WILL STEIN
1947-75

"Individualism which lets nothing interfere with its Unitarianism, i.e., Freedom."

We mourn the untimely death of a magnificent human being and creative Marxist-Humanist whose life enriched the entire freedom movement and especially the struggle associated with him in the class struggle. Though tragically short, his 28 years were filled with overthrowing, from the moment he was old enough to take a generation of revolutionaries born out of the civil rights struggles in the 1960s, as a last bequest.

Will's ten-year-long painful illness, from keeping him from the most intense activity in every dimension of the struggle, deepened his commitment and dedication for a new society. He passionately believed that capitalist society, like his own career, had to be uprooted to stop its growing destructive power.

His fierce conviction was displayed in all that he undertook, whether in the rent strikes he helped organize in New York City; his activities with the West Side Black Associations, CORE, Black youth in Harlem or Black auto workers in New Jersey; his participation in the historic Columbia University struggles; or his long years devoted to the United Farm Workers' battles both in New York and California. So total was the unity of his thought and action that his activity on a picket line and working at philosophy were not only inseparable, but always transcended the last barriers to a new and truly human world.

The CIA assassination plots, revealed in the 846 pages of the Interim Report just published by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, involve not just openly-acknowledged reactionaries, but all four presidents alike—Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon. More than a decade ago, when Johnson took office after the so-called "Camelot" period, he was reported to have exclaimed that the government had been acting like "Murder Incorporated"—which did not prevent him from joining the corporation. And the recent testimony surrounding the FBI's exploits involved all six of our last presidents—beginning with FDR.

In truth, it began with the very beginning of the FBI. J. Edgar Hoover got his training in the infamous Palmer Raids following the hysteria in post-World War I. Today, President Ford is trying all over again to use the murder of CIA agents, certain of which were involved in the recently uncovered CIA plots for the simple reason that it was necessary to see to it that Ford is not allowed one more cover-up. Not only must the investigation go on, but we must go beyond it to uproot the whole dehumanizing and exploitative system which is precisely what spawns such murderous organizations as the FBI and CIA.

Let's take a second look at the revelations of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

The particular assignment each president gave—whether for a wire-tap or an actual murder—reveals the particular crises that each was facing, whether it was FDR preparing for war or asking the FBI to investigate the 128 people who had sent telegrams to the White House to protest a speech he had made on national defense in 1940, a full year before Pearl Harbor; or whether it was Eisenhower trying to stem the tide of the African Revolutions; or Kennedy the Cuban; or Nixon on Kissinger, the Chilean—or all of them together the Black revolution at home.

The most chilling fact that emerges out of the 8,000 pages of sworn testimony taken during the six months of the Senate investigation is that all the assassination plots involved third-world countries. The Senate Report thus speaks volumes not alone of the deep-rooted racism of U.S. imperialism, but of its respect for the color white, as well as for other global powers. If being accused of merely "being under the influence of Communism" is murder, how did it happen that they all fell far short of the global powers? Or does that have to wait for World War III? The truth is that it was precisely the mortal fear
Women last hired, first fired, get worst jobs in plant

Detroit, Mich.—I was laid off from GM in December, 1974. When my plant called back people with less time than me—one personnel officer told me, "We have to hire back workers from other plants first." But once you've been laid off, they'll keep you out if you have worked there, you lose your seniority.

I feel this they do deliberately to women—last hired and first fired—because they don't want you working in the plant in the first place. They never consider that you have to provide for your family just like workers with longer seniority.

One thing that really gets me mad now is the over-time they are giving out, 10 and 12 hours. That means the people in the street are going to stay there. The union isn't doing anything about this either, but they could stop it if they really were a "union".

When you're in the plant, they take advantage of the people. They don't even need a job to support their family. In some departments, it seems like they give men the easy jobs and women the hard jobs. This is not only for the men who are buddies with the foremen, it's just that they want to get rid of the women, and that's how they do it.

I have had some really hard jobs. They had me filling and handling heavy bumpers that came down the line at 25 a minute. The foreman told me I had to learn the job in 10 minutes, or go home. I was working this job with another woman and I told her the foreman was doing this deliberately because he didn't like women. He was afraid I was going to quit, or do the job slow.

I just stuck at it because I needed the job and I didn't want to let him know it was killing me. But the other woman couldn't take it and quit. I didn't have my 90 days in yet, and you can't say much then, especially if you know the foreman doesn't like women to be working there and will fire you if he can. And the foremen who don't like women let you know right away.

I worked another job with a man, stacking beams four deep and three across. They were so heavy that I couldn't lift them up to get to the next ones. I told the man I was working with, and he said it wasn't a woman's job and helped me out.

When you get on a job like this, a lot of the men will tell you, that's no job for a woman, but they're just telling you what you already know. They will also try to hurry you up if you get behind. They wouldn't have minded making less money if I got put on a job I could do and be able to keep it.

When I left my past December, I really did feel that, well, maybe I'll be back to work soon. But now I've been off for over a year, I have gone to so many plants, and nothing happens. I feel I have been doing this deliberately because he didn't like women.

I know the only reason they began hiring women in the first place was because they had to, but with the unfair regulations, they got away with it. The foremen don't want to let him know it was killing me. But the other woman couldn't take it and quit. I sponsored by News and Letters Committee.

It's important to me that people who are still working are thinking about those who aren't. It's no good to me if I am working. If they let it work out now that relationship between theory and practice, which will assure us new human relations after the Second American Revolution.

For our Detroit area readers—

The Role of Women in The Portuguese and African Revolutions

Presentation by Terry Moon, followed by discussion

Sunday, Feb. 1 at 7 P.M. Admission free

Highland Park YWCA, 13130 Woodward
Sponsored by News and Letters Committees

Women's actual struggles real expression of 1975 IWY

by Molly Jackson

1975 was the "Year of the Woman," but not for the reasons the United Nations called it that. It was a year of much activity and much militancy in the feminist movement, separating revolutionary women's liberationists, working class and poor women from bourgeois, statist and outright counter-revolutionary women.

At the National Organization for Women (NOW) convention in October, for example, the excitement came from the struggles of the New Baud background with NOW's bureaucracy and lack of interest in working class problems, that they will probably never come back. These women wanted to discuss unionization and welfare rights campaigns. Black and Latina women's organizations, and a few others, presented a variety of women's causes to follow in order to achieve "state power."

We need to turn to the actual struggles of the past year, to working to do what women are lacking in the organized feminist movement. In the area of labor, there is not a category of women's jobs that has not experienced recent labor actions.

- In the San Francisco area, many clerical workers had unionization campaigns, including the 600 Master-charged women who first formed Socialists to Win. They went looking for a union that would agree to their way of doing it. They knew better than the "political" feminists what happens when workers give up control to leaders or representatives. It was two established unions that caused them to lose the election.

- In the Japanese auto industry, among the lowest paid workers, women and minorities, are going on throughout the South as well as the North. Nurses, who have been on strike in New York and California, have been conducting strikes, with or without labor associations. Both groups have raised issues of patient care along with their demands, refusing to separate human from economic problems.

At Boston State Hospital in October, the non-unionized nurses staged a "sick out" to protest severe staffing shortages. The action caused the state suddenly to discover 76 positions for the staff.

- Even "Alice Does Not Day," Oct. 26 which was set up so it was bound to fail as a general strike, produced all sorts of discussions and small activities. At one small college, a strike vote was called to have a picnic and discuss work grievances. As one college woman commented, "When the idea is in the air, any excuse will do."

- The year also brought continuous struggles by welfare recipients in the face of government attempts to cut off the women's right to impose indignities they endure. In Oak Park, Mich., where teachers' salaries were tied to welfare, women demand equal pay, these very women are organizing a union, even though any raise they get will simply decrease their unemployment payments.

What was missing from all the conferences, national and international, throughout the year—though it was everywhere in the way of the conferring of the sessions in these actual struggles taking place every-where. This was so because the so-called "socialist-feminist" movement, though it gained a voice in the women of NOW the belief that the masses of women are back ward, and that theory and leadership must come from a few (themselves), the theory on leadership or philosophy must come precisely from these voices below.

The true challenge to revolutionary feminists is to join with poor, Black and working women, in order to work out of the principles of socialist feminism and practice, which will assure us new human relations after the Second American Revolution.
Red scare, racism used to divide workers

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

With the Senate investigating the FBI and the CIA, they are finding out what working people knew all along. Big business needed a secret police in foreign countries to keep the workers in line. It is just like in this country where the FBI under Hoover has kept the workers under control ever since the 1920s.

In 1913, the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) President John Kirby wrote in a pamphlet that the “American trade union movement was an un-American, illegal and infamous conspiracy.” Attorney

Unireal workers want voice in deciding contract demands

Detroit, Mich. — The thing that concerns people most at Uniroyal is the upcoming contract negotiations. The people I've talked to said they wouldn’t mind going on strike in April if the union will fight for something. The union already knows how much most workers feel about it.

We can only hope that they will feel the pressure to negotiate for us — especially if we have to go on strike for two or three months. I know that they’ve heard enough griping to know they better try to straighten up and do better.

We are far behind in benefits here, like cost of living and health care. I don’t even know if they are actually proposing these things. A lot of us feel that if we could see the benefits that they are going to ask for, then we would feel more satisfied about going out. In the last negotiation I think they told us a thing or two until after everything was settled.

They’re not doing what I feel unions should do, and that’s to let the employees speak their thing about what they want. Just the other day the workers on the night shift told me they were going to take a few hours to straighten out a disagreement when the company changed the configuration on them. Everything went up, raise, there is more work. The production goes up and pretty soon you can’t make it and your money is taken away right there.

—Afternoon shift worker

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — In the last few weeks over 100 workers have been laid-off, and the line speed has not changed one bit. The union rumor was that people were being laid-off because they are getting sick leave. We are now working nine hours a day, and the word is that we’ll be working Saturday, too. This means a lot more overtime. Workers have been told over and over that overtime prices are going up, they told us about that in the last contract? It is meaningless if our union President Rufus Coleman and the rest of the officers don’t enforce it.

Some Dept. 21 workers say they are going to be working more than 60 hours this week. This overtime is crazy, when so many people try to get home and take care of their families. The union officials seem to have the same attitude as the company — that the workers, even when unem­ployed, are their private property. It is up to us to find ways to communicate on our problems. Let’s get together before we are all out of this plant altogether.

—South Gate Worker

Warren Stamping

Warren, Mich. — The safety problems at the Warren Stamping plant are just like the few I’ve been reading about at the Dodge Truck plant next door. The only difference is if the union President Rufus Coleman and the rest of the officers don’t enforce it.

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—South Gate Worker

Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich. — I haven’t been working since August, when I was caught in a big lay-off. I just heard a rumor that some of us would be called back in Feb­ruary. We heard that some of the others said they would call me back because production is so high. But it isn’t like that. I told him, “You think there is a relationship be­tween what we call ‘production’ and the production process? You are talking to a worker who has been laid-off, and there are less people doing the work.”

It is a shame to think this is because of machines. Every year there are fewer and fewer workers. We still have more work now but it has been going on for a long time.

Machines don’t buy things. That’s one reason why the government pays unemployment and welfare. They give you just enough to barely survive. You’ve really got to make a living on the street. We can’t stand this much longer.

—Laid-off Rouge worker

Redline

Top demand in auto: control of production

by John Allison

The deepest concern of workers in the auto shops is the new contract to be negotiated in 1975. We know the issues that affect all workers are crucial, but we need this contract very well for ourselves, and we seldom have the opportu­nity. We have long needed a place to make our feelings heard.

The local union seems to be silent on policy, but we need to have a place to discuss what we want. Even if we are being cooked up by Woodcock that we’re going to have to live with.

The column last month I asked the workers what they wanted for their own “Bill of Rights” in the contract. The one answer that came at the top of almost every worker’s list was “control over production.”

This is no surprise to me or to any worker, because we all know the speed of that production line and know the toll it takes on human life. And with every new contract that is signed, for every so-called “benefit” we give up, it means more out of the backs of the production workers. There is one, and only one, answer to the insidious pace of auto production: that’s for workers to control it.

Next on the list was control over overtime. Here again, every worker knows that the company is sched­uling overtime work that adds that much more pressure on the workers in the plants — while there are thousands still laid off.

We’ve heard it until it’s coming out of our ears that the company has to be able to schedule overtime because that is the way they can keep production up. And most of the “nature” of the profit-hungry corporations and the upper management is to keep production up. The whole nonsense could be stopped in a minute, and the rank-and-file workers would be very happy to simply ease the pressure so long as there was a single worker unemployed.

Another point that ranked high was control over vacation. As it is now, the company practically tells you when to take your vacation. And like everything else in an auto worker’s life, it is geared to production. When cars are selling good, you might not even get along with some companies — they’ll just pay you for the vacation time and you keep on working.

Ample inspiration was given workers for a job was over the lack of representation and the drawbacks in the grievance procedure. And it wasn’t just that there were no stewards or committeemen; but also the lack of representation from those who are there. Too many set as the model from companies that have it.

Of course, if the workers got their first demand, control of production, all of the others would automatic­ally follow. And that’s why the workers put that one at the top of their list.

Taxis workers fight firings

New York, N.Y. — Recently a driver from Dover Garage ended a so-called “impar­tial arbitration” after he had been fired by the company. Then, at a hearing at a taxicab driver who was testifying at “impart­ial arbitrator” Vincent MacDonald’s kangaroo court.

He expressed the anger that most taxi workers feel toward the fleet owners and the union bureaucrats. He is now blacklisted from the industry, but he knew that was going to happen anyway.

His original “offense” was that he ran as a candidate for shop committee at Dover Garage as part of a rank-and-file slate. Within a week of his becoming a candidate, he was fired for “tampering with wires.” Since even the bosses admitted privately he hadn’t done it, he was hired at 57th Street.

He grumbled his firing at Dover and went to “impar­tial arbitration” which he lost. He was fired from 57th Street and blacklisted. It was during the arbitration of this second firing that he threw the chair at the representative.

Vincent MacDonald ran out of the room, and many drivers feel that the chair-throwing was one of the best critical commentaries on the “impart­ial arbitrator.”

A second firing of a committeeman, Ed Goldman, at Freunst Garage, led to a demonstration at union head­quarters by about 25 drivers. Ed, a leading member of the Rank-and-File Coalition, was beaten up, by an inside worker in his garage at 5:30 a.m. when it was still dark.

Then he was fired by the company for fighting. Even after the demonstration the union has refused to take up Ed’s case, claiming “he has no grievance.”

—Taxi driver
MARTIN LUTHER KING

The FBI conducted a six-year-long campaign against Rev. King that began in the "Camo" days of John F. Kennedy. While he was publicly grasping King's hand, his Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, was giving Hoover the OK to "wire-tap" King's home and office. Hoover hounded Dr. King from 1963 until the day of his death on April 4, 1968—the day Hoover worked for. Nevertheless, despite all this evidence, the Hoover Committee's equivocation about whether the FBI set him up for the assassination, none can believe it was more misdirection that the FBI got the press to badger Dr. King for staying at the white-owned Holiday Inn until he switched to the Black-owned Holiday Motel—cutting across the street from the rooming-house from where he was such a good target for the assassin (See "Workers Journal," p. 1).

The campaign against King, like the plot against Lumumba, was aimed at trying to destroy, not one man, but the movement he represented. And it was because—even though, but for the assassination, the entire global power relationship.

The "Palmer Raids," unleashed against the American anarchists and Socialists in the 1920's, the "Reds and foreigners," were American capitalism's response: 1) to the 1919 Seattle general strike and the strike in coal and steel, as the American workers tried to organize on an industrial basis (see Felix Martin's column, p. 3); and 2) to the first mass organization of the Black masses in the North and the streets ran red with the blood of race rioters—no less than 16 in the last months of 1919 alone.

The Palmer Raids were the political strategy of American reaction from 1920—through the 1950's when he supplied Joseph McCarthy with all the "forged evidence" he could manufacture about "Communists in government"—into the 1960's, when the new stage of Black revolt, ushered in by the new-historic Montgomery Bus Boycott, coincided with Rev. King's beginning as a leader of that boycott. It was because he knew how to listen to the voices from below that Rev. King could represent them in a boycott that lasted 365 days and met in mass assembly three times a week. It was because he tried to give philosophic expression to the struggle against segregation in Birmingham in 1963 that he remained so important to the movement. And it was because—even though he had been hanged in 1965 by the new stage of revolt in the northern cities and by "burn, baby, burn"—he was trying to give it a political strategy in this new phase of the class and philosophy, and revolution, that he was gunned down in the convention hall. He was the first real worker of the struggle of strikers in coal and steel, as the American workers tried to organize on an industrial basis (see Felix Martin's column, p. 3); and 2) to the first mass organization of the Black masses in the North and the streets ran red with the blood of race rioters—no less than 16 in the last months of 1919 alone.

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**Under the whip of the counter-revolution**

**Will the revolution in Portugal advance?**

Thousands marched in 1975. May Day parade in Lisbon, Portugal.

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The counter-revolution has put down the alleged “extreme Left elements” of the “state apparatus” in Portugal, is unfolding on all fronts, from the imposition of “discipline” on factory workers to the purging of MFA (Armed Popular Movement) and re-establishing a military hierarchy loyal to “it” — the capitalist government. The nationalization of radio stations except episcopal (Radio Renascenca) has largely worked, with trying to wipe the peasantries off the occupied lands, and “reorganizing” all the mass newspapers. So much for the Socialist Party’s “struggle for democracy.” Indeed, so far to the Right has this alleged “Left Centrist victory” over Communism, Liberal Socialists, and his Major General Antunes themselves fear an outright fascist return. Hence, they are denouncing, not too loudly, “blind anti-Communism.”

What they mean is not the establishment of any genuine democracy or releasing of workers’ revolutionary energies, but rather the inclusion of the government of the Communist Party, which is as practiced as the French class-clandestism, and is using in 1975 to engage in strike-breaking action against the mass strikes that followed the overthrow of the fascist regime.

And the CP leader, Alvaro Cunhal, promptly acceded to them: “We have to face the new reality.”

The Nov. 25 Coup: Before and After

In a word, the Rightist move backward — the Nov. 25 coup — instead of being seen and fought as the whip of the counter-revolution that it is, is being Whitewashed by the press as if that was the way to avoid a bloody Chile-type coup. But the only reason they do not dare yet roll history backward that far is because the mass movement is still intact, has not been taken over by any existing parties.

Moreover, the very fact of the spontaneous mass outbreaks of wildcat strikes, which arose upon the overthrow of the fascist Caetano regime and was not organized by any reason was masterful new ideological insights. Thus, the majority first voted for the Socialist Party because they were running away. The revolutionary elements in the Communist Party, in revolution against the latter’s strike-breaking activity, but now there is a second look at the class characteristic of the SP-type of “democracy,” as well as its espousal of democracy more than the left covering itself with blue and white. The latter’s notion of “democracy” differs fundamentally from the open imperialism of Ford’s CIA? They now see it as not any kind of access to any power, even if the regime is “sacrifice and hard work” is clearly a defense of the capitalist system.

New Questions

At the same time, many questions are also being raised about the Left and its “programs” void of a concrete philosophy of liberation. Hadn’t all the “Left” acted as it General Spinola had been the real leader of the overthrow of the Caetano regime? Hadn’t there been a “cell form” of the African guerrillas, student revolts, women’s movement, though there were many open instances since the mid-1960s, and had any given full credit to the African Revolutions which led the Portuguese soldiers to go home and make their own revolution, the national liberation forces were raising questions, including the role of women, that the “advanced” Portuguese had not even heard of.

Because of its narrow beginnings, the radicalization of the MFA was underestimated by the Old Left, some going so far as to consider it no more than, as noted, "Bonapartist caricature." Others thought that the MFA’s 6th Division was to perform the role of the Bolsheviks wrote in 1917, but they certainly were an entirely new ground for fighting in Portugal, 1975.

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A deeper look at new beginnings will, of necessity, lead us to the spontaneous mass movement: land seizures by revolutionary sections of the poor peasants as well as the great proletarian strikes, of which there were no less than one and one-half million (put of a population of 8.5 million) had seen service in Africa as the youth as well as Women’s Liberation Movement, which has been paid least attention, though it is a pivotal force.

When the CP-SP had, in 1969, organized the Democratic Women’s movement, it was strictly limited to economic issues — that “Equal Pay for Equal Work” was ever enforced even in 1974-75. Still, that movement from above helped to weekends away from the “feminist” issues, such as right to abortion, or other man/woman relations, though some Portuguese men were backward enough to oppose their wives using contraception, because it could supposedly make them impotent! Even when women were complaining they were as afraid of their men at home as of losses in the factory.” It did not move those “advanced politicians” to change the nature of their organization. The Women’s Liberation Movement (MLM) has been put on new ground, ground that didn’t separate philosophic foundation from feminism or class struggles.

New Forces of Revolution, Focus: Women, Youth, Peasants

Amélia Cabral, back in the 1960’s when Portuguese society seemed to experience its greatest “development” with the multi-nationals moving in on Portugal, said that Portugal, as the weakest link in world imperialism, “could not afford neo-colonialism.” The only one who seemed to listen to the African revolutionary were the Portuguese students, whose strikes came to a climax in 1968 and were against conscription as well as for academic freedom. The more foreign capital began to move into Portugal as a safe haven for profits and low-paid labor, the more contradictions undermined the regime.

Take the example of the 1973 Middle East War with the accompanying Arab quadrupling of oil prices. On the face of it, it seemed to have no relationship to anything happening in Portugal, But, in fact, fascist Portugal, with its monopoly of production and collaboration with two Swedish and two Dutch shipyards, had built the great showy Lusine dry docks because they expected a most profitable tanker business.

The complex of Sines was based on refining and petrochemicals and the expansion of motor vehicle assembly plants. But where a 25 percent increase in tanker business was expected, a 30 percent drop in oil purchases was the consequence of the quadrupled oil prices. The Western economic crisis, which was global, deeply affected Portugal, facing defeat in Africa and massive unemployment and strikes at home.

The human factor of this equation was not only the suffering. Some new forces of revolution were born. First, no less than one and one-half million (out of a population of 8.5 million) had seen service in Africa where they had been politicized by the national liberation movement. Secondly, the miserable conditions in Portugal sent Portuguese workers also to West Europe. By 1974 no less than 750,000 Portuguese had emigrated to West Europe, with 700,000 in France and 100,000 in West Germany. This move to the big cities abroad for employment was gloated over as if it meant economic development at home. Actually, the great number that left agriculture — there was a drop from 50 percent to 30 percent in agricultural production—meant not industrial development at home, but agricultural collapse. (6)

All these factors brought the women into production — jobs that previously were considered too intimate and too personal for them. They were the first to be hit by unemployment, which by 1975, numbered no less than 500,000. The women who established the Women’s Liberation Movement (MLM) did not think that all their problems were “solved” by (Continued on page 8)

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(1) See especially the African struggle before 1974: The Struggle for Mozambique, Penguin Books, 1966, by Edward Mondlane, then President of Mozambique. Big Flame Publications, 632 pp. The struggle for Angola, which contains the best theoretical section also on Women’s Liberation, also quoted from women leaders, was also written by Edward Mondane, and also wrote the foreword to Bord Bertrand’s ‘The Liberation of Guinea which deals with the assassination of President Sekou Touré by the Por­ tuese. (2) The ‘Two Worlds’ section on MFA appears in Tony Cliff’s ‘Portugal At War’, New Left Review, No. 29, 1967. (3) It is valuable because of 54 in-person reports, and has much material on the role of women. It contains the best theoretical section also on Women’s Liberation, also quoted from women leaders, was also written by Edward Mondane, and also wrote the foreword to Bord Bertrand’s ‘The Liberation of Guinea which deals with the assassination of President Sekou Touré by the Portuguese. (4) In ‘Flame’ section (1-4-75) carries an article. (5) ‘The Struggle for Mozambique’, pp. 147-50. (6) ‘The Thorns of the Portuguese Revolution’ by Kenneth Maxwell in Foreign Affairs, Jan. 1976.
The bicentennial year of the Declaration of Independence impels a return to its contradictory origins which, at one and the same time, raised the first banner of national freedom of any of the colonies in the world, and yet, was so unfinished and truncated a state that, in embryo, can be seen the totality of the crisis of today's world. There is so much to be gained from a review of the past, especially since, when it comes to the masses in revolt, the full story has yet to be told. To grasp the untold tale, it is necessary to look at it with eyes of the American revolution—yet-to-be.

It is with this in mind that we are proud to print this pamphlet by two New Englanders, K. Marx and J. Hillstrom, who trace, in the dialectics of liberation, the specificity of the mass forces in the act of revolution—local, regional, national as well as revolutionary, exult the George Washingtons, Thomas Jeffersons, John Adamses as "the Founding Fathers," who, in their time, were effective as use to as the hallowed platform from which to shroud their achievements in the Indians — the true native Americans whose land this was. These "patriots" rail against today's freedom fighters as "subversive," exult George Washington of 1779 as "sedition mongers." The present authors, on the contrary, focus on the actual mass forces who laid the founda­tion of revolution and laid their lives down for revolutionary democracy. We see come alive those working people, male and female, the Blacks, free and slave; and, yes, the native Americans from whom we learned both the strength of unified action and the ways of guerrilla fighting. (At least one founding father, Benjamin Franklin, held that 2 up as model for our need to act as nation rather than as 13 separations.

With America's First Unfinished Revolution, we become witnesses of new forms of organization—Committees of Correspondence conceived out of the town meetings. Once these letter writers began, on the new ground of "The Boston Pamphlet," to attend the town meetings, then became totally transformed from town meetings of rich colonial merchants to people's participatory organs of power—-the engines of revolution.

TONS OF TEXTBOOKS and "histories" have systematically distorted America's revolutionary history and, in place of genuine historic mass actions, presented "leaders" who reduced the liberating ideas which gave action direction to "constitutional acts."

"(Sam Adams) developed a fondness for mixing with dockworkers, merchant seamen and other laborers who frequented the waterfront taverns. The acquire major importance. To him is often attributed the success of the Committees of Correspondence as adjunct, so this first comprehensive edition of minutes of the Committees of Correspondence meetings, presents the revolutionary role of the towns as well as of the Continental Congress, a "national," much international, much less international. Moreover it has nothing much to say of America's militia, i.e. native guerrillas. And yet, contrary to those who credit either Mapo in the 1930s or Castro in the 1960s with "inventing" guerrilla warfare, it is actually in the United States when revolutionary "inventors" first did it. It is the Tories, though as cynics and jesters, of course, that are the first discoverers of the man's new-world "fantasies." Thus, Moore's "Diary of Revolution" records:

"Down at night a bricklayer or carpenter lies: 'Next run a Lycopersica, a Solan doth rise'"

The common laborers or farmers, hidden trees or woods, who, turning Redcoats, before and after Lexington, and not only refusing to free the rich British but making what made possible the victory against Britain. It is in this pamphlet that you will see the structure of the towns of which Washington so complained, assuring "his" victories because they were fighting it as a revolutionary war. It is no accident that in so-called revolutionary movements that, though weaponry is important,

"it so happens that the liberation of colonial countries throw new light on the subject. For example, we have seen during the Spanish campaign which was a very genuine colonial war, that Napoleon, in spite of an army which reached the figure of 400,000 men, was forced to retreat ... the Spaniards, inspired by an unshakeable national ardor, rediscovered the famous methods of guerrilla warfare, which, 25 years before, to the American militias had tried out on the English forces." (The Wretched of the Earth, p. 31)

What is of utmost importance is not the fact that the method of modern guerrilla war originated in the United States and has in again those Cuba in mid-20th-century. What is decisive is how deeply it is rooted in the people—the relationship of the guerrillas in Cuba to their own countrymen, to the working class in the United States, a major question to our own day, 50 years ago, and the chief moments of primitive accumulation." K. Marx, Capital.

The avant-garde Committee which an arrested Benjamin Franklin at a union of many tribes was hardily the model use as a means of Citizenship in a communal way where not only men were free but so were women. It would be centuries before "Charles Town" (Charleston) was modeled on the model of an ancient Greece of the "total Confederacy"—taking nights and not the unusual ones we have today, the working people's time.

Not only were they (Blacks) engaged in street fighting, but their struggles against the British Redcoats, led it unarmed. Another five years would go by before open rebellion would unfold that would not stand still until independence was finally won from Britain. At least in one crucial respect John Adams was right and ahead of his times, and that was his recognition that the American Revolution was present before the war, before the Declaration of Independence was written—and (he might have added, but didn't fail). 

IT IS HARD to believe but it was 1970 before the first revolutionary study of American Revolutionary Political Movements in Massachusetts by Richard D. Brown—was first published. But, just as the invention of the Committees of Correspondence as adjunct, so this first comprehensive edition of minutes of the Committees of Correspondence presents "leaders" who reduced the liberating ideas which gave action direction to "constitutional acts."

One aspect of the New England social revolution was the restructuring of the militia system within the context of the Declaration of Independence. They had systematically wedded out the officers of the old system and democratized it to the point that officers were elected by their own ranks. Many of these new 'officers' were former blacksmiths, shoemakers and other workers. They were not 'officers' as Washington conceived them. Behind his pretensions to create a disciplined army out of the New England forces, Washington was in effect suppressing the social revolution that had surfaced so magnificently between them all, but also as vanguard transmitting to one the special urgencies and understandings of the other.

The Point we wish to make here is that this pamphlet is not only where the readers will get a total view of the human forces of the American Revolution, whether they take on new forms of organization, like the Committees of Correspondence when people begin flocking to the town meetings and outvoting the "gentlemanly merchants," or new forms of fighting, like guerrilla warfare when General Washington wasn't exactly winning the war while the unregimented yeoman army were delivering hammer blows to the Redcoats, or when a Tom Paine (who had the gall to call "a filthy little atheist") pronounced, "My country is the world," thus extending nationalism to internationalism.

Take the question of Women's Liberation, an idea whose time has first come in our epoch. This, indeed, is why our age can shed the highest illumination on what was hardly noted in 1776. Yet, in embryo, it did begin then, and we are not just referring to Abigail's letters to John Adams on the need for provision for women. They were not known in her time, or much later for that matter, and not because John Adams-John Quincy Adams and their heirs kept these letters hidden. No, into the 19th and even 20th centuries, historians were telling the historic tale as history, squeezed into the Procrustean bed of mid-Victorian male chauvinistic context, burying totally her-story as it was lived in the revolutionary period. Thus, when a woman, Black woman at that, wanted to fight in the revolutionary war she had to
bind her breasts and pretend to be man, as Deborah Samson Gannett did. Though she served for three years and was wounded with the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment, her story would have never been known had she not applied for pension. Indeed it is hardly known today, though in 1830, after her death, and though she married after the war, her soldier's pension was given to her husband who was her beneficiary.

Women historians are now finding the written and unwritten records, and are righting some distortions of history written by male historians. And we also bear of the working women for, though they had no...

"Along with the retention of slavery was also the total disregard of women's rights. It wasn't only that Abigail wrote to John Adams to tell him that the British would arrest him if he did not escape. Women—she was writing neither as wife to husband, nor as the author of a novel, nor as the source of all value didn't reach the stage of Hegelian dialectics. In holding the distinction of sex and economic roles..."
Will the revolution in Portugal

Dual Power? CRTSMs? Apartheidism

(Non-partysmiv)

As the mass strikes showed, the very first month after the overthrow of the fascist regime, these were not ordinary strikes and some ended in occupation of factories, the most important being the workers occupying the Lisnave shipyards. But while there is no doubt that one of the great developments was that at the Lisnave shipyard complex, neither it nor the Revolutionary Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors (CRTSMs) were nationwide.

Of all the parties that arose the one that was most indigenous and revolutionary, was the PRP/BR (Revolutionary Party — Revolutionary Brigades). (8) So characteristic of the revolutionary situation is anti-partyism (apartheidism) that this group, a satellite of the CP, tried to assign priority not to the party, but to the spontaneous mass organizations. They used the word, and considered that the Revolutionary Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors. The critical question became: were they really developing a mass movement of the working class that one could say these instances of self-activity created actual dual power.

It simply wasn't true that there was such a self-mobilization of the masses that actually challenged the new, but very much still the capitalist government. Nor was it true that even the most "revolutionary" sections of the CPRM equalized the armed people, quislings not only of the imperialists, but also even in opposition to the Portuguese revolution. Whether it is in the Alentejo district, where out of 10,000 unemployed, 3,000 or 4,000 went out to work in the war industry, besides industrial struggles, women are very important in health care service, or in ideological struggles, where women today are beginning to take the lead in the movement. Instead of keeping away from "feminist" questions, the tendency is now towards the need for revolutionary and new ways of emergence of these forces. Before the April, 1974 overthrow of the fascist regime, under the impact of revolt arose among women, from labour to actual class struggles.

The STFMWR leaders (published here as The Marxism and by no means "just literature"...—though great literature it is) posed questions of human relations (labor relations) that were left unanswered. Their freedom from jail was by no means due only to the overthrow of the Caetano regime, but to the protests by the international women's liberation movement. (10) The symbol the women's movement, in agriculture especially, has chosen was Catarina Enfemia, assassinated by the National Guard during a strike for the eight-hourday.

Women became especially important in 1973 when a labor shortage sent them into textiles and electronics, and directly into the fight against multinational: Times, ITT, Plessey, and the garment industry (where Swedish capital owned 15 of the 25 major companies). It is in textiles and electronics and shipyards where the grass roots workers' movement first erupted, and where female organized the movement in agriculture especially. Women's liberation was expressed under the leadership of the National Guard during a strike for the eight-hour day.

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Women's delegation at FRELIMO Congress.

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Defense committee forms to aid Indian activists

Portland, Ore.—Defense efforts have gotten underway to focus national attention and pressure on the case of Indian activist Russell Redner and Kenneth Loud Hawk, who were arrested Nov. 24 in Portland, Ore., following a shooting attack by Oregon State Police. They have been charged with "possession of an illegal firearm," "aiding in the escape of a federal fugitive," and "aiding in the escape of a federal fugitive," and called suicide victims, were shot 'attempted to escape', and are beaten to death "while resisting arrest."

Instead of allowing them to post ten percent of (as customary) $500 bond, Redner (wife of Russ Redner) has been instructed by the judge not to post bond due to the threat that Loud Hawk and Redner have instructed witnesses not to testify and have threatened to refuse to cooperate with authorities.

Defense efforts are aimed at preventing a railroad job ahead of the upcoming trials of William Grass and John Goldstone, looking for Dennis Banks and Leonard Peitler and used the public pressure to help them block the process. We are looking to have a "gigantic impact", said the defense lawyer for the Loud Hawk and Redner.

To Will—who understood time

One Saturday morning about a year ago, people were bustling about the UFW office, clearing leaves, assigning picket-duty, making leader signs, and distributing news signs. One of our friends came in and worked his way around the office, saying: "I'm here. . . . Everyone got a copy of his newspaper, News & Letters. He laid the remaining papers on a desk as he said they."

New Years 1975 was a time of uncertainty for farm workers. An Election Bill had just been defeated in California by the electorate, a decision for which the political scene in the United States have been composed, and the political scene there last year.

One of the main reasons for the American Indian Movement is to find out as accurately as I can some of the history of the people on our reservation and pass it down to the next generation.

I'm going to talk to some schools about the conditions there. This will be a chore for me since I am very restless and restless, and I am going to talk about the conditions there. Also, I am going to talk to the Washington D.C. to protest their own treatment in particular and the treatment of Indians in general. She was on the reservation of the United States at Pine Ridge. She spoke to us at the UAW Weekend School (for workers). She invited both Indians and non-Indians to participate in their demonstration on July 4 in Washington.

One small way that I will be dealing with the Bicentennial is to find out as accurately as I can some of the history of the people on our reservation and pass it down to the next generation.

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200 YEARS OF UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

A lot of people, especially the Blacks and Chicanos, think they've already paid for more and more that even though the workers, the Blacks and women fought the revolution of 1776, it wasn't for us. With these recent lay-offs in my plant and elsewhere, the people are beginning to realize that the war is not even more centered in this government. Even though we vote, more people have come to the time seeing that the Democrats and Republicans are two parties that represent the capitalist system. These workers are only the slaves to the system.

This is being talked about in the plant a lot. The Department of Labor Letters which gave a "preview" of the new pamphlet in the "Workers Journal" column of the handout, the blue and red, which went on the post office and shop and being passed around, I felt good because the book was in the bicentennial and realized that the 200 year celebration was not for working Black and white.

They don't want to celebrate the bicentennial; they want to continue the revolution. A lot of guys I've talked to say that the bicentennial should be the kick-off of the second half of the battle. Unless we're looking at it in this 200 year, this year's celebration will only be the celebration of being a slave to the system.

No wonder so many Blacks don't see any reason to "celebrate" the bicentennial through the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission just celebrated its tenth anniversary. At an MIT symposium on the subject, the speakers reported that even at its all-time high point in the late '60's, Black families reported that even at its all-time high point in the late '60's, Black families income had risen to only 64 percent of white family income. Now it has stabilized. I agree with the chairman that has already concluded, "Nothing has changed in the past 30 years." Not quite. We're learning that the reason why this system can't be "reformed." It has just got to go.

New York

... The Pentagon has just written a 24 page report on Wounded Knee, 85 years after the murder of 350 Sioux people. The report states that the massacre was a "massacre" because "an Indian fired first." Even the most conservative historians consider Wounded Knee a massacre.

This Pentagon report was written as a response to a book by Ben Abergel of South Dakota. His book would be the first to mention the massacre as the predecessor of the Wounded Knee victims. The Senate didn't introduce his bill because of the way he happened to use the word. It is the Wounded Knee occupation three years ago that is bringing him trouble. The Pentagon is correct in the same.

The Ogala people are still struggling. In the face of the daily beatings, the more than 10 murders, economic and legal harassment and out-right robbery of the last 10 years, the Lakota are in a group to send military to Washington. They have established an Embassy there and are planning to go en-masse to Washington on July 4 with supporters to reaffirm their commitment to self-determination. The Pentagon was rewriting history in order to rewrite the present and write Native Americans out of the future entirely.

Supporter
Detroit

* * *

The debate among Blacks on the bicentennial is very real. Take Lorne Bridge's statement in his book when he was digging up little known facts about Black history. The first time I recall seeing or hearing anything about Black occupation of Wounded Knee was in his book. So when we look at the fact that we shouldn't celebrate the bicentennial it makes me really stop to understand why he is saying it. This is what I've been saying it - though the fact that the debate comes from Ebony, which is a middle class Black magazine, doesn't make it a very clear-cut issue.

Black history has been revolutionary within itself to a lot of Blacks. Bennett as a Black historian who has brought much of this out, played a great part at that stage of the revolution. But now we have to go deeper than Bennett. America's First Unfinished Revolution is about Blacks but also women, Indians and workers.

On one level, I have to agree with Bennett that there's not a hell of a lot to be celebrated. But when you start understanding the broader base, the millions of workers, women, and in another dimension, Blacks, Indians and other minorities, then your celebration turns revolutionary. When you begin to bring these revolutionary forces together, it is not just a debate but a resolution. You can't by-pass the Bicentennial. In step by step manner the America is in a state that when you have to turn it to your advantage.

Black Intellectual
Los Angeles

We have to re-examine the origin of our own revolutionary tradition and make a distinction between what we're talking about in the pamphlet on America's Un- Finished Revolution and Revolution, and the fact that the rest of the Left is going to be talking about. All the existing government is going to be talking about is how great we are and how we came all the way from the single shot gun to the Nike Zeus.

But what we're saying, one of the basic ideas of this pamphlet, is that the American Revolution was the beginning, not the end. And it began with a lot of people who were the kind of thing owners. They were working people, sea- men, farmers. The Committees of Cor- respondence which comprised the founding of the revolution came out of the actions of common people who were those who were carrying the stamp acts agents.

It was because the revolution was transformed into its opposite by the mercerclass and the landed aristocratic class in the Continental Congress, that we end up where we are today.

What are we celebrating as Marxist-Humanists is the unleashing of all those humane forces that are still alive and growing in revolutionary fervor all the time.

Student and Worker Aaahim

"ENDANGERED SPECIES"

It's hard to say why I haven't been reading N&L all these years. Not ready now. Enclosed is a check to pay for a subscription for me and four more supporters for like people I think should have been reading all along and haven't.

It's just possible that the rising threat to Israel has put me back into harness. It reminds me where I belong--in the endangered species category. Perhaps my life has been too easy and pleasant. That, too, has gone. This fall's elections overturned the liberal majority on the city council and all the "people programs" are endangered or already tampered with. I'm ready to grab the farmers' red flag from the last demonstration I attended and wobble along again. Thanks for giving me a healthful jolt.

Senior Citizen Colorado

We distributed a leaflet to our union members at the plant gate just before Christmas, asking for help for the United Farm Workers Union. Even though a new farm labor election law was passed after the statute books, it has not brought peace to the fields of California. We felt our union members would remember how many times other workers have come to our help especially after the strike in 1945-46 when there were no strike benefits and without a nationwide response to our call for help the GM strikers could not have survived and won. We especially remembered the farm strike of 1933-34 when bread and toys that arrived just before Christmas.

We got almost a thousand dollars for the UFWF at the gates -- despite the fact that most of us expect to be laid off soon again and expect to stay off until March. The workers at our plant expect that the company will want us to be back to work around election time, though. So Ford can show how he saved us.

Local 216 Auto Workers California

THE WAY IT WORKS

General Electric has been whittling away at our pay rates for a long time, and now they are throwing away another part of the contract, and the union is letting them. All job openings have to be posted so everyone can have a chance to bid on them, but the union, IBEW Local 2131, and company worked out a deal to provide two "new" jobs if the company could put the men it wanted into them. These jobs amount to assist-
**ANGOLA**

The Angolan situation is terribly serious. The fight for independence has become a conflict between the super-powers, specifically those of America and China. The Angolans have made it clear that Britain is interested in Angola, showing a young woman with machetes was truly impressive—especially with that caption which reported "The National Question is one of the most basic]

**NATIONALISM, RACE AND CLASS**

It was amazing to me that the "Two Worlds" column last issue on the Black Dimension and the "National Question" showed the power of a Marxist-Humanist analysis because it certainly predicted major changes in the future. The Black movement in this country was basically struck by the treatment of urban black people and the predictions that in 1975 the North would have its renaissance. In the South it would revolt. I suddenly saw a relationship to the Native American column, where the Shinnecock talked about the awakening of rural and urban Indians who joined together to form the AIM.

**Black Worker-Student**

Bob Potter

The National Question is one of the major areas in which I do not agree with you. I believe Lenin's theory of imperialism to be wrong and anti-Marxist. It claims that "a labor aristocracy" was created out of the super profits of the colonial countries. That is a dogma in economics because it places national factors above class analysis. It tends to concepts like "proletarian" nations or "imperialist" nations. Nationalism and class struggle are irreconcilable.

Nowhere has there been successful "national" struggle unrelieved real class struggle. The situation with the puppet countries is that all national liberation movements represen an initiative of the people. The difference between the real struggle and that of the CLUW convention here in December, was to adopt a constitu tution with a new line and release the War. This was less than two years ago. I think it is important to mention such names as "the liberation of the many women who fought from the back by the men one woman said, not only the company, but the union and, and weren't forced to by the militancy, because we'd better not expect them to worry about the family again. It was a smaller headline: "Jobless rate is expected to remain high." I thought it was the Wall Street Journal who first read the article. No mistake. It's "record prosperity" because "profits should rise 20 to 25 percent." They don't even blink an eye at the fact that eight million Americans are expected to continue without jobs. What it all means, I guess, is that we'd better not expect them to worry about the family again. Before doing so, to them, we're enjoying "record prosperity," even if we might be starv ing.

**Le Cori of CLUW**

Sawako Takagi

Britain just began enforcing two women's rights laws, one for "similar pay for similar work" and the other a general law to end discriminations in other areas. They are pretending that the government gave these laws to women and it is enforced to the benefit of the British women.

The struggle of British rank-and-file women workers was deep. They fought not only the company, but the union and, in a few cases, even their male workers. For example, recently part-time post office workers were fired so the men could work overtime on Sunday. Unions sided with the men and together they shouted down the women at the union meeting. I'm impressed at how these women was that despite the fact the men, one woman said, "Wrong to hire white men and black men, I think we fought to get higher wages for all of us." This is why we are asking the left and liberal press to carry word of the disaster to those who have the power to do something for the party or the campaign committee. Until new offices are opened those who should be on either mailing list are Detroit.

**Women's Liberation**

W.L. Activist

One of the things that disgusted me so much about Time magazine's, "Wom en of the Year," was their emphasis on "making it." We're supposed to feel good that there is a women vice president of General Electric, and a women on the board of AT&T, Kraft and GM.

**Who Are We?**

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats again against automation and the Black Liberation activities which signalled new movements from practice, which were themselves forms of theory. News & Letters was created so that the voices from below could be heard, and that the process of liberation, could be worked out for our age. A Black production worker, Charles Deshay, is the editor.

The paper is the monthly publication of News & 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 "socialism," as in Russia. In this column, National Chairwoman Raya Dinamzer-kaya, is the author of Philosophy and Revolution and Marxism and Freedom which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism for our age inter­nationally, as American Civilization on Trial concretizes it on the American scene. In opposing the capitalist, exploitative, racist, sexist society, we partici­pate in all freedom struggles and do not separate the mass activities of workers and students from the efforts of the left to join with us both in the freedom struggles and in working out a theory of liberation for our age.

All these companies are horribly op­pressive to women and men. For most women things have gotten worse. The difference between men's and women's wages has widened, and women and Black have been the first fired in our continuing economic crisis.

The women's movement started out not as a stepping stone to success for a few. It is clear that the future of the movement thing is terribly wrong in this society where men and women relate to each other in capitalist, male-biased and patriarchal ways. What we want is a different world — one based on human relations and it won't be a woman VP of GM who will get us there.
U.S.-CIA works with South Africa to control newly-liberated Angola

By Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

After five long centuries of Portuguese imperial misrule and national oppression, the Angolan people organized a national liberation movement—MPLA, which is seeking the continuation of Portuguese imperialism in Angola, but became the impetus for the overthrow of fascism in Portugal.

The MPLA which led the successful national liberation struggle was at once recognized as the legitimate government of the Angolan people by 20 of the African nations, who knew well that the competition for control of Angolan economy and political domination of all of Africa. In some cases, like the San Francisco Conference, the MPLA was recognized by the pro-Russian and the pro-United States forces.

Kissinger at first, when he was preoccupied in South Vietnam and the so-called pro-Russian and pro-China influence, was not only supplying money to Angola through his capitalist friends in Russia, but was also winning the war against imperial Portugal where, moreover, a social revolution was emerging. But, when Kissinger realized the impetus for the overthrow of fascism in Portugal, he began to support the MPLA.

The Christian Science Monitor reports that 200 CIA troops were found in Angola, where they were working for service in Angola with sophisticated weapons and helicopter gun ships, and over 150 U.S. mercenaries as replacements. This is a clear example of theLeninist notion that “weims” will not keep attention to any but Russian “invasions” while keeping totally still about actual inroads into Angola.

Indeed, Ford took time out from a visit to China to visit Indonesia and lost its dictator just hours before the Angolan liberation. Now, Kissinger has learned the lesson of Timor, using American supplies, warships, planes, tanks, and soldiers to help fascist South African forces invade the peoples of Republic of East Timor. FRETILIN is the popular native movement that declared independ­ence in Timor in 1975. FRETILIN is not only working for the liberation of Timor, but for the liberation of all the African colonies as well. It has already won the hearts and minds of 200,000 members and is modeled after the independence movement in Mozambique.

In August of 1974, after the loss of its controller of supervision, it was elected to govern all but two of over 200 villages, and it is preparing the way for the overthrow of the apartheid South Africa which has even more immediate and direct imperial designs there. The American people must stop the colonialist designs. Get the dirty CIA hands off the Angolan people!

Mexico

In a widespread rank-and-file protest condemning the class collaborationist policies of their union leaders with multinational corporations as well as Mexican companies, 200,000 workers took to the streets of Mexico city on Nov. 15. The marchers included members of their children’s classes and students. The three-hour long march was the most massive in Mexico in a decade.

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An interesting aspect of the struggle in Mexico is the similarity to the struggle in Angola. The Angolan workers are fighting for recognition of the MPLA as the legitimate government of Angola in addition to fighting for national liberation.

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