liner operation and asked the workers why they**

were working in the hole.

The company has been using scare tactics to try to get every last bit of production at Fleetwood. It has threatened that if the plant gets too radical, production will move to the New Jersey plant.

Right before changeover, the company stated they would ship the K-jobs (for Seviles) to New Jersey if they didn't get the quality and quantity they wanted. They had big posters up saying, "Quality keeps the K." Any tactic that can be used to try to keep the workforce divided, the company will use, and the union is helping them.

— Dept. 11 worker

### Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — They seem to have called back as many people from lay-off as they are going to for now.

In every section people are banged up, cut up or bruised because there's just no way to get your job done and not get hurt.

A worker trying to keep from falling off a platform job cut himself so badly that he had to have over 80 stitches in his hand. After he was taken to the hospital, they had a step put on the platform.

Why doesn't the union keep after working conditions instead of talking up car-buying schemes? Can Chrysler ever pay this worker enough if he never regains full use of his hand?

— Second shift worker

EDITORIAL

Ford's racism aids rightist repression

President Ford's attempts to incite the outright fascist elements in America are nowhere revealed more clearly than in his persistent "comments" on school desegregation which he insists on terming "forced busing."

Never was the "new, clean" Mr. Ford such a reflection of the "old, corrupt" Nixon who denounced anti-war protestors as "bums" and then sat back to watch them shot down at Kent State and Jackson State.

FORD WOOS RIGHT WING

Despite the fact that the Federal government's own Civil Rights Commission issued a report attacking Ford for contributing to an atmosphere of violence in Boston last year, the Administration strategy had added Louisville to Boston as a rallying point for the ultra-right.

Boston and Louisville have sickeningly demonstrated again that there is plenty of that element ready to be incited. In both cities, the pretenses of a campaign to "save the neighborhood school" have long been dropped, and replaced by open race-hate, including mob attacks on Black school children.

Worst of all in Louisville was the undeniable evidence of racism in the labor movement itself. In one anti-busing parade, contingents marched with union banners. IEU

Local 761 actually called a work stoppage to protest desegregation, and two Ford plants were shut down after walkout threats (See Felix Martin's column, p. 3). Those who walked out surely have succeeded in making the boss happy. The capitalists have a class sense of their own, and know only too well the power of racism to divide workers.

WHITE STUDENTS WELCOMED BLACKS

Three weeks after the opening of school in Louisville, the daily press is at a loss to explain how everything has suddenly "quieted down," when the first week of school supposedly showed such "monolithic" white racism.

The truth is that there is a world of difference between the white parents in suburban Louisville who called the boycott, blocked buses and screamed racial slurs, and white students—some of them members of the school football team—who broke the boycott and stood at the front door the first morning of school to welcome Black students as they got off the buses.

In stark contrast to the courage of the Black youth who rode those buses is the total opportunism of the politicians, the Democrats no less than the Republicans, and even including the Black mayor of Detroit, Coleman Young. Incredibly, it was Young who, on the day schools opened in Boston, was entertaining the leader of Boston's racists, Louise Day Hicks, having her met at Detroit airport with a chauffeur-driven limousine.

It is indeed impossible to separate the attacks on Black America in the schools from those in the factories or on the unemployment lines. While Greenspan and Simon constantly proclaim that the recession has "bottomed out," even official figures show that Black unemployment jumped a full percent last month — to 14

percent. There is no more graphic measure of racism in America than the just-released fact that Black family income in 1974 was 56 percent of whites—down from 61 percent in 1969!

The crisis in schooling, like that of slum housing, will never be solved under capitalism. It demands a total uprooting of this racist, exploitative society. Whether the masses choose as their jumping-off points separate and unequal schools, or fire-trap housing, as they did in the ghetto rebellions of 1967, or the conditions of labor at the point of production itself, the uprooting must be total.

At every high point in American history where the labor movement and Black masses in revolt have come together in the fight for freedom, racism has been the chain that has kept them from moving forward to revolutionary change and a new human society. It is this precisely which will continue to be the test for any and all forward movement.

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ON PERSPECTIVES: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

What impressed me most about the special issue was that the Marxist-Humanist analysis of the objective situation was not limited to the Perspectives Thesis itself, but was discussed by workers and the other forces of revolution—women, youth, Blacks, Latinos—on every other page as well.

Marxist-Humanist New York

That workers must "break totally with all state powers and be rooted in their own self-mobilization" requires to be deeply understood. We still approach the traditional "revolutionary" parties as errants, and not as counter-revolutionary anti-working class organizations.

Marxist England

Though their actions may spring from different "motives" nothing more proves the affinity of the "ideas" of all terrorists than the fact that, in the same week, there was still another assassination attempt against Gerald Ford, and the Nixon Administration's assassination at-

tempt against Jack Anderson was revealed. Your phrase "politics of assassination" fits both like a glove.

Revolutionary Socialist Detroit

When I was reading the Perspectives Thesis and thinking about that phrase "Alienated Soul," I could not help but think that the saddest thing of all in the assassination of Sheik Mujib, the so-called "father of Bangladesh," was that the misery of the masses continued to be so miserable, with or without their independence, that scarcely one of them could take time out from trying to live one more day to even turn their heads.

Observer California

The horrors of capitalism that are recounted in the Perspectives Thesis are, to me, the consequence of our failure, as the "new generation of revolutionaries" to make it in the '60s. And we have to understand where the failure stemmed from. I know SDS — I was there. Take racism — they thought they had caught the movement, but they mistook the Panthers as "the vanguard."

Revolutionary New York

The school situations in Boston, Detroit, Louisville and too many other cities are disgustingly appropriate to the coming bicentennial year. Racism has been the true history of the U.S. for 200 years. Freedom for all has never been concretized in this country, and never will be until the whole system is changed, freeing society from its warped and maniacal values.

White Activist Detroit

The CPs are campaigning about a fascist danger in Portugal. They are opposed by fascists, but it would be foolish to conclude that the majority of their opponents are fascists. The mass of honest workers who opposed what was happening are all denounced as "counter-

revolutionaries." Those workers who took over in 200 factories will be discounted if not suppressed. Let's hope the choice is not between Hitlerism and Stalinism. One thing is certain — the Communist world is being discredited by the Portuguese affair. What is happening in Portugal is being used against Marxism. I think the CP will lose, but that there will be a revival of Marxist thinking in Portugal. There is a prolonged struggle ahead for the working class movement.

Harry McShane Glasgow

I wrote the following few lines during the N&L Plenum a few hours before I decided to become a member, when I felt a need to explain my attendance and general way of life to all those I know:

The importance of keeping in touch and active in the many working organizations and specialized movements is partially because of their intrinsic inadequacy. Far too often people limit their work towards change and improvement to within their own house or body. Groups which isolate each social and economic crisis are an extension of this tragedy. A total life is one which reaches beyond temporary situations to unite with others in changing the conditions which indoctrinate us with artificial limits.

New Member Detroit

TWO LAWS TO KNOW

I am concerned that most people know so little about a new Senate Bill that will seriously restrict our rights and civil liberties. It stands a good chance of being passed because it has powerful bipartisan support. If passed, anybody who reveals or publishes "national defense information" can be punished. (Ellsberg and the newspapers that published the Pentagon Papers would fall in this category). It would be a felony

Reader

to physically interfere with a government function. (That could include picketing a government building or sitting down in front of a bus.)

The alleged purpose of the bill is to revise and reform the U.S. Criminal Code, but the real purpose of important parts of the bill is to perpetuate government secrecy and to stifle protest. The ACLU is working to stop passage, but I believe a massive protest is needed to defeat the repressive provisions in it. Your readers can get more information by contacting their local ACLU chapters.

ACLU Member Pennsylvania

Lest anybody think the war against the war-resisters is over, just tell them about James Wilson, whose election to an upstate school board was nullified because under Section 3 of the State Public Officers Law, no one can hold public office "who shall have been convicted of . . . the federal Selective Training and Service Act of 1940." Wilson served 23 months in federal prison because of draft resistance. He is fighting the nullification. In fact, he's the one who discovered the law when he was investigating something else, and he wanted to get it out in the open so his district wouldn't be in jeopardy of losing state funds. The war at home goes on, and on, and on.

Angry New York

UFW CONVENTION: TWO VIEWS

The recent Convention held by the UFW in Fresno was more spectacle than substance. There were a lot of lengthy speeches by other union bureaucrats and little real business performed, other than electing a board and passing resolutions. One particular bureaucrat that really got to me was John Henning, the state AFL-CIO rep in Sacramento. Just three months earlier he had been trying to kill the new farmworker elections law because the craft-union AFL-CIO didn't like the industrial union lan-

# TWO WORLDS

# Counter-revolution and revolution: what can we do?

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

(The following excerpts are from the Perspectives Thesis delivered to the National Editorial Board meeting of News and Letters Committees on Aug. 30. The full report is available from N&L for 50c.)

## Introduction WHEN PHILOSOPHY AND LIBERATION GET SEPARATED

So extreme, global, intense is every struggle in the crisis-ridden world we inhabit that, whether it is so elementary a question as secondary school education in Detroit, or so complex a question as the five-way bloody struggle in Portugal, we cannot but focus on the death and life aspects of counter-revolution and revolution.

Thus, 1) 21 years after the U.S. Supreme Court declared that there is no such thing as "separate but equal," a Detroit Federal District Judge named DeMascio has just declared that segregated education is "quality" education! As if that were not retrogressive enough of a step for a white District Judge to make, Detroit's Black Mayor Young has turned so mealy-mouthed that he's barely distinguishable from that white racist.

Thus, 2) in Portugal, where the Socialist Party began courageously enough first in the revolution against fascism, and then against Communist dominance over the proletariat, it is now, in the North, hardly distinguishable from the Catholic hierarchy — and the Maoists . . . with whom they are now functioning. That is not so surprising, because Maoists collaborate with any and all who oppose Russia, be it Social Democrats in Portugal; capitalist class rulers in West Europe that Mao now calls "Second World," as if that could hide their class nature; or with Mobutuism in Zaire and Angola, U.S. imperialism, NATO, the PLO, or the Shah of Iran. They even trade with South Africa. In a word, there is but one condition: being against Russia. That Russia is no doubt

doing the same thing does not make China "revolutionary."

There is, 3), no end to what abysmal depths hypocrisy has sunk during these counter-revolutionary times. Ever-new facets keep appearing. The latest occurred in Bangladesh. Having murdered Sheik Mujib and his entire family, the murderers buried him with "full honors." Or so the new rulers announced. The self-declared president — Ahmed — then dubbed the counter-revolution a revolution, first calling Bangladesh the Islamic Republic of Bangladesh, then denying the theocratic designation but practicing it nevertheless. Government by assassination has replaced politics of double cross.

Or: 4) Not many have exceeded the Shah as empire builder . . . (but) India possesses by far the largest land, sea and air forces of any Indian Ocean littoral power. With the total number of armed forces numbering more than 1.1 million (including border security forces), the Indian Army of 830,000 soldiers is said to be the fifth largest in the world . . .

### Part I

Let's see if anything, anything at all has changed this year. The 400 million who were either starving or severely malnourished in the poor-poor Third World and Fourth—Asia, and Africa, and the Middle East—are where they were last year: starving and severely malnourished.

Let's move from the poorest lands to the richest—the USA. It is here we wish to stay, for the class enemy is always at home. It is here where the revolutionary force is also, but we cannot move forward unless we know the counter-revolutionary force we must face, the biggest in the world, the most militaristic, the most nuclearly armed, the mightiest.

We're supposed to be "bottoming out" of the Recession. The brainless head of the brainless Brain Trust, Arthur Burns of the Federal Reserve Board, claims that the recovery is so "broad based" that we need not worry overly much of any double-digit inflation. And, of course,

he always has "figures" to prove his point . . .

The latest recession started back in November of 1973 and supposedly "touched bottom" in May 1975. From a peak of 127.5—taking 1967 as 100—industrial production slid to 109.6, i.e. 14.1 percent. But since that doesn't concern the workers, who are doing the work of producing, let's get to the crucial point—unemployment.

(Continued on Page 7)

### WHO WE ARE

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

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

# Views

guage. Now he gets up and tells the farm-workers that he's always been their friend and they should help him keep his lobbying position in Sacramento, and the union leaders applaud him as if history didn't happen.

It seemed like the UFW was trying to show the established unions and news media that they can be just as respectable as all the other unions. The Convention wasn't appealing to farmworkers or the progressive people who have always supported the union.

**UFW Supporter**  
**Bay Area**

The United Farm Workers' Convention in Fresno this August was very exciting to me. Many of the delegates had never been to a convention before in their lives, and just the fact that they were there representing their ranches and being able to speak at a national union meeting says a lot for the UFW. It's the same when the union insists there must be workers on the negotiating committee when they hammer out a contract with the growers. It shows the UFW is truly the farmworkers' union.

**Chicana**  
**Bay Area**

### SOCIALIST FEMINISM

Since the Socialist/Feminist Conference in Yellow Springs, Ohio, a national network of communication and support work about Native American struggles has begun to take shape. Twin Cities Women's Union and a Native American support group, Eye of the Potato, in Minneapolis-St. Paul, have held weekly pickets at the Federal Building, sit-ins, leafleted, petitioned, are beginning a weekly community newsletter and have started the ground work for a National Native American Solidarity Committee. For more information contact: **Oglala Communications Center, 801½ Fairview Street, Rapid City, S. D. 57701 (605-348-7995.)** Also:

**Eye of the Potato**  
c/o **Twin Cities Women's Union**  
**2953 Bloomington Av. S.**  
**Minneapolis, Minn. 55407**

I am one of the women from Lawrence, Kansas who sent a letter to the Socialist-Feminist conference at Antioch objecting to the high exclusionary cost of attendance. We received four pages of vitriolic elitist bull from a defensive member of their planning committee. Your analysis of the conference and your general editorial policy impressed me. Thanks for the sample of N&L. Here's a dollar for my subscription.

**Women's Liberation Activist**  
**Kansas**

Discussion of Socialist/Feminism has been continuing in Detroit in a group based on women who were present at the July Antioch Conference. The second discussion attracted 40 women, many of whom had come for the first time. Many of us represented sharply different political philosophies. Despite that, all seemed to feel that only an honest discussion of theoretic questions will enable us to work out a method for meeting in theory the challenge of the continuous movement of women the world over for self-determination of their ideas as well as of their activities.

Some questions that arose: the relationship of women's liberation to Third World women; the role of the working class in the movement; the co-optation of the WLM; the relationship of women in the Left to the movement. I hope all readers will discuss their ideas on these questions with others and with us.

**Susan Van Gelder**  
**N&L/WL Committee**  
**Detroit**

### BRITISH UNEMPLOYMENT

Over here the economic situation continues to worsen. There are now one and a quarter million unemployed — 5½ percent of the working population. By Christmas it will be one and a half million. In human terms this means that while food prices continue to rise, over two million people go to bed hungry. The body-destroying sicknesses such as

rickets have returned. Even the most optimistic sections of the capitalist class foresee an army of unemployed of at least 600,000 well into the 1980s.

**Terry Liddle**  
**London**

### HOSPITAL WORKERS

I work at a hospital which is run by a management company. Their main aim is to make a profit off of people's lives and illnesses. The administrators care nothing about either the patients or the staff. Yesterday in our medical unit, one registered nurse, one aide and I worked over nine hours straight, with no lunch and no breaks. (We ate at the nurse's station between patients' calls). The day was one crisis after another and aides literally ran from one patient to another. The patients complain about poor care, and they have a right to. There is no way two nurses and four aides can take care of 27 acutely ill patients. Now we hear that management is going to stop approving the overtime we have already worked. Someone in this hospital is really raking in the profits, and it sure isn't the workers.

**Hospital Worker**  
**San Francisco**

Most people may know the hospital as the place where people get well, but hospital workers know it as the place people get back strain, electric shocks, and exposure to infectious disease, radiation and dangerous gases.

There is an important article on this problem in the July-August issue of a little publication called "Survival Kit" (put out by the Occupational Health and Safety Project of Urban Planning Aid, 639 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass. 02139).

No less than 2,732,000 people work in hospitals in this country, and another 1,671,000 in nursing homes and clinics. The only way we will make the hospitals safe places to work in — and that doesn't mean just safer equipment and procedures but less speed-up, above all — is by organizing and demanding it.

**Hospital Worker**  
**Michigan**

At the recent conference of Coyote, the prostitutes' union, a "leader" in the women's movement, Florynce Kennedy stated: "What woman wouldn't prefer to

be a streetwalker rather than spend her life emptying bedpans?" I really resented Ms. Kennedy's attitude to hospital aides and orderlies. Not only is their work hard, long, and essential to the health of patients, but women hospital workers have long been the most militant in the movement.

It is these women workers, most of whom are Black and minority, who are the real leaders of WL, not some bourgeois woman lawyer who is good with words.

**Hospital Worker**  
**Oakland**

### PASSIVE PERIOD?

The capitalist press keeps telling us that we are in a "passive" period but people just continue their militant opposition to capitalism anyhow. Here in New York City there has been a three month old rent strike in the Co-op City housing development, which houses 60,000 people. So far 80 per cent of the tenants have refused to pay their rents, despite threats of eviction from the state.

**Resident**  
**Bronx**

The tripling of work-loads on the workers left in the plant after the GM Southgate layoffs has had a tremendous effect on even the most conservative workers. Men in the body shop who would never write grievances before are doing it now. And some who used to call people like us "commies" are now sitting down to talk about our ideas seriously.

**Unemployed Auto Worker**  
**California**

On Sept. 6 a truly grassroots coalition to respond to CAP (the so-called Corrective Actions Plan launched against welfare recipients) sponsored a rally in Southwest Detroit. Only two things weakened the meeting. Members of the Communist Labor Party tried to use the rally as a platform for their own program. And maybe worse, it was so long that the first-hand testimony of welfare recipients gave way to statements of opinion. Almost everyone there wanted to get rid of capitalism, but those opinion speeches left a feeling of fragmentation at the end.

**Worker-Student**  
**Detroit**



# SOLIDARIDAD

## Farm workers vote UFW despite heavy grower threats

Oakland, Cal. — The United Farm Workers Union (UFW) has pulled ahead in the polling of farmworkers in the first California fields' secret ballot elections held by law, despite the combined opposition of the Teamsters, growers, sheriffs, and news media.

Looking at the figures, however, doesn't tell the whole story. In the Delano area, where the Teamsters won the huge Guimarra vineyards and a few other ranches, armed thugs had been riding around before the elections, threatening workers if they voted for the UFW.

The police did absolutely nothing to stop them. There were even armed goons at the polling places to intimidate farmworkers to vote for the Teamsters.

At another ranch, 42 out of 47 workers had signed UFW authorization cards. One week later 45 voted for no union. During the week the grower had called them all together and said if they voted for the UFW he was going to pack up and move to Arizona, and they would all lose their jobs. In the Stockton area, a right-wing group called "Posse Comitatus" has used shotguns and rifles to keep UFW organizers from entering the fields.

The union has asked the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) not to hold elections in Delano under conditions like these. The ALRB has refused to listen, and now a state assembly committee is investigating the violence in the elections. Also, the UFW and its supporters are calling for the removal of ALRB General Counsel Kintz who refuses to recognize blatant anti-UFW violence.

The news media is also doing its best to distort the facts and turn public support away from the UFW.

When the Gallo election was held, the San Francisco Examiner, a Hearst paper, came out with a front-page headline saying Teamsters win at Gallo.

They knew full well that 130 strikers' ballots had been contested and held aside, and the next week the ALRB certified most of these strikers' ballots and threw out the security guards' and supervisors' ballots, giving the victory to the UFW.

But despite these overwhelming odds, the farmworkers are still showing all across the state that the UFW is their movement. In the San Diego area the UFW is winning tomato field workers that have never been organized before. In Oxnard, Santa Maria, and up the coast, the UFW is picking up strawberry, mushroom, artichoke, and many more workers never organized.

In Salinas, despite La Migra deporting to Mexico undocumented workers who sign UFW cards, the union expects to win all but one of the 150 lettuce ranches which had been under Teamster contract.

But winning elections is not enough. Many growers have said they wouldn't sign contracts if the UFW wins. If the union doesn't have a contract with a ranch after one year of being certified the bargaining agent at that ranch by the ALRB, the union is decertified and the election starts over again.

The news media will say the boycott is over once the elections are over, but it is just the opposite. The boycotts will force the growers to sign a decent contract with the union the workers chose to represent them. The UFW says "Boycott until the ink is dry" on the new contracts.

BOYCOTT GALLO, GRAPES, AND LETTUCE!  
—Chris Norwell

## N.Y. teachers cry 'sell out!'

New York, N.Y.—There were cries of "sell out!" at the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) meeting, Sept. 16, as the teachers voted 10,651 to 6,695 to end their five-day strike of the New York City public schools.

The strike was settled on the backs of the children, who will lose 90 minutes of school a week in order to have class sizes rise to "only" 34.

Only 2,400 out of 4,500 recently laid-off teachers, and none of the 7,000 substitutes and very few paraprofessionals, will be rehired. The money for rehiring the 2,400 is coming from not paying the teachers during the strike and from the fines imposed on us for striking!

The lay-offs were by seniority, meaning that they hit the bulk of the Black teachers who were hired in the last five years. Before the firings, 11 percent of the teachers were Black and Hispanic, now it is four percent.

Many union members felt the object of the strike should have been for all the teachers to be rehired. Many parents opposed the strike because the community had no voice in the lay-offs or the union demands.

Our job is with children, not with a commodity. Their leaving school at two o'clock twice a week will be a real hardship on parents and children. When UFT President Albert Shanker announced the settlement, he said nothing about the kids.

The union got a lot of good publicity by presenting the strike as concerned with class size, but that was never the real issue for the UFT. According to one person at the negotiations, the union's main concerns were just to save the "preparation" periods, sabbaticals, and reduced work hours for people holding certain union offices. The only pay increases won are for people with ten and more years seniority.

When the union leadership wanted a strike vote, it arranged a well-publicized meeting. But when it came time to vote on the settlement, they kept changing the time of the meeting, and you could not get any information on the settlement beforehand. Even so, there was a long debate before the vote. The one good thing is that people are seeing that Shanker is not for unionism, the kids, or the members.

## Theology conference: Latinos link religion to class struggle

Detroit, Mich.—I was invited as an active community person to participate in "Theology in the Americas: 1975" held here at Sacred Heart Seminary the week of Aug. 17. At first, I was reluctant to attend what sounded like a traditional religious meeting, but I found the event very exciting as the 200 participants discussed all aspects of the struggle for freedom.

The conference included representatives from Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, Chile and Mexico.

Very few working people were at the meeting, and some Latin Americans took this as evidence that no class struggle exists within the U.S. A labor caucus did develop among the few workers present and the U.S. religious workers to whom "doing theology" is walking picket lines with working people and participating in the protests of the poor.

A worker told us how the whites in his plant had behaved hostilely when the Black workers organized and filed a discrimination suit against the company and the union. The settlement of the suit requires that plant-wide seniority replace departmental seniority.

This procedure has helped all the workers who were previously locked into the lowest-paid and dirtiest jobs. The whites have apologized for failing to understand that the Black struggle is for the benefit of us all and are wishing to discuss new ways of working together.

One woman said that feminism is inclusive of socialism and is the radical commitment to full personhood,

though she doubted that the vanguard party socialist feminists would agree. An Argentinian woman explained that the aim of a totally humanized society must never be separate from methodology. She called for a new vision which would give direction to the struggle.

A question was raised about how the women could explain the racism that afflicted some of the leaders of the early U.S. women's movement. I took the extra chair provided for speakers from the audience and explained that I thought it was because the white, middle-class women failed to understand that it was the vision of the Black women who were leaders, speakers, and generals in the anti-slavery movement which had inspired the white women to analyze the nature of their own oppression and had given them the courage to struggle against it. After I had spoken, many people were eager to discuss Marxist-Humanist ideas with me.

By the fourth day of the meeting, many of the Latin Americans, Blacks, Native Americans, and women had become quite frustrated, especially when panels of North American academics attempted to discuss liberation theology. They proclaimed such things as "a new language is what is necessary," and "God carries the weight of the oppressed on his shoulders."

After the academics had spoken, a woman explained how angry she was at the level of their discussion, while one of the Latin Americans made an impassioned speech about how the main point of liberation theology had been missed by the North American academics.

—Marie Dignan

## Philosophy and Revolution: 'tempered with the fire of battle'

From SIN NOMBRE, Puerto Rico, Jan.-Mar. 1975, Vol. V, #3. Excerpts translated from Spanish review.

The well-known socialist humanist thinker, Raya Dunayevskaya, is the author of this interesting book on Marxist (and non-Marxist) theory and practice. *Philosophy & Revolution* . . . is directed, to the general public, to the average reader, who will learn a lot from it, if he follows the arguments closely. This book can be considered as an introduction to a possible theory of revolution within the framework of Hegelian-Marxist thought. The reader who is advanced in philosophic questions will be able to critically evaluate Dunayevskaya's judgments and interpretations in relationship to Hegel, Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Sartre, Mao Tse-tung, the leaders of the African Revolution and of Black Power in the U. S.

One of the criticisms that can be made is that it attempts to embrace too much. Although Dunayevskaya seems to be well-informed, it isn't possible to do justice to all the facts in so few pages. I also doubt that she can be as well-versed on the affairs of Zaire or Tanzania as on the United States or France. All of this brings in unevenness and probably some lack in perception.

So numerous are the problems that reading this book confronts us with, that a book three times its size would be needed to discuss them in depth. For example,

we know that the interpretation of what Hegel said has filled volumes. The importance that Dunayevskaya grants to the Hegelian dialectic can be endorsed by certain Marxists and thinkers of the stature of Herbert Marcuse and Karl Lowith, but would be denied by other Marxists and thinkers of the stature of Walter Kaufman. Something similar happens with the thesis on Marxist-Humanism. I, like Dunayevskaya, believe that Marxism is a humanism. I can invoke in my favor Erich Fromm, Rodolfo Mondolfo, Adam Schaff, Maximilian Rubel, Lucien Goldman and others. But that humanism has been refuted by Louis Althusser, Alain Badiou and others. A similar thing happens with the very worn out "state-capitalism" of the Soviet Union. What would Mao, Sartre and the African leaders reply to the criticisms that Dunayevskaya formulates? This is to show that the book vibrates with discussion and controversy. It reaches us tempered with the fire of battle. Of a battle whose resolution we cannot yet foresee.

*Philosophy & Revolution* is a book I warmly recommend because it makes us think about the problems of today's world. And because, on finishing it, we will feel distressed at the limitations of our answers and challenged by the urgent necessity of clarifying our thought for the task of achieving the true freedom of man.

—Jose Emilio Gonzalez

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# BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

In this period of "detente" many strange political marriages of convenience are being made. One of the strangest of these political marriages has been that of Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and South Africa's J. Vorster in their ill-fated attempt to pressure Ian Smith's racist government of Rhodesia and the Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) liberation forces into a meaningful discussion that might lead to an end of white minority rule in Rhodesia.

From the beginning it was obvious that any talk with Ian Smith would be an act of futility. Prior to the brief, tense talks, which took place in a railroad car, on a bridge between Zambia and Rhodesia, Smith had announced that he had no intention of accepting Black majority rule. And, to make future negotiations impossible, Smith demanded that all talks between himself and the representatives of the Zimbabwe liberation forces had to be held inside of Rhodesia.

This was a rude and arrogant condition that could

## ILWU guaranteed pay a farce

San Francisco, Cal.—Within weeks after the new Pacific Coast longshore contract went into effect, the much-heralded "Pay Guarantee Plan" (PGP) has proven to be a tragic farce. This was the first evidence that the "bedding down" of the long contract, to use the expression of the top officialdom, will not give them the long rest they seem to yearn for.

Although this union-employer agreement was accepted by a voting procedure, it is widely understood that the overwhelming majority actually opposed it. The employers and the union officials generally are as aware of this skeptical thinking as we are, so they emphasized the "plus" features of the pact in order to put it over.

For example, as a rationale for the employer idea of a three-year contract (instead of two), ILWU President Bridges sent out a letter to the union locals on June 23, saying the negotiating committee would see to "no layoffs" for three years, and "that they would be guaranteed work or pay during the same period." The shipowners echoed this line.

The very first week that the contract was in effect saw a reduction in the PGP which has continued for almost every week since, the cuts amounting to as much as over 22 percent. And one official has publicly estimated that they may run as high as 50 percent in the winter months.

We'll probably now be told that we knew what we were voting for when we accepted the agreement. As one longshoreman already expressed it, "They didn't say anything about a possible cut in the Guarantee and if it's really in the agreement, it was in the fine print—I didn't see it."

The PGP payments were tied to a provision against the dreaded illegal work stoppage. What value does this obstacle now have for workers and the International in view of the decline in PGP payments?

In this connection, it is of interest to note that the wildcat strike of 80,000 miners against the owners and their top officials in the East has been discussed and evaluated on the piers here.

—SF docker

## What better plan than busing?

Detroit, Mich. — There was a big discussion in my government class about busing. There are mostly Blacks in the class. Yet it seemed to be split right down the middle — eastside and westside.

What I got out of the discussion is that the eastside kids and the westside kids are very divided because of what their parents told them, but as long as the students are grouped apart, the tensions would remain — so, why bother?

In other words, if you're on the westside and you're going to go on the eastside, you're going to get your brains blown out — why bother? It doesn't seem to make much sense.

But I thought it over and decided that if you see a bunch of racist dogs daring you to get off the bus and they're up there saying, "Man, we're going to kick your butt if you get off the bus," I don't care if you come from the eastside or the westside; both of you are going to get off the bus and proceed to beat their's — anything you can do to get into that school.

I don't think the Blacks of this city or any other city should let fear stop them, or they're going to go right down the hill educationally.

As far as busing goes, people keep coming up with things against busing. They keep saying, "What you want to do is desegregate." I tell them, O.K. Come up with a better plan. I'm not going to wait 21 more years for you to come up with a plan that's going to "beat busing."

— Black high school student

\*\*\*\*\*  
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## Kaunda and Vorster mix fails

not be accepted by the liberation forces while many of their leaders are subject to immediate arrest upon entering Rhodesia.

Kaunda and Vorster forced the meeting between Smith and Zimbabwe liberation leaders by applying very direct and concrete pressure upon the most sensitive elements in the war for Zimbabwe liberation—Kaunda upon the Zimbabwe leaders and guerrillas operating out of Zambia, and Vorster by withdrawing from Rhodesia 2,000 vitally needed South African troops that were sent to Rhodesia to combat guerrilla infiltration. **KAUNDA, VORSTER OPPOSITES?**

President Kaunda and Prime Minister Vorster appear to stand as diametrical opposites on all crucial issues which are plaguing the African continent. Last spring both men stated in unequivocal terms their positions and their estimation of the African situation.

At a small dinner party, given by President Gerald Ford for then-visiting President Kenneth Kaunda last April, Kaunda shocked the assembled dignitaries, among whom was Henry Kissinger, by telling them that South Africa is on the brink of war and that the American policy was "giving psychological comfort to the forces of evil." Zambia, he went on to say, would like to avoid bloodshed, but if all the doors to a peaceful change are closed, then Zambia is bound to take the inescapable alternative.

Prime Minister Vorster, head of the world's largest penal colony for Blacks, went on television in South Africa last May to inform the world that he would like to normalize relations with Black Africa, but he plans to make no change in internal policies and Black Africa would have to accept South Africa as it is.

### REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION

These certainly are opposing conditions for the future of the African people, but it is in this rank field of opposition that the spirit of "detente" flourishes best—when the central fear on one side, Kaunda's, is that the African Revolution won't make it, and the central fear on the other side, Vorster's, is that it will.

Vorster certainly is conscious of the internal pressure for revolutionary change that is surging among the 16 million African people who he is trying to keep in bestial servitude. With the spirit of revolution loose on the very doorstep of South Africa, it becomes urgent for that government's survival to seek "detente" among the so-called stable elements in African leadership, even to the point of isolating Ian Smith, if that is what it takes to prevent real revolutionary change from occurring in Zimbabwe.

## CUNY student rally fights cuts

New York, N.Y. — Students at the City University made clear their opposition to the latest round of budget cuts by holding the largest and most spirited demonstration here since the close of the anti-war movement. This city-wide demonstration was called after the city decided that students pay the cost of having the banks run New York.

The school year opened with one sixth of all teachers fired, courses dropped, financial aid reduced to a pittance, and remedial and special programs cut back to the bone. Free tuition may be eliminated, as well as the open admissions program which is supposed to guarantee a free college education to all high school graduates.

We chanted, "Hell no, we won't go" as we rallied below Governor Carey's New York City office — this time meaning we won't let the capitalist crisis force thousands of students out of school and onto the unemployment lines.

Black and Hispanic students had already taken the lead in fighting the cutbacks this August when they protested cuts in the SEEK Program, which is geared to help Blacks and Hispanics gain admission to the University. It was their actions that have so far saved this program from extinction.

In addition to the city-wide rally, two days before, thousands of students walked out of classes at several city colleges, and graduate students refused to pay their tuition, which was raised by 70 percent.

One Black student yelled at a TV interviewer, "You are trying to separate students from workers. But many students have to work to go to school — what happens when they charge tuition? We'll be out of school, and there's no jobs."

One student at the rally said, "I don't know if Carey's listening, but if we don't fight we'll be on the streets soon. We'll be here again many more times."

## TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

Now that we have supposedly bottomed out, these "spets" don't even bother to claim that unemployment will be reduced more than a mere one percent from the present "average" of 8.4 percent. Even this miserly difference doesn't end the Braintrusters' confusion. It turns out that the Labor Dept. survey of households was supposed to show that there has been a rise from March to July of 1.2 million workers employed. However, businessmen have their own (and naturally, more accurate) way of showing how many are employed—the payroll. And they have shown that there has been no such increase.

The AFL-CIO has not only been releasing quite different figures of unemployment, but also of corporate growth. (NYT 8/22/75). These show: (1) that the 50 biggest banks control more than half of all bank assets and hold controlling stocks in more than 5,200 companies. (2) That the top 119 manufacturing corporations hold more than half of all assets and get more than half of all profits in manufacturing. And (3) that the 500 biggest U.S. corporations hold more than two-thirds of all business income . . .

Not only that. The global reach of these companies is the major cause for the decline of the U.S. trade position and for the loss of jobs, as they are always running away to produce where labor is cheapest, be that in the South USA or South Africa, Europe or Asia . . .

Clearly, whether we examine the home front or the world situation, we have reached an abysmal point of such crisis and retrogression that this exploitative racist, sexist, imperialist, alienating society must be torn up by its roots.

### Part II

### DIALECTICS OF ORGANIZATION: DIALECTICS OF LIBERATION

. . . It took Trotsky his defeat by Stalin in the late 1920s for him to recognize that Lenin alone was indispensable to 1917. He then took lock, stock and barrel the 1902 concept of vanguardism, thereby assuring continuance of the theoretic void left by Lenin's death.

Once we picked up the link in the historic continuum with the theory of state-capitalism in 1941, we were on the way both to reconsideration of the role of labor and new beginnings, but these remained both philosophically and organizationally quite blurred until there was that new great duality in the objective reality of 1953 with its compulsion to see philosophically, in the Absolute Idea itself a movement from practice, and in an actual movement from practice a form of theory itself, both of which demanded organizational expression, the Committee form of organization inseparable from philosophy . . .

To meet the challenge and to meet it under the whip of counter-revolution we have traced it here, whether it be in the relations of U.S.-Russia, or China, alone, or in Sino-Soviet conflict, Bangladesh, Islamic or otherwise, Latin America, or Africa or India. Moreover, that whip of counter-revolution is present not only where it is obvious, but where it resulted in "peace"—the Middle East shuttle . . .

World revolution, too, starts at home. Every word has gotten to mean its opposite, whether we limit ourselves to local matters like "forced busing" and "quality education" or nothing short of "a new world economic order". Heretofore a new world economic order has meant the end of capitalism and its replacement through proletarian revolution, by socialism . . .

Capitalism is in economic crisis for sure, and politically has been in its death throes for all too long, but it is the workers, the Blacks, the women and the youth—all the creative, oppressed, revolutionary forces—who will topple "the tottering structure of neo-capitalism." And because of the totality of the crisis and the nuclear threats that are hanging over the very survival of humanity, it becomes imperative not to rush away from the colossal tasks just because we are so small.

Millions upon millions have the same desire as we for a new social order and new human relations. The vision—philosophy and revolution as a unity—can shake up this mightiest of all capitalistic empires. The first step in that transforming of the counter-revolution into its opposite—actual social revolution—is being set here in activities, manual and mental.

Yes, world revolution starts at home. Anything and everything done here that would indeed shake the U.S. will shake up the world, undermining the old. It may be just one step but it can become the longest of all steps to making freedom a reality.

### i cry by Lauretta

here i stand  
and here i think  
think, think of me,  
think of you  
youth of 15  
and a female too  
i cry  
i cry loud and clear  
as i pass people in a place  
they look at me  
but not in the face  
then i pass, they humm  
they humm under their breath  
hmmm too bad it's jail bait

oh, why lie,  
why die  
i want to cry  
here i stand  
and here i think  
call me a freshMAN  
and then you wink  
then you say  
"i'm a higher classMAN than you"  
"ha ha"  
notice your words sir  
CLASSMAN  
how about a class person  
cause that's what it is

and i don't care  
cause you're no one i want to know  
and no one i want to stay  
please go away  
here i stand  
and here i think  
youth of 15  
and a female too  
i cry  
i cry loud and clear  
do you hear me?  
cause i hear you  
let's get together  
and we'll be there soon

# OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

## China

Chinese official radio and the party newspapers are admitting that serious unrest in the factories exists. Broadcasts indicate that on July 20, 10,500 officers and men of "The Peoples Liberation Army" were sent into a number of factories in Hangchow "to take part in industrial productive labor." Included were an automobile factory, a textile plant and a meat processing plant.

The official broadcast stated, "It was necessary to send in the troops because the workers in Hangchow have been unable to increase production under the pernicious influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and bourgeois factionalism, and due to the sabotage activities of a handful of class enemies." Tan Chi-lung, who had been purged during the cultural revolution, is now back in power as First Secretary in Chekiang Province where the unrest has been located. The Chekiang Radio described it as "a seething revolutionary situation."

Stripped of its Maoist verbiage, the facts are that the workers have not had a wage increase in a number of years, that they are participating in slow-down strikes and sabotage to draw attention to their working conditions. That their protests are effective can be seen from the massive counter-revolutionary measures taken by Mao, forcing greater production from them at the point of a bayonet.

Throughout China, hundreds of party and army leaders forced out during the cultural revolution are being restored to power, including Teng Hsiao-ping who now holds the dual role of Army Chief of Staff and Deputy Premier.

The public exposure of the dissension admits "it has been going on for several years." It was also reported that some factory managers, unable to face the persistent demands of factory workers for higher wages, have stayed away from their jobs.

Mao's demands for greater productivity at no increase in wages strikes a note familiar to American factory workers under capitalism. Mao's system is the same — state capitalism.

## Meany and Britain

From Harry McShane in Glasgow we have received following letter:

Meany, the U.S. trade union leader, wrote recently to the *Daily Telegraph*, the most reactionary daily paper in Britain, on foreign policy. He criticized Nixon, Ford and Kissinger for weakness in regard to Russia. It was a really vicious "cold war" article. It has the approval of the die-hard Tories.

The British politicians are so busy trying to get their "anti-inflation" policy across that they are saying very little about foreign policy. It is interesting, however, that the Defense Ministry has issued a White Paper which aims, with diagrams, to show that in every respect, the Warsaw Pact countries are stronger than NATO. That is at a time when defense

expenditure is said to be reduced. I feel we are on the eve of a new militarist campaign. It will, as in the Chamberlain days, be related to providing work for the unemployed.

As for Meany's opposition to grain for Russia, while he claims to act in the interests of the American people we, here in Britain, hear the demand for imports to be curtailed. We have the spectacle of a divided world while those who rule over us are unable to see beyond piling up weapons of war to an unprecedented level.

## Portugal

An ominous note was struck on Sept. 9 in Portugal when the High Council of the Revolution decreed a new law making it illegal for the Portuguese press to report any divergence of opinion within the military. Portugal's military government is still trying to find a way around the masses who in the April 25 elections decided overwhelmingly that they want nothing to do with a Russian-type Communist government.

As against the total opposition within the lower and middle ranks of the military that made the revolution possible, the High Council has gone in for consensus by decree. The new developments in Portugal contrast sharply with the spontaneity that characterized the overthrow of fascism through decentralized military committees spreading ideas, as against fascism and its power out of the barrel of the gun. The High Council of the Revolution, having been forced to oust pro-Russian Communist General Vasco Goncalves from the Premiership, is now making state power the only basis for its existence, having for some time now transformed "revolutionary" credentials to the uniform and the gun. The Portuguese Communist Party led by Alvaro Cunhal has from the beginning supported the military as the focus of the revolution against the independent movement of workers and peasants which sprang up everywhere after the defeat of fascism.

Can anyone forget that it was the Three Marias who in their "committee" first challenged Portugal's seemingly invincible fascism? The Three Marias raised a new banner of liberation when their trial made tiny Portugal the focus of the world movement for women's liberation. They also raised the women's liberation movement to a new level by demonstrating concretely just how inextricably bound is freedom for women to the transformation of the whole of society — a transformation which must focus on new human relations.

The military's banning of reporting any diverse opinions in its ranks comes just when a free flow of ideas is most needed if its leadership is to re-discover any relationship it might still have to the revolutionary self-activities of the masses. Like "Socialist" Mario Soares who refuses to say a word against the right wing violence led by the Catholic

Bishops and grounded only in its anti-Communist hysteria and decades of accommodations to fascism, so General Carvalho and his friends in the military quietly tolerate this violence.

What the Sept. 9 decree shows, moreover, is that Carvalho's recent remarks about being against all political parties and "for" decentralized committees are aimed at preserving state power for the military as against political parties and, above all, the Portuguese masses. The independent self-activity of the masses is the only alternative to the balancing act of the military, who are counting on the right-wing violence to give them "legitimacy."

## India

The Indian nation, now suffering under the personal dictatorship of Indira Gandhi, has one of the worst standards of living anywhere in the world. Yet, its military strength, on which Gandhi depends, includes the fifth largest army in the world. While its people lack goods and services, India has built up a self-sufficient arms industry that within the next 10 years will be able to furnish the most modern weaponry.

The Indian air force has 180 Gnat interceptors designed and built in India, with better aircraft on the drawing boards. They produce 105 mm artillery, 80 percent of the parts for Soviet T-55 tanks and other modern arms. French SS-11 anti-tank rockets and the Atoll air-to-air guided missiles are also produced.

Given a government devoted to improving the standard of living rather than maintaining a huge army, the Indian people could move out of the dark ages and end the suffering and starvation of the masses.

## New York City

The largest city in the U.S., New York City, is broke with no buyers for its bonds and unable to meet its bills. Its eight largest banks hold \$10 billion in defaulted loans on which no interest is being collected. Dozens of real estate investment trusts hold billions in real estate loans on which they are afraid to foreclose, since there are no purchasers for the property. New stock offerings have vanished for lack of purchasers.

The lack of capital to industry functioning has *Business Week* worrying. It estimates that \$4.5 trillion will be needed over the next ten years to maintain even a modest rate of growth in the economy, in contrast to the \$1.6 trillion spent during the past ten years. They see little chance of raising that kind of money.

As the federal government is used increasingly to bail out bankrupt corporations and funds, with cities next in line, the national debt replaces private debt, wage earners foot the bills and the standard of living is driven down.

# How long can U.S. 'in perpetuity' imperialism last in Latin America?

(Continued from Page 1)

No stranger to U.S. confrontation with Latin America as well as Asia, Bunker was ambassador to the Organization of American States in 1964 when 3,000 Panamanians entered the Canal Zone to raise the Panamanian flag, and U.S. soldiers killed 20 and wounded 200. He was special ambassador to the Dominican Republic in 1965-66 in the aftermath of the U.S. invasion, and Ambassador to Argentina during Peronism in 1951.

Now, however, a real fear of warfare, guerrilla and otherwise, against the Canal Zone, exists. And it is precisely that which Ford-Kissinger do not want to get out of hand, not alone for the Canal Zone, but for the continued U.S. domination of the Latin American continent.

### THE PILLAGE OF A CONTINENT

The military domination is only an adjunct to U.S. capitalism's pillage of a continent—economically, politically, socially. Indeed capitalism's division of labor has simultaneously meant the fragmentation of the individual worker, and the fragmentation of the entire globe, with the underdeveloped lands exporting foodstuffs and raw materials, the industrialized lands producing and exporting manufactured goods.

Today in Latin America as a whole, nearly three-quarters of direct private investment comes from the U.S. Meanwhile profits from U.S. investments have been five times greater in recent years than the infusion of new investments. And the concentration of U.S. capital in Latin America is greater than within the U.S. itself, with a handful of companies controlling investments.

The International Monetary Fund-World Bank meeting reports that "the gap between the rich and the poor continued to widen" with a \$3 per capita gain in the poor countries expected between 1970 and 1980, compared to a \$900 gain in the industrial countries.

To enforce this economic millstone, the political pillage of Latin America remains carefully in hand. Chile, two years after the U.S. backed military coup, remains under the spurred boot. Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia—all march to military music. Echeverria, after running Mexico with an iron heel, runs around the globe in search

of the job of UN Secretary General.

The truth is that, whatever delusions Echeverria has of "representing" the Third World, Mexico, like Colombia and nearly every other country in Latin America, is at this very moment confronted by two movements: (1) actual occupations or campaigns to occupy land by penniless peasants; and (2) industrial strikes in cities. To the extent that Mexico has a trade union, which is part of the very organism of capitalistic state power calling itself "institutionalized revolution," it is not considered as the voice of the labor unrest.

### "NEW ECONOMIC ORDER"

Because of these undercurrents of revolt and actual rebellions and disgust with western imperialism, the rulers of the underdeveloped countries, OPEC-rich and otherwise, believe that they can contain the revolt by calling for "a new economic order." (See *Two Worlds*, p. 5.) Suddenly "new world economic order" has been transformed into opposite, has been reduced to mean a shuffle of alliances within world capitalistic economic order.

It isn't only an Echeverria who asks to be UN General Secretary and "thus" represent this new world. Even a revolutionary — one who actually led a revolution against Chiang Kai-shek and imperialism — Mao, now talks of a new world economic order but limits himself

to what he calls Third World, to which he adds "Second World" as if Western Europe was some neutral number rather than a capitalistic orbit.

For those who can't swallow capitalistic Europe, East or West, as part of the new economic order, the imagination can put together the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the Third World. Suddenly "new world order" includes both the famished of Ethiopia and the feudal oil barons of Saudi Arabia and Libya, where they still cut a poor man's hand off for stealing a loaf of bread.

OPEC is not exactly in a hurry to "share the wealth" with its "Arab brothers," much less with all the poor of the Third World. It will hardly move to topple capitalism, which it is busy trying to catch up with. In putting forth these "new economic orders," why have all forgotten the question of what is their class nature? Are we to continue to separate what Marx long ago united, economics and the human passion and drive to be free?

### REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY NEEDED

None have greater responsibility to express concrete solidarity with Latin American masses than the U.S. revolutionaries who, in fighting their government's imperial rule abroad, also struggle against it here.

At the present moment, what U.S. imperialism is trying to impose on Panama is a so-called new treaty which promises that, in 25 years, sovereignty will return to Panama—with the joker that, for an additional 25 years after that, military bases are to be maintained. What President Ford-Kissinger want most is to see that Panama does not "explode" in the election year, 1976, and thus make of the election something other than the charade that it is here every four years. That is all the more reason everything must come out in the open.

Moreover, in working out the solidarity, the Panamanians must also be made aware not only of U.S. solidarity "in general," but of very specific forces like the Chicanos and Native Americans (Indians) and Blacks. (See ad for new edition of *Black/Brown/Red*, p. 1.) It is a bare beginning, but it is a beginning toward new grounds for genuine social revolutions in the Americas.

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