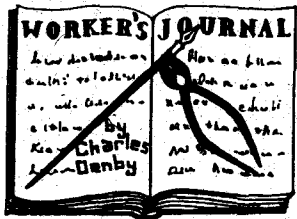


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Black political prisoner seeks new trial

by Charles Denby, Editor

Many stories come across my desk every day, but none are more moving than that of Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, a 30-year-old Black political prisoner at the Marion Federal Penitentiary. The horror story that he lived, because of his involvement in Black liberation and anti-war activities, is made only more believable by the daily stories we are now reading of CIA harassment and even murder of people all over the world — including Martin Luther King and Patrice Lumumba—whose political beliefs and activities they opposed. I would like to turn my column over this month to some of the details of the story of Lorenzo Komboa Ervin.

He was born and raised in Chattanooga, Tenn. and came from a poor working-class family. In 1965, at the age of 18, he joined the U.S. Army. His reasons for doing this were much the same as many other Americans in Black ghettos — the hope of escaping the boredom, the poverty, the victimization by local cops, and to seek adventure which they could not find in their hometowns.

During the first week of his basic training at Fort Jackson, S.C., there was a riot between Black and white soldiers. Afterward, some 400 young soldiers, mostly Blacks, were shipped in a convoy of buses to Fort Gordon, Ga. where they found that the drill instructors and officers were vicious racists who deliberately fostered tensions between Black and white recruits.

INFLUENCED BY WATTS

After a short time, Komboa was sent to Fort Dix, N.J. for further training while awaiting shipment to West Germany. During this period, two events took place which had a profound influence on his thinking. The first was the people's revolt in the Dominican Republic in April, 1965, when some 20,000 Marines and paratroopers were sent in to crush the rebels. The other was the rebellion of Black people in Watts.

Just a few weeks after the Watts rebellion, he was flown to West Germany. Every day all around him he could see the same old trappings of the racism that had been so much a part of his life since birth.

Komboa and a number of other young Blacks felt it was time to do something about this. A group was formed secretly called "Black GIs United," also involving some progressive whites. They called for a strike and a boycott of the mess hall, canteen and the enlisted men's club, and, in general, so disturbed the old apartheid pattern at the camp that eventually the commander gave in and some changes were made.

Black GIs United was also very much involved in anti-Vietnam War activities, taking part in anti-war demonstrations with German civilians, usually students. Eventually when he was ordered to Vietnam, Komboa practiced what Black GIs United was preaching and went absent without leave.

(Continued on Page 3)

Women made sure scab mines remained closed

Uniontown, Penna. — "We're out here because we're in sympathy with the miners and because we're against the Taft-Hartley Act," declared the woman carrying the picket sign proclaiming "No Contract—No Work!"

She and other women were picketing a mine in southwest Pennsylvania that had tried to open on several occasions, but had been kept closed by striking miners. When the Taft-Hartley Act was invoked by President Carter, threatening the striking miners with jail and fines if they tried to prevent scab mines from operating, the women took over — even though there were reports that women would also be arrested under the Taft-Hartley injunction if they interfered with operations.

The mood of the women matched that of the striking miners, who had grimly listened to reports of the penalties under the act at local union meetings throughout the coal fields, and let their actions speak for them. Not a single union mine opened.

There were, however, a number of scab mines that did open under police guards. And despite the injunction, many pickets did come out to close mines that tried to operate. In Preston County in northern West Virginia, an area notorious for its scab mine operations, four pickets were arrested; in southern Pennsylvania, miners were also out shutting down non-union mines that tried to reopen, but their hit-and-run tactics eluded police efforts to catch them.

Under the protection of police and the Taft-Hartley injunction, some 400 mines that had been closed reopened during the week. But the following Monday, after

10¢ NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

VOL. 23—NO. 3

27 Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

APRIL, 1978

French elections, Italian crisis show mass discontent with Eurocommunism

by Kevin A. Barry

The two focal points of crisis in West Europe — Italy and France — were highlighted in mid-March in dramatic fashion. In Italy, the continuing government crisis took the form, first, of a conspiracy of co-existence between the Communist Party and the Christian Democrats, and then of the terrorist kidnapping of no one less than the former Prime Minister, Aldo Moro. In France, the razor-sharp divisions within the country were revealed in the fact that, although the second-round of national elections on March 19 returned the conservative "status quo" to power, the first-round, popular vote showed fully half the country voting Left, for social change.

In both countries, the Carter-Brzezinski White House's recent statement that they "would like to see Communist influence in any Western country reduced" was seen as an outrageous imperialistic interference. As the "Eurocommunist" Italian Party put ever greater distance between itself and Russia, the White House still managed to view Italy as but a pawn in the competition with Russia — while the Italian people continued to demonstrate, both in election polls and in the streets, their disgust with their corrupt American-style "democracy", whether Washington liked it or not.

FRENCH WORKERS IN REVOLT

In France, despite a seeming, relative "quiescence" since the tumultuous near-revolution of 1968, the mass pressure for change has also been continuous. Indeed, ever since 1968, strikes have often meant plant occupation by workers, frequently to prevent factory closings or layoffs, as in the famous Lip Watch struggle several years ago.

Many companies had openly threatened to go out of business or move out of the country if the Left won. Recent decisions — such as that of the conservative Giscard d'Estaing government to close down the state-owned coal mines at Pas-de-Calais, even though much coal remains and at a time of great unemployment — have only increased class bitterness.

While the government cited "economic" reasons, the miners told a reporter for a Left weekly a different story as to why they were being abandoned: "For three reasons, madame. First because De Gaulle couldn't swallow the fact that, during the 1963 strike, we refused his order to return. Then, because we voted wrong for generations, always for the Left. Finally, because workers here have learned how to fight against the bosses — no manager looks forward to being sent here." (Le Nouvel Observateur, March 4, 1978)

MASSES VS. THE 'LEFT'

Long before Eurocommunism became the catchword for supposed CP independence from Russia, the French Communist Party, in the very person who is still its head, George Marchais, "supported" the movement just enough to strangle it, convincing the workers to abandon the occupied factories in 1968 in exchange for wage increases and elections. Today his brand of Eurocommunist "opposition" to Russia means practicing nationalism in France — including being for supposed "defense" of France with nothing less than the nuclear bomb.

Socialist Francois Mitterand, the Left's choice for Premier, has even less trouble proving his credentials to the bourgeoisie, since he already has "experience" as

(Continued on Page 8)



A giant fist is carried by auto workers during a mass national demonstration in Rome.

Federal Judge Robinson lifted the injunction, pickets were again out in force to keep the mines closed. At the same time, union officers passed on the details of the new contract, with voting scheduled Friday, March 24.

While the new contract was a definite improvement over the first one, there was strong opposition to several provisions. Annual health care costs were reduced from a possible \$700 to \$200 a year, but still \$200 more than they had to pay before — hardly an improvement over the '74 contract. Pensioners got an immediate increase from \$225 a month to \$275 a month instead of having increments spread through three years, but this is still less than the \$500 pensions under the 1974 contract — and miners wanted pensions equalized.

Miners also opposed the reinstated production incentive plan, knowing that the pitting of miner against miner can lead to dangers and death. Even though this plan is supposed to be approved by local miners before it can go into effect, many wanted to be sure even the possibility for incentives is not in the contract.

The main provision in the old contract, however, penalizing striking and absentee miners, has been totally rescinded. This is the most vital demand the rank-and-file miners have won.

As we go to press, the miners are reluctantly returning to work. For the new stage in American labor struggles their 110-day strike established, see Editorial, p. 5.

International Women's Day celebrations, 1978

LOS ANGELES, CAL.—On March 8, at a city-wide meeting honoring International Women's Day, the history of the day was presented, pointing out its origin in the struggles of New York City garment workers over 70 years ago.

Garment workers forced to work all night and locked in the building until the work is finished; unsanitary conditions, lack of bathrooms and drinking water; overheating and poor ventilation leading to "brown lung"; contracting out work to be done in homes; sexual abuse of women workers and physical beatings—these are the working conditions of garment workers—not 70 years ago but TODAY, right here in Los Angeles.

All these inhuman conditions were exposed in a LA Times article, "Cloak of Shame," that appeared three days prior to IWD. But no attempt or even mention was made of the atrocious conditions in Los Angeles garment shops!

Most garment workers in LA are undocumented Mexican workers, who work in non-union shops 10-12 hours a day, at \$1-\$1.50 an hour. One woman worker described how they were all shut up in her shop behind

WOMAN AS REASON

Critique of new herstories

The 1970s have seen an outpouring of feminist literature, especially on the history of women. Some merely describe how oppressed women were or were not in some distant time and place, while much of what passes for theory argues that women's history is completely separate from men's. My complaint is not only with this type of history and theory, however, but with the treatment of women in the best of the literature — the stories of women who made social revolutions.

Hooray, that we can learn about the 6,000 women in the French Revolution who literally carried off the King, and the hundreds of thousands who remade every facet of life in the Paris Commune of 1871; the garment workers who created the first mass unions in this country, and the textile workers who began the Russian Revolution.

But in most cases, they are all treated as if they started the revolution and then went home and made dinner, without a thought about it before, during or after. The literature finds women to be brave and true, but, like the dominant culture and ideology, still treats women as objects who are acted upon by "History," rather than themselves being its very Subject — the thinking, feeling, moving beings who are shaping a new world as they are fighting the old.

This attitude includes writers who consider themselves socialist-feminists, as in *Becoming Visible*, a book on women in European history, by Claudia Koonz and Renate Bridenthal. In this work, the introduction leads us to believe they will show women as thinkers as well as activists, because they criticize earlier writers such as deBeauvoir and Friedan for showing only one side of women, and speak of "complex realities" and our need to perceive ourselves as "whole human beings."

Yet, except for the essay on the French Revolution, which questions the view that the 6,000 were "cheerful and apolitical," there is nothing to show women as Reason until page 325, when we get to "The International Sisterhood" of the suffrage movement. That essay begins on the wrong foot, however, by criticizing the American Abolitionist movement for its sexism, without also mentioning the exact opposite — the Black women speakers and leaders who inspired the white women to form the first feminist movement.

The book does better on Russia, pointing out that the Populists treated women as equal participants in assassinating officials, but not in challenging the system as a whole, in the realm of theory. On the whole, the book fails to show women using their heads, and one wishes that instead of just becoming visible, they could become audible as well.

There is a wealth of books out on the U.S., especially on working women. In beautiful anthologies, the mill girls of Massachusetts in the 1840s and *Black Women in 19th Century American Life* get to speak for themselves. And in book after book on today, we learn that women workers are still alienated, creative and rebellious. But these books leave us with only facts, ending where they should begin: with a theory of liberation arising from the women's own ideas.

Doesn't it mean something for us today, that in 1831 Maria Stewart, a Black Abolitionist and the first woman whose public speeches are recorded, exhorted Black women: "How long shall the fair daughters of Africa be compelled to bury their minds and talents beneath a load of iron pots and kettles?"

So we have had a lot of books published, but not a lot of progress in treating women as a whole person, whose mind is the key to working out a new way of living. Even those who call themselves socialist-feminists still treat socialism and feminism as opposites which need to be reconciled, usually by themselves. But Marx's socialism and feminism are integral and inseparable, not only because women are half the population, but because the new world will flow out of the revolutionary activity of women when it is no longer separate from their Reason.

—Anne Molly Jackson

closed windows and doors, and were not allowed any breaks. After a fire broke out in a sewing machine, she demanded to know why they were locked in and was told it was to "hide" them from immigration.

Unfortunately, IWD too often gives various women's organizations merely an "excuse" to have their activities. But without relating women's struggles of the past to their struggles today—like the LA garment workers—IWD's history has no meaning.

DETROIT, MICH.—There were several International Women's Day activities here, from bourgeois women professionals' meetings to a March 12 "fair," comprised mainly of vanguardist groups presenting their "line" on the "woman question." None, however, presented women as Reason as did the Women's Liberation-News & Letters IWD celebration, "Women's Liberation—The Struggle Continues," held March 8.

Suzanne Casey, one of the co-speakers, began by telling how at that very moment, women were holding a protest in Moscow (see "Women Worldwide," this page). She related this demonstration to the struggles of women in the past, from the U. S. garment workers' long and bitter fight to win a union which was the inspiration for IWD, to women's participation in today's Portuguese Revolution.

Tommie Hope spoke about the 1871 Paris Commune and how the greatness of "its own working existence" that Marx singled out was the self-organization of the women, from defense of the Commune to daily running of production. She related how the Commune had illuminated for Marx that only "freely associated labor" can strip the fetishism of commodities from social relations, and how the struggles of Black women today are showing the method to destroy the concept and actuality of women as objects in this society (see story below).

NEW YORK, N.Y. — More than 700 of us — women, men and children — marched through busy shopping areas here on March 11, in celebration of International Women's Day. At the rally, held in Herald Square, women from Third World organizations spoke of solidarity with women in Puerto Rico, Chile and Argentina; a South African woman spoke briefly for the African National Congress; and a lesbian spoke against harassment of lesbian mothers.

The signs and slogans reflected the many different groups in the march: from equal pay for equal work, free Joanne Little, support for Utier workers striking in Puerto Rico and striking coal miners here, to remembering the Russian women's celebration of IWD in 1917 that began the Russian Revolution. Although one slogan called for passage of the ERA, there was no feeling that feminist organizations were in the coalition or in the march. NOW's presence was not only not felt, but they had held a separate indoor meeting on March 8.

The most concrete report was that of a NY Telephone Company shop steward who spoke of 500 telephone workers who have put their jobs on the line by taking the phone company to court on sexism charges.

Although many issues concerning women were raised, the call was to action alone and acceptance of the slogan "Marxism-Leninism", as raised by the chairwoman of the program, a member of El Comite.

What was missing was a philosophy of liberation, a working out of Marx's philosophy for our day—not as slogan, and certainly not as rhetoric with a raised fist.

'We won't be poverty objects'

Detroit, Mich.—On March 3, I participated in a demonstration at the Kercheval Social Services office, along with about 50 other people, mostly women. It was sponsored by the Welfare Reform Coalition and Westside Mothers. We were chanting "Welfare rights NOW!" and "Clean up the mess in the DSS (Dept. of Social Services)!"

We were picketing against the conditions of the waiting rooms, which are kept filthy because they believe women on aid don't deserve anything better. There is also harassment by the caseworker, who cancels your case without notice, and the way you are made to return several times before they let you talk to a worker.

They try to control you financially, physically and mentally. It is a question of women being treated as objects. The DSS acts like the case file is human and the woman is a thing. The case file comes first.

I was talking to one woman who is in the program called "Vendor." The rent is paid directly to her landlord. This is to make her feel like she is not capable of handling her own affairs. But Social Services hasn't paid her rent for at least eight months, and she keeps getting eviction notices. She was picketing to stop the landlord from throwing her family out in the cold.

These women are not going to be considered "poverty objects" in this system any longer. They are determined to be recognized as total human beings with ideas a lot greater than the big-shots who see only case files and numbers. There will be more demonstrations at Social Services offices, because every woman, man and child suffers under this system, and many are determined to be free of it now.

—Tommie Hope



women-worldwide

For women's participation in the U.S. coal miners' strike, see story, page 1.

A group of Jewish women demonstrated in Moscow on International Women's Day to show "what women's rights in this country really mean" and to protest the government's restrictive policy on Jewish emigration. Over 20 women had been held in their apartments to keep them from participating in the protest, and ten were taken away by police and held for several hours.

In Honolulu, following the protest of women's groups and a demonstration of 700 people outside the courthouse, a grand jury reinstated a rape charge against a marine who had attacked a woman jogger after running into her with his car. The original judge had dismissed the charge on the grounds of "insufficient proof of force."

Women Against Violence Against Women and other women's groups have been organizing to protect women seeking abortions from the attacks of reactionary groups who have firebombed clinics in Cleveland and other cities and subjected clinic workers and patients to vicious verbal and physical abuse, even interrupting actual abortion procedures.

Banned Black activist Winnie Mandela and four white South African women have been found guilty of holding an unauthorized visit in Mandela's home. Ms. Mandela's prison sentences were suspended, but as a banned person, she may not speak to more than one person at a time and is under continuous house arrest. Three women received one-year prison sentences, and 72-year-old author Helen Thomas received a four-month sentence.

As others see us

1877 U. S. General Strike

(Then and Now: On the 100th Anniversary of the First General Strike in the U.S., by Terry Moon and Ron Brokmeyer, News and Letters Committees, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207, \$1.00.)

I grew up in the St. Louis area where . . . the Sunday Supplement runs a feature on the 1904 World's Fair every other week, but nobody ever told me that the first general strike in this country occurred in St. Louis in 1877.

This pamphlet begins with the story of the strike itself and then traces the development of the working class solidarity that made it possible through the preceding 20 years.

It touches on some fascinating but too often ignored aspects of American history: the contribution of Blacks to the anti-slavery movement and the Union Army in the Civil War; the emigration of German intellectuals to mid-America following the upheavals of 1848, who brought with them the ideas of Hegel and Marx; and the struggles of women who were not a part of the suffragist movement but fought valiantly in the labor movement or worked to further their ideals of public education . . .

The concluding chapter is a short essay on the influence of Marxist thought on American history. The booklet is easy to read and enhanced with good illustrations . . . it gave me a glimpse of our past that a couple college courses in American history had never hinted at.

—Geraldine Daesch
Union WAGE

Those who believe Amerika is a land where liberation "failed" in the later 18th century, and has never been revived, had better take note of this excellent study. In a mere 47 pages, Terry Moon and Ron Brokmeyer trace the development of self-activity among women, workers and Blacks, between 1857 and 1877.

The framework is Marxist Hegelian, not because the authors are, but because the prime movers in these struggles were either Hegelians, or involved in Marx's First International, or the International Workingmen's Association . . .

Here we read of the St. Louis Hegelian Henry Brockmeyer, teaching philosophy to native American Indians. And of the long-forgotten Anna Brackett and Susan Blow . . .

This pamphlet is not a blithe effort to justify some contemporary "left" sectarianism, by reference to the past. It is because revolutionary philosophy has bogged down in sectarianism that the humanists of the past are disregarded.

More beguiling to find Black roots in the Gambia than in the Black brigades set up during the American Civil War. And it is also easier, since the dialectical relationship between slave revolt, women's liberation, the self-determination of children, and the demands of labour can then be ignored . . .

If your local political bookshop doesn't yet have this pamphlet, they can get it from *Rising Free*, 182 Upper Street, London N1.

—Roger Moody
Peace News, London

Miners' unity inspires rank-and-file workers

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

The President of these United States has placed the power of the federal government on the side of the mine owners, on the side of capitalism. By invoking the Taft-Hartley Act against the miners to try and force them to bow to the coal operators, he has pitted all of the working class against the exploiting class of this society.

A rank-and-file miner recognized this when he said, "This means war!" The turn-down of the negotiated contract by a vote of over two-to-one shows the world that workers can think for themselves.

STEARNS STRIKER

We had the opportunity at our local union hall of UAW Local 216 to hear two striking miners—one from a 19-month-long strike of Stearns miners for union recognition against the Blue Diamond Coal Company, and the other a West Virginia miner.

The Stearns miner explained the violence that the coal operators were causing by bringing gun thugs into the strike. He told about the state police breaking his father's arm and fracturing his skull. Since the strike began, they have been in and out of jail so many times that they think it is their second home.

Among the GM workers that I work with, the real support for the mine workers came when they turned down the contract. Up to that point the workers saw it as any other strike run from above. But from that last turn-down, there has been a whole different attitude to the strike.

When a foreman said, "Well, we will have to shut down on March 26 now", workers responded by saying they didn't give a damn. One said, "If the miners can starve, then I can starve with them." When one worker said the miners should stop their strike, other workers got hot and heavy, calling him a scab and so forth.

SUPPORT FOR MINERS

We had a gate drive at the plant which collected close to \$2,000. But it was before the miners turned down the contract and at the same time that we had a short work week. I think we should have another gate drive, and we will really get some money.

Many committees have been set up to get relief and support to miners throughout West Virginia, Kentucky and Illinois. The committee of miners distributing aid to families throughout northern West Virginia is:

MINERS' AID COMMITTEE, P.O. BOX 2276, WESTOVER, W. VA. 26505. Contributions to help Kentucky miners are being collected by the **UMWA WOMEN'S CLUB, P.O. BOX 289, CUMBERLAND, KY 40823.** Food, clothing and money are all still needed.

In the Los Angeles area, there has been the formation of a strike support committee among many unions. Right now there are a lot of bureaucrats, but some workers, and many unions are represented including steelworkers, teamsters, longshore, auto, garment and others. It is the first time in many years that labor is coming together.

When a recent issue of News & Letters was passed out in the plant which had an article on how the Rumanian police state forced striking miners back to work, I heard workers commenting that there didn't seem to be much difference between there and here. One young worker got up and said, "We have to have a world revolution, Communism and Capitalism are the same."

Detroit: 500 protest Nazis at rally; eviction order upheld

Detroit, Mich.—Over 500 people held an anti-Nazi rally here on March 12 at UAW Local 600 Hall. It was followed by a 125-car motorcade to the Nazi hate-quarters, where we circled around, yelling and honking our horns, and waving signs that said "Get Nazis Out!"

Three days later, on March 15, after a one-day jury trial, the Nazis were ordered to vacate their office by March 25.

We feel a tremendous sense of victory because the Nazi defeat is related to Detroit's growing anti-Nazi movement. The March 13 rally, called by the Labor-Community Interfaith Council Against the Nazis, marked a new stage in our movement.

For the first time, a large group of the Survivors of 1945 (Sharit Haplatyah) took part in the rally, along with neighborhood, city and suburban protesters; workers, students and housewives; Blacks and Chicanos; Jews and Arabs; young and old. Religious leaders, City Council members and union officials spoke out together against the Nazis. Two striking coal miners from West Virginia added a dimension of determination to the rally, and we resoundingly passed a resolution in support of their strike.

The growing anti-Nazi movement is reflected nationally as well. The day before our rally here, a large crowd in St. Louis stopped a planned Nazi march by throwing snowballs and other objects, and physically occupying a bandstand the Nazis had planned to use.

Many of us want to demonstrate against Nazism in Skokie, Ill. where the Nazis plan to march on April 22. Here in Detroit, the Labor-Community Council is co-ordinating participation in Skokie, and is organizing a Detroit anti-Nazi march on April 30. For more information, contact the Council: 10550 Dix Ave., Dearborn, Mich. 48120 (phone 842-5350).

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

After a month in hiding, he was spotted and picked up by Military Police. After a fierce fight, a brief escape, and a vicious pistol-whipping, he was taken to the U.S. Army stockade in Mannheim. As a result of this incident and because of his political activities, he served six months in military prison and was discharged from the Army.

THREATENED BY POLICE, FBI

Back home in Chattanooga, Komboa began working on both civil rights and anti-war activities with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Because of continual harassment and an attempt on his life by the Chattanooga Police Department and the FBI, along with his refusal to testify before a grand jury about the "Black Power Movement," he was forced to flee to Atlanta.

In a desperate attempt to protest the war in Vietnam and the government's repression of SNCC, as well as to avoid capture and possible death by the FBI, Komboa hijacked a plane to Cuba. He then travelled to Czechoslovakia with some African student groups.

Soon after he was followed by CIA agents. The Czech government told him to exchange his Cuban passport for an American one. At the U.S. Embassy, he was attacked by a gang of security men and told he was being flown back to the FBI in the U.S. Clearly there had been a conspiracy between the Czech government and the U.S. Embassy to get him out of the country and back to the U.S.

He escaped to East Berlin where he was helped by African students. But CIA agents attacked him in his bed, drugged and tortured him for a week until he signed a phony "confession." Still drugged, he was returned to the U.S., tried, convicted and given two life sentences.

After more than nine years in prison, Komboa is now in court demanding a new trial but the government is stalling. Letters demanding justice for Komboa can be sent to: Judge Richard C. Freeman, U.S. District Court, Northern District of Georgia, P.O. Box 1657, Atlanta, GA 303301. For more information, contact Friends of Lorenzo Ervin, c/o Rev. Robt. Horton, 855 Woods Rd., Southampton, Pa. 18966.

The harrowing story of Lorenzo Komboa Ervin is not an isolated event, but the response of a capitalist government out to get any people, especially Blacks, fighting for their freedom and the creation of a new human society.

Uniroyal steals on down-time

Detroit, Mich. — At Uniroyal, when it comes to pulling off a "heist" on the wage employees, the company sure knows how to set things up. On Wednesday, Feb. 22, they closed the plant down and didn't reopen until Feb. 28 for some, and March 1 for most of the employees. They told us that the Calender Machine in Building 41, which prepares the fabric for most of the tires, broke down. That is the same story we got the last shutdown, and nobody believes it could have taken a whole week to fix it.

Everyone has lost a lot of money because the company split up the week off, which disqualifies us for regular unemployment benefits. Since we worked two days of the first week and three days of the second, we can't collect anything.

There also won't be any SUB pay benefits, or at least it looks that way. When we got back, there were long, complicated bulletins posted all over by the company, but that's basically what they were saying.

Talk about a shutdown or a big lay-off is still in the air. The company wants to cut down on the number of radial-ply tires because the new cars aren't supposed to be selling well. So far they have been trying to calm people down by saying that "only" probationary employees would be laid off, as if they didn't count for anything. But they may also lay off a lot of other people.

One guy said that the Credit Union told him to wait on a loan until they knew what the story was. If the Credit Union doesn't have any confidence in the situation, then you know there's something going on!

—Uniroyal worker

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—The company and union were trying to get rid of Jerome Jones, a committeeman in Dept. 11. Notice of a recall meeting was printed up on union stationery, charging him with incompetence and with being a Communist or associating with Communists. There was no quorum for the recall meeting, so that failed.

I don't even know the person involved, but I know that this is the kind of McCarthy charge you heard about in the union 30 years ago. But witch hunting is alive and well on the fourth floor at Fleetwood. The alternate committeewoman seems to want his job, and many people are not satisfied with the grievance processing now. But we have had worse committeemen—that is how Jerome got voted in last year.

This red-baiting from the union reminds me that when Rufus was president he promised to get the ten workers back who were fired after the walkout two years ago, but did nothing about it. Now Gaston is in and hasn't even promised anything. The union is as happy as the company to keep those workers out—they hope to get rid of all the troublemakers in the plant.

—Dept. 11 Worker

GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — Workers here can always tell when elections are coming — the incumbents play the same game every year. Last week an alternate committeeman came by one worker and said, "How are you and your foreman getting along?"

The worker replied, "Just fine—since I wrote him up for working."

"Yeah, well just remember that at voting time!"

"Why? You refused to write that grievance. I had to go get the regular committeeman to write it for me."

Stunned, the alternate answered, "Oh, I didn't write that up?"

No. And I will remember, when it's time to vote."

—South Gate Worker

Dodge Truck

Here are two examples of how Chrysler practices racism every day. The first happened one day when a Black worker who came in to work late was given another, harder job to do than his usual job. But when a white worker, a friend of the foreman Bill Grose, came in late, he got put on his regular job which isn't so difficult, though Grose had already put someone else on it.

The other happened one morning when a Black worker who is a floater was put on an easy job in the pit, tightening seat bolts. But then the foreman, Spencer, arbitrarily took him off of it, and put him on a harder job in the body drop, and gave the seat bolts job to a white worker who didn't do that job regularly either.

I saw where the UAW International is taking all of our money out of banks loaning it to South Africa. But I see it's different when they deal with the racism here in the shop.

—Main building worker

Lynch Road

Detroit, Mich. — On March 3 and March 6, Chrysler's Lynch Road and Mound Road Assembly workers donated over \$3,700 to plant gate collections for the mine workers. UAW Local 51's Executive Board, representing Lynch Road and Mound Road workers, donated an additional \$500 to the United Mine Workers Relief Fund. This made the total donation \$4,200.

This is a strong show of support for the struggle of the mine workers on behalf of the members of UAW Local 51. In addition, at the March Executive Board meeting of UAW Local 51, the board passed a resolution condemning the Taft-Hartley Act and called for its repeal. So far as we know, this is the only UAW local in the country to pass such a resolution.

—Diver Dan, Lynch Road worker

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Readers' Views

COAL—EVERYONE'S STRIKE

People who sit and gripe about the miners causing them some inconvenience or losing a few days' pay should wake up. Most of the benefits they enjoy were bought by the blood of miners.

When I think of the suffering our people went through with strike benefits and the help we had in nine months, and then realize these men have no benefits, it is overwhelming. To stand up under those conditions and demand what you have earned takes real raw courage. I am proud of them!

Essex Worker
Elwood, Ind.

Thank you beyond words, Andy Phillips, for your readable, study-worthy columns in the March issue. Your article on the coal strike should be leafletted and distributed over the western hemisphere. You have compressed Marx into one paragraph at the end of your article. That dedicated humanist would be delighted.

Longtime Reader
Nebraska

A radical philosopher professor visiting from Germany read the March N&L at our lit table at a philosophic conference here and was tremendously excited about the lead article on coal. He said it was the first thing he had read that told him more than what he read in the daily bourgeois press.

Marxist-Humanist
New York

I saw the movie, *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*, where the Army stages a false propaganda campaign about a deadly nerve gas. I came home and on the TV news the government was hitting us over the head with the "energy shortage" due to the miners' strike. They are trying to turn ordinary people against the striking miners. But I feel a taste of what can happen when the spark of an action lights up many people's hearts to movement and new thought. That new world will be far more dazzling than any *Close Encounters* movie.

Revolutionary Humanist
Michigan

When, at last, even the bureaucracy began to give substantial financial help to the miners you knew they had finally realized that big capital would be out to break all the unions, if they succeeded in breaking the UMW. If the labor leadership in this country had called a General Strike when Taft-Hartley was first passed, every worker in this country would have gone out. But it took the miners to make the Taft-Hartley law a "paper tiger."

Old Politico
California

The intellectuals and radicals are running about trying to "organize" re-

lief for the miners, but all they seem concerned about is how to word their leaflets so they can "raise the political consciousness" of the masses — would you believe it?!—not how fast they can get help to the miners. We were so glad to get the address from N&L of an honest-to-goodness committee of miners to send help to directly, that we passed the hat at our last "Marx's Capital class" and sent a check right off that very night.

College Student
New York

Editor's Note: For address of Miners' Aid Committee, see p. 3.

FIGHTING NEO-NAZISM

I attended a meeting of the Anti-Nazi League where 200 attended despite bad weather. We see very little of the Nazis in Scotland. At the last meeting of the Glasgow Trades Council the secretary said some delegates wanted the Nazis to come to Glasgow so that they could "kick them about"; he is an idiot.

The Nazis are obviously financed from some source. They have announced their intention of running 150 candidates in the next general election. This means raising deposits of 150 pounds (about \$300) for each contest plus the usual election expenses. They also say they will run 500 candidates in local elections. This, combined with the growing trend towards the totalitarian state, presents the working class with a serious problem.

Harry McShane
Glasgow

We who are fighting the Nazis here in Skokie admire what you did with the Nazis in Detroit. (By the way, my unofficial position is that the Nazis have the right to come to Skokie, but not necessarily the right to leave.)

Anti-Nazi Picket
Chicago

WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND ELITISM

"For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide/When the Rainbow is Enuff", a play by Ntozake Shange, was an exhilarating and hopeful statement about the necessity for new human relationships. The Black women were the Rainbow. The final poem was sung as the audience exited: "I found God within myself and I loved her fiercely."

A secretary at work said: "As a Black woman, I found the play very real. It presents experiences I have to face everyday." A Black male bus driver told me, "It's been good for the men. Their egos got a little hurt, but they got over it." But during the last month there have been columns in the newspaper attacking it as anti-Black male and for repeating white racist stereotypes. At a large forum at Kuumba Workshop on Chicago's South Side the predominantly female audience praised Shange's work, even though the conveners of the meeting had already decided that the play violated their "Principles of Black Art." Evidentially, segments of Chicago's Black intelligentsia had hoped that a dispute over "For Colored Girls . . ." would give them a forum to present their nationalist theory as an alternative to feminism.

Marie Dignan
Women's Liberation, N&L

While marching on International Women's Day with a lot of Lefties, I thought about the anti-Semitism in the Left and the fact that the holiday we were celebrating was inspired by the immigrant women, mainly Russian Jews, who first organized a major industry, garment, right here in New York. Why did speakers at the rally say nothing about who the women were and what they had to say?

I later heard a discussion on WBAI, our "radical" radio station, about the

women. The historian reported that they weren't really "conscious" because they didn't all join the socialist parties. They only organized garment, the Meat Riots (not just a boycott, a riot) against high prices, and continuous rent strikes against the landlords! When will elitists stop imposing their preconceptions on revolution and begin to see women as human beings who think as well as act.

A.M.J.
New York

AN APPEAL FOR CHARLES BROWN

Conditions at Atmore Prison Farm in Alabama are so bad that they were ruled cruel and unusual punishment by the Federal government — but that is where Charlie Brown was jailed in 1974, on a 25 year sentence for an alleged grocery store robbery. He escaped after his life was threatened in 1976, came to Detroit, got a job at Chevrolet Forging Plant and lived an exemplary life here with his wife and two small children until he was suddenly arrested on Nov. 10, 1977. His life is in danger if we allow the government to send him back to Atmore. His extradition hearing has been postponed until May 1. A wide variety of citizens—from Mother Waddles to John Conyers — are joining us in asking that he be set free. If your readers want to help, please—ask them to contact his lawyer, Chokwe Lumumba, at 11000 W. McNichols, Detroit, Mich. 48221.

Concerned Supporter
Detroit

BANKRUPTCY ON THE LEFT

There is bankruptcy all around, and for us from the underdeveloped areas it is very difficult to find a way out of this obscurantism. This is where Raya Dunayevskaya's critique of Ernest Mandel's and Rosdolsky's and Tony Cliff's works are important. There is a crisis in the study of Marxism, not the fault of those who want to study this doctrine, but because they can only read what is available to them. Where can the likes of your approach be found? How does one in the remotest village in Africa, the Caribbean, Asia, Latin America and Oceania get to know of the aberrations that take place in the Marxist movement? Many swear by Marx and Lenin but know nothing of their theories. The books of these thinkers are not easily available in these countries. There is a crisis in the ability to even acquire journals. Some of us are trying our best, given our limited resources, but we press on.

West Indian Intellectual
Montreal

Editor's note: We will be happy to send, at readers' requests, gift copies of our material to libraries throughout the world.

Herbert Aptheker, the famous Communist historian, made the opening speech at the Marxist Scholars' Conference here in Chicago recently. First he talked about how terrible the U.S. is; then he told us how great Russia is. The first two questions were critical of Russia: one was from a Maoist, the other from a Marxist-Humanist who challenged the platform on the emergence of Marxism in Eastern Europe that is against Russian totalitarianism. Aptheker answered by calling the questioners "pimples shooting pus," and almost everyone there applauded. To me it seemed just like a Chicago City Council session of the Daley era, when the Mayor would shout down questioners with abuse while all his stooges clapped and cheered.

All this happened at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus, where a student-sponsored, lecture by Dr. Aptheker was cancelled by the trustees during the late sixties. The result-

ing student protests led to the repeal of the state law used to ban him; so Aptheker's speech and the whole conference were actually made possible by the student movement. But for some reason, very few students were present — pimplily or otherwise.

Circle Graduate
Chicago

N&L was selling well at Collet's, a CP shop in Soho, but it got purged because the Stalinoids regard N&L as "foreign, obscure and outside the mainstream of the labour movement." Zhdanov lives, it seems, even in Euro-Communism.

Marxist-Humanist
London

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

The "Youth Secretariat", a government youth employment bureau here, must be near desperation. The message in their radio ad is, literally, "Any job is better than no job at all." It's repeated over and over. The message that comes through is that times are so bad you should feel lucky to get anything. This kind of "honesty" about the depth of the economic crisis is unprecedented.

Supporter
Toronto

THE POWER OF HUMAN POWER

The first public meeting called by the Great Lakes Alliance in Chippewa County drew a crowd of 75 angry citizens wanting to stop a state-financed toxic waste incinerator. In three days of the first big snowstorm of the year, the group collected over 2,700 signatures.

This state is hard hit by chemical accidents in recent years—PBB, PCB, and the several industrial landfills which endanger the water supply of many communities. The Great Lakes Alliance is patterned after the anti-nuclear Clamshell Alliance of New England. For more information readers can call 906-632-8060 or write c/o Phil Bellfy, Rte. #1, Box 293, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan 49783.

Alliance Member
Michigan

A friend who is fighting against Colstrip 3 & 4 (proposed power plants) is hopeful that the strength of Native American opposition will stop construction of these two generators. He is a person to whom optimism comes fleetingly, and the odds seem impossible, so maybe there will really be a victory.

On the other hand, the recent Supreme Court decision on the "non-right" of Native American tribes to enforce their codes on whites on the reservation has the potential for creating some atrocious problems for self determination. As one small example, I am wondering what will happen here with the Kootenai-Salish good environmental policies. Supposedly they will now have to be enforced in the all-white, conservative courts surrounding the reservation.

Correspondent
Missoula, Montana

There were a lot of great picket signs at the demonstration the Bailly Alliance held at the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry protesting the disgusting exhibit of Commonwealth Edison. Many of the signs were against nuclear weapons and others demanded an end to nuclear power calling for sun power instead. I was carrying the greatest sign of all but didn't even know it until a picketer to whom I had given a copy of *News & Letters* noticed the mast head and said, "Hey! 'HUMAN POWER IS ITS OWN END'. That is terrific!"

Feminist
Chicago

News & Letters

Vol. 23, No. 3 April, 1978

News & Letters is published monthly except for January-February and August-September, by *News & Letters*, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207. Telephone: 259-0404. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of 5 or more—6c each.

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EDITORIAL Miners set new battle stage for American labor

Not since the industrial organizing days of the 1930s has there been such a national display of working class solidarity as that inspired by the 110-day strike of 160,000 rank-and-file coal miners. Workers in auto, steel, rubber, longshore and other industries were electrified—and rallied to provide massive material and moral support.

Workers everywhere recognized that the life-and-death struggle being waged between the miners and coal operators had a direct effect on their own lives. They knew that if the coal operators and their oil masters succeeded in pushing back the most militant workers in the country, all workers faced the prospect of losing hard-won benefits.

NEW CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE

Indeed, the very weekend that the miners grudgingly ratified the third contract, the *New York Times* was already reporting the new "take-back" mood of the capitalist class which was preparing an offensive against working class benefits.

While there is no doubt that the miners lost much in the contract, it is also clear that something entirely new is happening in the working class and is demonstrated most sharply by the miners. It was the miners who were establishing the demands, not UMW President Arnold Miller and his negotiating team. It was the principled determination of the miners which forced not only Miller and the powerful Bituminous Coal Operators Association but the government as well to back down on the open attack against strikers and miners who honored the historic working class tradition of refusing to cross picket lines.

The miners had originally demanded the right to strike over local grievances, and had paved the way for Miller to fight for this provision with a united leadership that Miller never had before (see lead article, March issue). The fact is that miners will never give up this safety goal; they know the mines will never be safe until every miner has the right to enforce safety in the working place.

MILLER VS. RANK-AND-FILE

The great division in the UMW is not the 57-43 percent vote on the last contract; the true division is the nearly 100 percent opposition of the miners against Miller because of his total inability to represent them and their historic aspirations.

Despite the destructive economic impact of the 110-day strike—many lost homes, autos and other possessions—the miners were grimly serious when they declared, "We've been out over 100 days already, and we'll



stay out 100 more to get the kind of contract we want!" There is no question whatsoever that the miners would have stayed out if they had confidence in Miller, but whatever hopes they held evaporated when they read the total sell-out contract terms Miller accepted. It is in that sense that they were "starved out."

Miners could not believe, at first, that Miller could possibly give away what they had won in hard battle in the past. The first contract was so much against the miners even the UMW Bargaining Council rejected it; the second was so bad the miners voted it down by a more than two-to-one margin. The third, while giving away less than the other two, was woefully short of what the miners wanted.

In addition to losing the right to strike, the miners also lost on their health and welfare coverage, pensions for retirees, safety provisions, grievance procedures, and the cost of living protection clause. The wage increase will be more than swallowed up by increased medical care costs and inflation over the next three years.

CONTRACT GUARANTEES STRIKES

Far from producing peace in the coal fields, the new contract guarantees increasing conflict. No demand of the miners has been fundamentally resolved. The contract only assures more accidents, more deaths—and more wildcat strikes by miners who have no other way to protect their lives.

The Carter administration is clearly aware of the danger the rank-and-file miners represent to the future energy policy based on coal production. It is also aware that the so-called productivity council of union and management representatives established under the new contract will no more be able to influence the miners than will Miller, who is held now in total contempt by the coal miners.

That is why the administration is already looking toward the 1981 contract with the view of further controlling the nation's coal miners; that is why the administration is setting up a Presidential Commission on the Coal Industry which will be concentrating on increasing production and smashing all coal strikes.

Unfortunately, the capitalists understand the truth of class war much more than do the union bureaucrats. As opposed to Miller, who said that "any peace is better than war," a coal operators' spokesman declared that the contract was nothing more than "a truce between two warring nations." The precise way Marx summed it up in his greatest work, *Capital*, was "a protracted civil war . . . between the capitalist class and the working class."

The coal operators and rank-and-file miners know very well they are locked in a life-and-death struggle. The shape of that struggle will produce both a new kind of rank-and-file leadership as well as a new direction for not only American labor, but for the entire nation.

TWO WORLDS

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

(Editor's Note: A series of classes around our new pamphlet, *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis*, is currently being held in several cities across the country. We print below, for the interest and use of all our readers, excerpts from a special syllabus prepared for these classes by Raya Dunayevskaya.)

Introductory Note: Nothing is more crucial for the actual struggles of liberation than the way one prepares, theoretically, for revolution. Though the single word, *dialectics*, sums up both aspects and projects the needed self-reorganization in such historic dimensions as Lenin's in his encounter with Hegel's *Science of Logic* at the simultaneous outbreak of World War I and collapse of the Second International, no word is less understood and more degraded. The latest twist is achieved by the erudite Roman Rosdolsky. His synonymous use of the word, *dialectic*, with the word, *methodology*, is only to reduce both to mere presupposition. And, while he supposedly follows Lenin's warning that, without understanding "the whole of Hegel's *Logic* . . . it is impossible completely to understand Marx's *Capital*," he—by no accident—leaves out the last three words of Lenin's generalization: "especially Chapter I." Rosdolsky thus arrives at the absurd conclusion, now that he has *Grundrisse* at hand, that "one no longer has to bite into the sour apple (Hegel's *Science of Logic*) . . . One can arrive at the same end, directly by studying the *Rough Draft*," that is to say, the *Grundrisse*. (*The Making of Marx's Capital*, p. 570.)

Marx decided to put aside the *Grundrisse*, not just because of the economic laws he was tracing through to their culmination in the "law of motion" of capitalism's collapse, but because of the emergence of "new passions and new forces" for the reconstruction of society.

Rosdolsky hardly mentions a single objective event that happened in that decade between *Grundrisse* and *Capital*. One cannot get a whiff of what happened between the first edition (1867) and the second (1872-5) which followed the Paris Commune and which Marx asked the reader to read even if he had already read the first, as it contained new changes (especially in the *Fetishism of Commodities and Accumulation of Capital*) which contained "scientific value independent of the original."

Instead, Rosdolsky so clings to the *Grundrisse* that it is difficult to see why Marx changed the "Rough Draft," why, in a word, *Capital* alone is Marx's final

'Battle of Ideas': a syllabus for study

statement on his new continent of thought—Historical Materialism, Dialectics of Liberation, Dialectic of Thought . . .

It is no accident whatever that Rosdolsky's ultimate chapter touts the Polish Stalinist, Oskar Lange, who is the very professor who led off the attacks on me in the mid-1940s for my revealing the Russian revision of Marx's analysis of the law of value and the break with the dialectic structure of *Capital*.

This is the breaking point with Marxism for our age. Stalin initiated it in 1943; up to then his transformation of the first workers' state into its opposite, a state-capitalist society, had not dared to lay hands directly on Marx's greatest theoretic work. By the mid-1950s, the totalitarian state-power saw no need to acknowledge that it had ever been "taught" otherwise. Whereupon, suddenly, both Trotskyists and Maoists followed suit. In a word, once labor was not the creative force of a new class-less society, there seemed no place for the "independent" Marxist theoreticians to go but to tailending Stalinist theoreticians, no matter how "politically" the non-Stalinists criticized "bureaucratism." All the more quintessential is it to trace through how, for Marxist-Humanists, dialectics allowed for no division between history and politics, economics and philosophy, methodology, process and result.

Thus, along with the first (1941) study of the Russian economy, came our first study of the then unknown Humanist Essays of Marx; and, along with the crises ending in World War II, came our concentration on dialectics as methodology.

Today, too, we turn, at one and the same time, to the study of Marx's *Capital* and the myriad economic crises, globally.

SIX LECTURES

Note: Clearly, the supplementary readings* cannot be covered fully in a single series of six talks. The exception is for Lecture III, Then and Now, when the new (i.e. since publication of *Marxism and Freedom*) *Women Incendiaries* by Edith Thomas, and Chapter 9 of *Philosophy and Revolution*, "New Passions and New Forces", is included directly in the required readings.

I. MARX'S NEW CONTINENT OF THOUGHT AND DIALECTICS TODAY

Harry McShane's Prefaces to the British edition of *Marxism and Freedom*, to the current booklet, and to

*The extensive supplementary readings suggested are not listed here in full, but can be obtained together with the Complete Syllabus by writing to News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Det. Mi. 48207.

the Scottish Marxist-Humanist pamphlet, "Two Essays by Raya Dunayevskaya," are to be the framework for analyzing the birth of the state-capitalist tendency, 1941, to today. Along with the state of Marxist-studies today as they impinge on Marx's *Capital*, today's myriad crises show the inseparability of theory and practice.

Supplementary Readings: Lenin, *Philosophic Notebooks*; Dunayevskaya Collection of WSU Labor History Archives: *Marxist-Humanism, its Origins and Development in U.S.*

II. ENCOUNTER WITH MARX'S CAPITAL

Chapter 7, of *Marxism and Freedom*, "The Humanism and Dialectic of *Capital*, Vol. I"; and *Marx's Capital*, Vol. I.

Supplementary Readings: Roman Rosdolsky, *The Making of Marx's Capital*, Parts One and Seven; Dunayevskaya, "Marx's Humanism Today" (in *Socialist Humanism*, edited by Erich Fromm).

(Continued on Page 7)

WHO WE ARE

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

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

In memoriam: Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe



Mangaliso
Robert
Sobukwe
1924-
1978

Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe passed away in Galeshwe, Kimberley, Cape Province, South Africa on Sunday, Feb. 26, 1978. He was president of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, from its inception in 1958 to his death in 1978. It was the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa that launched the massive demonstrations against the Pass System in 1960, demonstrations that nearly brought down the government of South Africa. The massacre at Sharpeville was the government's response to these demonstrations.

Sobukwe, as president of the P.A.C., not only called upon the African people to demonstrate, but himself led the demonstrations on the Reef. He had been lecturer at the School of African Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. This position he re-

Bertolucci's '1900' reviewed

New York, N. Y.—This beautiful and revolutionary film has unfortunately been shown very briefly, and then only in "intellectual centers" such as New York. Through a look at a small village in the North of Italy, it traces the history of the Italian class struggle, from 1900 through the great strikes of 1910-1920, over the terrible fascist years, to the "Day of Liberation," 1945.

On that day, the village women, armed only with pitchforks, chased and arrested the two local fascists who had tortured and murdered their families for 20 years. The "padrone," forgotten by everyone else, is arrested by a boy about 10 years old, who shakes as he holds the rifle, yet insists "call me by my Partisan name."

He had taken the name Olmo—"because he was the bravest"—after a local Communist peasant who had to flee the village after publicly humiliating the leading fascist. The real Olmo returns to a hero's welcome on the Day of Liberation, as the peasants take over the village and put the fascists and the padrone on trial.

Suddenly, representatives of the Committee for National Liberation drive up in a truck and ask the peasants to give up their guns since they've "won." Olmo persuades them to agree, and the possibilities of real liberation fade.

Although Bertolucci himself follows Eurocommunism, his film has enough objectivity here to show 1945 as the first "historic compromise" of the Italian CP, while the women and youth give a foretaste of the 1970s.

signed just a day before he led the demonstrations. For the massacre at Sharpeville and other places and the unrest throughout the country, Sobukwe, who had never fired a single shot, was charged with incitement and sentenced to four years hard labor in prison.

FOUR DAYS BEFORE his prison term expired, the Minister of Justice introduced a "special bill" before the South African Parliament to "deal with people like Sobukwe." Under the bill, the Minister sought powers to keep in "confinement for an indefinite period of time" any person whose presence, in the opinion of the Minister, was likely to cause unrest in the country. The Minister said quite openly that he had Sobukwe in mind, and he wanted the bill passed into law before Sobukwe's prison term expired.

Sobukwe, said the Minister, had become a symbol of resistance to the African people and he was an inspiration to young and old in the country. If a man like him would be allowed to go free, "the whole country would go up in flames." The government could not afford to have such a man going about the country as a free man, the Minister said. This bill, which came to be known as the "Sobukwe Bill," was rushed through both Houses of Parliament in three days, flown from Cape Town to Pretoria by night to be signed into law by the President of South Africa, just a few hours before Sobukwe's prison term expired. Early on the day of his "release," Sobukwe was flown from Pretoria to Robben Island as a "special prisoner" under the new law.

On Robben Island he was housed all by himself in a small cottage. His only human contacts were the two government servants who administered to his wants. Twice a year he was allowed a visit from his wife, visits by Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P. of the Progressive Party. It was during the last of Helen Suzman's visits that Sobukwe is reported to have said to her: "Mrs. Suzman, I have been alone for so long that I have lost the art of communication. There is nothing I can speak about to you." Some higher officials of the Justice Department also paid him occasional visits and to them he put whatever requests he had.

SOBUKWE REMAINED on Robben Island from 1964 to 1970, when he was "released under house arrest" to No. 6 Naledi Street, Galeshwe, Kimberley. The house arrest meant that he could not go beyond the gate of the fence around his house. The government kept a 24-hour police and police-dog surveillance around the house. It was during this period that he applied for a permit to leave the country. At first the Minister of the Interior refused him the permit to leave, but on appeal, the government lost and he could leave. But he could not leave, as the Minister of Justice had not lifted the ban that confined him to his house and yard. So, in Galeshwe he remained. His wife and children were allowed to join him in Galeshwe.

About 1973-74, he was allowed to serve apprenticeship in a legal firm in Kimberley, after which he was allowed to practice law under the same firm. The new conditions allowed him beyond the house only for the time of the opening and closing of the firm in the morning and evenings, after which he had to remain in the house.

Sobukwe leaves behind his wife, Veronica Zodwa (born Mate), a Sister-tutor, a daughter, a student at Michigan State University, East Lansing, three sons, the eldest of whom is a student at Atlanta University, Georgia. We salute this gallant and noble son of Africa, whom nothing but death could quell. **DEATH BE NOT PROUD!**

Phyllis P. Jordan
Detroit, Michigan



Native people demonstrate to stop movie 'Gray Eagle'

by Shainape Shcapwe

About 40 Native people from the Grand Traverse Bay Area Indian Center and from Lansing, Mich., demonstrated at the Lansing Meridian Theatre to protest the showing of the film, "Gray Eagle."

They marched and distributed leaflets protesting the film—which has been highly advertised as a family film—but which is historically inaccurate and presents Native men as violent and animalistic, with a lust for alcohol and white women, and the Native woman as passive, and as if she were a piece of property.

The response to the demonstration was good, with many people taking leaflets to distribute themselves, and many who had seen the film demanding their money back. The police stopped the marchers, but protesters stayed to distribute leaflets at the next showing.

What impressed me the most about the demonstration was that the Native people of the area had gotten together to produce a leaflet and organize the demonstration, and it created the kind of solidarity among them and their supporters that is so needed in our movement today.

I am hoping that we can stop the movie "Gray Eagle" from being shown in any community—and I have heard of protests in other areas—and that we can continue this kind of organizing around the serious issues that we are facing now, especially forced sterilization and the 10 legislative bills that we are trying to call attention to and stop through the "Longest Walk" (see article, this page).

Through the sterilization of Native women, and these 10 bills, the government is trying to take away anything that has to do with our freedom, our livelihood, our control over our own welfare, and our own identity.

The government hopes that if these bills go through, it will mean an end to us as a people. They think there will no longer be a solid Native community and then they will only have to deal with us as isolated individuals—which is exactly what they want.

I see both the movie "Gray Eagle" and these bills aimed at wiping out the little we have left, as part of the backlash against each and every movement which has won any gains since the '60s. That's why our solidarity now is important.

Can we begin work now in our own communities to stop the movie "Gray Eagle" from being shown and, at the same time, discuss how we can participate in the "Longest Walk" and other activities to finally win self-determination for Native people?

Natives begin Longest Walk

Oakland, Ca.—Over 300 Native Americans, setting out from Alcatraz Island, began a march across the U.S. called The Longest Walk, on Feb. 11, to protest the continued harassment and exploitation of Native people by the U.S. government.

This Longest Walk, named for the many long marches Indian people were forced to take by the U.S. Army, will end in Washington, D.C. to protest ten anti-Indian bills now in Congress, demand freedom for imprisoned AIM activist Leonard Peltier and an end to the ongoing genocide and forced sterilization of Native Americans.

Among the bills the marchers want to expose and defeat are: HR-9054, entitled the "Native American Opportunity Act." It would nullify all treaties made between Indian nations and the U.S., strip away all hunting and fishing rights, subject all Indians to local, state and federal jurisdiction, end all Indian programs and benefits and require the allotment of all tribal land to the individual tribal members.

HR-9950, which would require Congress to determine tribal jurisdiction in who is and is not Indian. HJR-206 (Dingell, Mich.), which gives states the power to regulate Indian hunting and fishing off reservations. HR-5169 and SB-842 (Cohen and Muskie, Maine) extinguishes Maine Indian titles to land under treaty. HR-9906 extinguishes New York Indian titles to land.

SB-1437 (Kennedy, Mass.) — This bill is called, "Son of SB-1," because of its police-state provisions. It increases federal and state jurisdiction on reservations, increases the number of "federal crimes" while expanding the application of maximum penalties through very broad interpretations.

Behind many of these measures are the multinational corporations which want to exploit the reserves of coal, uranium, natural gas, oil and other resources found on Indian land. To protest these bills, write to Morris Udall, Chairman, House Cte. on Interior Affairs, House Office Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20515.

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by Jim Mills

Close to 2,000 demonstrators converged in Nashville, Tenn. on March 17-19 to protest the presence of the South African tennis team competing for the Davis Cup at Vanderbilt University.

And only the day before, as anti-apartheid pickets continued a sustained student campaign against South African holdings by the University of Michigan, the U. of M. Regents met and voted to "curtail" investments and deposits in corporations and banks dealing with South Africa.

DIALECTIC OF YOUTH REVOLT

The UAW as well, sensing the mood of Black rank-and-file workers, announced on March 5 its withdrawal of around \$250 million from financial institutions dealing with apartheid South Africa. Thus has the dialectic of South African youth revolt brought new life to American youth struggles and American labor as well.

The freedom movement against apartheid in Soweto itself deepens constantly, from mass defiance of the Vorster regime's aerial leafletting over Soweto in December, urging an end to the ongoing school boycott, to mass boycott of the white government's Feb. 21 elections for the first Soweto community council.

Recognizing the multidimensional character of the solutions to capitalism's worldwide crises, Stanford and University of California students who initiated the mass anti-apartheid actions last spring did deepen that movement by drawing in demands that the universities restore gutted minority studies and that the courts over-

New struggles, new questions



Pickets demand University of Michigan end South African investments.

turn the Bakke decision.

LINK TO CAMPUS, CITY

Likewise, we must recognize that the Feb. 24 Conference on the Crisis in Affirmative Action sponsored by the Michigan Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision and held at Wayne State University in Detroit is tangibly linked to the struggles on the campus and in the city itself. For instance, the WSU administration has dealt a severe blow to minority studies by refusing to give tenure to Herb Boyd, firing him after he had served as chairman of the Black Studies program for nine and half years.

And Dorothy Anderson, a Black woman student at the WSU Medical School, was told recently she had passed all but the "subjective" year-two evaluations, and was then ordered to repeat the whole second year. For resisting this discrimination, the school mailed letters to other medical schools to bar her admission elsewhere.

Students and workers I talk with raise as many questions about Carter's phony promises to deal with Black teenage unemployment as they do about things like Ethiopia getting aid from Russia and Cuba to crush the Black Eritrean freedom fighters.

Therefore, I am looking forward to discussions with them about the forthcoming Marxist-Humanist pamphlet *Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought*. It echoes the new questions which they raise, looking for a way out of a society that oppresses people everywhere.

New anti-Bakke thrust in SF

San Francisco, Cal.—With a "People's Trial on Bakke and American Racism" Feb. 25, the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD) capped off a week of education, around racism and began preparing for the national demonstrations in April in Washington D.C. and San Francisco. During that week, many union members, community groups, and students had held meetings and discussions to let people know the issues and consequences behind the Bakke case.

The questions asked about this case are: What would happen to affirmative action programs in job hirings and promotions if the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Bakke? What are the implications for women's special programs? Why is this case getting pushed now, during a recessive economy? Can we really build a mass movement whose impact the Supreme Court members would notice? These and other questions were discussed in light of what to do next.

The NCOBD is a broad-based coalition of many active people whose main purpose is to overturn the Bakke decision and work to eliminate racism and sexism. To do this most effectively, various focuses were formed to meet people where they're active: Black, Asian, Fruitvale (Latino), labor, student. Each focus has been doing good educational work in relating the effects of the decision to the people they're targeting.

However, it seems the National Committee hasn't been willing to expand the lead of the focuses and develop a broader response to the decision. Most glaringly, the National has been unwilling to deal specifically with how women will be affected, and attack sexism as well as racism. They also haven't brought out how capitalism is basically unable to solve economic crises to insure jobs for all, and is in fact obligated to continue racism to keep Black, Asian, Latino and white workers separated.

This narrowing of the Committee's positions hopefully won't signal the end of its functions once the Supreme Court makes its decision, as was experienced by the anti-war movement once U.S. troops no longer fought.

The mass rallies this spring were scheduled for gathering public exposure to this issue before the Supreme Court is expected to make its decision. Whichever way the Court rules, the issue won't be over until racism and sexism are totally abolished.

—Chris Norwell

**OVERTURN BAKKE!
DEMONSTRATE**

April 8, Detroit—Noon, Kennedy Square.
April 15, Washington, D. C.

Youth in Revolt

Ohio Gov. Rhodes and Ohio National Guardsmen will be retried for personal responsibility and financial liability for the Kent State massacre of May 4, 1970. They were originally found innocent in 1975, but the U.S. Supreme Court on March 20 upheld a lower court retrial ruling made amidst massive protests last fall against destruction of the shooting site, Blanket Hill.

At the University of Libreville in Gabon, students recently rioted after the state "miscalculated" its student grants. As of Feb. 4, the University was closed, and students had been drafted into the security forces to teach them "discipline and respect" for private property.

Five hundred Hostos Community College students chanting and carrying signs, including one reading "Save Hostos" marched down 149th St. in New York on March 9. They demanded the city stop delaying plans to alleviate extremely overcrowded conditions at Hostos.

Reacting to student opposition to the government and re-election of President Suharto, troops sealed off the University of Indonesia on March 4 as armored cars patrolled inside. Demonstrators encountered troops firing warning shots in Jakarta on March 11, and 60 students were injured by police on March 17 during more anti-government protests.

California Area Readers—

Hear Raya Dunayevskaya on Tour

BAY AREA:

Tuesday, April 11 — "Rosa Luxemburg, Today's Women Theorists and the Black Dimension," 11 a.m.-12:30 p.m., City College of San Francisco, Bungalow 315, and

Wednesday, April 12—7:30 p.m., Epic West, 2640 College Avenue, Berkeley.

Friday, April 14—"Marx's CAPITAL and Today's Global Crisis," 8 p.m., Unitas House, 2700 Bancroft Way, Berkeley.

LOS ANGELES:

Wednesday, April 19—"Marx's CAPITAL and Today's Global Crisis," 3 p.m., U of C at Irvine, Humanities Hall.

Thursday, April 20—"Eurocommunism and East European Revolts," 3 p.m., UCLA, North Campus Center.

Tuesday, April 25—"Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought," LA City College, noon, Student Center.

"Women's Liberation as Philosophy and Revolution," 2 p.m., Women's Center.

Wednesday, April 26—"Marx's CAPITAL and the Latin American Revolutions," Cal State University, noon, Students Union 313.

SAN DIEGO:

Sunday, April 23—"Marx's CAPITAL and World Crisis," 4 p.m., Women's Festival, 866-24th St. "Rosa Luxemburg and the Women's Liberation Movement," 8 p.m., Educational Cultural Complex, 4343 Oceanview Blvd.

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

III. THEN AND NOW:

The Objective Situation in Marx's day and Today in the Writing of and Commentary about Capital.

Chapters 5 and 6 of *Marxism and Freedom*: "The Impact of the Civil War in the U.S. on the Structure of Capital" and "The Paris Commune Illuminates and Deepens the Content of Capital."

New Introduction to *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crises*. Chapter 9 of *Philosophy and Revolution*. Edith Thomas, *The Women Incendiaries*.

IV. A NEAR-CENTURY OF DEBATE AROUND VOL. II OF CAPITAL

Instead of dating the debates around Vol. II with Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital*, 1913, we'll here see that, in fact, the first emergence of Reformism appears with publication of Vol. II of *Capital* itself and the first signs of monopoly capital.

Chapter 8 of *Marxism and Freedom*: "The Logic and Scope of Capital, Volumes II and III," first two sections.

Marx's *Capital*, Vol. II.

Supplementary Readings: Rosa Luxemburg, *Reform or Revolution?*; *Accumulation of Capital*; Anti-Critique; F. Forest (RD) "Revolt of the Workers and the Plan of the Intellectuals, an answer to Warde and Wright," *WSU Archives Library* Vol. V, Sec. III (2); also *Two Worlds*, N&L Dec. 1977, "State-plan fetishism and George Novack's philosophy".

V. ECONOMIC CRISES AND BREAKDOWN OF CAPITALISM

Chapter 8, Section 3 of *Marxism and Freedom*. Appendix to new booklet, "Tony Cliff Reduces Lenin's Theory to 'Uncanny Intuition'".

Marx's *Capital*, Vol. III, Chapters on General Contradiction only.

Marx's *Grundrisse*.

Supplementary Readings: Tony Cliff, *Lenin*, Vol. 2; Dunayevskaya, *Marxism and Freedom*, Part V: "Problems of our Age of State-Capitalism vs. Freedom";

Philosophy and Revolution, Part III: "Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation".

VI. DIALECTIC METHODOLOGY

A summation of the whole, including Chapter 1 of *Philosophy and Revolution*, "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning," as well as Chapter 7, "The African

Revolution and the Dialectics of Liberation."

Supplementary Readings: Ernest Mandel's introduction to the new Pelican edition of Marx's *Capital*; Dunayevskaya, "A Restatement of Some Fundamentals of Marxism: Against Carter's Vulgarization" (March 1944; in *WSU Archives Library*, Vol I, Sec. III (6). (Reprinted especially for this class.);

Karel Kosik, *Dialectic of the Concrete*, Chapter 3; Theodor Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, especially pp. 405-408, the very last three pages of the book, where he does try to return to the magnificence of dialectics.

This summation of Marx's *Capital and Today's Global Crises*, combines a study of Marx's economic categories, and their deep roots in his Humanism and Dialectics. The pivot is the concreteness of actual, living forces that spell out a social revolution—Labor, Black, Women, Youth . . . It is of the essence to regain the unity of the dialectics of the liberation struggles and of thought. Let us not forget that sexism became the more virulent when Women as Revolutionaries and as Reason began to demand proof of new human relations the day before, not the day after, revolution.

The fact that every tendency in the movement — from Luxemburg to Mandel, from Lukacs to Tony Cliff, and from Rosdolsky to Novack, not to mention all the myriad Maoist splinters — has turned out to tailend Stalin's revision of the content and form, the dialectic structure and vision of "new passions and new forces" of Marx's *Capital*, testifies to the bankruptcy of leadership-conscious Marxism, and makes it imperative to recapture the historic continuity with Marx's Marxism—his new continent of thought, of revolution, of vision of class-less society.

Postscript:

Because I felt that the new English translation of Marx's *Capital* by Ben Fowkes was a great improvement on the heretofore standard edition, I may have given the impression that it is without blemish. The Rosdolsky volume, which uses that translation, including the word "Valorisation" for *Verwertung*, makes it necessary to take exception to that mechanistic word. Not only was it not extant in Marx's day, but I doubt he would have used it had it been. The Hegelian feel in the word realisation to convey "self-expansion of value" is good enough reason for sticking to the old standard translation. I have no idea why Ben Fowkes chose so "price-fixing" a word, but it conveys nothing of *Verwertung*.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Russia

A new union, Association of Free Trade Union Workers, has been formed in Russia by a group of 200 workers who have appealed to the International Labor Organization for recognition. They claim that complaints about their working conditions sent through regular Russian channels result in confinement to psychiatric hospitals, expulsion from Moscow, and permanent loss of jobs and homes.

In the days of the Tsar, peasants would come thousands of miles to seek an audience with him. Today, the halls, reception rooms and ante-rooms of the Praesidium of the Supreme Court, the Central Committee, and the Procurator General's offices are filled with workers and citizens registering complaints on working conditions or corrupt officials.

There are booths around these rooms where you state your case to some minor functionary. If you are lucky, you are sent on to a bigger bureaucrat. If unlucky, you might be hustled off to a psychiatric ward. According to a Helsinki monitor's report, the police send as many as 12 people a day to the psychiatrists from the reception room of the Praesidium alone.

The leader of the new union, Vladimir Klebanov, confined by police to a psychiatric hospital, was a coal miner for 16 years at the Bazhanova coal mine in the Ukraine. He tried in 1960 to form an independent union but was stopped and charged with engaging in "anti-Soviet activity."

By 1968, he had become a foreman but was fired for refusing to give overtime assignments or to send men into areas where he felt that safety standards were not being met. He complained about the high accident rate at the mine. After spending the years from 1968 to 1973 in a maximum security psychiatric hospital, his "labor book" was stamped, on his release, "dismissed in connection with arrest," which in Russia means no one will hire him.

Latin America

The mass demonstrations that exploded in Nicaragua in January against Anastasio Somoza's one-man rule have proven to be neither temporary, nor an isolated event in Latin America.

Even after the two-and-one-half week general strike that ended in February and saw all elements of the population united against Somoza and the

Nicaraguan National Guard, national strikes and demonstrations have persisted. The Sandinista guerrillas, who control large segments of the northern part of the country, have continued their attacks and even killed Somoza's right-hand man, General Reynaldo Perez Vega, on March 9. There seems to be a new confidence among the Nicaraguan masses that it is just a matter of time before the 40-year Somoza dynasty falls.

In Bolivia, a wave of hunger strikes was started at the Archbishop's Palace in La Paz by the wives and children of mine workers who had been either deported or detained. The strikes grew to involve more than 1,500 people in 10 major cities throughout the country, and resulted in a general amnesty to include the mine workers.

Meanwhile, Bolivia's dictator, General Hugo Banzer, announced the first elections in 12 years to be held this July, in order to elevate himself to the presidency by popular vote. But now the whole political situation has been transformed.

In Peru, another military dictator, Francisco Bermudez, tried to hold elections with the results subject to veto by the military regime. But 25,000 persons demonstrated against the regime in Lima in November, and a new opposition movement has emerged — triggered by the miners' union — that has united many trade unions and peasant organizations.

China

China's nominal legislature, the National People's Congress, has concluded its meetings. It discarded the old constitution which was modeled after Stalin's constitution for Russia, and adopted a constitution stressing state-capitalist development of the country and de-emphasizing the fervor associated with the Cultural Revolution.

The election of the new leadership produced no surprises. Hua Kuo-feng as Party Chairman was elected head of the government, with Teng Hsiao-ping holding his post as Vice-Premier, placing many of his close associates in posts of power in the regime. Interestingly enough, Teng and his wife, Cho Lin, were both delegates to the Congress representing the army.

While details of the new economic policy were not immediately available, Yeh Chien-ying, Deputy Chairman of the party, who introduced the policy, stated that the general task of the people and the

whole country in the new period was to make China a great and powerful "socialist" country by the end of this century. Plans to "develop productive forces at high speed, and to vigorously step up our scientific and technological work" are sure to entail greater blood, sweat and tears for the masses.

Mao's Cultural Revolution, implemented by the "Gang of Four," had succeeded in halting all educational development and exiling its advocates to the farms. At the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, hundreds of people had been accused of being "Nationalist Agents" during the Cultural Revolution, yet not a single individual was found guilty when it was over.

Official speeches carried broad hints of better things to come, such as wage increases that had been opposed by Mao. Phrases like "socialist democracy," "democratic management," and "the workers should have the right to run various kinds of enterprises and manage the affairs of state," are an admission that the workers have not had these rights in the past and still don't.

The workers are wary of such promises, first offered by Mao during the "Hundred Flowers" campaign in 1957, during which the poor flowers bloomed, only to have their heads cut off.

One change that may prove significant concerns the military structure. Formerly there was the army, a national authority; then the provincial and regional military force; and finally, the local militia. Under the new constitution, all three groups will be merged into a single military organization, the army, the source of Teng's power.

Ford—then and now

When Henry Ford first announced, way back in the Depression, that he would pay each and every worker in his plant the magnificent sum of \$6 per day, he was hailed by some as a friend of the workers, and by others as a madman who would soon go broke. Of course he was neither. Once the union came into being, wages rose to the present \$7.50 per hour.

Ford has just built a new plant in Seville, Spain, a country recently emerging from 40 years of fascism. Guess what the wage will be for the Spanish workers. Yes—\$6 per day!

French vote, Italian crisis show mass discontent with Eurocommunism

(Continued from Page 1)

Minister of the Interior (Police) for a period during the Algerian War in 1957. He remains the same wily bourgeois politician he was then, forced by the mass movement to act "Left". He fooled no one but himself when he thought he would win the Premiership, first with the CP, and then "independently". Indeed, he is the biggest loser in the French elections.

ITALIAN GOVERNMENT CRISIS

Similarly in Italy, it was growing working-class anger both with unemployment and with government "austerity" plans, which forced the Italian Communist Party (CP) to oppose the ruling Christian Democrats for a time, creating the government "crisis" that ended on March 13 with a new version of the "historic compromise".

The CP was pushed to act by the December 2, 1977 metalworkers' (autoworkers) strike against "austerity". This move from the most militant group in the Italian working class, with a reputation in Italy similar to that of the coal miners in the U.S., forced the CP to support the workers, despite its own policy of "austerity".

Before December 2, the Andreotti Christian Democratic government had, with CP support, boasted of having reduced strike levels since it took office in June, 1976. But, as *Le Monde's* perceptive correspondent Robert Sole wrote as early as April 5, 1977 on the situation in Italian labor since the great strikes of 1968 and 1969:

"The unions had to accept, after some resistance, a spontaneous institution: the factory councils, formed of delegates elected independently of their political or union affiliation and sometimes not even possessing a union card. The eruption of this autonomous workers' power interferes with contracts. Especially in metallurgy one witnesses 'Italian-style' strikes—unexpected, swirling, fragmented, sometimes violent—which make management go crazy."

ENTIRE YEAR OF STUDENT REVOLT

In addition to worker unrest, an entire year of youth and women's revolt helped lay the ground for the Italian government crisis. Beginning in January, 1977, students demonstrated against a new law seeking to cut University enrollment drastically, a law tacitly supported by the CP.

The new strength of the student movement was a product of numbers swelled since the 1960's from 500,000 to 900,000, as schools became, in the words of the activists, "parking lots for the unemployed". Beginning

in Palermo, Sicily, in the heart of impoverished and "conservative" southern Italy, where unemployment is massive, the students had occupied all the universities within weeks.

Bologna, "showcase" city of the CP which has controlled the local government there since World War II, was no exception.

The student revolt sprung most immediately from the question of unemployment, which stands "officially" at 2 million, half of them university graduates. Another 800,000 Italian workers sent home because of the recession from northern Europe don't count in the statistics either of Italy or the countries where they were working.

SEXISM IN THE LEFT

The sexism of all political groups in Italy, including the Left, keeps the women apart to a large extent. Thus the Christian Democrats and the fascists, who are growing again in 1978, oppose the women openly, while the CP gives late and lukewarm support, still, for example, refusing to back abortion.

The Left groups most identified with the student movement, Lotta Continua and Autonomia Operaia, have been torn apart by sexist incidents. The "autonomia" also reject Marxism in many cases, referring to Antonio Gramsci's thought developing Marxism on Italian soil, only in order to brand the CP as reformist.

The attitude of the "autonomia" toward terrorism has also presented the movement with great problems. Having generally applauded any action against the state and the CP, including the frequent terrorist assassinations and kidnappings of businessmen, politicians, judges and journalists, they have made it easier for the CP and the Right to brand the whole movement as "terrorists" and "crazies".

As the basis of their own activity, the "autonomia", having rejected Maoism for the most part, either reject theory completely or draw theirs from the French New Left's anti-worker theories. In France itself, the still "newer" and openly reactionary "New Philosophy", which considers Solzhenitsyn both a "Dante" and a "hero", has caught the attention of many intellectuals, and may actually have helped cut the Left's electoral margin.

FRENCH BUILD ECOLOGY MOVEMENT

In France, the youth and women's movements have not recently attained the mass character of the Italian movement, but the ecology movement has been a new mass movement outside labor there. It gained world attention last year when its slate, led by renowned

agronomist Rene Dumont, attained a surprising 10% in the first round of the March 13, 1977 municipal elections.

On July 31, 30,000 turned out at Creys-Malville to protest against a nuclear power plant, and egged on by both Giscard and the CP, the police murdered one youth. This most fundamental movement against capitalist destruction of the earth itself has been dismissed by the CP as backward looking and by some "revolutionary" Leftists for its non-violent tactics. Despite this, it has been able to forge important links between "conservative" farmers and urban workers and youth.

The proliferation of so many diverse movements is a sign that no change at the top will solve the fundamental questions of life and labor either in Italy or in France.

The latest terrorist kidnapping in Italy is not a manifestation only of "crazies" and terrorists. Rather, it is a manifestation that so total is the crisis that Communists, who were willing to conspire with the Christian Democrats to "solve the crisis", cannot help to stabilize the regime any more than Carter's threats can do more than aggravate the crisis. As for France, all the elections showed was that this, too, is a nation divided in two parts, separate and unequal.

Marx's Capital
and
Today's Global Crisis



by Raya Dunayevskaya

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