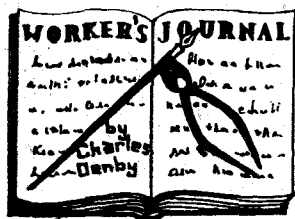


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## Unionists face prison, torture all over world

by Charles Denby, Editor

I have just read Amnesty International's list of 283 trade unionists who have been imprisoned or who have disappeared in 21 countries throughout the world. This list shows an increase of 72 percent over the number of imprisoned trade unionists investigated by Amnesty International in November 1976. It seems that there is not a single continent on the face of this earth where workers can organize without being subject to torture and jail.

The introduction to the list points out that these workers are jailed in violation of Article 24 of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which says that everyone is to be able to form and join trade unions. Many of the trade unionists on the list have been tortured or held without trial, some for years.

A large number of the workers on the list are in Latin American countries. These are people you never hear a word about in the press, and President Carter does not mention them, although he is yelling everywhere about human rights. In Bolivia, they list 11 of the leaders of the mineworkers' union, arrested in June, 1976 when the mines were occupied by the army to stop the mineworkers' strike.

Uruguay may even be worse. In 1973, practically all trade unions were banned there, and the leaders began to be arrested. Amnesty International has received the most terrible reports of torture from Uruguay, including a letter and photographs of torture from an army officer who took part in it, but became revolted at his actions.

I was also shocked at the long prison terms that trade union leaders and members were sentenced to in Cuba, where Castro is always saying he is for the working people. Many of these workers had supported Castro and taken part in the Cuban revolution in 1959, and then argued against him when he took over control of the trade unions and wouldn't let workers vote for themselves. They are formally charged with "counter-revolutionary crimes" and "offenses against state security". But most believe that it was their union activities that got them sent to jail for 20 or 30 years.

The other part of the world where they mention so many trade unionists in jail is in Southern Africa. In South Africa, the detainees are often held under the Internal Security Act for as long as the government wants, which can be years.

At least 16 political and trade union prisoners died while in police custody in 1976. One of these was Luke Mazembe, a member of the Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau. He was arrested on September 2, 1976 and died only hours later. The police claim he hung himself. The truth is that if you are Black in South Africa and try to form or join a trade union, you are placing your life in great danger.

I was listening to Henry Ford II talking on TV right after I read this. He was reporting on all the  
(continued on page 8)

## UAW convention like watching TV re-runs

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

Los Angeles, Cal.—Watching the 25th UAW International Convention held here May 15-21 was like looking at TV re-run programs: the same tight control over the delegates (even the new delegates had already been "programmed" by the International bureaucracy so they acted the same as the old delegates); the same opening speeches by the mayor and governor that didn't say a thing; the same reports from officers about how great and progressive the UAW is; the same picket signs carried by radicals outside the convention hall calling for new leadership; the same selection of the Resolutions Committee of local union hand-picked resolutions that the bureaucrats pre-planned to place before the convention; and the same rejection of the real production line issues faced by the rank-and-file every day.

We had an election of a new president, Doug Fraser replacing Leonard Woodcock, but this was like a TV re-run too, because there is no rank-and-file worker who believes that Fraser will be any different from Woodcock. And what that means is more of the same: the same harassment, discrimination, speed-up and disregard for basic safety, let alone getting human working conditions.

### NEED NEW THOUGHT

But there was one Black delegate I talked with who

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JUNE, 1977

## Mass revolts spur economic-military summit to save tottering capitalism

by Eugene Walker

President Carter's European summitry in May had as its basis both the disrupted fabric of capitalist relations among "the Western allies," which have been in turmoil ever since the Middle East's 1973 oil boycott and quadrupling of oil prices, and the social unrest, rebellion, and out-



Above, Portuguese revolutionaries march to commemorate April 25. Below, Italian workers protest government "austerity" plan.



News & Letters Photos

right revolution that has characterized Europe for almost the full decade since France, Spring '68. Southern Europe has been witness to three years of a revolutionary process in Portugal; to the mass activity among women, youth, and workers in Italy; and to the almost open revolt in Spain both among the Basques and, in the past few weeks, in the trade union movement.

Far from being the brilliant personal triumph portrayed in the press, Carter's meetings were stamped by his stepping back from each demand that he had originally made. (For a further analysis of Carter's European trip see Editorial Article, page 9.)

The world-wide recession and fear of mass resistance to the massive unemployment that none of the rulers have a way of resolving has brought unity on only one topic: agreement to keep disagreements from becoming public. But that can hardly stop the truth from tearing away at the very survival of West European capitalism as the rulers return home to face reality.

No less than 40 percent of the 15 million unemployed in the 24 Western member countries of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development are under 25 years old. Yet the young are only 22 percent of the total labor force. In the nine Common Market countries, young people represent one in three of the five million people without jobs. Giscard of France called unemployment among the young a basic challenge to the whole economic system. Callaghan of England said that the 15 million unemployed constituted not only an economic, but a political danger.

A recent Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development study published a ten-year projection for the Western industrialized economies suggesting that in the decade between 1975 and 1985 they would experience higher rates of unemployment and inflation and lower rates of economic growth than they have known since the end of World War II.

The cutting edge of the crisis has shown itself in Italy, Portugal and England. In each country the inflation, the lowering of the living standards of those who work and the massive unemployment has brought out workers in massive resistance and such intense class conflict that the rulers are constantly referring to the 1968 near-revolutions as something that is very nearly still ongoing. The truth is that in each country the current struggle is, indeed, deep and sustained, as I witnessed on a recent trip to Europe where I met with workers, women and youth groups, as well as revolutionary organizations.

### PORTUGAL

Three years after the social revolution began, and a year and a half since the counter-revolution came into governmental power, there is still much ferment. The rightist military president, Eanes, made clear where he was headed with the most militaristic two and a half hour parade on the third anniversary of the revolution this April. Column after column of troops with military hardware paraded down the main Lisbon avenue. It was a repressive display whose message was certainly directed at the Portuguese working class, now facing an unemployment rate of over 17 percent, and an inflation rate of 30 percent. More than half of Portugal's food has to be imported, and its balance of payments deficit runs to almost one billion dollars a year.

In agriculture, the government is trying to destroy the heart of the working class initiative in land seizures, both by allowing previous owners to take back certain  
(continued on page 11)

was thoroughly disgusted, and what he said was like a breath of fresh air at the dead convention. "This has all got to be changed if we're going to change anything in the shops," he said. "But the only way this can be changed is if we change our way of thinking. Our actions follow the way we think, and what you have here is old actions following old thoughts. We need new actions coming from new thoughts."

What he was talking about isn't something new to the rank-and-file, but it is new when you compare it with what passed for thought at the convention. There you had the same words that sounded good—organizing the unorganized, eliminating discrimination, the national health plan, humanization of the work place, a bigger share of the good things in life—but everyone knows they are just words.

There is always talk about getting "a foot in the door." We got a "foot in the door" for the four-day work week with our last contract—that's what we kept hearing before and during the convention. But take a look at what this means with the way we have to work right now. Woodcock admitted that we have 100,000 less auto workers working today than we had in 1972. Look at this—not only are the auto companies making record profits from 100,000 less workers, we could have the 4-day week right now under the present set-up.

### SYSTEM ALL WRONG

The whole point is that the present set-up is what is all wrong. We all know that the companies are going  
(continued on page 4)

# New revolutionary women's movement in Europe

by Mary Holmes

Recently I went to Europe and met with women's liberationists in Spain, England, Portugal and Italy, to exchange experiences and discuss new ideas.

In Spain, the dead weight of 40 years of fascism has been lifted by Franco's death. But women aren't waiting for "democracy" to liberate them. They are on the move, from public actions aimed at abolishing the oppressive, archaic, sexist laws on adultery, divorce and abortion; to national conferences of women's liberationists from different organizations and political perspectives; to new journals like *Vindicaçion Feminista*.

In England, too, there is wide-spread ferment, especially strike activity of working women. For instance, the women at Trico auto parts went on strike for five months to win equal pay.

In London, 200 workers, mostly Asian women, at Gruenwicks film processing company have been out on strike since August, 1976. They are fighting for the recognition of the union they voted for as a way to begin changing abysmal working conditions: wages of around \$50 a week, compulsory overtime, and automatic dismissal for becoming pregnant.

I spoke with a member of the women's collective that publishes *Spare Rib*, the British women's liberation journal. Many women theorists today look at the spontaneous movement of women and see only activity, not Mind, therefore concluding themselves to be the self-appointed leaders of "backward" women. But journals like *Spare Rib* have begun to fill a void, in both consistently reporting on the activity of working women, Black, Asian and white, and in grappling with new ideas in the women's movement itself.

## MASS MARCHES IN ITALY

The need for new ideas today—for a total philosophy of liberation—was raised by a group of young women's liberationists I met in Milan, Italy. When I arrived, tens of thousands of women were holding mass demonstrations and marches throughout Italy in support of Claudia Caputi's public prosecution in Rome of the men who had raped her (see *News & Letters*, May 1977).

In Milan, the women had met to discuss their own planned support of Claudia—and a new division within their movement. It was precipitated by a group of women who had broken with the Lotta Continua organization over the question of decisions being made at the top and then handed down to the rank-and-file to carry out. The women decided to act "autonomously" of Lotta Continua, but they did not break philosophically with that organization's elitism. As a result, when it came to working with the Milan women's movement, they decided to by-pass them, too, and act "autonomously."

The women I spoke with told me about all their mass activity of the last three years, from the divorce referendum in 1974, to the abortion reform bill still being debated, which they saw as another "historic compromise" of the Communist Party. They said they wanted to march for justice for Claudia and themselves, but they also thought a new direction was needed—not a bridling of spontaneity, but a relationship to other movements, whether with workers or with students. They knew they could not uproot capitalism and sexism alone. The question was, how to get to a new kind of unity, within their own movement, and with others?

The Milan women's liberationists asked me about the women's movement in the U.S. They considered us the "most advanced" because we were the first. When I showed them the pamphlet *Working Women For Freedom* published by *Women's Liberation, News & Letters*, they were impressed with the diversity of working women's activities and thoughts and excited by how important we thought their movement in Italy was.

## AFRICAN ROOTS

You can feel this international dimension of women's liberation most strongly in Portugal. The Portuguese revolution itself was rooted in the African liberation movements, where women played a leading role; and it was the international women's movement that helped release the Three Marias from their Lisbon jail.\*

Women as revolutionaries played a critical role in the Portuguese Revolution, from factory occupations to land seizures, to the daily marches and demonstrations. But many women I spoke with in Portugal said that

\*This dialectic is developed both in "Will the revolution in Portugal advance?" by Raya Dunayevskaya (*Political-Philosophic Letters*) and in her Appendix to *Working Women For Freedom*.

The domestic workers need your support now! The Lisbon city government served them with an eviction notice in April to leave the building they occupied in 1975. It houses not only their union offices, but a cooperative laundry and cafeteria, and a dormitory for domestic workers who have been fired. They also hold classes there in reading and writing, and methods of birth control. Contributions can be sent to:

Sindicato do Servico Domestico  
Rua de Sao Bento, 337  
Lisbon 2, Portugal

(For more information, write *Women's Liberation, News & Letters*, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Michigan, 48207.)

A LUTA CONTINUA!



Portuguese domestic workers demonstrate at the Ministry of Labor for enactment of work regulations.

getting rid of fascism in April, 1974, was only the first step on the path to the fundamental social changes they envisioned.

One group—the women workers of the Domestic Employees Union (see box below)—told me of the long, hard road they had already traveled in creating their organization. They found the most oppressive aspect of their lives was the fact that almost all domestic workers did not have a single day off during the week.

In 1976—after the Nov. 25, 1975 right-wing coup—they began their most intense political activity of marches and demonstrations at the Ministry of Labor, to force the enactment of work regulations for domestic employees. Their most important first demand was at least one day off a week. They also demanded a national minimum wage of \$125 a month; a minimum work age of 14 years to put an end to the practice of girls of 8-9 years becoming domestic workers; protection against being fired; decent sleeping quarters and nourishing food. After much double-talk, the government refused to pass the regulations.

## NO SUPPORT FROM LEFT

The women of the Domestic Employees Union said they joined the Intersindical labor union federation from the start, but hadn't gotten any meaningful support from them or from other unions and parties.

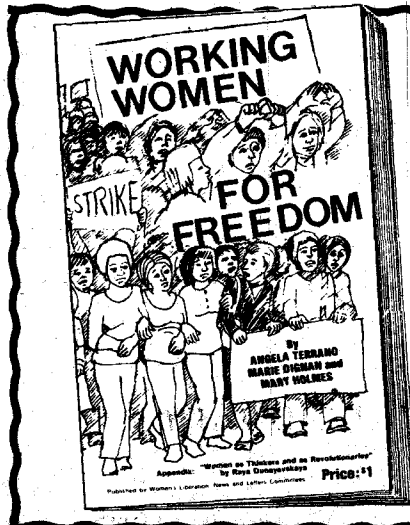
One group of revolutionaries I met that did work with the domestic employees—and who are seeking new beginnings in practice and in theory for the whole Portuguese Revolution—are the women in the MLM (*Women's Liberation Movement*). From the beginning their activities were linked with working women.

The MLM also raised political issues that the unions and the parties would not touch, like the need for abortion reform in Portugal. Abortion is still illegal. So last year, the MLM took direct action by deciding to perform abortions themselves. But they didn't do this quietly. Instead, they sent announcements to the press, radio and TV, because their intention was to bring the issue out into the open and challenge the government. They were overwhelmed by women needing abortions.

The MLM found they were spending all their time and energy on providing abortions, with no time for thought or other revolutionary activity. Worst of all, the government did nothing—they were satisfied to let the MLM provide an "alternate" service. So the MLM decided to close the center and challenge the government by getting 5,000 signatures on a petition calling for a new abortion law, which they presented on International Women's Day this year. In all their activity around the issue of abortion, they insisted it be linked with other struggles, and not become an "end" in itself.

In seeking new beginnings, the MLM plans to start a paper, and as a first step, they have begun a publishing house—the *Women's Publishing Cooperative*. They want to publish new ideas and new philosophies for all the revolutionary movements in Portugal and they were especially interested in seeing Raya Dunayevskaya's works appear in Portuguese.

It is women's liberationists like the MLM—in Europe and the world over—who are demanding to work out their relationship to a philosophy of liberation. And in this activity, the women's liberationist movement isn't only masses in the streets or bravery at the barricades, but new revolutionary thinkers as well.



# Detroit mothers sue to end 'dry lunch' punishment

Detroit, Mich.—Four mothers who are members of Westside Mothers, a Welfare Rights Organization, have filed a class-action suit against the Detroit Public Schools to prohibit them from denying free and reduced price lunches to students as punishment.

Students who are on "dry lunch" may bring only a sandwich from home and cannot have any liquids. One of the mothers was told that her child should not even bring a pickle because that has juice in it. Students, according to reports coming in to Westside Mothers' office, have been placed on "dry lunch" for one day up to as long as two months.

When a "dry lunch" is called, it is called for the whole lunchroom period, which may include four or five classrooms, because some student or students misbehaved in some way. This "dry lunch" also applies to those students who were absent on the day of the infraction if their class is on "dry lunch."

Parents with an income low enough to make them eligible for the free and reduced price lunches, do not have the money necessary to package lunches, and there are other ways of dealing with unruly students.

Individual unruly students should be dealt with individually for their own misconduct and not whole groups of children punished for something they were in no way involved in. Schools that have good principals, have good teachers and order in their schools, usually do not use the "dry lunch" to control the students.

Taking food away is inhumane and totally unnecessary. This violates the Federal Child Nutrition Act, and so is illegal besides being unfair to the students and the parents.

—Wyvette Linebarger, Chairperson, Westside Mothers

# Cleaning women settle strike

Detroit, Mich.—A month-long strike by cleaning women at the National Bank of Detroit (NBD) ended with a settlement on May 11. Members of Local 79 of the Service Employees International Union, the women—mostly middle-aged and older, Black and white—were fighting the attempt of their company, Prudential Building Maintenance Corporation, to lay off 20 of the 67 women working at NBD.

The settlement, ratified 52 to 3, resulted in 57 women returning to work at NBD with a \$150 bonus and a 15-cent-an-hour pay increase effective immediately. In addition, three women voluntarily retired, three will stay on at NBD as contingency "call-ins," and three voluntarily transferred to work at the Renaissance Center. These women received \$250 bonuses.

"It was quite a struggle," said one of the strikers. "We had to settle for what we thought was the best we could get at the time. Many of these women are older and were getting worried about all the bills piling up."

NBD stated they did not feel they were being unfair to the women by wanting to lay off ten employees because their building was "over-cleaned and over-maintained."

"Employers will try to get away with whatever they can," one of the women said. "This kind of struggle is going on all over. The important thing is that we showed our company, and other companies, that they can't just step in and do that to us."

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# Working Women for Freedom

From the Appendix: "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries" by Raya Dunayevskaya

"We need to examine today's ongoing Portuguese Revolution to see the historic continuity of working class women in motion as shapers of history . . . The first woman to die in Portugal, in the mid-1950s, in the fight for the eight-hour day was Caterina Eufemia. It is she who was to become the symbol for the women's movement . . ."

"The dialectical relationship of spontaneity to organization is of the essence to all of us as we face today's crises. It is not only Portugal which is under the whip of counter-revolution . . ."

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## NOW conference misses importance of minority women

Detroit, Mich. — Over 2,000 women attended the National Conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) here April 22-24. The conference began with a march and rally to support the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which drew over 1,000 women and men in spite of pouring rain.

At the conference itself, those of us who had worked on NOW committees in the past were encouraged at the number of minority women who were there, and at the attention given to issues affecting working women, such as the J. P./Stevens boycott, which NOW would not have even considered a few years ago.

However, it became clear in discussions in the workshops, minority women's caucuses and during the plenary session that while some local chapters are focusing more attention on recruiting minority women and working class women, nationally — where the priorities are set and money handed out — NOW still remains too white and middle-class to represent all women.

### NEEDS NEW IDEAS

NOW needs more minority and working class women not just in terms of token representation (they did pass a resolution establishing a national committee on minority women) but in terms of ideas. For example, in the workshop on Native-American women, several women spoke about forced sterilization and taking children away from low-income Indian women.

When a white woman spoke against a waiting period between the time you sign to be sterilized and the actual operation, a Native-American woman said that the issue of forced sterilization could not be real to her or she would not say the waiting period "interfered with her free choice."

In the Labor Task Force workshop, several women spoke of discrimination they faced on their jobs and within their own unions, and of difficulties in organizing women workers. In a minority women's caucus, a Black woman asked if there was any organization for Black women where they wouldn't always be forced into a minority position and asked how the Black women there could consider NOW their own organization when they were always talking in terms of "us" versus "them."

### BASIC QUESTIONS RAISED

The questions raised by minority women are basic questions of life and survival. NOW set passage of the ERA as its top priority for the year at this conference, but such things as "equal pay for work of comparable value" don't mean much when you can't get a job in the first place — and who is going to determine the "value" of a person's work?

Many women at the conference wanted to discuss issues involving minority women. Unfortunately, members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) were the ones who led the minority women's caucuses and who

did not let minority women speak for themselves any more than NOW did. The workshops grew more tightly controlled as the weekend went on, and the only discussion allowed was in terms of getting the SWP resolutions on minority women passed at the plenary session.

While many of us objected to the vanguardist tactics of the SWP, NOW has left itself wide open for attack on the question of minority and working women. When a Black woman from New Jersey got up to denounce the SWP's tactics and say that they did not speak for her, a white woman from Pennsylvania told me that she did not like the SWP either but that NOW did need to address more the needs of minority and working-class women.

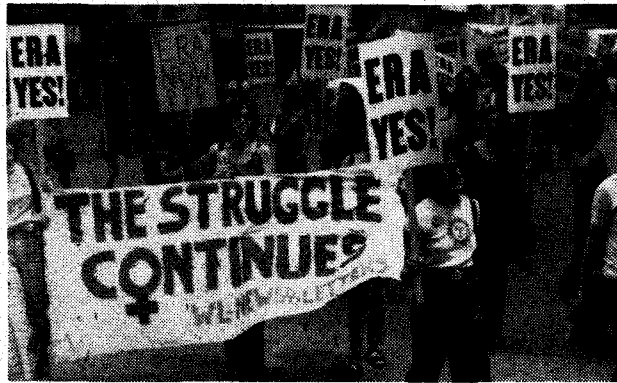
At this point in the plenary session, only a few hundred of the 1,000 delegates remained on the floor. A motion was passed saying in effect that NOW resented the tactics of the SWP and would not tolerate any group's trying to deflect NOW "from our feminist goals." While supposedly aimed at the SWP, it was obviously also meant to include anyone with socialist, i.e. not strictly "feminist," ideas.

If it is to remain the "largest feminist organization in the world," NOW cannot resort to such red-baiting and exclusionary tactics. Does NOW think they have to protect their own members from other women's liberationists — that NOW members cannot think for themselves and decide what the real issues should be? If anything, the conference proved that there are many new ideas on women's liberation waiting to be heard within NOW itself.

—Suzanne Casey

Women's Liberation—News & Letters

## 1,500 march in Chicago for ERA



—News & Letters photo

Participants in ERA rally march at Civic Center Bldg.

Chicago, Ill.—About 1,500 women, men and children demonstrated here, in Phyllis Schlafly territory, on May 14 in support of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). We marched around the Civic Center Building for 45 minutes and then listened to speakers and songs.

People from as far away as Boston, Detroit, Milwaukee and Pittsburgh brought their own banners and posters for the march. Some of the signs read, "A Family for the ERA," "Black Women's Task Force for the ERA," and "Catholic Women for the ERA." There were many young people there, both boys and girls, with signs saying, "A Soul Has No Sex," "Anatomy Is Not Destiny," and "Future Women Need the ERA."

Many feminist student groups, professional associations and labor organizations, including a new organization of Bakery and Confectionary Workers participated. The Chicago and Illinois chapters of NOW—who have criticized the ERA group for including too many students and for letting socialists participate—were noticeably absent from the demonstration.

The organizers of the rally had parade marshals who gave the marchers prepared lists of slogans to chant. The marshals also had bull-horns and kept the same chants going through-out the march, all of them focusing 100 percent on "ERA Now." But when the marshals yelled "What do you want?" some of our women's liberation committee members answered, "Freedom," instead of following the prepared text.

The early part of the rally was dominated by speeches from elected officials and candidates saying "Vote for me and call your representative." But even those speeches didn't dampen the enthusiasm of the crowd for women speakers who had personally fought against sexism. Two favorites were Iris Rivera, the Chicago secretary who was fired when she refused to make coffee for her boss, and Tina Muscare, the 14-year-old who won her fight to play football in the Chicago Park District Junior League.

—Marie Dignan

Women's Liberation, News & Letters

## Native American speaks

### Commission backs native claims

by Shainape Shecapwe

For the first time anywhere, an official government body, the Berger Commission appointed by Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau to prepare a report on the Trans-Alaska Pipeline, has come out in support of native land claims. The gas pipeline, proposed to be laid from Mackenzie Valley in northern Canada to Alberta, a distance of 2,200 miles, has the official backing of the Trudeau government, as well as that of the U.S. government and powerful energy interests.

Three years ago, Trudeau appointed the commission, headed by Canadian Supreme Court Justice Thomas R. Berger, to conduct a study of the "Northern Development," as it is called. The commission report, submitted last month after hearing some 1,000 witnesses, including 317 experts, whose testimony filled 1,100 pages; recommended not only that nothing be done before the native land claims are settled, but that additional environmental safeguards should be taken to avoid irreparable damage to areas and the lifestyles of many natives living along the proposed pipeline routes.

Separate plans on different routes were submitted by Alcan, Arctic Gas and Foothills Pipeline, the three corporate giants competing for the pipeline. Each claimed that its proposed route was safest and the best possible alternative, but all were contradicted not only by natives but by other experts as well. Natives directly involved are the Metee, Deni and Inuvik, as well as other non-status Indians, and their demands and objections were upheld by the testimony of other witnesses.

How strong the feelings of the natives are can be seen in the testimony given by Philip Blake, a northern native leader, who said in part:

"If your nation chooses to continue to destroy our nation . . . then I hope you will understand that we are willing to fight so that our nation can survive. It is our world . . . If your nation becomes so violent that it would tear up our land, destroy our society and our future, and occupy our homeland by trying to impose this pipeline against our will, then, of course, we will have no choice but to react with violence."

The commission offered five alternate plans for the pipeline, but the battle over the present plans seems to be anything but over. Prime Minister Trudeau himself has stated that the Berger Commission report is not the final word, and indicated that another economic report was to be completed in 10 weeks, and that that report could have an effect on the government's decision.

It's a shame that it takes a formal government commission to establish the rights of the natives, rights they are clearly and legally entitled to. But even these are in danger of being violated if the present plans are carried out despite the commission's findings. What is also disturbing is that hearings held in Washington, D.C., disclosed that there may not be enough gas discovered to justify the pipeline, but pressures were still continuing for the construction, with declarations that natives would be blamed for problems the project might run into.

By pointing the finger of guilt in advance at the natives, it seems like there's more of the same old harassment and intimidation being planned. But it looks like it will not work from the way the natives have been fighting this project without giving in to previous threats or being fooled by deceptive promises.

## New Yorkers force reopening of 23 subway entrances

New York, N.Y.—At a recent meeting of the Board of the Metropolitan Transit Authority, 100 angry subway riders petitioned to restore those closed station entrances which mean extra walking at night. The Board would not permit us to speak, so we ended up chanting and singing in the Board-room throughout the meeting.

At their next meeting they announced the reopening of 23 subway booths—in the neighborhoods with the most protests and demonstrations. But some of the 23 and about 70 more are still not restored to 24-hour service. Neighborhood organizations have vowed to keep fighting, and recently marched from a restored station on West 96th Street to a closed one in Harlem.

Meanwhile, the Transit Workers Union succeeded in being the only municipal union to win a raise in the last two years, when the Emergency Financial Control Board—which can nix any contract—approved a pact containing a cost-of-living increase. The Board no doubt feared a strike by those militant workers.

Nearly every other union has not only agreed to freeze wages, but has given up benefits and told their members to be grateful they didn't lose more!



## women-worldwide

Mrs. Winnie Mandela, a South African community leader, has been banished from Soweto to a remote village in an attempt to end her political activism. She had been jailed twice previously and restricted to her Soweto subdivision. Her husband, Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress, is serving a life sentence on infamous Robben Island.

Women prisoners from the Detroit House of Corrections (Dehoco) have filed a sex discrimination suit in U.S. District Court charging that they are denied job training and educational opportunities given male convicts. Judith Magid, their attorney, says that the Dept. of Corrections supports the outmoded belief that women are best suited to be "wives and mothers" and least suited to be "thinkers and workers."

Over 500 people demonstrated in Dublin to protest censorship and the ban of the English feminist magazine, Spare Rib, in Ireland. Thirty members of Irish-women United went by train to Belfast and returned with copies which had been brought from London as soon as the ban was announced. These were sold openly along with material on contraception and family planning, also banned in Ireland.

Dr. Connie Uri, a Choctaw-Cherokee Indian, has presented figures from four years of interviewing Indian women which show that over one-fourth of all American Indian women may have been sterilized by doctors from the U.S. Indian Health Service, leaving only 100,000 of childbearing age who have not been sterilized. She said the sterilizations resulted from "the warped thinking of doctors who think the solution to poverty is not to allow people to be born."

Women in Big Stone Gap, W. Va., have formed a group called Women for Miners, to support the miners who have been on strike since March against the Westmoreland Co. The women have taken shifts on the picket-line and one woman whose husband is on strike said, "We want to show Westmoreland that we're behind our men and they won't be able to run over them like they have in the past."

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# Wildcat strikes backdrop coming UMWA election

Morgantown, W.Va.—The struggle for the presidency of the United Mine Workers union is being waged against a backdrop of wildcat strikes that have cut coal production by 60 percent in the first three months of this year. Running for the top office to be filled by the election slated for June 14 are Arnold Miller, the present president, and two challengers — Harry Patrick, UMWA's secretary-treasurer and like Miller from West Virginia, and Kentucky Lee Roy Patterson, leader of the UMWA Executive Committee group opposed to Miller, and a former supporter of Tony Boyle.

From the time he won the stunning victory over corrupt UMWA President Tony Boyle in 1970, Miller has been plagued by developments that have prevented the establishment of a cohesive leadership group in the miner's union. Instead of a unified leadership after the victory, antagonism grew — especially between Miller and UMWA Vice President Mike Trbovich, who believed, and still believes, that he should be the UMWA president, and viewed Miller with contempt — as did a majority of the Executive Board members. Miller's problems were further compounded by his inability to organize a loyal administrative staff, with the result that a large number were fired or resigned.

## MINERS VICTIMIZED

The primary beneficiaries of this leadership battle were the coal operators, who launched a stepped up campaign against the miners, violating contract agreements and forcing miners to work in increasingly dangerous conditions. Grievances the miners filed against these abuses were not processed because new grievance machinery set forth in their contract was delayed due primarily to foot-dragging by the operators for nearly a year.

Unable to use the grievance procedures, the miners resorted to the only weapon they had — the wildcat strike, and these swept throughout the coalfields, not only against the coal operators, but also against the courts which issued injunctions against the strikers and fined

and jailed them when they refused to obey the injunctions.

The Executive Board approved an action to discipline striking miners, but this action has seldom been enforced — it's doubtful that the miners would accept the Board's efforts to discipline them.

## FAIL TO DUMP MILLER

Meanwhile, the Board forced a special UMWA convention last year, hoping to get rid of Miller before this year's negotiations begin on the contract which expires on Dec. 6. Trbovich led the assault against Miller with a vicious red-baiting attack at the convention — and fell flat on his face. The delegates to the convention totally repudiated Trbovich, dooming his hopes to replace Miller as president.

While the delegates curbed some of Miller's powers by transferring some financial authority from the International Union to the mine Districts, they did strengthen his hand in relation to the Board. More importantly, they took over the convention and paved the way to gain their key demand in the next contract: the right to strike over local grievances. This power would give the miners potential control over safety enforcement in the mines, which they have always wanted, to eliminate the needless maiming and death that is the daily lot of coal miners.

Virtually all of the strikes are over conditions of work, either blatant contract violations by the coal operators and harassment of militant miners, or dangerous violations of safety. The present strikes in West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Kentucky, involving some 40,000 miners, are over safety grievances — in some instances the companies have even tried to fire safety committeemen who supported the miners in their complaints.

The coal operators, meanwhile, are threatening to join together in negotiating the contract, charging that the UMWA leaders can't keep the miners in line. The new importance that coal has in our energy crisis is not lost on the miners, however, and they have no intention of being victimized by the profit-hungry coal operators who are using the energy crisis to try to destroy the safety gains they have made and are determined to increase. They mean to win their demands, regardless of who wins the UMWA presidency.

# UAW confab like TV re-run

(continued from page 1)

to make their billions of dollars of profits from us no matter how you try to slice it under the present conditions. With a 4-day work week we'll be killing ourselves more than we are right now with production speed-up.

This is what the rank-and-file wants to control—the production — because that's the only way out of the factory jungle ruled by management. The trouble is that this kind of resolution—submitted by many auto shop local unions—never saw the light of day.

Instead, we got resolutions for the four-day week, cost-of-living for retirees, eye and dental care insurance, legal aid, increased death and surviving spouse benefits, adding overtime to retirement eligibility, paid one-hour lunch period and the same management benefits for auto rebates and stock options. It isn't that any auto worker in the U.S. or Canada would be against any of these proposals—every worker would be for them.

## WORKERS TO WORK HARDER

The point is that every auto worker knows that every benefit that we have gained has come out of our backs in production speed-up. There is no solution in this way of thinking, because for every nickel we get, we have to produce at least a dime more for the company to get its profits. We have to work harder and harder with each contract, as every worker on the production line knows very well. There is no way out with this kind of thought or program.

As for our new president, Fraser, he has shown that he deserves the support he gets from management when it comes to keeping the rank-and-file in line. Fraser will become part of the team. He will join President Carter and Congress to "get America moving again." The government and big business need someone they can trust to keep the workers in line, and Fraser has proven that he has that ability. The latest strike that he broke was at Local 1226 in Indianapolis, where he threatened to take over the local if they didn't go back to work following a strike after the company fired the union's executive board. In many instances before that, most notably in 1973 when Fraser called out the Flying Squadrons to put down a rank-and-file sit-in strike at Detroit Local 212, he has proved that management can depend on him to try to keep us auto workers in line.

## LEAFLET RAISES REAL ISSUES

There was something else that was new at the UAW Convention, and that was an open letter addressed to the convention that raised the most basic issues of the auto workers. Put together by rank-and-file workers from several auto shops, it pointed to the difference between contract rhetoric and shop conditions. These workers gave their experiences showing that what are supposed to be basic contract provisions are not enforced by local union officials, and warning that the inability of the union to defend even these fundamental rights will lead to new forms of battle and organizations.

The examples dealt with in the leaflet were consistent violations of seniority, overtime scheduling, speed-up, transfers, bosses working, harassment over sickness and accidents, and delays in grievance procedures. These, as the leaflet stated, were violations that are spelled out in black and white in the contract, and are too often ignored by the shop stewards or committeemen.

The leaflet stated: "When our union officers, both local and international, can't even enforce these basic rights that we have all fought for and should be guaranteed, it means we have reached a new objective historic stage, in both a low point of the union and a high point of ourselves — the rank-and-file. As a result, we are sure to see many new ideas and organizations to fight against our daily dehumanization by management."

This is where it's at for the majority of workers, and nothing shows this more clearly than the convention itself. Before the convention, management slacked off a little bit on pushing us, but as soon as the convention was over, we were speeded up and harassed like we haven't been since before the convention.

# Uniroyal threatens job cuts

Detroit, Mich.—A few weeks ago, Uniroyal brought all the departments to the cafeteria by groups for a "pep-talk" by Andreini, the plant manager. We've had them before. At first it just looked like another boring talk, but it turned out to be a hidden threat to our job security.

He said the rubber industry was not growing, no one was investing in it, and the trend toward smaller cars would mean smaller tires and this would force cutbacks. He also said radial tires last twice as long as the old ones and can be built much faster on the new automatic machines.

When the whole plant gets new equipment it will all be for radial conversion, which will all be automated. This will mean a lot harder work and a lot of jobs cut out. So the real message was "work harder, toe the line, or lose your jobs!"—the work load is already impossible.

They told us in the company paper that 750 employees would be terminated at the Naugatuck footwear plant soon. I also heard that they are closing a tube plant in Indianapolis with something like 350 people thrown out on the street. So the company has some bad things in store for Uniroyal workers, and the union isn't doing much about it either.

—Uniroyal worker

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—Philosophy and Revolution, p. 292

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# Portuguese worker tells of running factory

Lisbon, Portugal—The factory where I work produces construction materials. There are about 600 mostly unskilled production workers; and another 100 in administration. The company belonged to a family who ran it under the most ancient kind of capitalist relations before the April 25, 1974, overthrow of fascism.

After April 25, one of the first changes came from the 50 women workers who worked on special molding jobs. They were paid by piece work and earned less than the men. After April 25, they won equal pay with the rest of the workers.

Workers committees were organized spontaneously from the start. All the workers met in general assemblies, usually every month, although we met more often during the highpoint of activity in the factory. The production workers were in the majority and had the strongest representation.

All major decisions were made in the general assemblies. We also discussed and presented motions on whether to go out in support of other workers' struggles. In the assemblies we elected workers committees to deal with many problems. The committees could be recalled at any time.

## WORKERS INVESTIGATE BOSSES

After April 25, a workers committee was sent to management to present demands of wage raises and also to bring up the question of workers' participation in control of production. Management met our wage demands right away, but refused to discuss anything else. So we set up a committee to investigate management.

The committee found that management was still paying bonuses to workers who were relatives of the bosses and that the company was still importing asbestos for

production from South Africa. Both of these acts were illegal. The workers took their findings to the government, which intervened and kicked out the bosses. In effect, the government became the major shareholder in the company. But they left us with the problem of how to pay ourselves, and where to find another source of asbestos.

## NEW SENSE OF COLLECTIVITY

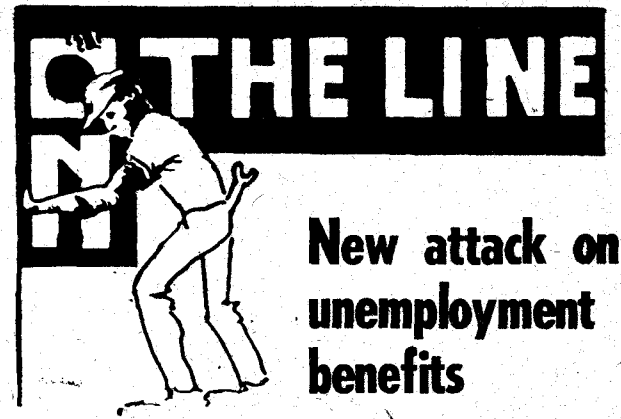
After April 25, we didn't feel that we were working for the bosses. When we took over the factory, it was in a financial mess. Now it makes a profit. Workers got paid for being absent or sick, but few abused this. We also began to run the nursery, which was there before but run very badly. We also set up a cafeteria. In general, there was a feeling of collective decision-making.

In the factory, when grievances came up, they were usually resolved immediately. If not, there were certain days for meetings on workers' problems, but a worker could always call a committee meeting right away.

There were some members of the Communist Party and other parties in the unions, but the workers who were the most important in all aspects of the struggle were independent. The unions—there were 17—were not very important before April 25, and they did not have any relevance once the workers committees were formed.

Since the Nov. 25, 1975 rightward move, the old management has tried to move back into the factory and get rid of state intervention. Many of the active workers do not participate as much as before, but the workers committees are still strongly opposed to handing the factory back to the old management.

—Revolutionary Worker



by John Allison

The auto companies are coming right out into the open in their stepped-up attacks on our unemployment benefits. On May 17-18 at Wayne State University in Detroit, a wide variety of corporate personnel were enrolled at \$140 per individual to attend a seminar entitled "Unemployment Compensation — A Cost Control Perspective."

They were being trained how to schedule lay-offs so they don't have to pay benefits; how to prepare cases against us that go to unemployment compensation referees; and how to use all laws and regulations that will give them an advantage in depriving workers of unemployment compensation benefits.

In short, what they want to do is get better at what they already know very well how to do: get more for themselves at the expense of the workers, who never get enough in the first place.

The seminar comes on top of the Big 3 efforts to cut the federal unemployment compensation extension down from 26 weeks to 13 weeks on the national scene, plus lobbying in the Michigan state capital for a bill that would cut benefits off completely if a worker voluntarily quits a job, is fired or voluntarily retires.

We all know that the educational system isn't put together to help the working class of people get more out of life. It's put together by the capitalists to get more profits out of workers, and this seminar is only one example of how management uses the educational system to deceive the workers.

During the huge lay-offs that hit in the '75 depression, (that we're still not out of as the more than 10 percent unemployment rate shows), management ran up a bill of \$640 million with our Uncle Sam—and by that, I mean that we, the workers, are the ones putting the money into Sam's pockets that management takes out and uses for its own purposes. That money was used to pay unemployment benefits, and without those benefits, unemployed workers would have been forced to fight their government to get food for their families.

Now that most of the auto workers are back on their jobs, management is scheming in every way they can to figure out ways for workers to pay for the mistakes management made.

## Workers 'revolt' at South Gate

South Gate, Cal.—The "revolt" of the workers here resulted in so many bad jobs filling the backyard that an "emergency" meeting of all department heads and assistant plant superintendents was called in the Body Shop—the heart of production. The line was stopped for a careful scrutiny of several jobs by at least 15 members of supervision. Workers on the line were calling this "meeting of the minds" the "new quality control gang." One worker threatened, "We'll just sit down and see how well they do on their audit—without any jobs!"

Nine-hour days have now become the regular schedule for night shift. After Body Shop workers demanded a halt to nine-plus, management responded with, "We'll get production one way or the other." That "other" is line speed-up and workers refuse to put up with it.

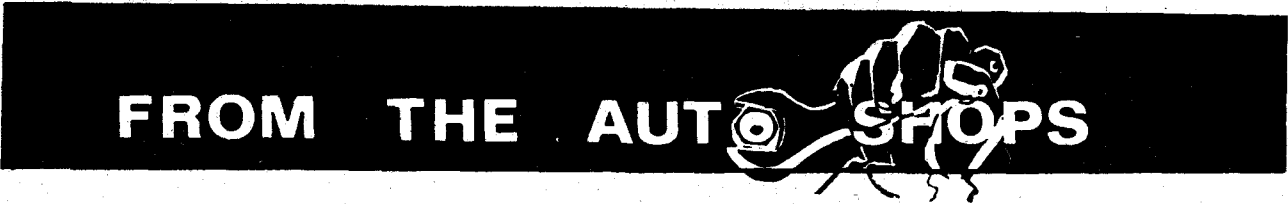
Absenteeism and bad jobs are now permanent thorns in the side of production here. So widespread is absenteeism, the Body Shop lines are frequently shut down for relief. Because of bad welds and improperly fit doors and decklids, the final line of Body going to Paint is stopped many times for repairs.

Of course management is doing its best to reassert the authority that is slipping from its fingers. Many new hires—the only workers GM can make come to work every day and threaten job termination if too many mistakes are made—are being brought in on jobs held by workers with seniority. These workers with seniority are in turn punished for their absenteeism by being put on more arduous assignments in other sections. Two workers—one with five years—were fired as a warning to others who dare to miss "too many days."

Off the line, management harasses workers in other ways. While going into work, some workers are being made to open their lunch bags by plant security saying things like "you might have a bomb inside."

Meanwhile, the union committeemen are busy making it look like they are putting up a fight and later telling us the company can do all these things. But workers aren't fooled. One put it right when he said, "Just like we made the union and company stop overtime over nine, we're gonna make 'em stop all this harassment."

—GM South Gate worker



## Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich.—The effect the UAW convention in Los Angeles is going to have on our lives here in the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) and all the other plants seems as remote as Detroit from Los Angeles. The convention was probably well planned by the international reps—occupying most of the time with their lengthy speeches and leaving only a few minutes for dissident rank-and-file delegates.

The climax of the convention, Fraser being elected UAW president, was hardly exciting. Do any of us feel that anything is going to be different than when Woodcock was king pin? Rather, we sense more of the same.

The vote on the proposal to change the election of president to let the rank-and-file membership vote, rather than just the top region officials, spells what lies ahead for all of us—the proposal was defeated by a 4-to-1 margin. The top-level officials want matters to remain as before—they make the decisions and stay remote and aloof from the membership.

The structure that maintains a separation of the working membership and officials surely will not change by Fraser being elected. He was elected by top officials, not by the majority—the rank-and-file.

That our union president here, Henry Hank Wilson, is quite ambitious was made still more apparent by Wilson nominating himself to oppose Big Doug. Whatever his motive, he succeeded in getting his name scattered through many papers across the land. But does his popularity do anything for us at the DAP? If Hank can challenge the top of the union, let's hope he can challenge the company more effectively when they come down with lay-offs, job combinations, line speed-up and forced overtime.

—Assembly Plant worker

## Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — There has been more discussion about the UAW convention this year than in many years. Usually, it is just accepted that the delegates are going to party and politic. But this time people wanted to know why we didn't discuss the issues with the candidates for delegates before the election.

The way it is now, you have no say in how they vote. Every worker I talked to said that he or she was for direct membership election of the International officers, yet the convention voted to keep the convention selection system, 4 to 1.

Most of all, people wanted to know whether the convention would do anything about why 78s take months,

or even a whole year to settle, and why Local 15 can't get strike authorization, when we have been working without a local contract since last September.

We never get any kind of real report on the convention after it happens. The local meetings are just shouting matches between the leadership and the radicals, and the articles in the Fleetwood Organizer don't answer the questions most people care about. The truth is there was a lot more discussion around the leaflet "Open Letter to the UAW Convention," that N&L put out.

Now they are breaking up jobs again, especially in the body shop and the cushion room. In Dept. 15, they eliminated the jobs of some of the low seniority people and now these people are working as loaners every night, without getting loaner's pay.

New 78s are being created, even while a few very old ones are finally getting settled. Where is the contract? Where is the union?

—Fleetwood worker, afternoons

## Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich.—Everyone on the medium final line at Dodge Truck knows about a Black worker who was getting harassed and faced the loss of his job because his general foreman Danny Robbins who is racist wanted him fired. His chief steward and committeeman wouldn't protect this worker by filing a grievance for harassment. Then this worker's foreman Gary Guilbault provoked him into a scuffle when he wouldn't let the worker go to medical in an emergency. The worker was fired.

Nate Gooden, president of the union local, is sending this worker off to a clinic in Pontiac to get the worker straightened out, as if that were the problem.

But that's not the issue. Why hasn't Guilbault been fired for harrasing and provoking the worker?

—Black worker, medium line

I heard that our chief steward Jack Barrett got up at the last union meeting and told how he asked everyone in the medium line pit what we thought about our foreman Gary Guilbault. He said that the majority thought Gary was all right. He says that this is why he won't file a grievance for harassment against him for us.

One guy asked Jack why he didn't ask what did he think about Gary. He skipped over it and talked about something else.

Out of nineteen workers in the pit, nine are Black. The truth is that all but a couple of the Black workers and some of the white workers, too, don't like Gary.

—Medium Line Worker

**CAPITALISM'S "SOLUTIONS"**

Carter's meeting in London put him—and Callaghan—on the map. Above all else, it was an anti-Communist assembly. The solution to the economic crisis is, to them, tied up with war preparations. A drive to war could raise the morale of those frustrated leaders who are buried in the collapsing citadel of capitalism. Brezhnev will find a new way of saying, "I, not Carter, am the chief apostle of peace."

Correspondent  
Glasgow

In the face of undiluted unemployment, the U. S. Department of Labor has tacitly admitted defeat. In its latest form, this amounts to a barrage of creative euphemisms: illegal aliens are now called **unauthorized**, the poor are referred to as **economically disadvantaged**, and the unemployed have at long last become **economically inactive**. (In South Africa where Black women, children and the elderly are officially referred to as **superfluous appendages**, anyone not paid wages for work is called **non-economically active**.) As if this were not insulting enough, they now prohibit, by regulation, State Employment Service workers from discussing unions with migrant farmworkers. You would have to find a very obscure history book to ever realize that the Labor Department was originally created as a result of the labor movement in this country!

Feminist  
Chicago

Three bourgeois magazines have recently published Marx's picture because they've discovered his falling rate of profit to be true. It's ironic that at the same moment many in the so-called Left are moving away from Marx's theory of the collapse of capitalism. Yet it is clear that capitalism is in great crisis, maybe as great as when fascism came to power in the 1930s. It is alarming to wonder why the KKK has chosen this year to show their heads in New York, when we don't have a "corrupt" Nixon but a "righteous" Carter in the White House. Only one thing is sure—all the "solutions" will be on the backs of the workers.

Working Woman  
New York

Over 920 new prisons and jails are currently planned or under construction. The Federal Bureau of Prisons plans to build more prisons in the next ten years than since the Bureau was established.

All this, despite the fact that jails are the least effective response to crime; despite the fact that many of the toughest prison wardens admit over 90 percent of the people in prison don't belong there; despite the fact that even Chief Justice Warren Burger has stated, "Clearly prisons do not rehabilitate." It costs more to put somebody in prison than it would take to provide a year at Harvard. We think if the public knew the truth about prison construction they'd take an active stand against it. Readers can get more information from:

**National Moratorium on Prison Construction**  
3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW  
Washington, D.C. 20010

**NEO-FASCISM**

The biggest anti-Semitic campaign ever is now going on in Argentina, which has the fourth largest Jewish population in the world. The campaign is sanctioned by the government, which makes the police and military available to the right-wing in an effort to solve the deepening economic crisis. In spite of mass jailings and assassinations, resistance by labor and the Left continues. Jewish youth appear in high proportions in the many industrial revolts.

Lately the right-wingers outside of the ruling elite have accused "Jewish bankers" of links to both the subversives and the government. This has caused the government to outdo them by arresting some 300 Jews and putting a Jewish banker on trial for "crimes" common to all bankers.

Observer  
New York

Links between British and American fascists continue to grow. British fascists who peddle such disgusting anti-Jewish lies as the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" have joined the white confederacy, which includes the KKK, the U.S. Nazi Party and other North American fascists. More seriously, it is selling U.S. army explosives manuals and is attempting to recruit members of the armed forces. It has urged its members to join the TAVR (Britain's National Guard).

Recently, the National Front staged a provocative march through an area of North London inhabited by many Black immigrants. They were met by an angry counter-demonstration which pelted them with bad eggs, rotten fruit and other missiles. The police, as usual, protected the fascists, arresting 60 anti-fascists.

Racism and anti-Semitism are not confined to Britain and the U.S. Recently

the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* accused Soviet Jewish dissidents of being CIA agents. The homes of seven of them were ransacked by the KGB who confiscated every item of written material. One of them, the mathematician Anatoly Sharansky, was arrested. It is feared that a show trial is being prepared.

Terry Liddle  
England

The KKK in Ohio has just called off its planned Memorial Day March in Steubenville. As soon as the plans were announced last March ministers here have been calling for a counter-demonstration. But I think what finally changed the Klan's so-called "mind" was the unanimous resolution of the largest union in the area—the United Steelworkers Local 1190—calling on the entire labor movement to take action to stop them.

Concerned  
Ohio

**A GOOD QUESTION**

After looking at the Nixon interviews, I just have one question: Why isn't that man in jail?

Octogenarian  
Philadelphia

**HANDICAPPED DISSIDENTS**

At the White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals some of us distributed 6,000 copies of a leaflet called "Independence" that said:

"We came here to speak for ourselves. This Conference was born out of the growing desire of Handicapped Americans to gain full independence. All our lives we have been shackled by the misguided custodialism of teachers, social workers, rehab counselors, and volunteers. Is this Conference treating us any differently?"

"We know what we need. We have come here to say we are unemployed. We want jobs . . . we demand the right and the freedom to learn. We are denied access to buildings, housing, schools, restaurants, museums, airplanes. We have come here to demand our human and civil rights, to make it known that we are whole human beings . . ."

**LEADERS AND RANKS**

I showed two magazines to some friends. One was put out by the letter carriers' union and the other by the U.S. government. I asked, "Can you tell the difference?" No one could. The union says they are going to fight the 5 day delivery but they also say we can't strike. I don't think they are going to do anything. This will eliminate a lot of jobs and they will make us do 6 days' work in 5. People really don't have a union so what can we do?

Letter Carrier  
Chicago

The garbage people here, facing a one third staff reduction, went on strike over the situation. Eleven people were transferred to other jobs in order for the city to avoid hiring new people. They picketed city hall daily and followed their supervisors around, just watching them try to perform their routine work. Their local union representative (CUPE) had announced that a strike had been avoided just prior to ratification—which was not quite the way the vote went, as it turned out. How out of touch with the rank and file can you get?

Supporter  
Kingston, Ontario



**Prisoners speak out against inhuman living conditions**

**A REVIEW . . .**  
*THE RIVERS OF MANY MINDS*, edited and published by Jimmie Osborne; Black Fox Publishing Co., c/o Harlo Press, 16721 Hamilton Ave., Detroit, Mi. 48203. \$4.00 plus 50c postage.

"It ain't supposed to be like this, is it?" the prisoner asks in clear and simple challenge to the world. The line is from a free-form poem called "The Beginning", in this recently-published anthology of prisoners' poetry.

The editor/publisher is a Black man, himself a prisoner. He had the idea and desire to gather together and publish the thoughts, feelings, dreams of prisoners throughout the country. He placed ads in newspapers that went into prison; ". . . letters started flowing in," he said, "flowing into prison like the never-ending flow of a river." Hence the striking, beautiful title, *The Rivers of Many Minds*.

One poet writes: "Such a thirst for life I felt in the midst of a soundless existence . . . My voice cried out into the blackness in search of an ear . . . To express my innermost depths was the motive behind my cry." The prison bars are there to choke such thirst for life and hunger for self-expression, but a dehumanized existence gives rise to its opposite—a quest for wholeness.

Some write of street-games: "The Salesman" sells "a box of con . . . the chance to become instant fake . . . The price? It's normally just one life." Some write of the "Iron Bars", the morning bell "clamoring for my blood." There are poems of madness and despair, poems of children and spring, poems of love, and of loneliness.

Yet this anthology is less than a total expression of the creativity and reason of humans in prison. Most of the love poems, for example, contain traditional views of men loving women "on a pedestal high above." Where are the voices (and I have heard them) of those

who precisely because of the street and of prison are searching for human relations on new foundations?

And I missed other voices I know are there — the self-expression of what it means to be behind bars in America, the poetry of resistance and of creation.

Osborne is now gathering writing for his next book. Hopefully he will solicit and get an even wider response, so that the "rivers of many minds" will flow together to create the new.

—Mariana Louise

**. . . AND TWO LETTERS**

Hopefully you have heard the voices crying out of the bowels of hell, the state prison where I am locked up, and where idleness, violence, and overcrowded conditions prevail.

Now as a Black prisoner, I am attempting to shed light on the segregation policy imposed by prison administrators. It does not matter to our keeper if segregation is a violation of laws, because they know that society's apathy will support their actions. We are expected to live in harmony with anyone the prison administration force us to share a cell with; they tell us we can not pick our cell partners, or cell with anyone not of our race.

Since my first encounter with jails, rehabilitation was pounded in my head. In every boy's school, detention center, and reformatory it was preached that we should learn to get along together, the two races should remember they are brothers and live in harmony.

Although prisoners grew up in the same system, had the same teachers, ate the same food, wore the same clothes, used the same showers and toilet facility, and were punished in the same manner, this equality is destroyed by the outdated barriers imposed upon prisoners by prison officials, because the color of our skin is different.

We wonder why in this day and age, we find racism, segregation, discrimination being imposed? We wonder why a society of your intelligence would stand quietly by while prison officials use unwritten laws, and have outlandish reasons why people of different color can not cell together?

Over 80 percent of the prisoners now incarcerated will one day return to society. Your concern in the prison movement can help determine just what direction America's future will go. Help stop Institutional Racism!

—Prisoner Correspondent

We are writing you for help because we do not want another Attica or even another Kent State massacre. We are not writing this for ourselves but for all the sisters and brothers in these concentration camps.

It is not bad enough to be beat, maced, caged up, stomped and threatened about civil action suits we have filed; we are also kept in segregation, with our mail read, books held up and censored, and even the covers of our papers torn off. As of May 20 we can have only 50 stamped envelopes. Any over that will be considered contraband. We can receive only ten at a time from each person on our visiting list. To top it off instead of four, we are allowed only two friends on our visiting list. We are allowed to buy only 10 stamped envelopes from the commissary.

Our medical care is bad. Food is bad. And we get slave pay. Commissary prices are very high. Last May the warden changed the rules so we can get money only from persons on an approved mailing list. What about inmates who write hundreds of letters a week, like we do?

When we speak out we are held like animals in solitary confinement and kept away from the other inmates. Please help us by publishing this letter. Please help all of us, your sisters in struggle.

—Three Women Prisoners



# Views

## AFRICAN DISSENT

The Nigerian government is asking all civil servants to "volunteer" two percent of their salaries for a Southern African Relief Fund. Laudable idea? There is a catch. Instead of sending the money collected to Southern Africa, the government plans to invest it and then send the "profits" to Southern Africa. Critics point out that this process is not only a slow one, but that there is a danger all the money so collected might be lost as a result of "bad investments".

Individual initiative in such matters is discouraged. If you allow people to canvass for a Southern African Relief Fund, a lot more people will get to know about apartheid and some might draw awkward analogies. In Nigeria servants who live in slums go to work in government-reserved areas. The last thing the government wants is a program that would get people like that excited.

The Trade Unions are now feeling the pinch of the government's desire to be the only outlet of racial feeling. A list of approved Trade Union leaders has been issued and government delegations have been sent to Ghana and Kenya to study how their governments manage the Trade Unions. Criticisms are printed in the Nigerian press, but they have minimal effect on government policy. Dissent is not discouraged by any ruling class—as long as it is not effective.

Correspondent  
West Africa

## PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

I sold several copies of *New Essays* to young workers in my plant who were very interested in reading more about Mao and China. When the time comes, new ideas come up for philosophy, and I believe that time is now.

Auto Worker  
Los Angeles

You simply must publish something up to date on China. The interview with the member of the Sheng Wu-lien is much too old, and also too short. And the comments of Raya Dunayevskaya in her letters were like extragalactic nebulae: very gassy and completely off the face of the earth. If you can find any empirical information, maybe from skimming from the European press or the National Security Agency bulletins which are available to the general public through Freedom of Information Act, an article would be well worth doing.

Reader  
San Francisco

*New Essays* are marvellous. I am at a loss to know how Raya Dunayevskaya could give all that information about personalities in China, without actually being there on the spot. Reporters just returned from the mainland are not that knowledgeable. It is clearly more than just having "facts" at hand.

Marxist-Humanist  
Scotland

**Editor's Note:** Copies of *New Essays* are available from News & Letters for \$2 and postage. See ad, p. 9.

It is quite clear that a return to Marx and Lenin is vitally necessary especially for those purporting to be on the Left, otherwise the mess will continue. Mikoyan in 1956 at the RCP Congress made it quite clear that the teaching of Economics had stopped in the 1930s.

Hua Kuo-feng, on his assumption of power in the Peoples Republic of China, was reported to have told Mao that he did not know enough Marxism to assume such high office. One could well imagine the state of theory in the ranks of the Party, which must be riddled with empiricism, pragmatism and eclecticism. And while recently reading a Yugoslav journal called "Socialist Thought and

Practice", an article entitled "Return to Marx" stated that enough emphasis was not put on Capital during all those years of Yugoslavia's claim to be a Socialist country, and during which time many of their students were sent to the West to study economics.

This whole thing is incredible. One may never read every last line that Marx penned, but it is quite clear that those who want to consider themselves Marxist must earn that title and try to adopt his method. That is why some of us here are studying articles like Raya's Dunayevskaya's 1941 study of "Russia as a State-Capitalist Society" carefully.

Intellectual  
Montreal

A "California Reader" recently asked whether socialist countries can exist. While I am not in complete agreement with simply terming Russia and China "state-capitalist countries," I do know they are not socialist. Socialism does not exist anywhere in the world today. State ownership does not constitute collective ownership, as Marx pointed out that the existence of the state is inseparable from the existence of slavery. The existence of a wage system is a sure-fire indicator of class-divided society. Surely those systems are not what the geniuses of humanity had in mind when they spoke of "socialism."

SLP Member  
New York

## STUDENT REVOLT

The recent wave of student unrest has so upset the British establishment that the college authorities are using the courts in an unprecedented and alarming manner. Four students at Middlesex Polytechnic have been charged with the ancient, almost forgotten, law of "resisting the sheriff"—by setting up barricades to obstruct police who came to end the recent occupation. Andy Strouthous, democratically-elected President of North East London Polytechnic student union, has already been committed to prison for refusing to accept a court order banning him from the college. Andy was expelled by the Poly director in November for carrying out his union's policy of fighting cutback and fee increases. Over 400 students demonstrated outside Pentonville prison and four more were arrested. Now North East Poly has been re-occupied, and many other colleges are holding emergency meetings to decide upon solidarity actions.

Dave Black  
London

## POLICING THE MOVEMENT

When members of NOW and other groups routinely applied for a permit to hold a "Woman's Day in the Park" recently, they were told that New York City police policy now forbids use of the parks for political events. After several centuries of this traditional use of the parks, it is incredible that the city thinks it can get away with such a thing. It will be fought.

Women's Liberationist  
New York

One of the most disturbing recent patterns among the elitist Left in Los Angeles has been their role as policemen in demonstrations. We have had confrontations over the right to sell our literature on several occasions. The Coalition Against Police Abuse formed their own police squads to prevent any sale or distribution of literature at their march and rally! They physically attacked members of our organization after we refused to conform to their police-state rules. CASA, an organization of Left Latinos, barred all literature which they judged not to be "directly related" to their rally against the Bakke decision on minorities at universities. And most recently, at the Unit-

## Who We Are

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

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

ed Auto Workers Convention, the October League tried to muscle us out of an area which they felt they "owned" because they were having a rally nearby.

As disturbing as these direct confrontations, has been the attitude of much of the rest of the Left who, while not happy about being barred from selling or distributing, do not actively oppose it. Their reason is that the sponsoring coalition or group or whatever had "democratically" arrived at their decision on barring literature. What in the hell is democratic about preventing you from putting forth your ideas? Even bourgeois democracy, as sorry as that is, hasn't prevented the Left from directly propagandizing their ideas. And when it tried, during the 1960s, whole movements such as the Free Speech Movement sprung up. But these Stalinist-Maoist types are more like police than the police.

Marxist-Humanist  
Los Angeles

## BLACK STRUGGLE

The Administration at UCLA has filled the position of Director of African Studies with a white South African professor. This comes at a time when both the Bakke Decision (against preferential minority treatment) and the South African student movement have sparked more student activities and discussion than at any other time on the campus since the 60s era. African students have said that there is nothing accidental about this move.

One of the new director's first administrative regulations was to tell the African Activist Association (AAA), a student and multi-racial organization, to vacate their activities office. The "explanation" was lack of space. Confronted with the memo, the director denied signing it. Less than two weeks later the AAA scheduled Ron Karenga to speak, and the department reneged on its promise of an honorarium.

Most of the students feel that the right to schedule discussions with Black intellectuals is not only a challenge to the department, but to the Black intellectuals to join in their struggle.

Black Intellectual  
Los Angeles

The state of Illinois has threatened to cut off millions of dollars to the Chicago school district if Superintendent Joseph Hannon goes ahead with plans to build nine new segregated schools. Eight of the schools would be over 85 percent Black, and one 95 percent white. These figures give a true picture of the situation here: Black students are packed into trailers (the "mobile units" introduced by Louisiana segregationist Ben Willis, Mayor Daley's first school superintendent), while schools in white neighborhoods like Lane Tech, the city's largest high school, are run at 50 percent of capacity.

The system claims it can't afford busing, but to budget the new segregated schools it has cut back or eliminated building repairs, janitorial service, textbooks and supplies, regular and substitute teachers, and summer school. Hannon, who actually had the nerve to say "integration isn't always compatible with quality education," at the same time refuses to take action against principal Herschel Rader, who is accused of raping a 10-year-old boy student in the basement of Johnson Elementary school last

March. Is Dr. Rader more "compatible with quality education" than a school bus?

Enraged Teacher  
Chicago

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Thank you very much for sending us a copy of N&L. It is extremely interesting, useful and valuable. We think more people should know about N&L, so we have listed it in our current bulletin on women in liberation struggles along with an article from N&L on the OPTM, the women's movement of East Timor. One of the members of the central committee of Fretilin was here with us recently and was very pleased with this article. We are presently preparing an ISIS International Bulletin for summer 1977 on feminism and socialism in order to help further the dialogue on this issue. We would welcome any contributions or materials from you or your readers.

ISIS, Women's International  
Information and Communication  
Service  
Via della Pelliccia, 31  
Rome, Italy

The NOW workshop on Native-American women was the most moving one I attended. The women spoke from personal experience on the issue of sterilization and the need for even more than a 14-day waiting period between the time you sign and the time you are actually sterilized. As one woman said, "If you have had a particularly difficult pregnancy, you would still be upset only two weeks later."

They told of the total view Native-Americans have of human life, refusing to separate off one issue from another, or women from men. I learned some of the deadly serious issues facing Native-Americans that we as women's liberationists must consider.

Concerned  
Detroit

## WOMEN'S PACKET ON CHILE



We are trying to make known the terrible situation of the Chilean women and men and their resistance to the continued terrorism of the junta. Over 25 percent of the thousands still in prison are women, who experience an especially vicious torture. We have made up a packet of materials we hope can be translated into action by other groups. It includes in addition to a 17 by 22 inch poster, postcards, stickers, and resource list, information on the struggles of women during Allende's period, and after the coup—women as factory workers, housewives, community activists, fighters for health care, and for the rights of the Mapuche Indian minority. Packets are only \$1.25 plus 25¢ postage from:

Action for Women in Chile  
PO Box 35 Cathedral Station  
New York, N.Y. 10025

## Report from Prague

**Charter 77 repression aimed at stifling freedom movement**

Prague, Czechoslovakia — If the Czech and Slovak peoples knew the full text of the "Charter 77", and if they could vote on it in freely conducted elections, it would easily win. However, the text is not known in Czechoslovakia—with the exception of the signatories, the narrow circle of their friends and those who listen to Western broadcasts or manage to have the text sent from abroad and get it through the censors. The highest officials of the party may also know the text, but not government officials, even of highest rank, if they are not party members.

Of all the thousands who are said to have signed proclamations protesting against "this shameful squib," no one knew more of the contents than what he or she could read in the party newspaper *Rude Pravo* of Jan. 12, which started the campaign against the Charter. Party members in a chemical factory in Kolin, 60 km east of Prague refused to sign a protest so long as they could not know the text. After being read "substantial" extracts, which they discussed with their fellow workers, non-party members, they still did not send the protest, since in their own words, they "could not see anything in the text to protest against."

The style of the official CP daily reminds one of the Nazi press we knew in our youth, or the language of the Moscow Trials: every criticism is said to come from enemy centers which paid for it; it is called the work of a small group of disgruntled has-beens; the good hardworking people ("the great majority") are contrasted to the bad intellectuals ("small, insignificant group that does not represent anybody"). And last but not least, "Zionist" centers are accused, going as close to anti-Semitism as the "socialist" law permits.

Immediately after publication of the "guidelines" by *Rude Pravo*, meetings were organized in dozens of Czech factories, offices, and institutions. All mass media hurled the "resolutions," day by day. Suddenly, on Jan. 28, papers contained no word on the Charter. The campaign stopped. The reason can only be surmised. Probably even those in authority recognized the attacks were not too effective, either at home or abroad. The signatories were not intimidated. The people showed no actual anger against the Charter.

**ANOTHER SCENARIO BECAME** apparent in a few days—the vilification phase. In a way unheard of since 1969, and reminding one of the darkest days of the show trials of the '50s, some of the prominent heads of the Charter had to undergo character assassination. The concoction was a mix of half-truths and lies. Sometimes it was the "class origin" theme, like with Vaclav Havel (whose father had, indeed, been a millionaire) the artistic qualities of whose plays were "judged" in this context. In the case of Jiri Hajek, minister of foreign affairs in

**'We must take Puerto Rico back'**

New York, N.Y.—To most North Americans, Puerto Rico is a lush, tropical island. To others, Puerto Rico is viewed as a commonwealth of the United States. As it is officially known in Washington, D.C., Puerto Rico is an "Estado Libre Asociado"—a freely associated state. In reality, Puerto Rico is nothing more than a colony of imperialist North America.

Yankee capitalists argue that without the "help" of the United States, Puerto Rico would be a backward island, with little, if any, industries, schools, roads, hotels, etc.

Puerto Rico today is considered to be the foremost pharmaceutical center of the world. As a consequence, along with the total disregard for Puerto Rican life, 35 percent of all women over the age of 16 have been sterilized. That equals more than one-third of a peoples' reproductive forces being halted.

Puerto Rico is also considered to be the third largest petrochemical center in the world. The amount of pollution and environmental harm which this industry has brought along with it cannot be measured. Furthermore, the tremendous profits of these industries are never seen by Puerto Ricans. In addition, the unemployed are estimated at nearly 40 percent of the labor force.

In the schools that have been built, Puerto Rican youngsters are required to study North American history, and English is compulsory. Being stripped of one's cultural heritage, reproductive power and dignity and self-respect are just a few of the atrocities which are executed against Puerto Ricans.

The question today is: shall we continue to allow such atrocities to be carried out against our people? Shall we patiently sit and watch as the money-hungry yankees destroy and demolish our nationality, our Puerto Rican lives?

Are we going to confuse these imperialists with our patience—or is it time to assert ourselves and demand our rights, our dignity, our motherland? Has it not been made obvious that our freedom is no longer just for the asking? In the same manner in which our homeland was taken from us, we must rise together and take her back. There is no stronger power than a people united. UNIDOS VENCEREMOS!!!

the Dubcek regime in 1968, it was the fact that he had been a social-democrat before his party was swallowed up by the CP in 1948.

What could be said against Prof. Patocka, the oldest of the signatories? First, he was a disciple of Edmund Husserl, "founder of the so-called phenomenology." Secondly, he had praised Edward Benes, president of the Czechoslovak republic before and after the war, whom the Communists kept praising up to their coup in 1948. And, thirdly, he had had some suggestions for a reform of the Academy of Science in 1968.

It was difficult with the writer Ludvik Vaculik. He had the "right" origin, had been a worker himself for some time. So it was his literary work that was "explained" as anti-socialist and anti-communist. The most infamous attack was against Zdenek Mlynar, Dubcek's adviser who, after the purges in 1969, earned his living as an entomologist until the publication of the Charter, when he was fired. In an article headlined "The Informer" he was accused of having offered to contribute information to an investigation inspired by Stalin in 1951 that had ended in the deaths of 11 old-communists.

With these vilifications the campaign was brought to an end. The Czechoslovak public has not been informed to this day of the reaction of the great West European CPs. Neither was it informed of the sympathies aroused in similar circles in other Communist capitals—in Warsaw, Budapest and Bucharest.

**THE COMPOSITION OF THE** group of signatories—and there are more than 500 who signed—is important.

**Skokie rally halts Nazi march**

—News & Letters photo

Over a thousand people rallied in Skokie, Ill. to stop a Nazi march into a Jewish neighborhood.

Chicago, Ill.—On April 30, 1,000 people rallied at the Skokie, Ill. Municipal Building to protest the Chicago Nazis' first attempt to march on a Jewish neighborhood.

After the Oct. 30 Freedom Ride to Marquette Park, Nazi leader Frank Collins' threat of a Skokie counter-march sounded like empty bravado: most of the northern suburb's 65,000 residents are Jews, and several thousand are concentration camp survivors. But the Nazis got parade permits for May 1 to kick off their summer organizing drive on Chicago's north side.

In mid-April a left coalition, with "name" groups conspicuously absent, gathered at Red Rose Bookstore in Rogers Park to organize a suitable reception. The 500 counter-demonstration leaflets we posted in Skokie put us in touch with a synagogue Coalition; and leafletting at an area high school brought responses from all over north Chicago and the suburbs.

On April 29, the Skokie village government got a court injunction against the march it had earlier issued permits for. The Nazis replied by moving it up one day to 3 p.m., Saturday, April 30. Fearing the worst, we frantically phoned our people.

But when we arrived at the Municipal Building that noon, a crowd of 500 was already there; by 3 p.m. it had doubled. The Mayor was shouted down when he begged us to go home and "let the police handle it"; when he told us to read the papers to see whose side he was on, a woman asked him to read the concentration camp serial number tattooed on her arm.

The crowd, in which community residents, young and old, synagogue members and leftists were represented, got along remarkably well: the demonstrators' spirit and feeling was the best I have seen here since 1968. The one real disappointment was to see so few Black faces. I was especially shocked by the absence of the Martin Luther King Jr. group, whose leaflet at the March 25 anti-apartheid rally asked, "Where were you in Marquette Park? Where will you be in Skokie?"

At 2:30 the Mayor announced that Skokie police had stopped a van-load of Nazis on the expressway exit, and were escorting them back to Marquette Park. He was shouted down again with cries of "Liar!" and "Why should we believe you?"

The Nazis lost round one. But Nazi sympathizers in Chicago pulled our leaflets down almost as fast as the police did in Skokie. The Nazis' ACLU lawyers are appealing the injunction; and Collins says they'll try to march again. We'll be waiting for them.

—News & Letters member, Chicago

First, its range is very wide, both politically and socially. It assembles all shades of political opinion, including members of former political parties like Social Democrats, ex-Communists, leftists opposed to the Communist regime, people with no clear-cut political views (like priests who simply opposed a regime that allows no religious liberties). Most seem to be at least Marxism-oriented.

Socially, there are students (or better, ex-students, for far less is needed for expulsion from the university than to voice a non-Communist opinion); high-school teachers; writers; actors, etc. There are also workers in this group. And these are not just people now toiling with their hands, as is the case with thousands of former professionals purged in 1969-70, but workers who have always been workers. Most of them formed their political opinion against the CP during the short-lived Prague Spring, when dozens of informal leftists "clubs" sprang up. They remain faithful to their conviction to this day, despite what it has meant by way of political and other persecution.

**BY BRINGING THE ISSUES** of civil liberties to the attention of the public inside the country, the Charter became seminal for a circulation of ideas many were sure had been buried in 1969. Of course, East European societies cannot be shattered by charters. And the Charter spokesmen are to be believed when they assure they wish to remain "on the ground of legality," but any action outside the official ideology has to become, if it survives, a political action or movement in East Europe, if only because it is immediately regarded as such by the powers-that-be.

The Czechoslovak regime has, excluding Russia, the most backward political set-up of all of East Europe. While the attitudes of all these regimes toward their dissenters are the same in principle, even the most conservative Romanians, thus far, try to avoid police methods in dealing with them. Only in Czechoslovakia are arrests and police brutalities "usual" instruments of "policy."

There is only one language they understand—the language of power. To them, to engage in a dialogue would mean retreat and loss of their power positions. Despite this, they have had to deal for months with a matter they did not wish to bring to public notice. It is proof the Charter movement cannot be done away with. The funeral of Prof. Patocka showed vividly it has mass support even under the condition of a police state.

Charter 77 is an heir of the Prague Spring and its continuator. The idea of freedom can never be wholly trampled down—not in East Europe nor anywhere else. This is the most important message of the Charter.

**WORKER'S JOURNAL**

(continued from page 1)

resolutions that were passed at the Ford Motor Co. convention. Only the resolution on South Africa was defeated. I don't even know what it was about, because Ford said it so fast, like he was trying to hide something.

He has millions—maybe billions—invested in South Africa, and he wants it to continue in the same manner. In his plants, and in every other plant in the country, Black workers are not allowed to have a union. You have to feel that Ford has a lot of responsibility for the political prisoners in South Africa.

There was one thing about the list that I could not understand. Why was there not one single political prisoner mentioned in any of the Big Three superpowers—the U.S., Russia and China? They are all arguing about who is superior on the question of human rights, yet each one knows exactly what is happening in their own countries.

They should ask Jimmy Carter why right here in the U.S. the Wilmington 10 are still sitting in jail, when every witness says they were told to lie to put them in prison in that racist state of North Carolina. Just last week, the judge denied them a new trial, and wouldn't let witnesses come from New Jersey to testify.

The Wilmington 10 are political prisoners. Gary Tyler is a political prisoner. The youth in New Hampshire against the nuclear plant were jailed for their beliefs. Trade unionists and civil rights activists have been jailed and even executed in this country throughout our history, from back in 1886 with the Haymarket martyrs to Sacco and Vanzetti.

I know that Russia is also full of political prisoners, especially if you work in a plant over there and try to get some justice. Poland is under the control of Russia, and they are doing everything they can to suppress the workers' revolt there right now. (See *Our Life and Times*, p. 12.)

The only way that we are ever going to get these political prisoners freed all around the world is for workers to begin taking action themselves for a real international solidarity. That means backing all your union brothers and sisters, instead of the national interests of your government. It has never been more true: there are two worlds totally opposed to each other; and both of them are inside each and every country on earth.



**EDITORIAL**

**Smile but be armed—and think the unthinkable**

**Carter recreates sedative for nuclear proliferation and economic crises**

What was little recorded in the press, which was too busy stirring up the hullabaloo about Carter's "summit success," is the one genuine U.S. imperialist victory Carter could preside over after the phony summitry at 10 Downing Street. As soon as that front show was over, he took off for a NATO meeting where the real policy is set: ever greater rearmament, new weaponry ordered and slaughter planned.

There Carter not only called attention to Russia's "essential strategic nuclear equivalence" with the U.S. but stressed Russia's "offensive posture." Thereupon, NATO Secretary General M. A. Luns followed with a description of the ever "bolder" Russian "intrusions abroad" off northern Norway "to the point that a submarine recently entered the Narvik fjord."

There Carter called for the need to create more precision guided missiles and insisted that at no matter what cost, preparations for the new technology of the 1980s must start at once. Thereupon NATO's naval commander in the Atlantic Ocean, Admiral Isaac C. Kidd, was empowered to draw up "contingency plans" for operations beyond the present alliance boundary of the Tropic of Cancer. Whether that was to "protect" oil tankers from the Persian Gulf bound for Europe and the U.S., or for purposes of Western "intrusions abroad," the global aims stick out all too distinctly.

Clearly, Carter's call "to combine, coordinate and concert" all defense programs not only met with unanimity at NATO, but was being implemented before even being pronounced. Thus, General Luns, helping to stir up fear that has ever been the way of rulers to direct the masses to the enemy they choose to name, not only babbled about everything from Russia stationing 100,000 Russian troops in central Europe to its allegedly developing a "death ray" to immobilize all U.S. missiles.

**CARTER A SUCCESS AT NATO: SCHMIDT THE VICTOR AT SUMMIT**

Carter is hardly waiting for "proof" of that, or his own new weaponry of the 1980s, but at once called for the relocation of ground forces in West Germany, which remains the key point of the international situation for all war mongers, be it for "conventional" wars or a nuclear world holocaust: World War III. Instead of American, Dutch and Belgian troops, as presently, being based well west of potential battle area, they are to move closer to the frontier between West and East Germany.

Finally, what completed his total success at NATO, with those he commanded, was that, far from asking West Europe to "bear its share of the cost" as pre-summitry propaganda had it, Carter assured one and all that the U.S. would "continue" the support and reinforcement of the U.S. "presence" there, including, above all, its nuclear umbrella.

This didn't mean that the West European rulers (or Japan for that matter) would rely on that nuclear umbrella alone, much less be ordered about by the U.S. Quite the contrary. West Germany's Helmut Schmidt, at one and the same time, not only announced that he was going through with the \$4-\$8 billion nuclear reactor deal with Brazil, but that Germany itself would spend \$2.7 billion for nuclear "research." Supposedly this was for peaceful purposes, as part of alternative energy sources not dependent on oil, but in fact, it frees Germany from total reliance on the U.S. nuclear umbrella.

After hitting out at Carter before the conference, and continuing with his own brand of hypocrisy, Schmidt said that, of course, he "understands" Carter's aim to see that there is no access to fuel-process technology that could lead to atomic arms manufacture by "evil-minded countries that evade international control." But, of course, neither that ex-Nazi nor the militaristic regimes in Latin America he is selling nuclear reactors to are "evil-minded"!

It isn't that Carter was "taken in" by such statements. The real reason the summitry of the seven nations at 10 Downing Street May 7-8 decided not to touch that divisive issue is the totality of the economic crisis which they have no way of getting out of as it is, much less if they dared stop the export of nuclear reactors. No less than 100,000 West German jobs now depend, directly and indirectly, on the construction of these nuclear power stations. This is equal to the number involved in the national aerospace industrial complex. In a word, what employment there is is heavily dependent on militarization, including atomic.

The economic turbulence that lies ahead, as well as that which undermines it now; the undercurrent of revolt that led to such near total revolutions as the Portuguese; the Russian nuclear buildup which will hardly stop anymore than the U.S., even if there is a SALT deal, is what also relates to Helmut Schmidt's inflated victory at 10 Downing Street. Politically, too, he was "in advance" of his co-capitalistic rulers abroad, i.e., seeing how to shore up NATO's soft underbelly in Portugal. He was first to send in money and "political line" to the present "Socialist" Prime Minister Soares, and thus to assure military bases to NATO.

The 1,600 journalists, TV cameramen and other mass media pundits that swarmed to London for the conference, followed the new star—President Carter—around wherever he went, but hardly asked Carter any embarrassing questions. About the only question that did

point to reality—how does the conference expect to succeed when neither the 1975 Rambouillet nor the 1976 Puerto Rico conference achieved any resolution to the economic crises?—was allowed to float away with a Carter smile. When you know that a "world at peace" spends no less than \$350 billion for the military, what can be said of its "economic base"?

**NATIONALISMS, INCLUDING EURO-COMMUNISM**

Even such permanent arms economy, which has kept capitalism from total collapse, is only delaying the day of reckoning. It has not halted the permanent unemployed army, or the ever-rising inflation, much less the undercurrent of revolt which is constantly bursting out into the open, and presently destabilizing the Establishment in Western Europe and in Japan. It is this which has had Carter constantly backing off on every point he had announced before the summit, from trying to control nuclear proliferation to the pretense of upholding "human rights."

Yet, though Carter easily enough gave up having any such statements included in the official communique; and though he kept up the pretense that he is not worried about Euro-Communism—each country has a



right to have a government of its choice, he said with a smile—he in fact was busy, at one and the same time, both beefing up military bases in Spain and Portugal, and encouraging d'Estaing to align with his far right to make sure that the French SP-CP coalition does not come to power.

The truth is that, for the so-called common goals of trying to maintain economic growth, lower inflation, and do something to stop the constantly expanding unemployed army, time is running out for capitalism, private as well as state. The overriding fact of capitalism, world capitalism, is stagnation. Stagnation of economic growth. Stagnation of employment. Stagnation of politics. As d'Estaing had to admit: "The problem of unemployment and especially unemployment among the youth, is the basic challenge to our whole economic system."

The 24 country Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development study conceded that, even if there is some immediate economic upturn, there is no way to avoid "the longer term imbalance between the growing demand for employment and the absorptive capacity of the economy." Once again the word is stagnation, decay, a system that has long outlived its usefulness.

To help West Europe look whole when in fact it is going to pieces, Carter "gave in", first to West Germany, then to France, and also tolerated Italy. The crises are just too many, even if one disregards what happened directly after that summitry which included meeting also with Assad and talking of "peace in the Middle East," only to be confronted with Israel moving to the far right in its election and another Arab-Israeli war looming ahead. The festering conflict between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus likewise refuses to go away.

And should it be possible to put all those conflicts, plus the stalled Tokyo round of the trade talks, on the back burner, there is still the overriding fear of Euro-Communism coming to power both in Italy and France, France especially. With that in mind they are all exaggerating just how close to power is the SP-CP alliance in France. The virulent new nationalisms—whether of the standard chauvinistic private enterprise variety; or Communist nationalism, planned state-capitalism; or the latest hybrid, Maltese—"progressive"—cannot stand on their own feet.

Each is being helped by Big Capital—East, West, Gold Circle Middle East—and in the case of Malta, helped by both China and Libya. And in the not too far distance is the latest flareup of the Sino-Soviet conflict, very sharply tied to the myriad crises not just in "the West" or the "East"; but between the two nuclear titans—U.S. and Russia—vying for single world domination. To that end it is necessary to lull the people and make it palatable to think the unthinkable—nuclear holocaust!

Let's take a closer look at the newest heating up of

the Sino-Soviet conflict to see just how it is, in fact, directed westward.

**SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT, "THEORIES" AND PRACTICES**

Accusing China of wanting to return "to the time not only of cold war, but of a shooting war as well", Pravda, on May 14, spread itself over two pages to give its version of the latest flare-up in the Sino-Soviet conflict: "China is today the only country in the world whose official circles advocate publicly and without any camouflage a new world slaughter."

The Russian rulers turned to the real target: the rumor that the U.S. may sell arms to China: "The leaders of the military-industrial complexes of the U.S., West Germany, Japan and some other capitalist countries are actively discussing the possibility of supplying China with arms and military equipment." Lkening this to the "appeasement" which brought on World War II, the implication became unmistakable: if the West "dares" to do any such thing, Russia will not sit idly by. Indeed, the on-again off-again, hot/cold negotiations on SALT are a great deal more related to whether or not China is succeeding in arranging deals with the West, than to the "displeasure" with Carter's rhetoric on "human rights."

The one thing that distinguishes the "pragmatic West" from the supposedly "dogmatic East" is that the latter does try to theorize about its pragmatic imperialist thrusts. April has been a month of such balance sheets since April 22, the birth of Lenin, had been used by China, in 1960, to announce the public opening of the Sino-Soviet Conflict. In 1977 it was used by Russia to declare its new scowling at Euro-Communism as theoreticians from 75 CPs met in Czechoslovakia under auspices of World Marxist Review.

The month of April was taken up with preparing "theoretic" ground, at one and the same time, for fighting post-Mao China leadership and scowling at Euro-Communism which they had previously very nearly "approved."

Now there was an attack on "nationalist deviations" from needed "international solidarity." Most significant of all was the fact that this theory was by no means limited to the theoretical journal. Quite the contrary. The practices which are as imperialist as any in the pragmatic West, get "theorized"—and at once militarized. And thus it was that the scowling at Euro-Communism (with its own "internationalism" made as chauvinistically clear as possible), and the attack on China, that replied in kind, was reiterated in the Armed Forces daffy, Red Star.

**BACK HOME**

As if Russian sabre-rattling wasn't disturbing enough, U.S. imperialism did some of its own—and not only regarding U.S. "defense," but spilling over onto the energy front. To the rescue, giving the West its "labor" coloration, came Tony Benn, Britain's Minister of Energy. In defense of Carter's energy proposals, as if they weren't all directed against the masses and for the military, that Minister said: "President Carter's new energy proposals confront the massed alliance of the world nuclear lobby."

Mr. Benn followed this up by denying that the way energy proposals were directed was to the right. He insisted that this was not a question of Left-Right, or Labor-Capital, but supposedly "democracy" vs. "technology" and, while the Labor Party Minister was all for "democracy," nevertheless: "Can you put the genie back into the bottle, or the plutonium back into the uranium? Carter's decision to re-examine the whole problem is good."

The "re-examination," unfortunately, is not for purposes of seeing what to do either about unemployment or inflation or the North-South dialogue, but only to excuse the continued proliferation of atomic energy by both West Germany and France, by both the U.S. and Japan, by Britain and the Middle East, by both South Africa and other chauvinistic narrow nationalisms that are at this very moment thinking the unthinkable. The only thing that will stop this mad scramble for single world domination, is the mass resistance and undercurrent of revolts that once and for all can put an end to the exploitative, class-dominated, racist, sexist society that dares call itself "civilization."

—Raya Dunayevskaya  
Chairwoman, National Editorial Board

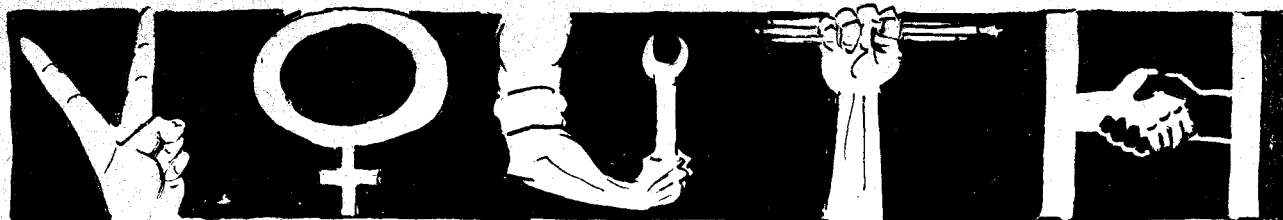
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## Youth see realities of hopeless job market

by Jim Mills

"No one is listening to us." This is what one young person said during a march for jobs by Detroit teenagers. Despite the cheering by Mayor Coleman Young about the thousands of jobs for city youth, many more hundreds of thousands of teenagers in Detroit and elsewhere will remain jobless.

Surely, a mere 205,000 jobs in the just-passed National Young Adult Conservation Corps doesn't indicate an ear turned towards youth's demands for jobs. What programs there are nationally for youth employment will be eaten up by the demand for work by an additional 4.3 million youths looking for summer jobs alone.

Already 3.4 million people between 16 and 24 are looking for work. (For over half a million unemployed vets, Carter has proposed setting aside 9,240 public service jobs!)

Carter and the other heads of state meeting in the recent economic summit each brought their reports of mass youth unemployment into the talks. In the nine Common Market countries, two million people under 25 are unemployed. (See "Mass revolts" article, p. 1.)

What the capitalists fear in the implication of their inability to provide work for young people was expressed best by Helmut Schmidt: "We just can't afford to have our young people out on the streets at the mercy of the radical rat-catchers."

According to one report, young Europeans develop life styles while unemployed which make them unfit for employment when it's available. But more than just developing anti-employer lifestyles, these youths are witnessing how employers take advantage of mass unemployment to exploit young workers.

## Hospital parking attendants face forced overtime, firings

Los Angeles, Cal. — About three weeks ago I started working at a job parking cars for a hospital. When you apply for the job you sign a contract that says the company can fire you anytime without prior notification. It also has a place for you to fill in where to be sent if you are injured. (And we work at a hospital!)

We get minimum wage and our work week is 44 hours before we get overtime. I have been forced to work 10-hour days, five days a week. Most of us are young and about 90 percent are third world. In the three weeks I have been there, three workers have been fired out of approximately 25 employees.

A young Chicano who had worked there three days was fired because he was "a bad influence on the rest of the boys." He had been put through the company ritual of being shifted from one place to another all day. When the supervisor came up to him after he had been put into isolation for hours (standing around with no work to do), he told the supervisor he would not be moved one more time. One day later he was fired. He said it wouldn't be so bad "standing around" if he could read, but we are not allowed to do that.

The way they have it set up, it is very difficult to get a union in. There are undocumented workers from Mexico who face deportation as well as being fired. Also there aren't many unions who will really represent us. We have no one behind us. Maybe a union won't care about our discussions on unionization, but they are important to the workers who are trying to discuss some solution to our problems.

## Youth in Revolt

About 4,000 people, mostly students, attended a memorial service for a student, Stanislaw Pyjas and 5,000 marched in silence to a rally at Krakow, Poland on May 15 to protest the mysterious death of Pyjas, killed for his active support of the Workers Defense Committee formed to aid families of those jailed in last summer's food price riots. The Student Solidarity Committee announced its inception at the rally. On May 20, nearly 1,000, again mostly students, attended a requiem Mass following arrests of supporters of the Workers Defense Committee during the previous week.

Nearly 500 Stanford University students sat in at the University's Old Union building following a rally by 700 students on May 9. Supported by hundreds outside, they demanded an end to investments in racist apartheid South Africa by corporations in which Stanford is a major shareholder.

Thousands of students ignored an official ban and staged outdoor rallies across Brazil on May 19 to protest educational problems and government violations of human rights. The "National Day of Struggle" was the first nationwide, coordinated student demonstration there in years.

They also see employers choosing their handful of recruits from among the recently-graduated high school and college students rather than from those hardened to the realities of capitalism's hopeless job market.

A recent study into the drop in productivity in the U.S. concluded that youth are unwilling to put up with



These New York youths were among 20,000 who waited overnight to apply for government-funded summer jobs.

"highly directive, arbitrary practices on the job." More than this being the result of the generation gap, it is a profile of growing revolt led by young workers against steadily worsening conditions of labor.

Carter's way of getting business acceptance for his scheme to take youth out of the army of the unemployed is in fact based on exploiting young workers. His minimum wage proposal of \$2.50 is the lowest increase of wage since 1950 for private-sector jobs. And the "new" Jobs Corps will send graduates to jobs paying \$4,500 per year, which comes out to well below the current minimum wage of \$2.30.

The government solutions are really no solutions at all for youth, whether exploited at work or frustrated on the streets.

## Win demands at Old Westbury

(Students occupied the College at Old Westbury April 18 after a boycott of classes escalated into a shut down of the campus for six days. The occupation ended when the administration agreed to the strike demands. The following is a participant's report—Ed.)

Westbury, N.Y. — This school is unique because it was created to serve the traditionally by-passed students: minorities, working class people, women, and veterans. People in the 1960s fought for this school because it didn't exist before for such students.

Being a student at Old Westbury is a continuing struggle. We are fighting the new admissions policies, the firing of two Black professors, administration policies and housing and food services.

It's not just a general question of economics. The struggle is over the very mission of this school. It's clear that if these cutbacks go through, traditionally by-passed students won't get in here anymore.

Last year we won an agreement on these issues with the administration, but they were not only ignored, things got worse. So it was decided to go on strike.

On April 18 we held a boycott of classes. It went all right, but a lot of us were not satisfied, as it was more a boycott than a strike. We were too passive that first day. The second day was when the real impact came in. We held a meeting and decided that no one was going to attend classes, and we blocked the campus roads. Everybody took part in the occupation.

Whenever outsiders come here, they're always saying, I don't believe the unity here. Older students, younger students, Black, Hispanic, white, we never had fights between students because we're too busy fighting the enemy. We are fighting for the basics of life. Who can bother about skin color?

We decided to occupy the entire campus because we could not deal with the administration. Last year's occupation of Hostos College did the right thing. They fought until they occupied the school, beat the administration, and they are still fighting. That's why I'm wondering, why did we give up the occupation?

We beat the administration, there's no doubt of that. But I feel that we shouldn't have negotiated with the administration.

—Mercedes

## 2,000 fight cutbacks at UCLA

Los Angeles, Cal.—Two days (Apr. 28-29) of picket lines, student walk-outs and meetings at UCLA begun by striking teaching assistants (TAs) and students, around proposed TA and minority enrollment cutbacks, culminated in a mass rally and march of some 2,000 students.

The Black Student Alliance called the march but the substantial participation by TAs and students from the previous day gave the march its momentum, with TAs and white students accounting for more than half of the marchers.

What is at issue is the administration's proposed reduction of more than 50 teaching assistants next fall, which it maintains is contingent upon the drop in enrollment. The TAs see it as a roll-back of minority students', particularly Black, gains won in the '60s.

Other recent events at UCLA reflect the disgusting lower depths of American racism. On April 12 someone or persons ransacked the Black Students' Alliance office.

They spray-painted racist phrases on the walls, tore down posters, destroyed office files, ripped out the phone and drew a noose around the neck of a picture of Frederick Douglass that was on the wall. While the Administration is "intending" to investigate the vandalism, the BSA office, previously always open to students to meet and hold discussions, will now have to be locked.

Racism on UC campuses in the last two months hasn't been limited to anti-Black, but in Berkeley has taken on the form of the oldest of racisms—anti-Semitism. A Jewish center on Fraternity Row was the target of anti-Semitic vandalism and slurs by one of the neighboring fraternity clubs.

Claiming that the students were drunk, the Administration views the incident of vandalism and degeneracies shouted in the night, such as "Gas them, Hitler was right, kill the Jews" as nothing more than fraternity hijinks.

Students came out in support of the last march but the continuance of the struggle will depend on the recognition that their ideas for self-organization are as much a force as their numbers. The student population, especially minorities and women, are still looking to see if the TAs and the Coalition really present a new point of departure for the student movement since the '60s.

## Students occupy Italian schools

(In March, students in Bologna, and all of Italy, occupied universities protesting Education Minister Malfatti's program requiring students to take courses for which there was a "market," to decide on a course in two years, and to become "apprentices" for two years after graduation.—Ed.)

Bologna, Italy — The immediate response of the government's publication of the Malfatti program was in the form of the takeover. In Bologna the teachers took the initiative by closing the university and holding a permanent assembly. After two days the students decided to occupy the school. By that time almost every university in Italy was under student control. Within the next week every university would be liberated.

The mass of students were finally involved in all aspects of the movement. It was a tremendous period of unification, understanding, and creativity, and when it ended in March a decision was made by the students in the hopes of involving even more people, attempting a permanent reform. The university began functioning a little more in the students' interests.

On March 8 the feminists decided it was time that they had a women's center in Bologna and attempted to occupy a building in the center of town. Once again the police intervened, repelling the women with tear gas as well as hand-to-club combat.

Then it finally happened. They decided to murder one of us. On the morning of March 11 a group of students went into the Anatomy building to disrupt a meeting of CI (a right-wing group) . . . Francesco Lorusco was exiting from a building down the block to help the others when they were immediately fired upon . . . he was wounded fatally.

The news of the murder spread rapidly. It was no more than half an hour before the students began barricading the streets around the university. The continuous slogan rang out: "For the comrades murdered, it is not enough for us to weep — you will pay dearly, you will pay with everything!"

Most decision-making in the movement seems to be taking place within various decentralized assemblies occurring daily. Although there's a group of people speaking more often than the average person within the assembly, to my knowledge there is no steering committee controlling agenda or decision-making.

We went back to the university to hold our assembly and a press conference and then news came that they were coming to chase us out. They were an army, militarily equipped, organized. We were only thousands of students with perhaps a naive desire to keep our liberated ground. Work squads were set up, building each barricade, digging up the concrete blocks with picks and forks.

The last attack came at 9 p.m. or so. No fooling around, they started shooting real bullets at us. There were other things occurring at this time. Anti-fascist demonstrations, anti-government marches, etc. But the most important development remained the occupations.

—Marc S.



# Mass revolts spur economic-military summitry to bolster tottering capitalism

(continued from page 1)

land parcels, and by subjecting the workers' cooperatives to much state control in production and marketing.

In factories, pressure is being put on workers to allow factory owners to reassume control of worker-occupied enterprises. Factory commissions are being manipulated, or made ineffective. Strikes against these policies are being broken by the government.

But far from yielding to the whip of counter-revolution, the Portuguese masses are still in struggle. Thus:

- On May 1, a week after the militaristic display of April 25, tens of thousands of Portugal's workers marched in the street to show their opposition.

- We found workers in various sectors resisting the efforts of government and factory owners to retake factories and break the organizing efforts of workers. Many workers have made their most militant actions since the Nov. 25 coup as, for example, the Domestic Workers Union.

- We met numerous radicals both in groups and outside, especially women activists, who while naturally pessimistic with the events of the most recent period, feel it is only a temporary setback. Many were looking seriously into how to continue the revolutionary process both as activity and as thought.

## ITALY

The most sustained working class opposition in Western Europe over the past two years has been occurring in Italy. The autonomous movement, so named because of its independence from and opposition to the established Left, especially the Italian Communist Party, but as well as other vanguardist groups, has been in mas-

sive activity in many Italian cities.

In Milan, each day we were present, there were one or more demonstrations—of workers, of women, of youth. Often spontaneous in origin, the issues ranged from rape (see May NEWS & LETTERS) to housing to the cost of living. The price that the International Monetary Fund had extracted for its \$530 million loan to Italy was to divorce the vicious inflation rate from the working classes' protection in cost of living raises. In this fight the Italian Communist Party and the trade unions they dominate did not actively oppose the bill.

Indeed, the Italian Communist Party seems bent on only one thing—a class collaborationist share of government with the Christian Democrats.\* The "ruling" Christian Democrats for their part recognize the value of seeking and getting Communist Party cooperation for their program to reinforce the police apparatus. The CP gladly cooperates, calling the students who have been in the streets, hoodlums.

As in Portugal, so in Italy, the women's movement is a crucial testing ground for the revolutionary movement. It was not only the CP which was put to the test, when the women's movement challenged its parliamentary maneuvers on the question of abortion. It is the autonomous movement itself which is being tested by women who do not hesitate to challenge the male domination of its leadership and their refusal to take women's issues as crucial to the movement. (See article on Women's Liberation in West Europe, p. 2.)

\*See Political-Philosophic Letter #34 on Euro-Communism by Raya Dunayevskaya. Available from NEWS & LETTERS for 50c.

## SPAIN

The violence that the Spanish government and their police used on May Day in Spain has been met with universal outrage. The trade union movement had been legalized only a few days earlier, and was brutally put down. When we were in Spain several weeks earlier it was refreshing to see the walls full of slogans calling for the legalization of all political parties, including the Communist Party, in a country which only recently had seen the death of Franco. Because the Communists had played a strong role in the resistance to Franco, their role of betrayal in the Spanish Revolution 40 years ago has moved into the background for the time being. But the same class collaborationist policies of the CP in Italy have been endorsed by the Spanish CP leadership.

There is no doubt that the question of the Basques is crucial, with new confrontations with the government breaking out all the time. Whether the Basque movement can be in unity with the growing working class struggles and thus a pathway for self-determination for all of Spain remains to be seen.

## THE THIRD WORLD

It is not only Western European countries which are in crisis and revolt. If any countries have felt the effect of the quadrupling of oil prices, it has been the Third World oil importing countries.

To try to avert total catastrophe and an open confrontation with the Third World as the meeting of the North-South is winding up its sessions the end of this month, the U.S. has agreed to commit itself to a slight rise in revenues for the Third World, and all the industrial countries will supposedly allow for new commitments on the question of commodity prices.

The proposal of a Common Fund for Buffer Stocks to keep the market fluctuations for commodities from totally wrecking the economies of these poor countries is so piddling a sum that it can hardly halt the ever greater gap between industrialized rich countries and the underdeveloped poor countries.

Carter no sooner returned to the U.S. than he sent his Vice-President off to Europe, singling out the two countries he had urged West Europe to recognize as "democracies"—not only Portugal but royal Spain—and incorporate into NATO. Mondale was ordered to do all in his power to retain all military bases, armed as he was with \$300 million for aid to Portugal and thus far unspecified sums for Spain, holding out promises of Spanish entry into NATO. Like Russia, the U.S. has by no means given up the race for single world domination.

## WHERE TO NOW?

The masses have yet to have their final say. Whether in the developed lands of Europe, or the underdeveloped lands of the Third World; whether through the private capitalism of the West, or through the state-capitalism calling itself Communism of the East (note especially the latest worker and intellectual unrest and revolt in Poland and Czechoslovakia), none have been able to solve any of the economic, political, or social questions of the day. They have at most been involved in a poor holding action.

The newest mass movements from below present a tremendous opportunity and challenge to the Left in country after country.

Take England. The social democracy through the Labor Party, far from being any revolutionary force, is precisely the disciplinarian for capitalism of the English working class. They are trying to force for the third year in a row the continuation of the so-called Social Contract which has in practice meant that the real purchasing power of the British working class continues on a downhill spiral.

But a second question, that of race, has divided the working class. The racism in England can be seen not only in the immigration policies of the government, but as well in a separation in the radical movement. Here there is too much compartmentalization of race from class, as if one could deal separately with the two questions. The Left has been guilty of failing to face this separation, a separation which has to be overcome if we are to move towards a new society.

For the Left the present situation globally is an opportunity and a challenge to listen to that movement from below, of workers, women, minorities, youth, who are not alone force, but reason of revolution. It is an opportunity and a challenge to once and for all break with any so-called lesser evil of state-capitalism calling itself Communism which has led to aborted and transformed-into-opposite revolutions. And finally it is an opportunity and a challenge to create out of the masses' praxis a philosophy of human liberation for our day. Only then can the rebellions that are now global and sustained have a chance to grow to the fruition of social revolution.

## Seabrook protesters freed; anti A-plant movement grows

Boston, Mass.—The last of the 1,414 demonstrators arrested May 1 at the Seabrook, N.H. nuclear power-plant site were released after 12 days incarceration in National Guard armories. The arrests followed the April 30 occupation of the power-plant site by 1,800 members of the Clamshell Alliance, an organization of anti-nuclear activists.

State Police and National Guard troops from four states were called in by Governor Meldrim Thomson to remove the demonstrators from the site. Demonstrators were herded into buses and transported to National Guard armories where they were held pending arraignment.

The demonstrators were found guilty of trespassing and given \$100 fines and 15-day hard labor sentences in a series of mass trials which ended May 13. About 50 demonstrators refused to take part in the mass trials and will receive individual trials. All were released on their own recognizance and penalties were stayed pending appeals to Rockingham Superior Court.

The Seabrook occupation marks the latest in a seven-year series of attempts by local residents, environmentalists, and anti-nuclear activists to stop the construction of a \$2 billion nuclear power plant by the Public Service Company. Last March, residents of Seabrook and several nearby communities voted against the power-plant in local referendums. Despite widespread community opposition, the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission granted a

construction permit to the Public Service Company.

Local residents are particularly concerned that thermal pollution from the plant will ruin the area's important fishing industry. Concerns have also been voiced concerning the radioactive waste generated by the plant and the possibility of a nuclear explosion. Construction on the site has been temporarily halted pending a federal review of the issues raised by the occupation.

The Seabrook occupation was the first mass occupation of a nuclear power site in the United States. Similar occupations have occurred in France and West Germany over the past two years. The Clamshell Alliance hopes to use the publicity and grass-roots support generated by the Seabrook action to build a mass anti-nuclear movement. Similar occupations are planned for other nuclear sites throughout the country in the immediate future.

—Robert Mortimer

## European students on move

Returning to the United States after spending close to a year working and traveling in France and Italy, I was delighted to see the coverage in News & Letters of the renaissance of the revolutionary student movement in Western Europe. It is an event of vital importance for all of us here in America, unfortunately ignored by most of the "distributors of information," whether of the established bourgeois press or of the Left.

In October in Nantes, I witnessed the largest mass demonstrations that France had seen for ten years. Tens of thousands of workers and youth marched in protest against unemployment and the government's austerity programs.

I left France in January with the hopeful conviction that, with the expected victory of the "official Left" in the upcoming parliamentary elections, a new wave, a revolutionary ferment, might soon be on the agenda.

Although it would be wise not to overstress their importance (the students are still almost entirely divided from practically all sectors of the working class), the demonstrations in France against reform of the University's "second cycle" brought with it a revival of the critique of the Communist Party, not just in its tactics and collaboration, but in its ideas and its distortions of Marxism.

In France, where I spent most of my time, there seemed to have been developments since 1968 that ran in many ways parallel to what happened here. One could talk with a Maoist equally well in Paris as in Boston, and hear the same line about Stalin's "heroic defense of the Chinese people."

The libertarian and affirmative flavor of the May 1968 explosion, its stress on the imagination in action and revolution as permanent critique of everyday life, the setting free of the creativity of each individual, all this was already gone by 1970.

Although I was able to stay in Italy only one month, I was particularly amazed by the extent to which a radical leftist culture—Marxist, anarchist, feminist—is so much a part of the daily life and experience of the Italian students.

It remains an important task for us today, above all in light of the recent upheavals in Italy, England, and elsewhere, to understand capital's strategy and use of the university system, the specific oppressions that the student faces, and the perspective that this unusual position in society offers him or her.

—Alan S.

## Youth share ideas at Oberlin

Oberlin, Ohio—On May 7 the Oberlin Progressive Student Union (OPSU) had a conference on student organizations. We had representatives from Harvard, Princeton, City College, New York, Brooklyn College, Bowdoin and Oberlin. It was very exciting to talk with students from other parts of the country who were working for the same goals, struggling against the same kind of barriers that we are.

Many emphasized the fact that nothing's going to change without stronger ties with the working class. Right now there is a general feeling of isolation between these two groups. Some recommended supporting campus workers and employees in their struggles and the surrounding community.

People have difficulty dealing with the fact that if you stress how such and such an action is another blow against the capitalist system, you're going to alienate a lot of support. Many moderates would support certain demonstrations and causes if they were conducted as reforms and not as efforts to change the system. Yet to publicize them as reforms, playing only with their personal interests (such as budget cuts, tuition hikes . . . wages even), and toning down the real end, radical change, revolution—that's giving up the principles fundamental to the work we're doing. That's playing into the capitalists' hands.

And, people don't want to be told to be conscious of their position. They've got to go through the struggle themselves to realize what they're up against. But in the meantime, in between periods of immediate oppression on campus by the administration, these students are a conservative, reactionary force against our work.

It was encouraging to listen to the successes others have won on their campuses against the system. We exchanged some practical tactical advice as well as some ideology. We will be keeping in touch and will support each other in struggle in the year to come.

—Oberlin student

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## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

### Likud Party election moves Israel to far right

The elections in Israel this May 18 gave a majority to the Likud Party on the far right. Nothing more reactionary has occurred in Israel, then called Palestine, since the Likud leader, Menahem Begin, led his terrorist organization, then called Irgun, into the perpetration of an Arab massacre in Deir Yassin. Just as the genuine Jewish revolutionaries, then fighting for independence from British imperialism, considered Begin a racist counter-revolutionary (though both were fighting Britain for a new homeland for the Jews), so now the Jewish masses must fight him to the end.

There is one small ray of hope in the fact that a new party — Democratic Movement for Change — jumped into third place in the national alignment of parties in its very first election bid. But it is also true that most of its fire was concentrated on the domestic front, against the corruption in the ruling Labor Party, rather than in foreign policy, though

change was also implied there. What is needed, however, in such critical times is not something that is only implied, but a totally new foreign policy which favors a homeland also for the Palestinians.

Another ray of hope is the fact that Likud, being as opposed to Jewish labor's rights as it is to Arab rights, will need to confront labor's demands. But it, too, cannot wait for a provocation before it begins open struggles against new state-capitalist rulers. No illusions can be entertained such as are now being fed by the daily press, that supposedly power will soften the Likud's aims to prepare Israel for another holocaust.

Deluding oneself with the idea that Likud is not the majority, that it has captured "only" a third of the vote is to turn away from the fact that one-third is no miniscule minority and that, moreover, it can easily get a parliamentary majority with the equally right wing National Religious Party and

other religious fanatics who wish to turn the clock back also in education as well as the pervasive sexism of orthodox Judaism. No, time is truly running out on any but the most revolutionary alternative to another Middle East war now looming on the horizon.

With sober senses we must face the truth. Nothing could better have fed the most extreme factions in the PLO that oppose Israel's very right to exist than Likud's victory. And nothing could have been thought up by the most rabid anti-Semites that would have been more provocative than Begin's appearance at the ultra-rightist Camp Kadum in the Israeli-occupied West Bank of Jordan, near Nablus, the very place where most militant anti-Israeli demonstrations have taken place. If that was Menahem Begin's very first action as soon as he smelled victory, what can he have in store for the Israeli masses other than war?

### Poland

A new and widespread Popular Front of Protest is sweeping Poland. It is most significant because of its broad working class base, but it also includes support from students, intellectuals and the Catholic church.

The circulation of so-called underground papers is so widespread and common that it may be called illegal but not clandestine. The texts of these papers are typed usually on single sheets of paper and circulated by hand, then sent with comments to Paris where they are reprinted in the exile publication KULTURA and sent back to Poland.

Recently a publication called ZAPIS, a 252-page collection of the signed literary texts of Polish authors that have been censored by the government, appeared on the streets of Warsaw.

A new committee called "Movement for the Defense of the Rights of Man and the Citizens" has issued a broad appeal aimed at "Polish society." This committee is an outgrowth of the Workers Aid Committee which emerged after the strikes of 1976, when thousands of workers were arrested, imprisoned and tortured.

Poland is the only country in the Soviet bloc where the workers have persisted in their ultimate weapon, the right to strike. Three times — in 1956, 1970 and again in 1976 — the Polish workers have downed their tools, defied their Communist bosses who have substituted themselves for the old capitalist masters, and have forced the government to capitulate.

In 1970 the shipyard workers forced Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Communist Party, to come to the shipyard to personally promise reforms before they would return to work. In Poznan, during the 1976 strike, the only building destroyed was the Communist Party headquarters.

The illegal publication "Information Bulletin," which is widely distributed and read, publishes the

names and telephone numbers of the members of the Workers Aid Committee, which enables those with grievances and information to make contact with those who can do something about it. They were responsible for collecting over 2,000 signatures — including those of 700 University students — on a petition addressed to the president of the parliament, demanding an inquiry into the torture of workers arrested in June, 1976.

The opposition to the Communist, state-capitalist regime and their conditions of life is so widespread and so powerful that both sides are wary of provoking what could become a final showdown. Moscow gave Gierek \$1.5 billion to implement his promises that ended the 1976 strikes. The opposition is quite aware of what happened in Czechoslovakia and Hungary and want to keep the Red Army hordes out of Poland.

### Pakistan

There has been nearly constant rebellion since Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared a re-election victory for himself in Pakistan on March 7. The Opposition Alliance is united only in its opposition to Bhutto who, like Indira Gandhi in India, has taken dictatorial powers and built a government administration run like the Mafia.

By the end of April, a general strike paralyzed Pakistan's economy and Bhutto called out the army and declared martial law. The army and police have killed over 260 demonstrators, injured thousands, and thrown opposition leaders into jail.

Opposition within the army has forced Bhutto to say he will hold a referendum to stay in power. Much of the Opposition Alliance unfortunately is made up of orthodox Islamic fanatics who are seeking the help of Saudi rulers as mediators. Only the Pakistani masses can rid their country of the corrupt Bhutto and avoid a return to the kind of oppressive religiosity that Desai represents in India.

### Ulster

The so-called "general strike" announced by Ulster's fascist Rev. Ian Paisley and his United Unionist Action Council for May 2 — and greatly feared by all who remembered the disgrace of the 15-day successful general strike by these same elements in 1974 — was this time soundly rejected by most of the Protestant workers of Ulster. Ten days after the "strike" began — with demands that Britain restore a Protestant-dominated government to Northern Ireland, end direct rule, and jail without trial the members of the I.R.A. — its leaders were forced to call a halt, in the face of repeated failures in their attempts to shut down all civil life.

Workers at the Ballylumford power plant, which produces two-thirds of Northern Ireland's electricity, voted May 6 to remain on the job, despite threats to their lives and safety from UVF gangsters. Three years ago, this same plant was shut down, giving the strike great momentum.

So vicious were the gangs of ultra-right wing vigilantes, that by the third day of the "strike" they murdered a 25-year-old cab driver who had been driving workers to their jobs. On the eighth day, faced with a nearly complete return to work in Belfast, they killed a bus driver in the Crumlin Road section, hoping to stop all bus service in the city.

The drivers did stay off the job for 24 hours, but only out of respect for their fellow-worker. The next morning, without bus service, thousands of Belfast workers walked to work, often in groups to avoid the thugs.

It is true that the "strike" was not the united policy of the Ulster far-right, and no one would claim that the back of fascism has been broken. But what is clear is that in rejecting Paisley and his all-too-real threat of fascist rule, Protestant workers have shown that the chances for genuine class unity toward transforming Ulster are not dead, providing a totally new banner is now to be raised.

## BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Every Black American certainly must have empathized with UN Ambassador, Andrew Young, when he refused to accept the humiliating designation of "honorary white" in return for an invitation from the South African government to visit that land of apartheid.

We also applaud his reply to this stupid arrogance when he said that he was going to Africa as a "bloody Kaffir." (The word Kaffir, a derogatory term that South African whites call Black people of that country, is of Arabic origin, meaning "infidel").

Both Frantz Fanon and Amilcar Cabral, in their analysis of colonialism, have written about this kind of humiliation which attempts to destroy the identity of oppressed peoples — not simply their culture, but their total identity as human beings in the dialectical relationship with their oppressors.

The "safeness" of this "logic" lies in the belief of the ruling South African whites that the people they exploit are only "things." Therefore, if they have to deal with a Black person in any other category, as an equal, he or she has to be "elevated" to the position of an "honorary white."

But Young is not simply going to Africa as a Black person; he is going there in the capacity of a representative of the U.S. government. And it is this role that Black Americans and Africans are vitally concerned about.

### WHY ANDREW YOUNG WAS CHOSEN

Whereas the Ford Administration had the blessings of the Black Caucus to support its counter-revolutionary activities in Africa, Carter has a former civil rights

## Young speaks for U.S. aims in Africa superpower struggle

activist, Andrew Young, as representative of U.S. imperialism in the Third World, and Southern Africa in particular. Indeed, Young is a far better choice than Kissinger, because he gives the appearance of credibility, having been a co-worker with Martin Luther King, and not, as Kissinger was, a protege of Rockefeller.

But people (as well as movements) that are not grounded in mass struggles for liberation do change into their absolute opposites, as Lenin concretely discovered in 1914, when the Parties of Social Democracy became the Parties of Social Patriotism overnight. And Andrew Young is one of a new generation of retrogressive "leadership."

Young is an exponent of President Carter's "new" African policy. But is Carter's policy really "new"? Has it abandoned U.S. imperialist interests in South Africa? The answer is, of course, no.

Young, too, has no real fundamental differences with American capitalism or imperialism. He thinks that they can be reformed by "moral suasion," and he sees the catalyst for change in South Africa resting in the hands of the multinational corporations — and not through the self-activity of the people of Soweto or the workers who are hired in the plants and mines of these multinational corporations in South Africa.

### SINO-SOVIET STRUGGLE IN AFRICA

U.S. imperialism is not the only threat to the new revolutionary potential shown by the African masses — they are confronted with the African ambitions of Russia and China. Kissinger's maneuvers in Southern Africa last year were really a counter-offensive against Russia, after the success of the Angolan Revolution, while China's de-

cision to side with South Africa was an attempt to thwart the influence of its "Enemy No. 1" — Russia — on the African continent.

The competition among these three world powers to achieve domination in Africa has increased considerably. Russia is doing its best to oust China and the U.S. from East Africa. Former Soviet President Podgorny has visited Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique. And China has grumbled about the betrayal by Tanzania, where, they assert, Soviet influence is eroding professed nonalignment. Russian and Cuban influence is said to have extended to the Zimbabwean Nationalist Movement, as they now have become the guerrillas' sole benefactors.

Africa is being pulled into the vortex of international politics, and we cannot look at the Southern African struggles for freedom either outside the context of world state-capitalist crisis, or outside the super-power struggle for single world domination.

The Carter/Young concern is not when majority rule in Rhodesia will take place, but to whom will that Black rule fall? What section of the colonial bourgeoisie will best reflect the interests of western imperialism?

The main enemy of any revolution is always the internal one, and this has been tragically true in Africa. Two-and-one-half decades ago, the end of colonialism in Africa was hailed as the beginnings of a society based on a new "Humanism." Both Leopold Senghor and Sekou Touré spoke eloquently about a society that would bring to the world a "universal civilization, a society without any racial and cultural antagonisms and without narrow egotism and privilege." And now, a new generation is again saying "NO" to the past, and consciously preparing new beginnings for that new humanity.