

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

The death of Mao Tse-tung, and with it, the organized mourning which confined the natural outpouring of grief at the leader's death to the specified times and places, making sure there was no interruption in production, may create the illusion that unity prevails in the Central Committee of the Communist Party, in the Army, in the Peoples' Congress, not to mention "the people of all nationalities." But in fact, this was indeed the year of "troubles under Heaven."

It began with Chou En-lai's death, was immediately followed by the campaign against Teng, who had delivered the eulogy and was evidently Chou's man. The Chinese people had evidently considered it a campaign against Chou himself, as was clear by the tremendous demonstrations in April over the question of wreaths being removed from his grave. This April revolt was preceded by an editorial in March in the **Peoples Daily** which, in commenting on the first meteorite shower

Death of Mao Tse-tung: the Thought of Mao

which hit Kirin Province in March, suddenly brought out that when an earthquake had occurred in 300 B.C., "some people made use of a meteorite to start the reactionary rumor that 'the land will be divided after the death of the First Emperor.'"

By July, when the most devastating earthquakes hit China, and the three main industrial casualties of the Tangshan earthquake were coal, steel and electricity, plus great damage in China's third largest city, Tientsin, the editorials turned to stories of looting.

No figures were ever given as to how many people died, but it is thought that there are as many as 100,000 dead. Such a natural disaster, for which the Central Committee is certainly not responsible, nevertheless produced a series of slogans like: "Do not become entangled in old grudges among revolutionary masses," "Do not engage in organized fighting teams, and still less in struggle by force," "Increase production".

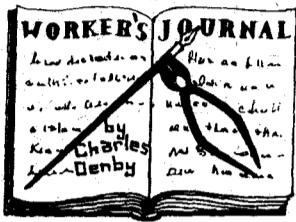
THE STRUGGLE FOR MAO'S MANTLE

There has been quite a bit of unrest in the country, especially among the most militant of the workers. This

intensified the struggle for power at the top, and it became clearer still when Mao's death did occur on Sept. 9. First, they waited 16 hours before making the announcement, and by then it was clear that the mourning would be confined to designated times and places. Then the funeral list which was published revealed that three important leaders were absent — the Director of the Press Agency, the Minister of Education, and most telling of all, Wan Li, the Minister of Railways. The last strikes were in the railways.

The very appearance of unity of the leadership, of whatever faction, standing together on the specially-built platform in Tien An Men Square while Premier Hua Kuo-feng delivered the eulogy to the million gathered there, was belied by the speech itself which, clearly, while proclaiming unity, meant it only for the masses to continue to work and work harder.

Not a single leader of the past, from Chen Tu-hsiu who founded the Communist Party to Teng, was omitted from the most slanderous attacks. Thus: "Under Chairman Mao's leadership, our party defeated the opportunist" (Continued on Page 8)



Unemployment drives youth to suicide

by Charles Denby, Editor

There is a sad and somewhat unbelievable situation in this country today, and that is the question of unemployment, especially among the youth. At the same time, you have those capitalists from corporations yelling loud and long about the profits they made last year, that they expect to go even higher this year.

The President is yelling that he is running on his record, as though working people and unemployed people do not know what his record is. Carter sometimes mentions the unemployed, but he has no answers to what he will do for them if and when he is elected.

TAKE THEIR OWN LIVES

In the past two weeks, there have been three suicides in Detroit committed by young men because they were out of work and could not find a job. They were forced to take their own lives because there was no future for them in this society. You can be sure it is happening all over the country, but the press only mentions it in passing.

In the case of one young Black worker, Jeffrey Jackson, the daily news and TV were blaring that a bandit held up a store and was holding 12 people hostage. Forty officers surrounded the place while Jackson was talking with the so-called hostages about how long he had been out of a job. It had become a desperate problem for him, and all he wanted was a chance to make a living, not to hurt anyone. When he noticed this army of police closing in, he just raised his gun to his head and shot.

Several days later, there were two white brothers who took their lives in their back yard. The newspaper just said "Jobless Pair Turns to Suicide". Both apparently took their own lives because they were unemployed and unable to find jobs. Gerald Walker, 19, and his brother Lawrence, 21, had both been trying to get on welfare but were rejected because they were young enough to work. When their children told them that morning they were hungry, it was more than they could take—four months out of work and not knowing where their next meal was coming.

In this society, the richest in the world, people go on starving in misery and suffering. As a worker said, "These corporations will make more profit because they are producing with less workers than they did last year. When a worker retires they never hire any new people unless they have to."

About a month ago, there were three young workers that had gone out looking for a job, filling out applications wherever they could and being turned down at all of the places, including Chrysler Mack. A young worker knew they were hiring at Mack, but so many were putting in applications they could pick and choose the ones they would hire.

WORKERS 'WALK INTO' JOBS

So this young friend gave the three workers his badge and told them to enter the plant along with the other workers and go sit in the lunch room. A foreman came and asked if they could weld and took them to a job, where they worked for three days before the company discovered they were not employed. They were taken to labor relations where the foreman said they were good workers but had broken company rules, and then decided to hire them.

The daily news got the story and printed it, saying the workers would not get paid for the first three days (Continued on Page 2)

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African revolts unfold new banner of freedom throughout the world

by Olga Domanski, National Organizer
News and Letters Committees

Singing freedom songs and carrying placards reading, "Don't bring your disguised American oppression into Azania", Black students in their early teens gathered in the school yards of Soweto on Sept. 17 to protest Henry Kissinger's visit to Pretoria—to supposedly discuss a "peaceful transition" to "Black majority rule" with two



South African women, today as in the past, are in the forefront of the struggle for freedom.

of the world's most notorious racists, South Africa's John Vorster and Rhodesia's Ian Smith. Within minutes police had killed six and wounded 35. A few days earlier 16 workers had been killed during the second mammoth strike in two weeks. This toll was added to the hundreds already dead and the thousands jailed since June. The seething mass revolt has not only been continuous, it has encompassed ever new sections of the population. It marks a new stage of Black revolutionary consciousness for the entire world.

An apparent "lull" that followed the initial outburst of the Soweto youth in June to protest Afrikaans, the hated language of the oppressors, was followed in August

with a three-day successful general strike that hit in the most vital place of all for the white economy—production, which is run by Black labor. Even the police-instigation of some Zulu vigilantes to try to break the strike of the 230,000 workers (the majority of whom are themselves Zulus) who travel daily from their ghetto township to the city, did not succeed. Absenteeism in Johannesburg, the economic hub of the country, was as high as 80 percent.

The wanton and brutal killings and the mass arrests that had gone on for weeks failed to stop the momentum of the revolt. No sooner were leaders arrested, than others stepped in and carried on. From below, ever new leaders emerged. The counter-revolution was further stunned to find that the pamphlets that enlisted the workers' support were signed by the African National Congress, (ANC), the Black resistance group that had been forced underground in 1960 after the Sharpeville massacre.

But the ANC had not organized the spontaneous revolt, though its spirit was present in many of the slogans. And this was no mere repeat of Sharpeville. It was brand new. One Johannesburg worker said, "This morning some young ones tried to make me stay in Soweto. 'Do not go' they said. 'Today we march and we may get shot. You must stay home and be here to bury us.' Nobody ever said things like that in Soweto before."

NEW SHOCK FOR WHITES

Scarcely a day in August passed without police shooting down demonstrators somewhere, as township after township exploded. And when, by Sept. 2, the revolt had spread to the "Coloured" masses (as those of mixed race are identified in South Africa), and 3,000 Coloured youth brought the conflict for the first time directly to a white area itself—downtown Cape Town—whites were totally shocked.

White South Africa had long believed that because the mixed-race "Coloureds" had been given greater social and economic mobility than Blacks, they aspired to "white life-styles" and were, themselves, afraid of Black dominance. Now it was clear that there was strong solidarity between Coloured and Black. "Our people had

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ON THE INSIDE

LATINO VOICES:

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'La Feminista'—Chicana view of women's movement

Anna Nieto-Gomez, a Chicana teacher at California State University, Northridge, lost her battle to retain her tenure (see *News & Letters*, Aug.-Sept. 1976). Rather than remain another year, she decided to resign. As an activist in the Chicano community and especially in working with Chicanas, Anna Nieto-Gomez has written widely on Chicanas, both history and present struggles. Below are excerpts from her article "La Feminista," which appeared in the Chicana journal, *Encuentro Femenil* (Vol. 1, No. 2, 1974).

THE CHICANO movement has until recently viewed the Chicana only as a member of the Chicano people in general who are all economically oppressed as a culturally different people. It has been indifferent to the specific issues 51 percent of the Chicano people face as women . . .

The Chicana feminista has continually had to justify, clarify and educate people to the political and philosophical issues of the Chicana woman. This has not been easy. They have acted at the cost of being called "vendidas" (sell-outs) among their own group, the Chicanas. . .

Feministas uphold that feminism is a very dynamic aspect of the Chicana's heritage and not at all foreign

to her nature . . . There is a rich legacy of heroines and activists in social movements, and armed rebellions which Chicanas can draw from as models to emulate . . .

CHICANA FEMINISM shares with all women the issues which affect them as women, such as welfare; birth control, abortion and employment. But it is in the context of the needs of the Chicano people . . .



When a Chicana works in an affirmative action program for women, she will make sure that Chicanas are not being screened according to how Anglo they look

and whether they speak without an accent. In addition, she must make sure she receives equal pay between Anglo women and Chicanas as well as between men and women . . .

CHICANAS FEEL it is unfortunate that Anglo feminists believe their problems as women can unite all women and therefore overcome any racial differences. However, if women's issues do not address the language barriers, the cultural difference and class differences used to oppress women also, the women's movement can only represent one middle class monolingual-cultural vested interests . . .

There is a bill in California and other state legislatures to require secondary schools to offer woman studies classes . . . "Herstory," unfortunately, also tends to exclude the history of the Chicana. Herstorians have ethnocentrically made women's history synonymous with the Indo-European Heritage. More often than not, indigenous women of the Americas are either ignored or tokenistically offered a sentence or two . . .

Because the Chicana is oppressed both racially and sexually, issues such as the family, the law, abortion, birth control, child care, work, welfare, and education become entirely distinct problems . . . the Chicana could not fight for feminism without it being also an effort on behalf of all her people. With the mutual support of hermanas and hermanos for the Chicana feminist, the Chicano movement can truly become a movement for all la Raza.

WL NOTES

On Sept. 17, 1,800 Seattle nurses who had been on strike for 68 days began returning to work after 74 percent voted to approve a contract. Key issues in the strike were salary, dismissal for cause, more voice in solving hospital problems and union membership. During the strike, the first by nurses in the state, picketing nurses asked other hospital personnel to report to work so that health care could be maintained, and only asked that they not do the work of RNs.

Two Belfast housewives, Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan, an aunt of three children killed when a car driven by a wounded IRA gunman went out of control, have begun a campaign for peace and an end to terrorism in Northern Ireland. Over 10,000 women participated in the first march. The next Saturday brought 20,000 and the next 25,000—men and women, Catholic and Protestant. Mrs. Corrigan said she didn't know what bothered her more—"the men sitting back while men and women have been dying in the streets of Belfast and Derry," or the "men without jobs." The marches have been the first mass protests against violence in seven years.

Both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives have voted to prohibit the use of federal funds to perform abortions unless the mother's life is endangered by a pregnancy. The bill clearly discriminates against poor women who can only afford to have an abortion under Medicaid. It is cruelly ironic since federal funds have been used for sterilizations of women, many involuntary, for what were considered "social and economic reasons."

E. Timor women revolutionaries speak to our struggles today

by Molly Jackson

It is not only women of the past that we must not allow to become hidden from history and from philosophy. It is women of today, magnificent revolutionaries like Rosa Muki Bonaparte of East Timor, who have much to say to all of us.

Rosa Muki Bonaparte was Secretary of the Popular Organization of Timorese Women (OPMT), which was founded Aug. 28, 1975 as a group within Fretelin, at a time when the East Timorese people were struggling to transform the end of 446 years of Portuguese imperialist rule into a social revolution.

On Nov. 28, 1975, the Democratic Republic of East Timor was declared. Ten days later, on Dec. 7, Indonesian paratroopers invaded tiny East Timor (with a population of only 650,000) and, armed with the latest in sophisticated U.S. weaponry, killed tens of thousands of East Timorese people.

Rosa Bonaparte's voice was among those stilled by the Indonesian invaders. Yet so deeply was her vision of freedom imbued with internationalism and feminism—in a country where women were fighting against the sale of brides and the practice of polygamy—that it cannot be extinguished. Here is part of a statement she gave on Sept. 18, 1975:

"The exploited and oppressed position of women is not a phenomenon limited to East Timor . . . But in East Timor, as in other countries subject to colonial exploitation, the exploitation and oppression of women is extreme because of the combination of two factors, firstly the traditional conceptions about the submission of women, and secondly the colonialist attitude to women . . .

"The ideology of a system in which women are considered as 'inferior beings' submitted Timorese women to a double exploitation: A general form, which applies without distinction to both men and women, and which manifests itself by forced labor, starvation salaries, racism, etc. . . . Another form of a specific character, directed to women in particular."

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Los Angeles, Calif. 90029

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

CHICAGO: PO Box 11865
Chicago, IL 60611

The objectives of the OPMT, she continued, were "the total destruction of all forms of exploitation" and "to restore to women the position and rights due to them in the new society which we are building through revolution." Among the concrete tasks she discussed were combat, education of children, organization of women, and "classes in revolutionary theory and practice." She ends:

"Long live the Popular Organization of Timorese Women! Long live independent East Timor! Long live the world revolution!"

A year after the founding of the OPMT—and the crushing of the East Timorese liberation struggle—how is it that the U.S. women's movement, the most "sophisticated," and with the most resources, has not paid sufficient attention to the East Timorese women's movement, while they, in the midst of war, called out in solidarity with us?

A year after they were raising the most profound questions about women in a new society, and at the same time practicing new relationships within their own organization, can we afford not to grasp what was achieved by the women revolutionaries in "backward" East Timor, in working out our own philosophy of liberation?

WORKING WOMEN FOR FREEDOM

by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes
With special appendix by Raya Dunayevskaya:

'Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries'
Price: \$1 (plus 15c postage)

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Chicago Blacks fight Nazis, Klan

Chicago, Ill.—On Sept. 12 I heard the Rev. A. I. Dunlop and E. Jackson of the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement speak at the Rogers Park J.C. on the far north side. The full house of 40 was probably due to the recent reemergence of Nazism in this and most other Chicago neighborhoods.

The Martin Luther King Jr. Movement has organized 30 marches on Marquette Park. On the July 17 march—the first issued a parade permit and allowed to leave the Black neighborhood of West Englewood—200 demonstrators were attacked by a brick-hurling mob of 3,000. The 150-cop escort (one tenth of the number the city earlier claimed necessary) never drew their night sticks.

Rev. Dunlop said the object of the marches was to gain police protection for the many Blacks who cross Marquette Park while travelling to other parts of town. Frank Collin's Nazis have been active for a year, assaulting Black "trespassers" in "their" neighborhood and raiding Black West Englewood. While the media ignored them, the Klan turned 15 creeps into a city-wide power. Klan advisors from Louisville, Ky., Aurora, Ill. and Racine, Wisc. helped organize.

The MLK Jr. Movement sued the city for inadequate police protection and lost, Judge Grady ruling that the mob had an equal right to use the park facilities—perhaps a greater right: the Rev. Dunlop, Jackson and two others were later arrested for inciting to riot.

Their headquarters receive daily phone threats and visits from fire inspectors. They have been investigated by the Republican State Attorney, Bernard Carey. Meanwhile Nazis have expanded to the north side of town. Blacks and Asians have been assaulted in the quiet neighborhood of Rogers Park.

The MLK Jr. Movement is trying to raise \$5,000 to pay legal bills and appeal their suit. They are the only ones fighting here and they really need help. Contributions should be made out and sent to: Martin Luther King, Jr. Movement, 6430 S. Ashland, Chicago, Ill. 60620.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

they had worked. The company suspended the young worker who gave them his badge, but with some help from the union they fought and got the three days' pay and the suspended worker reinstated. Everyone is laughing about how dumb this company is to work people three days before knowing they were not hired.

But all the while they are laughing, they know the terrible unemployment crisis is nothing to laugh about. And they know the three young workers will soon have other problems, now that they are officially hired in. The work on the assembly lines, the speed-up, is so inhuman that every hour can be torture.

The story is the same whether it comes from a Black GM production worker who was complaining to me that his shop is being worked 10 to 12 hours, seven days a week, and even on holidays—something never heard of before; or whether it comes from the white Detroit Edison electrician who told me the same thing.

Nobody believes the lies of President Ford who wants us to think that the economic crisis is over. There are still over seven million unemployed—even by their own count—and that does not include the millions who are never included in the "statistics." We have gone through the Depression of the '30s and people are not going to go through it again. This society is rotten from top to bottom and needs to be torn up by its roots. And the quicker the better for all human beings.

SF women help win higher pay

San Francisco, Cal. — The determined struggle of women from Union WAGE, News and Letters Committees, and the Coalition of Workers Rights, has helped win a new minimum wage for California. As of Oct. 18, it will be \$2.50 per hour.

For the first time, farm workers, household workers and minors are covered, as well as the women who initiated the action under the Equal Rights Amendment, demanding its extension to all workers.

Full-time students are not covered, but part-time students and minors will get a special rate of \$2.15 per hour; workers earning less than \$5 will have tools provided by employers; and agricultural workers will receive time-and-a-half after 60 hours.

The new regulations affect about 40 per cent of California's 8.5 million workforce. Industry is howling over this raise from the previous \$2 minimum wage, and 128 employer groups, with the California Manufacturers Association, are petitioning for a rehearing.

This victory resulted from over two years of consistent efforts: attending meetings of the Industrial Welfare Commission, picket lines, leaflets, informational publicity, court cases, and in one event, 300 workers simply taking over the "closed" meeting of the Commission.

Vacation pay, holidays, sick leave, health insurance and job conditions were included in the demands of the women's groups but were not part of the new State work rules. But they are issues which are right up front on our agenda for the near future. —N&L activist

Fleetwood walkout: a worker tells his story

Detroit, Mich. — Second shift workers walked out and shut down production at the Fleetwood plant on Aug. 26. When the shift began, rumors started spreading that the company had fired Local 15 President Rufus Coleman and Bargaining Chairman Jim Gabbard for pushing on shop conditions that the company wouldn't move on.

About two hours later, the bulk of the workers walked out from Dept. 11 and other departments upstairs with many hard jobs overloaded and unsettled. People walked out from all departments, but some said they wouldn't go out for Rufus — not everybody believed our local president would do his job so good the company would want him fired.

The fact is people were not walking out for Rufus, but because of their own jobs. They were walking out against any attempt by the company to stop efforts to get the jobs changed.

The day shift stayed out the next day, and before the second shift was due, many workers gathered outside the plant to find out what was going on. Most had heard that the president had gotten balance of shift and a day off, apparently because of an argument with someone in labor relations, and Gabbard had got a week off.

Rufus Coleman told everyone to go back to work.

UAW 'picked strike' at Ford bypasses workers' involvement

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

I was in Louisville, Ky., when the 170,000 Ford auto workers shut down Ford Motor nationwide on Sept. 14, and talked to workers from the Ford plant there. Those I spoke with felt that the "picked strike" by the UAW international leadership and auto makers meant nothing to the majority of auto workers.

By "picked strike" I mean that Ford Motor and the auto workers knew whose time it was, but the UAW makes it a suspense game every time. Ford has been preparing since '67. They knew it was their turn to play the collective bargaining game with the UAW leadership. This will be the way it works as long as the auto companies and UAW leadership do the thinking for workers.

RECORD PROFITS

It is not that Ford should not be struck—they earned some \$770 million in the first half of 1976, which is on the way to a new record for the year. But the strike is being carried out with the auto workers as almost observers.

One of the Ford workers commented, "The only way working people will ever be listened to is when we take power in our hands like the coal miners did. The miners took on the coal operators, government and their International union bureaucrats and won. What has to happen in this country, is that all workers join each other in that kind of strike."

I think workers have learned a lot from the wildcat strike in the coal mines. I know the coal operators have. I was also in the coal mining part of Kentucky and one small coal operator I spoke with was all shook up when I mentioned a strike—and I was talking about the upcoming Ford strike! The way the miners took him on scared the hell out of him and lots of other coal officials.

He thanked everybody for walking out for him, but said that he hadn't been disciplined, it was only on paper and that didn't mean anything. Very few people went inside, not enough to run production. He hadn't even talked about the safety and job grievances still unsettled.

The union did not call a special meeting over the weekend. As usual they tried to stay silent and invisible. People were so frustrated at the union not letting them be heard, that about 300 came to an unofficial meeting across from the union hall that Sunday. Many talked about their job conditions and they voted to stay out.

The next day though, both shifts went in. The UAW International Rep, Curt McGuire, was getting on everyone with a position in Local 15 to get out front and intimidate and harass who they could. Since we returned to work, the company fired ten workers and many feel that the union helped the company decide who they wanted out.

The union leadership has not answered what the membership raised in the walkout. Once jobs are settled they don't want to be pushed around all year, even if the company breaks up jobs and adds on work. When your job is bad, you don't need your committeeman sitting in the Work Center drinking coffee, you need somebody on the floor representing you. The union should be held responsible for doing that job.

—Fleetwood worker, second shift

A woman worker at the Louisville Ford plant was mad that picketing was only until 6 p.m. She felt scabs could be brought in and that this would hurt the union. She contrasted this to the unity of the coal miners, where one local had started the strike and all the others had joined in. "Until all workers begin backing each other we will always have this monster on our backs. Woodcock and the company have already made the deal to sell us out." And she related it to the disunity in the rubber strike: "The rubber workers have been forced back into the plants with hardly any gains to show for their months on strike."

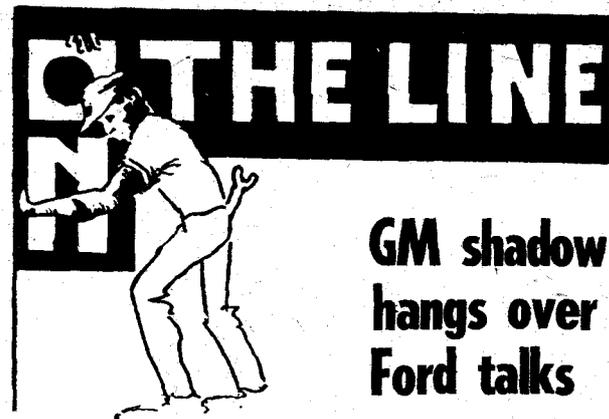
I returned from Louisville to Los Angeles and spoke to one older Black rubber worker from Uniroyal who had just returned from four months on strike. He echoed the Ford worker's thoughts: "We were forced back to work with just a crumb or two. The cost of living clause we won't get until next year, and it won't do the job. I see the worst inflation still ahead of us."

I thought about the tremendous divisions within rubber, with 40 percent of production continuing during the strike and how that had taken its toll in the rubber strike settlement.

GM IN '79

I also went to the Pico Rivera Ford plant near Los Angeles and spoke to workers on the line. They too felt it was a "picked strike" which they had had little to do with. One told me, "It will be GM's time to play the game of collective bargaining in the next contract coming up in '79." Another said, "The UAW and management bureaucrats are the same, living off the sweat of us workers."

Many workers see the government, the courts and their own union leadership against them and as the servants of the companies we are striking against. More and more workers are saying that if anything is to be done, we as workers are the ones who will have to do it.



GM shadow hangs over Ford talks

by John Allison

The iron hand of GM is present in the Ford Motor Co. strike. GM is using Ford as a stalking horse against the Ford workers, testing to see what it can and can't get away with when its turn comes in negotiations.

Those who think that the management of Ford, GM, Chrysler and American Motors don't work hand-in-glove in contract negotiations just don't know what's going on. The Big Three plus the Little Fourth always work together and use their great money power together against the working class as a whole, but especially against their own auto workers.

There was no real reason for the strike. When you talk about an increase in wages, a little more in the SUB kitty and cost-of-living and a few more paid days off for workers, there's not a whole lot that management will argue about as if these were life and death issues.

It might take a few weeks, might even be longer, but no one doubts that the strike will end with the workers getting some increases in all these areas.

However, the Ford Motor Company's decision to strike is aimed at trying to punish their own workers in the hope of turning them against the union. And this is something that all of the auto companies would like to see so they could go back to the old company union set-up.

They know this isn't going to happen, but they're always trying. One thing the rank-and-file has seen recently, during the auto depression of 1974-75, was how the company cut off benefits from non-union workers who have no protection. They also saw management sending supervisors back into production before they were laid off so they could get SUB benefits.

Workers know all of these shenanigans going on. They also know the real issue isn't being touched in the negotiations, and that's a change in their working conditions. This is where they live every day, under the gun of management production that kills them little by little every day on the line. Only the workers are talking about this problem. It's not on the contract table, but it's the most important one of all.

Police attack Flint strikers

Flint, Mich.—School bus drivers and maintenance workers went on strike against the Flint Board of Education Sept. 1, at the expiration of their contract. The strikers, members of Service Employees International Union Local 591, are seeking full cost of living and a prohibition against contracting out maintenance work to non-union firms.

When the schools opened, the Board of Education tried to break the strike by having non-union supervisory personnel drive the buses. The workers responded with mass picketing of the school bus garage.

Although the picketing was peaceful and the strikers did not attempt to stop the buses, a horde of 30 cops descended on Sept. 3, and began savagely beating the strikers.

This was a shocking experience for the strikers to whom I talked, most of whom had never had any previous experience like this with the police. Thirteen strikers were arrested and several were roughed up.

The strike has shaken up more than just the school board. The United Federation of Teachers decided not to honor the picket lines at a meeting on Sept. 6. There was a split among the teachers, however. The Black Teachers Caucus tried hard to get the union to honor the picket lines, but just didn't have enough votes.

Two weeks later, three teachers refused to cross the picket line and were demoted to substitutes. They have vowed to fight this discriminatory action.

In another incident, Detroit Mayor Coleman Young also crossed the strike picket line, explaining that the speech he was determined to give "was scheduled before the strike began".

After the strikebreaking began, UAW Local 659 in Flint denounced the teachers' union for crossing the picket lines. In 1973 when the teachers went on strike, Local 591 members honored their picket lines. The teachers promised at that time that they would return the favor if Local 591 members ever had to walk out.

(As we go to press, we have received word that the strike has been settled with a 13.6 percent wage increase over two years but a loss on the cost-of-living. The teachers demoted to substitutes have filed suit in Circuit Court.—Ed.)

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Right after the walkout (see article above) they started calling back most of the hi-lo drivers who were sent to the body shop, but some of the drivers who were on days before the cutbacks are still on afternoons. The foreman says, "when you give me my man back, I'll give you yours." They are playing games with your life, deciding what shift you will work like you are on an auction block. At the same time they are calling some people back, they are taking other people down to the blue room.

There was this one hi-lo driver we call "Mighty Mouse". During the wildcat, he was on tow-trucking. When we were walking out, Donnelly and Fred Astaire told him that they would get him later on for walking out. They waited two weeks, then they took him down behind something really petty, and gave him paper penalties.

I think the reason they didn't give him time off is that they really need the hi-lo drivers now. We have been working nine or more hours, six days a week. So instead, they just stack up the paper penalties on you, and hold them for when they want to get you.

We have 78's written on just about every job in Dept. 21, but not a single one has been settled. It is the "same old mess" and worse, because now you can't even get committee service. I haven't seen Wayne Powell

once since his car got burned up before Labor Day. I forgot what he looks like. If you call for a committeeman, it will be at least the next day before you see him—if you are lucky. Why can't we have a special election for a new committeeman now?

—Dept. 21 worker

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich.—There's a white foreman on the final line who some think is racist. He is known in the department for firing so many probationary workers. One night recently, he harassed a Black worker who had a lot of seniority so much that the worker knocked him out with one blow of his fist. The worker got fired on the spot. The foreman didn't come to work for a few days afterwards. After he got back, though, he fired two probationaries he had put on the bumper job which requires one experienced worker so that they don't fall behind.

Since the main building stopped running the mobile home, man-assignments have changed, and the company is doubling up many jobs. More operations were added onto some jobs after changover as well. When a worker complains to his or her foreman about having too much to do, the foreman tells them that the person who does the job on the other shift can keep up all right. What's worse is that the chief steward says the same thing.

—Main building worker

Readers' Views

THE ELECTIONS

With the multi-million dollar National Circus and Puppet Show, (called "elections"), in full swing, statistics on voters' opinions are meaningful to me. The Peter Hart Poll revealed that about one-third of U.S. citizens believe the American capitalist system is on the decline, and two-thirds that Big Business runs Washington, instead of the other way around. The committee for the Study of the American Electorate revealed that a majority of non-voters said: "Don't blame us, blame the candidates." The projection for November is that over 70 million, almost half the eligible voters, will not go to the polls. The Gallup Poll pointed out that this year voting may be even less than 1972 (which was the lowest since 1948). Only 49 percent interviewed said they had given any thought to the coming elections. To me the figures of the polls are alerting the government to our real desires — "Off Our Backs."

Activist
Berkeley

I've heard it said our choice of candidates is between Tweedledum and Tweedledee — but this year I think it's more like Tweedledum and Tweedledumber.

Teenage Voter
Detroit

SOUTH AFRICA

Operation Namibia — the boatload of banned books we are sailing to southern Africa — is almost ready. The focus of the world is now on South Africa itself, and the resurgence of black self-activity in the concentration camps and urban ghettos of "the belly of the beast" is the most hopeful, though agonizing, movement since the early '60s. It is quite clear that anyone adopting a position with regards to Rhodesia or Namibia must start with apartheid. Kissinger may now try to separate the issues as if they were independent of each other — to give South Africa and hence Western interests time to work out a new deal amounting to mere concessions to Black youth and workers. That's the danger we have to combat.

Operation Namibia
5 Caldedonian Road
London, N.1

Among the crimes of the U.S. military-industrial complex throughout the world is its support of apartheid in South Africa. U.S. corporate investment in South Africa has grown from \$285 million in 1960 to over \$1 billion today. By now U.S. firms control nearly 60 percent of the auto sales and 44 percent of the petroleum sales there.

And this is what the apartheid system has produced: Over 80 percent of all Africans in South Africa live below the poverty level. Half the children born in the designated Black area die before they are five. The doctor-patient ratio for whites is one of the highest in the world, one doctor for every 455 whites;

for Blacks it is one for every 18,000.

If your readers would like to know how they can help support the African struggle for freedom, they can get information from:

American Committee on Africa
164 Madison Avenue, N.Y.C. 10016

YOUTH AND THE SYSTEM

The Detroit Society for the Prevention of Suicide reports that this year alone it has case records of over 200 suicides among young people under 20 years of age. Many are dead because of their inability to find work and a place in this society.

The statistics furnished by the government on how well things are improving, ignore the 45 percent unemployment among Black youth, 30 percent among white youth, 12 to 15 percent among workers and fail to suggest how in hell those people are supposed to exist while the statistics are juggled around for election purposes.

The oft repeated explanation of, "if they only had an education" is a lot of hog-wash. There are plenty of degree-holding unemployed.

The inability of American capitalism to feed its poor, educate its young, and provide jobs and a livelihood for its workers mark the decadence of a society which no amount of campaign promises can change.

Disgusted
Detroit

I am a student at El Rancho high school. Most of us have been out in support of the teachers' strike in Pico Rivera, since Sept. 13. Yesterday, Sept. 15, the rest of the school children in the unified District came out in support of the teachers. Many students are with the teachers on the picket line because, like us, they have no voice in making decisions. It is hard for us to support the salary demands because our fathers and mothers are workers and it is from them that most of the money comes. But the teachers have to live too. Most of the students I have talked to say this system will have to be changed.

High School Student
California

PUERTO RICO AND THE SUMMIT

The U.S. decision to celebrate a parley of seven capitalist nations in Puerto Rico at one of our sunny beach resorts owned by the Rockefellers was a way to show their domination over the island. The site was announced without even informing the colonial administration. The welcome ceremonies at the airport were planned without including the Puerto Rican flag and anthem. The governor's hardship trying to get the airport to receive Ford (when security was so tight he had to climb a fence and run to get there in time) was the subject of jokes for days.

There were strong protests, numbering up to 20,000, at the airport and in the town of Dorado. We have no intention of being "passive spectators." The ahistoric colonial attitude of the U.S. government and their Puerto Rican representatives cannot make the people forget the roots of our problems, which are directly related to the economic and political dependence which hampers our development as a free and peace-loving nation.

Puerto Rican Student
New York

The Political-Philosophic Letter #5 on the two summits of the "West" and the "East" was a real lesson in how to read the newspapers. By first asking who was represented and who wasn't, and then asking what drove those who met to come together at this particular time you not only get to understand the crises in each particular land, but see that it was really the same concerns that

brought the rulers together in each summit, even though they looked so "different" at first glance.

Intellectual
California

Most workers I know, despite all the brainwashing they try to give us, know that all over the world there are basically two classes: those who produce the wealth, and those that own it. And they know that when "summits" are called, no matter whether it is by the so-called "communists" or by the capitalists, they are for increasing production at the cost of putting people out of work, and making those that still have a job, work harder.

GM Worker
California

UFW INITIATIVE

I read with interest the reader's view on Cesar Chavez's support of an anti-busing candidate for Senate in Mich. Here in Calif. there are also some questions to raise. While the vote on the farmworker initiative is certainly crucial, much of the work is being tied to the campaign of the Democratic Party to register voters, with UFW supporters undertaking the registration effort. Many also have the attitude that the initiative campaign is part of a new politics wherein poor people will be able to bypass the legislature and write their own laws. To sow illusions that it is somehow the initiative process rather than the ten-year-long fight of the farmworkers which made the initiative fight possible, is a misunderstanding of what the farmworkers represent.

Farmworker Supporter
Los Angeles

SOUTH AMERICA

The Guyana government announced on July 14, that it had made peace with Brazil, a military dictatorship of a pro-fascist type. A joint statement of Guyana and Brazil made no reference to the presence of Brazilian troops on the Guyana border. Guyana seems to pay its UN representatives only to discuss the business of other countries. The people certainly want to join in a fight against world imperialism and want the African victims of South Africa to be defended by Guyana. But they do not want Guyanese affairs to be neglected. The progressive forces in the Caribbean and Latin America are very concerned, not at the relaxing of tension between the two countries, but at the price paid by Guyana.

Dayclean
Guyana

Last week I went to a showing of films and slides on the counter-revolution in Chile. What shocked me most was not just the brutality of the fascists, but the almost total impotence of the Left. There was such a complete reliance on state power and not on the creativity of the people, that while there was supposed to be a social revolution going on, there were still soldiers strutting around in uniforms, and since the military had more guns, the counter-revolution was inevitable.

Many people are moved by this happening thousands of miles away but don't see what is going on in Detroit every day. What is the "white flight" to the suburbs, or the incredible economic crisis, or the white crowd who cheered when police pulled the body of a 20-year-old black youth, who had been unable to find a job for over a year, from a drugstore, after he shot himself following an unsuccessful hold-up attempt? We have to confront the counter-revolution here at home. The Chilean fascists could never have done what they did had there not been a deep current of reaction in the U.S., where they found their greatest support.

WSU Student
Detroit

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

The third anniversary of the overthrow of Allende in Chile was marked by only a small gathering in Los Angeles and was mostly Chileans. The Left has apparently put Chile, along with Latin America in general, on the back burner of their interest. I don't feel that solidarity can be confined to an occasional demonstration when things are hot. It has to include an exchange of ideas among revolutionaries of the U.S. and Latin America on a continuing basis. The appearance of *Marxismo y Libertad* just when there is such a reactionary swing in Latin America is no small event, but a significant contribution towards that solidarity.

N&L Committee Member
Los Angeles

I have just returned from Ireland where I met and was most impressed with a group that publishes a magazine called *Dawn*. (It costs \$6 a year, c/o Norman Lockhart, 62 Melrose St., Belfast 9, Ireland.) It is an anti-militarist monthly, produced by people living in Derry, Belfast and Dublin. Women and men participate equally. In fact, it is just about the only group I met in Europe about whom I could honestly say that the women had true participation. *Dawn's* special issue on Women's Liberation has been reprinted by a number of women's groups throughout Britain as well as Ireland.

Dawn deals with housing, the civil war, jobs, unemployment and other social issues. The actual production rotates among the three cities, and in the group are people of both Unionist and Republican milieus. It is from groups like this, and not the military factions, that I believe motion will come.

Seamus
Minnesota

Inasmuch as you were able to reprint the article Raya Dunayevskaya had written on the Beria purge after Stalin's death way back in 1953 to help illuminate what was going on in China when Teng was purged after Chou's death, it certainly did not surprise me that the Political-Philosophic Letter she wrote on "Mao's Last Hurrah" in February was better preparation to understand what will soon be going on in China than anything the "pundits" are writing now. The only thing that did surprise me (and probably shouldn't) was the nauseating reverence showered on Mao in the daily press.

N&L Supporter
Detroit

Ed. Note: — See ad for Political-Philosophic Letters of Raya Dunayevskaya, p. 5.

A Russian History student I know says he heard through Russian friends that a powerful article by Lenin is being circulated, unsigned, in *samizdat* in Russia. It is so powerful a criticism of present-day Russia that it is quite popular.

Student
New York

When we talk about the masses in this epoch having an interest in philosophy we don't mean it is measured by how many go to a bookstore to pick up Hegel's *Phenomenology* or are in groups reading Marx's 1844 Essays. It is measured by the questions that are being raised — the West Virginia miners asking in the '50s "what kind of labor should man do?", or women today asking "what is woman's role historically?". In this Age of Absolutes we live in, people with no formal education are questioning the very basis of society. That is the new beginning we start with. The question is, where do we go from there?

Marxist-Humanist
New York

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EDITORIAL Auto strike avoids real issue: working conditions

When the 170,000 Ford production workers went out on strike on Sept. 14, they were eager to take on Ford management in a battle to win better economic benefits, but there was something else far more important to them that they hoped would be in the strike demands. That one demand was more control over their working conditions—and that is not on the negotiating table.

There is no question in the minds of the workers that they will win some concessions from Ford management that will mean increased wages, an improved SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) formula, a better cost-of-living deal and more days off. They know the auto corporations can afford it, since Ford has made over \$785 million in profits in the first half of this year, that GM has racked up almost \$1.7 billion, and Chrysler, over \$225 million.

As one Ford worker with 30 years in the Ford Dearborn Plant put it, "This is the strangest strike I've ever been on. Nobody seems to know what is going on in the negotiations, or why we're on strike" (See articles, p. 3).

One explanation put forth by a Ford production worker is that the skilled trades were spoiling for a fight. They had been overruled by the union bureaucracy during the last round of negotiations when the skilled workers rejected the contract. The thinking on the part of both the company and union seems to be that by staging a strike, the skilled workers will be ready to ratify the contract when it is signed by the union.

He went on to say that one of the more important issues that many of the workers were talking about was a new provision for the retirees so they could get a cost-of-living adjustment in their retirement pay. With in-

flation of six percent or more cutting into retirees income, they keep losing in their standard of living with every passing day. However, the UAW and auto management have a contractual agreement which specifies that no new provisions in retiree benefits can be negotiated until 1979.

NOT IF, BUT HOW MUCH

But the auto companies will not hold the union to this. As a matter of fact, Ford has indicated a willingness to extend dental care to the retirees in the present negotiations. So there is clear bending on this score already, and the only question is: how much?

The whole atmosphere of the negotiations angers the rank-and-file workers. They know that every day they work on the line they are battling management in a vicious life-and-death struggle over speed-up and unsafe working conditions that continuously result in worker absenteeism and wildcat strikes because the work grind is inhuman. The workers shake their heads in amazement when they hear both the union and management agreeing that there are no hard feelings between them in the negotiations.

It is one thing for the big wheels of management and the union bureaucrats to sit around a negotiating table in Ford's glass house to work out the technical details of a contract that can be figured in dollars and cents. It is something else to change conditions of labor so workers can live like human beings and not be driven like robots by an automated production line that is designed to make ever greater profits for stockholders.

The point is that the division between the rank-and-file workers and the UAW bureaucracy is wider than it

has ever been before in the history of the union. The reason is simple. The philosophy and practice of the union bureaucracy is based on putting together demands that can be reduced to dollars and cents—to the "economic" factors. This is exactly the method that management uses; and it has been able to bring the union leaders into their way of operating.

LEADERS VS. RANKS

It does not mean that the union doesn't usually do a good job in this field. They have very capable experts in economics who are paid to get all of the facts and put them together in an "economic package" for contract negotiations. And nobody has better experts than the experienced statisticians and negotiators for the UAW.

But the point is that the rank-and-file workers do not think this way. The difference is very great, because the union negotiators are accepting the conditions set by the companies, and are working within the guidelines that management and the economic system dictate.

The workers, on the other hand, are forced to go beyond the limits set by management and accepted by their union. They have no choice, because the conditions of their work force them to look for a way out from under their inhuman conditions of labor. The answers they demand cannot be found in accepting the situation the way it is and getting more pay or fringe benefits, but in changing their conditions of work. This can be done only by a complete uprooting of the present relations at the point of production, and only when workers themselves, and not management or union bureaucrats, will determine what kind of work is human.

African revolts unfold new banner of freedom throughout the world

(Continued from Page 1)

small advantages over the Blacks and were easily led into rejecting our Black patrimony," said one young marcher. "We know now that we are all the victims of a system that must change. And that is our only demand—an immediate end to all inequality!"

An older intellectual noted, "This wave of protest, despite the deaths, lacks the morbid sense that surrounded Sharpeville, which I remember very well. These kids are simply not afraid of going to jail the way I was. They do not want any concessions or reforms. They don't want to modify the system. They want to do away with it."

SUPER-DIPLOMACY UPSET

It was the power of this spontaneous mass revolt that has totally upset and tipped the scales against the super-diplomat, Henry Kissinger, who had been trying to find new ways to stifle the true Angolan revolution, and save the bastion of apartheid, South Africa, ever since his first African safari in April. The fantastic image of the former Nazi, Vorster, putting "pressure" on Ian Smith to agree to "Black majority rule" in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), cannot hide the real focus of all the talking and shuttle-diplomacy.

Neither Vorster nor Kissinger have any intention of giving up the apartheid system, which is as necessary to capitalism in South Africa as racism is to capitalism in the U.S. U.S. corporations have more than \$1.5 billion invested there and realize a rate of profit that is among the highest in the world, and it is based on cheap Black labor. Fifty out of the 100 largest U.S. companies operate in South Africa, where the UN reports that real wages have not increased since 1910. Black unions are recognized neither by the industries nor by law, and Black workers earn as little as \$40 a month in many industries.

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.

While Soweto has, if we are to believe Vorster and Kissinger, never even been mentioned in their talks, it is Soweto and the fear of genuine revolution in all of southern Africa that they are thinking about when they are talking about Namibia and Rhodesia. That is why the conference to plan for a phoney independence for Namibia which Vorster now is supposedly considering for after Dec. 31, 1978, included 11 different ethnic groups and the whites, of course, though they are outnumbered in Namibia 8 to 1, but did not involve SWAPO—the organization recognized by the UN as representing the vast majority of the Namibian masses, and the only organization that crosses all tribal lines.

As for Rhodesia—where the whites are outnumbered 25 to 1, where a serious guerrilla war has been going on for more than four years, and where young whites have been fleeing in such numbers that Ian Smith has lowered military age from 18 to 16 and tried to stem the tide by allowing emigrants to take with them no more than \$1,600—everyone except Smith appears to have seen the handwriting on the wall. The pressure on Smith is to allow "moderate" Blacks to come to power in hopes of keeping a conflagration from developing that would bring an appeal for help from Black Africa and open the continent still further to Russia. The growing influence in Africa of Russia and China has long been worrying Kissinger-Ford, as the global power struggle has steadily dug in on that continent.

ANGOLAN REVOLUTION CRITICAL

The dialectic of the new South African revolt did not begin in June, but long before. The liberation of Angola and Mozambique from fascist Portuguese rule was a critical point in history for both the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary forces in southern Africa.

For Vorster and Smith, it meant the reactionary buffer they used to have to the north has been replaced with a border full of revolutionaries ready to give safe haven to guerrillas from the south. That is why the military budget of South Africa today is \$1.4 billion, twice the figure of two years ago, and more than 20 percent of the entire South African government budget. An additional \$20 million has been allocated for the Bureau of State Security (BOSS, the South African secret police) and \$380 million for the regular police force.

For the Black masses of southern Africa, Angola and Mozambique have meant a renewed confidence in their own self-bringing forth of freedom, and a determination to settle for total freedom and nothing less. Just as it was the actual human contact between Portuguese soldiers and Angolan guerrillas that helped inspire the Portuguese revolution, it is the exchange of ideas today between the Angolan and Mozambiquan revolutionaries and the Soweto youth that is helping to sustain the crescendo of the South African revolt.

So thin are the police now stretched in South Africa as one township after another explodes, and as one strike subsides only to see another develop, that they are no longer able to stop Blacks to check their passes. Young Blacks are moving by the hundreds everywhere with an ease they never had before, not only within South Africa, but freely from Mozambique into Zulu tribal Bantustans, and from the Transkei into Lesotho.

FORCES OF REVOLT

The depth of the revolt can be judged from the fact that all ages are involved, both men and women, both workers and students. Ever since the general strike in Namibia at the end of 1971, the Black workers in

both South Africa and Namibia have been staging hundreds of strikes. The women—who suffer a special oppression from both tribal laws and civil laws, who have been in the forefront of the struggles against the pass laws ever since the '40s, and who have played an active role in organizing the African trade unions—completely shut down the Cape clothing industry which employs 50,000 workers, 90 percent of them women, in the most recent strike.

Not played up has been the role of many whites as well. The leaflets calling for the strike in August were reportedly printed on university campuses in Johannesburg, Cape Town and the Natal. When Soweto erupted, whites in Johannesburg who held sympathy demonstrations were viciously beaten, and several hundred who attempted to march from the University of Cape Town to join Black protestors were arrested. Security police have jailed white and Black journalists alike, holding them in solitary confinement under the draconian Internal Security Act which permits indefinite detention without trial.

Of the thousands now in jail, Minister of Police Kruger has paid special attention to groups such as the South African Students Movement (SASM), the South African Student Organization (SASO), and the Black People's Convention (BPC)—all part of what is known as the Black Consciousness movement. But nothing will stem the tide. New organizations have been formed—like the Black Parents Association and the Soweto Students Representative Council.

The most recent strike was the greatest single protest since June, involving many more townships than Soweto, both Black and Coloured workers, and even the support of the Zulu migrant workers, some of whom had acted as strike breakers earlier. "Power is in our hands," read the leaflets distributed by students.

The magnificent, new stage of Black revolutionary consciousness that has been created by the Black South African masses is a precursor of the global struggles that are needed to uproot this racist, exploitative, sexist world system of state-capitalism. The battles in South Africa have unfolded a banner for freedom that fires the imagination and challenges all revolutionaries throughout the world.

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Chicanos form coalitions to end police crimes

Santa Ana, Cal.—For the past five months the local police have been pushing for ratification of their proposal by the City Council to change arrest procedures, to expedite the "rounding up" of undocumented workers in the barrio.

That "illegal aliens" are not the sole target was revealed on one June night when residents of a low-income housing project—some of whom were not undocumented workers—were harassed by police. This came as a result of the landlords calling immigration authorities after tenants complained about unsafe and unhealthy living conditions.

PUBLIC HEARING CANCELLED

To oppose this attack, Chicano student and community groups from Santa Ana and surrounding cities formed a coalition. They held a demonstration and march on July 31 with close to 300 people participating. Recently, after much balking by City Council, a public meeting was arranged to hear opposition to the police proposals. But on the day and time scheduled, the mayor and his council made a deliberate attempt to stifle what the community and the coalition had to say by voting against a public hearing on the issue.

A Chicana forced her way to the podium and demanded to be heard. Before the mayor could refuse, she insisted that she would go to jail before stepping down without speaking. Her speech and those that followed exposed the racist purposes of the police and city government, and promised that if the proposed arrest procedures were accepted in any form, the fight would continue in the streets and in the courts.

Santa Ana, together with south central Fullerton and east Anaheim, has a barrio population rivaled only by the neighboring East Los Angeles area. It is this population with its underpaid, under-employed, and unemployed labor that makes possible the wealthier sections of Orange County. Since the economic crisis, however, the Chicano and Latino communities have been made the scapegoats for high unemployment.

SYSTEM NOT 'ILLEGAL'

One Chicano speaker put it this way: "Workers are brought across the border to work, and the beautiful buildings they construct with their labor are not illegal, the food they pick in the fields is not illegal, the cheap wages they are paid and miserable housing they are

Chile support march in NY

New York, N.Y.—Thousands here marked the third anniversary of the CIA-sponsored coup in Chile by expressing solidarity with the Chilean people. A benefit concert for the Chilean resistance, headlined by the Chilean Aparco and Joan Baez at Madison Square Garden's Felt Forum, was sold out weeks in advance.

A march the following day around the theme "Active Resistance Demands Active Solidarity" drew well over 1,000, mostly women.

The march illustrated both the growing commitment of the U.S. women's movement to the cause of their Latin American sisters, and the growing organization among Latino women in New York. Not only were a majority of the marchers women, but there was a large women's contingent headed by Action For Women In Chile (AFWIC), a group of Latin and North American women.

AFWIC, formed two years ago, wrote: "We had read of the sexually sadistic treatment of women political prisoners in jails. We knew that children had been tortured as hostages in order to force their mothers and fathers to surrender . . . In addition, by studying the lessons of Chile we have learned much about the critical incorporation of women into the struggle for socialism."

As against the U.S. government which arms and finances the junta, and the multinational corporations which profit from it, and the U.S. dominated OAS which held its annual meeting in Santiago although "criticizing" the junta, the mobilization for Chile gave the lie to Ford and Kissinger's claim to represent the American people in Latin America.

—Marcher

UFW wins in Dole boycott

San Francisco, Cal.—The mushroom workers at West Foods' Ventura Ranch finally came to an agreement with the company on Sept. 6, ending a brief but effective boycott of Dole fresh pineapples and bananas.

The workers had voted for representation by the United Farm Workers Union during the elections held under the 1975 California Agricultural Labor Relations Act (CALRA), but the holding company, which owns West Foods and the marketing label Dole, succeeded in stalling negotiations until the workers voted to ask the UFW for aid in the form of a boycott.

Possibly the most important aspect of the contract is the health and safety provisions. Raising and picking mushrooms is a horrible, dangerous occupation because of constant exposure to chemical fertilizers.

Right now most of the UFW energies are focused on campaigning for the passage of Proposition 14 on California's November ballot. Proposition 14, the Farmworker Initiative, is a referendum which would replace the '75 CALRA with a new law guaranteeing farmworkers both the right and the opportunity to organize, vote for union representation and bargain collectively. It is an attempt to get the CALRA out of the hands of those politicians who try to blackmail changes in it. If adopted, it can only be amended by vote of the people. YES ON 14!

forced to live in are not illegal, but when this system no longer needs them their presence here suddenly becomes 'illegal'."

This is not just a local situation. It was at the behest of Immigration and Naturalization, a federal agency, that the police invaded the housing project. The attack upon brown people here is part of a general attack upon the Spanish-speaking poor across the country.

What stands in the way of such police efforts was expressed by one young Chicano when he said, "You may win this battle, but you cannot stop working and poor people—brown, white, Black, red, yellow, African, American, Russian, Asian—together you cannot stop us."



—News & Letters photo

Marchers protest police murder of Chicano youth.

Oakland, Cal.—On Aug. 28, close to 400 people marched through the Chicano community here to commemorate Jose Barlow Benavidez, the latest victim of attacks by police on young people. Barlow, a 26-year-old Chicano was shotgunned to death by Oakland policeman Michael Cogley this summer. According to the officer, after Barlow was stopped as a robbery suspect and was being searched, Cogley's shotgun "accidentally" went off. According to eyewitnesses in the Chicano community, it was "cold-blooded murder," since Barlow wasn't resisting arrest at all. Cogley is still on his beat.

Barlow's murder was only the latest in a long spree of killings by Bay Area police, who have presumably been getting bolder due to SWAT training. Since the killing of a 14-year-old Black youth, Tyrone Guyton, in Oakland three years ago by Emeryville police—who have never been disciplined — the various police agencies have been gunning down Black and Chicano youths at an alarming rate.

The killing of an 11-year-old Chicano in Decoto two years ago sparked several weeks of disorders and the retaliatory murder of the Union City police chief. Until now, however, there hasn't been a move to unite the Black and Chicano communities against the police terror.

Speakers at the march included members of Barlow's family and Mrs. Mattie Shepherd, mother of Tyrone Guyton. All around were signs urging Blacks and Chicanos to unite against police killers. It looks now as if that may happen, beginning with a community conference against police crimes.

New revolt in Panama

Panama was again the focus of Latin American revolt, as throughout the month of September, Panamanian students marched against the high cost of living and political repression by the Torrijos government. The protests began on Sept. 10, as a sanctioned demonstration against the Chilean junta developed into an attack on the increases in the price of rice and milk just announced by the military government of Gen. Omar Torrijos.

Startled by the size and intensity of the protests, which began to involve workers as well as students, the government first encouraged students from the government-sponsored Panamanian Student Federation to disrupt the demonstrations. When this tactic failed, police began beatings, tear gassing, mass arrests and a ban on all demonstrations. Among those detained were well-known socialist intellectuals and the officers of a transport union in Panama City.

Even these tactics did not stop the protests, which now took as their slogan "An end to repression by the bourgeois slogan!" One week after the first march, Panamanian Foreign Minister Aquilino Boyd charged that the protest movement was "incited by the CIA" as part of a "destabilization plan" directed against the Panamanian government.

Following the revelations of CIA "destabilization" plots leading to the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile, such charges could not be dismissed. The students, however, immediately denounced the allegations as an attempt to sow confusion, and demanded that Boyd apologize to the student organizations. New marches, protesting the government ban on public meetings, were brutally suppressed.

Latest reports indicate that the student protests now include Torrijos' handling of negotiations with the U.S. on the future of the Panama Canal, accusing him of subordinating Panama's interests to the U.S. election campaign.

Native American speaks

Tragedy of Brazilian natives lesson for U.S., Canada

by Shainape Shcapwe

Recently, I've been reading about some of the problems of the natives of Brazil. What strikes me is the similarity of the situation there with those in both the U.S. and Canada.

The Amazon River of Brazil is one of the last untapped storehouses of mineral wealth, agricultural land and forests. Restrictive Brazilian policies kept the land from development, until 1964, when a military coup took over and in 1967 established a new code favoring foreign-based corporations. This has allowed corporations from all over the world to take control of the Amazon basin in the last decade.

The natives of both the Northwest Territory and the Amazon Basin have no control over the use of their lands. Some of the same multi-national corporations are working in both Brazil and Canada.

'PACIFICATION' AND 'INTEGRATION'

The government is using all kinds of devious tactics to free the land for development. This government cheating is always in favor of the corporations. The same department that is supposed to protect the native Brazilians is also in charge of Amazon development. (This is also true of the government of Canada.)

In 1973 the Brazilian government passed a native statute that virtually ignores the rights of native peoples, taking away their rights to the subsoil and placing emphasis on the "rapid integration" and "pacification" of tribal groups. "Pacification" means taking steps to protect construction workers against retaliation by natives, and "integration" means removing the natives from their land.

Estimates are that in 1500, the native population of Brazil was between one and five million. Today it is less than one hundred thousand. Epidemics of measles, smallpox and flu are still killing whole tribes. Extermination of natives has always happened during periods of economic boom. The women of one tribe, the Bararas, feel that conditions are so bad they have taken a medicine plant so that they would not have any more children.

At one time the natives could escape the white oppression by retreating into the remote regions of the Amazon. But with the building of the highway there is nowhere to go. Initially the Brazilian government set up parks, somewhat like our reservations, so that the natives could live there undisturbed. Having to move to these reservations was not fair, but even these are being taken away. Anytime anything valuable or useful to the government is discovered on a park, it is reduced in size or eliminated so that the natives are forced to move again.

GENOCIDE IN SOUTH

The Amazon atrocities have drawn attention away from similar genocidal tendencies in southern Brazil. Lumber companies are trying to take over the land. They don't even wait for permission from the government. The southern people are undernourished, impoverished, disoriented, and often must beg to survive. Reservations in the south now total less than 675 square miles.

In Brazil the Catholic Church has officially come out in support of native rights. Several bishops recently signed a document entitled "The Ones Who Must Die". It spoke of the extermination of the natives and said that government policies were responsible for it.

The document stated: "Not only should native cultures be preserved, but Indian values are examples for our own life: communal property as opposed to private ownership, production oriented to meet the needs of the people as a whole, social organization that guarantees the rights of all, educational processes and liberties, shared power rather than despotism, harmony with nature instead of ecological deterioration." This document is without precedent in the history of Brazil.

The tragedy of Brazil should be a lesson to both Canada and the U.S. So far it looks as though these oppressive governments have learned nothing. The natives of these countries must have control over their lands and their lives. We need the support of everyone who believes in the natives' rights to self-determination, and we need it now before it's too late.

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Cutbacks cause havoc for Detroit students

Detroit, Mich. — Students at Western High School are upset about the courses that we've received this semester. Many got classes that weren't needed or had been taken already. When a person takes or is given a class that he or she has already passed, they do not get credit for that class. It's just a waste of time and effort.

The principals just got together without the students or their counselors to make new schedules. We already made schedules last spring with the classes we needed.

Credit hours are harder to receive. We can only get 20 in this semester, but I need 44 within two semesters to graduate. I need Chemistry and Geometry, and they won't put me in there; a girl in 12 A has ninth grade classes; some people have four study hours; others have two lunches.

Originally everyone complained to the counselors and principals, but no one could change their schedule. Then people just stopped going to unwanted classes.

We're only asking the school board to give us a fair chance. Give us classes that are of value to us. We are not receiving this chance. It's ridiculous the way they treat us as if we didn't know the difference.

—Western student

Detroit, Mich.—I went to a new school this year—Cerveney Middle School. The first day they gave us forms for choosing the courses for our schedule, but the forms just had the course number and name on them, so you didn't know what to select. Most of the students I know have scheduling problems.

'Ethnic purity' in N.Y. park

New York, N. Y.—At 8:15 p.m. on Sept. 8, 25 whites stormed through Washington Square Park here swinging bats, chains, and pipes and shouting for all Blacks and Puerto Ricans to get out of the park. Four nights later, 22-year-old Marcos Mota, who had been riding his bicycle through the park, died, never having regained consciousness. Thirteen others were seriously injured.

As startling as this was to one who had always regarded Greenwich Village as a bastion of proud liberalism, the response by the community has been even more ominous. Two days after the attack, when ten whites were arrested, 200 people held a demonstration in support of the attackers. Citing the drug traffic as flowing from the "outside element"—already a widely used euphemism for Black and Puerto Rican—the demonstrators said that the attackers were forced to take the law into their own hands.

As a teenager, I spent many afternoons in the Park singing songs of brotherhood inspired by a keen sense of equality with others of many, many colors. Being a Japanese-American, I knew that the Village was the place where one could live as defenselessly as possible in inter-marriage.

The community response and interviews with white and long-time residents, even more than the actual attack, disclose to me the practical application of the phrase "ethnic purity," and is more indicative of this now nationwide sentiment.

—Community resident

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

The so-called Zulu backlash against the overwhelmingly successful three day strike—Aug. 23-25—by Black workers and students of Soweto township, was a transparent conspiracy concocted by South Africa's Minister of Justice, James Kruger, and the Commissioner of Police, General Gert Prinsloo.

So great was the solidarity of the spontaneous response that the workers gave to the call of the youth to stay home and boycott the economic institutions of apartheid South Africa, that it numbed and startled the all-powerful South African security system.

TRY TO SPLIT RANKS

Faced with the dilemma of a mass strike and the inability to stop it, and the inevitable spread of the strike throughout the rest of the country, the South African white government tried to do what all governments do—split the ranks of the oppressed by causing internecine strife. There is strong indication that the police of Soweto had planned to do just that for a long time, by encouraging tribalism in the township.

The crude attempt of the government of Bathazar Johann Vorster to cast the Zulu people in the role of strike-breakers didn't go unchallenged. In a speech given in Soweto shortly after the strike, Zulu tribal leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi denounced the government for trying to use tribalism to weaken the struggle against apartheid. He called for and stressed the unity of all South African Blacks to oppose the system of apartheid. Chief Buthelezi went on to charge the police with having urged Zulu migrant workers to attack and kill strikers by giving them misinformation and supplying them with hashish.

This urging of migrants to kill by the police was corroborated by Nat Serache, a reporter, who was later arrested by the security police along with five other prominent Black journalists. These arrests caused a front page outburst in The Rand Daily Mail demanding to know what the police are trying to hide about the

Yesterday I was called to the office over the P.A. system before my third period class. They wanted me to change my schedule again. I feel they wanted to take my good classes away and give me Drama or Dancing, or things where you don't learn much. I told the counselor, No way. Cerveney seems overcrowded to me—maybe that's why we are having these problems.

—Cerveney student

Detroit, Mich.—The Detroit Board of Education has cut the funds for hiring people to translate textbooks into Braille. Not only does this mean that the textbooks will be cut but that volunteers who help Braille the books (my mother is a volunteer) are going to have to work much longer and harder.

If there are any more cutbacks, they will hit my class because the principal feels my school doesn't need special classes for the partially seeing and blind students. Must we be punished and made to suffer because we're a little different physically?

—Blind elementary student

CUNY wins—students pay

New York, N.Y.—City University students got a sense of what a college without free tuition means when registration at several colleges turned into a madhouse over new payment policies.

In the past, students registered and were later billed for fees. This time they had to pay their tuition—which runs as high as \$450 per term—right at the registration site. This resulted in long lines, mass confusion, and waits of up to four hours which, however, had nothing to do with the number of students registering. At least 17 percent fewer students will be in CUNY schools this year, and a quarter of last year's faculty has left.

CUNY got away with charging tuition even after last year's takeovers and demonstrations that culminated in Hostos College's occupation for several weeks. It is a sign of the skillfulness of the administrators, and the failures of some student leaders, that the largest and most exciting manifestation of student activism in this decade still didn't prevent the way this year's registration took place.

Earlier in the week, a few City College students attempted to initiate a boycott of registration. Students were not told in advance of the action, and it failed when almost no students joined the protesters in refusing to register. The protesters then went into the registration area and sat down until the cops kicked them out. One student said that all it did was hold up registration a few hours and make it more confusing.

It's not that the idea of a boycott was wrong, but that no action can win unless it involves the mass of students at their own initiative. As one Black student said, "I just came to school and saw them there. No one asked me about it."

In contrast, the takeovers at Hostos last term involved not only the mass of students, but also the Latino community of the South Bronx. And it was this action, which came from the initiative of that school's Latino and Black student body, that forced the administration to back down on its plan to close the school.

Zulus fight white conspiracy

events in the township.

Chief Buthelezi's call for unity against apartheid is in the great tradition of the Zulu people. The late Albert Luthuli, a Zulu, a believer and practitioner of non-violence, and once the head of the now underground African National Congress (ANC), pointed out in his lecture, "Africa and Freedom", that there has been a long unity of the various tribes in opposition to white domination in South Africa. He recalled that: "Our history is one of opposition to domination, of protest and refusal to submit to tyranny."

ZULUS RESIST INVADERS

Indeed, it was the Zulu people, who, in the first quarter of the 19th century under the leadership of Dingane, ferociously resisted the Trek-Boers who were moving across the Drackenbergh mountains into Natal, the Zulu homeland. Several decades before the arrival of the Boers in Natal, it was the Zulu military genius, Shaka, who developed a method of fighting that, despite their primitive weapons, enabled them to hold off both the Boer and the English armed forces until 1876.

Today we are seeing one of the greatest mass movements against oppression that this century has yet witnessed. We can follow the action and the great resurgence of genius that resides in oppressed people as they organize and discipline themselves against a ruthless formidable state, where racism has been raised to the level of a religion. According to The U.S. News and World Report, there is no apparent "leadership" in Soweto, and if there is, it changes daily as people are arrested or killed.

What is obvious is the unity between workers, youth, students, men and women, which has given a new dimension to the struggle in South Africa—a dimension that Paris in 1968 did not achieve.

Moreover, South Africa's Black proletariat is conscious of the fact that the whole economy of that racist country rests upon their shoulders, and, as a class, they have the power to shatter it.

Gang issue masks youth revolt

by Jim Mills

In supporting a new curfew law for Detroit (keeping youth under 18 off the streets unaccompanied by a parent after 10 p.m.), Mayor Coleman Young recognizes that the city's youth are revolutionary.

The grave problems in Detroit certainly breed revolt. The violence of youths at a concert in downtown Detroit in August provided Young and the city council with an excuse for imposing a curfew.

That is not to say there aren't youth so alienated by the exploitative society that they prey on others, yet the truth is that "youth gangs" and "youth violence" are both a manifestation of the crisis and are used as a tool to hide the deepness of it.

It is precisely the youth who refuse to just accept the crisis and the administrative and government neglect. How can they, when two thirds of Black teenagers, a third of Black youth 20 to 24, and a third of Black Vietnam veterans are all unemployed?

The defeat of the tax millage for Detroit schools in August merely made the contrast between the white suburban and predominantly Black city schools sharper (see News & Letters, Aug.-Sept., 1976). And the matter of school integration, or the retreat from it, underlies any discussion of the crisis as it shows up in education.

Full integration has been a concrete measure of freedom in the U.S. Now, however, the desegregation plan, under the direction of Federal Judge DeMascio, does not resemble a move towards equality or freedom since the all-white, wealthier suburbs are left as they are, with many city schools in fact remaining all-Black.

The transformation of the movement towards integration into its opposite seems complete as we see a Code of Conduct containing all rules and no rights for students and police in the halls included in the desegregation plan—to insure that the youth will accept what administrators are passing off as education.

Last year school students opposed this kind of control by walking-out, sitting-in, and speaking out. This year, Detroit youth are returning to schools which are broke, and with a curfew in effect. They know as well as anyone the basis for education and life has become control, especially of voices of dissent and freedom.

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TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 1)

ist lines pursued by Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Lisan, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming, Chang Kuo-tao, Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih and Peng Teh-huai and again, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, triumphed over the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping." (1)

Not a single capitalist is on that list, and hardly a single one from the Long March has been left alive. These are the names of the General Staff of the Chinese Revolution who had disagreed with Mao in the 1920s or since power was gained in 1949 up to this very day, when Hua was still calling for an intensification of the campaign against Teng.

Not to be disregarded is the fact that ex-Defense Secretary Schlesinger was in China, by special invitation from Mao himself, was the first Westerner to visit Chinese nuclear installations, and is more than just symbol of the view that "Russia is Enemy No. 1."

What, then, is the legacy of Mao? Is it only that Mao has been expert in carrying the "civil war" into the Party itself, into the Army, into the Peoples' Congress, and now that none have his authority, they will still continue? Every revolution seems to devour its own children; the Chinese, Mao made sure, in devouring its children, left **One and only One** untainted.

What does the particular faction now in power mean by the sonorous "Long Live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought!"? Is it a new series of "rectifications" (2), or is it the more material truth that philosopher Mao raised China to a level of superpower, A-bomb included?

None can fill Mao's shoes, but already they have laid the basis, a basis the Western press (3) has swallowed hook, line and sinker, for white-washing the truth of Mao's destruction of all his "closest comrades-in-arms" by saying that Mao's legacy could not be given to any single leader; "all 800 million Chinese are philosophers."

WHAT IS MAO'S LEGACY?

As we have known ever since the days of Stalin, when he unleashed the attack on Trotsky as "egotist" who wanted the mantle of Lenin for himself, while he, humble Stalin, saw the possibility of Lenin's work in a "collective leadership," such collectivity has ever been the path to the Single Man Rule.

The fact that none can fill Mao's shoes, and that collectivity is the only thing possible in the interim period brings us back to the relevant question: what is Mao's legacy? Is winning power on a path very different from that of the Russian Revolution of November, 1917, and the Sinification of Marxism in revolution and in philosophy, a mere variant of Russian Stalinist state-capitalism, or a truly historic, original path to that class-less society

1) Excerpts from Hua's speech were published in the *N.Y. Times* (9-19-76).

2) One Canadian reporter, Mark Gayn, has written that 1942, the year of the first rectification campaign, was the period when Stalin wanted Mao to attack Japan from a direction which would stop any possible attack on Russia. Mao refused, wanting to husband all his forces for the final victory in China (*N.Y. Times*, 9-1-76).

3) The *N.Y. Times* (9-10-76), so laudatorily devoted to Mao, is typical of the Western press which, for its own reasons, wants to cater to Mao's China and therefore writes as if Mao had been the revolutionary who overthrew not just Chiang Kai-shek but the Manchu dynasty. Not a word was said of the 1911 revolution which Sun Yat-sen led and which overthrew that dynasty. Not a word was said about the first great, genuine cultural revolution, May 4, 1919, in which every conceivable tendency emerged, from rejection of the old China, to Marxism, to Western science, to anarchism, as well as the genuine founders of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921—Chen Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao—and Mao was not a founder. The one exception, in the sense of being both objective and at least revealing some of the true history, is the page (p.9) devoted to Mao by Profs. Jerome Ch'en and John Gittings (*Manchester Guardian*, 9-19-76).

Perspectives 1976-77

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by Raya Dunayevskaya

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Death of Mao Tse-Tung: the Thought of Mao

which would, once and for all, put an end to the division between mental and manual labor which has ever been the ground of all class societies?

It was the topic I raised in answer to a criticism of my analysis in "Mao's Last Hurrah" (4) a few days before Mao's death. Here is what I said in my Perspectives Report to the convention of News and Letters Committees on Sept. 4 (see ad, p. 8, col. 1, for full report):

There are some who say: "Yes, you are right when it comes to the U.S.-Russia struggle for 'hegemonism,' that is what the world must struggle against. But look at Mao's revolutionary thought.

"Why, the Chinese Revolution was not only the greatest revolution to emerge out of World War II, and



not only stopped the U.S. in its tracks in Korea; but so much does Mao move from revolution to revolution to revolution that he also initiated the struggle against his own co-leaders and his own Party and his own Army.

"Although these revolutionaries had been with him during the Long March which paved the way for that most original and most massive of revolutions, Mao thinks only of the people, and not in past but present terms. His thought is greater even than Marx and Lenin (and this in a tiny whisper, for my critic doesn't really wish to be heard on this) and Stalin, because it is our age, it is today, it is the future. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution pointed the way for the world."

GLOBAL POWER STRUGGLE MOTIVATES MAO'S PHILOSOPHY

OK, for the sake of argument, and that only, I will, with you, shut out of my mind the global struggle that is not at all limited to U.S.-Russia, but that crucial most massive power on earth—800 million Chinese. I will also delude myself that that massive power, being part of the Third World that is the real focal point of revolution, can obviate the truth that Mao himself is the head of an existing state power that exploits its own masses, as do all rulers. I'm even willing, for a moment, to blind myself to all reality, and listen, listen, listen only to Mao's Thought, that the Cultural Revolution would put an end, once and for all, to all division between mental and manual labor. I will take all Mao's undisciplined verbiage for the only, the total truth.

OK, what is that Thought, that philosophy of pure, unadulterated and continuous "great proletarian cultural revolutions"? It is, first, what it had been from the moment he started his most original path to military power by taking the peasant army Mao led on a different path than the proletarian revolution Chiang Kai-shek had just destroyed, after which Chiang continued his endless extermination campaigns against Mao's army. Philosophically, it had blossomed as **On Contradiction**.

Now, suppose I were willing to forget that, strictly philosophically, it is a vitiation both of Marxian class struggle and Hegelian objectivity of knowledge which emerges through contradiction. Suppose further, I allow Mao to convince me that Japan's invasion of China made it correct to reunite with Chiang Kai-shek (after all, nothing succeeds like success and Mao did win power in 1949). Have I not the right to ask: how does it happen that a decade after the 1949 conquest of power—not against a class enemy, but the very masses who made the revolution—the 1937 **On Contradiction** assumes a new form, **How To Handle Contradictions Among The People**, at which point it is directed against the Left? This time there is no collaborationism.

SPONTANEOUS REVOLUTIONS DESTROYED BY MAO AND KHRUSHCHEV

Hold fast, please, to the fact that originally, i.e., in 1956, the world Communist Parties in Moscow, with China very much in the forefront, "revisionism" was the epithet directed against Hungarian revolutionaries who were fighting Russian state-capitalism and imperialism. This time, Mao was in a most brotherly embrace with the Russians in a counter-revolutionary act; indeed, Mao urged Khrushchev to send those tanks into Hungary to put down the revolt.

Clearly, even philosophically, the "On Practice" which had been inseparable from the concept, "On Con-

4) See *Political-Philosophic Letter* #2, February, 1976.

Because of the special importance of the effect of Mao Tse-tung's death on the world situation, we are turning over "Our Life and Times" column space this issue to an expanded "Two Worlds" column by Raya Dunayevskaya.

—Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

tradition" in 1937, was not the practice of revolutionaries. Instead, this time, 1958, "How To Handle Contradictions Among The People" was accompanied by the practice of ordering the Chinese masses to toil endless hours in so-called "communes" in something called "The Great Leap Forward" which was so disastrous an act that even Mao had to step back from it a year later.

It is true, you, my critic, have one other original Mao concept—the Second World—and it is not something in the 1950s but in the 1970s. This departure from Marxism is spoken of as if it were the needed bringing-up-to-date of Marxism itself a la Mao's Thought. This Mao Thought of the 1970s was developed after the Cultural Revolution, after Russia had already been declared Enemy No. 1 (5), after not only the removal of Liu (the Party man), but Lin (the Army man), and this though he had been the one who had initiated, carried through, and brought to a climax the Cultural Revolution, for which he was judged to be the "closest comrade-in-arms" of Mao, and named, within the Constitution itself, as the successor to Mao. It was a period when Mao, and Mao alone, had absolute, undisputed, total power.

And what was the apex of the originality which came after all that travail and "continuous revolutions"? It was the concept of the "Second World," that is to say, the industrialized nations, especially West Europe, especially Japan, "and also medium-sized and smaller countries," anywhere in the whole wide world outside of the two superpowers. That exclusive two-fold evil is further made exclusive—Russia was the more dangerous of the two superpowers.

Now, this concept, "Second World," which heretofore everyone, Mao included, considered capitalistic, was suddenly anointed as a possible ally of the Third World, socialist China included.

The rhetoric notwithstanding, Mao's concept of the Second World vitiates proletarian internationalism, replacing it with the narrowest nationalist "anti-imperialism" with global reach, even as "On Contradiction" vitiated the class struggle and subordinated it to political superstructure. In both historic periods—1937-49 and 1966-76—philosophy was transformed from theoretic preparation for social revolution into military strategy and tactics of reaching power.

For all factions now involved in the power struggle for Mao's mantle, including "radicals," Russia is Enemy No. 1, and for those who argue for equidistance from both U.S. and Russia, military preparedness is the predominant question. It isn't just "preparedness" as something that concerns a war; it is military prowess that has always been the predominant concept.

From the very first start of Mao's now legendary Hunan Report, followed by his Long March to escape the many extermination campaigns of Chiang; through "On Contradiction" and "On Practice" which led to collaboration with Chiang; to the concept of the Second World, the military has been the determining factor. Even among Communist countries, China was the only one that raised the Army, along with the Party, as two focal points for the new power.

As a theoretician of guerrilla warfare; as philosopher of Contradictions who held that no theory existed outside of **On Practice**, Mao somehow spoke of war as if it were a synonym for revolution, though clearly the **On Practice** he was talking about was not, was not, the practice of proletarian revolution. What Trotsky wrote of Stalin's theories—"the empiricism of a machine gun"—is even more applicable to Mao, whose empiric methodology is the totally, absolutely opposite of the Hegelian-Marxian Absolute Method, the Dialectic.

The dialectics of liberation will yet take the true measure of the man.

5) This does not exclude the fact that there may very well be, among the ruling elite, waiting for Mao to die, those who, despite a strong opposition to Russia, would rather not have Russia the enemy tower over U.S. imperialism, preferring equidistance from both.

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