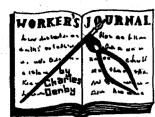
### **ON THE INSIDE**

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### **Black women** battles ead treedom tor

### By Charles Denby, Editor

The struggle for the rights of women in this country, especially the struggle of Black women, has been going on since the inception of the U.S. In many instances, the Black man was in support of the Black woman, but would find himself support of the black wonnin, she struggle because he did not fully believe in women's rights.

Sojourner Truth was active in this struggle and the only person who had her philosophy in her name. She said she prayed for a name because she did not want to carry around a slave name, and the Lord told her to go all over and tell the truth. So she went around on speaking engagements, always bringing in the question of women's rights.

### 'AIN'T I A WOMAN?'

Some white men would come just to boo her, yelling that she was not really a woman and shouldn't be al-lowed to speak. So she pulled off her clothes and said take a good look at me, do you see anything different than any other woman in a similar situation only my skin is Black, and ain't I a woman? She said I have given birth to 12 children and seen them all snatched from me and sold into slavery, and I groaned and screamed with the same feeling any mother would if such a thing happened to her, and ain't I a woman? This woman had so much creative thought and so

did Harriet Tubman, an "Underground Railroad" conductor who was born a slave in Maryland. As a child she heard about Nat Turner's slave insurrection (as they called it) in 1831-the same year as Hegel's death -and escaped to freedom herself in 1849.

She made at least 18 trips back into the South and brought back from 25 to 35 slaves with her on every trip. She was not able to read, but she always carried a Bible and a 45-caliber pistol with her. The Bible was to read to the slaves, if she found someone who could read, and the pistol was for those who wanted to give themselves up and go back.

### **AVOIDS CAPTURE**

Everyone warned her about being captured because the law was looking for her, but she wanted those slaves. One time she travelled by hiding under a wagonload of hay. Another time on a road in Maryland when she was approached by two law officers, she opened up the Bible as if to read. One said I wonder if that's her, but the other one said no she can't read a lick.

Harriet Tubman and many others became involved in the conflict of the Civil War for the purpose of freeing the South. She became a soldier, a nurse and a spy for the North. But after the war was over, she never received the money that was due her from the Northern Army.

(Continued on Page 3)

Spanish student report



Fascist and capitalist repression challenged

# Worldwide revolutionary youth resurgence

### By Robert Ellery

The fact that the West German ruler today (Oct. 21) could not find time to see Gov. Wallace, who is busy covering himself with "cosmopolitanism", shows that no-one has forgotten who Wallace really is-the ambitious, racist governor who, a decade ago, stood in the doorway of the Little Red Schoolhouse in Alabama to block entrance to Black children. Helmut Schmidt, of course, had other, more important reasons for



& Letters photo Worldwide demonstrations, like this one in San Francisco, protested barbaric execution of Spanish revolutionaries by fascist dictator Franco.

being busy. He wanted his own youth to forget that he does grovel before the present occupant of the White House, who is just as racist and reactionary-on busing, on welfare, on the whole economy.

The cheap tokenism to democracy involved in snubbing Wallace cannot possibly hide Schmidt's own reactionary face from the German youth. Indeed, what gave the lie to his "democracy" preceded Wallace's arrival, was completely spontaneous, was of massive proportions, and covered the whole of West Europe. It was the mass. outburst that followed fascist Spain's execution of the five Basque rebels. (See Editorial, p. 4 and article below from a Spanish student.)

### **REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH UPSURGE**

The reason for the excitement over the world-wide demonstrations, especially the one in Paris, was not only the solidarity of the world's masses for the Spanish anti-fascists, but also the sudden feeling that Paris 1968 did not die; that 1975 has found new forms of youth revolt, be it in Paris or South Boston, be it in Portugal or Detroit, be it in the Netherlands or New York.

All of the youth marches were related to the whole auestion of the world-wide crisis, the unemployment, the retreat from the Black gains of the '60s, the cutbacks in all education programs, white or Black. So deep are the undercurrents of revolt that they are by no means either only workers or college youth, but include high school youth who have begun to make no distinction between workers' problems and youth problems.

Thus, in Paris the demonstrators who filled the streets on Sept. 27 against Spanish fascism, filled the streets again on Oct. 4 and 5 to protest the doubling of youth unemployment in France in the past year. Thus, in Detroit the high school students who went to South Boston last month to protest racism there, this month converged on Cobo Hall to protest Judge DeMascio's Detroit anti-busing rulings as well as Gerald Ford's cutbacks in jobs for youth. Thus, in New York 5,000 City University of New York (CUNY) students and faculty supporters demonstrated in front of the New York City office of Governor Carey against curtailment of the University's operation, signaling that they will not be sacrificed with-out a struggle upon the altar of "fiscal realism" devised by city and state planners. CHALLENGE EDUCATION CUTBACKS

The CUNY students, on the campuses of the ten component four-year colleges and eight community colleges that comprise the system, have since moved to organize themselves to resist the closing of colleges, proposed tuition charges, elimination of courses and programs and strictures upon open enrollment. It has been estimated that more than 220,000 attend these colleges. The CUNY budget has already been slashed by \$87 million.

The SEEK (Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge) program has a heavy enrollment of Blacks and Puerto Ricans, with some 11,000 students spread over the city's campuses, and offers "remedial, developmental and compensatory courses" to the "economically and educationally disadvantaged."

The SEEK program was begun some nine years ago, and Open Admissions-that is. accepting any city resident with a high school diploma-began in 1969. These programs were initiated to cool off the long hot summers created by Black urban protests of less than a decade ago to offer some upward mobility to the urban poor youth.

What the cutback has meant is that gains won by Blacks, minorities, and women through fights for special studies are the first to get the ax. Now, through redefining of terms such as Open Admission they are attempt-(Continued on page 8)

## Internal divisions shake Franco dictatorship

The dawn executions on Sept. 27 of Juan Paredes Manot, 25, Angel Otaegui, 32, Jose Bravo, 21, Jose Humberto Baena, 23, and Ramon Garcia Sanz, 27, moved millions of people all over the world. In fact, it was only one more event in the history of the 39 years of Fascist Spain, but the stories of these five Basque revolutionaries have created discussion about the nature and the future of Franco's regime and have put into focus the set of alliances and interests related to the Spanish situation.

The American government, and the dominant media, ited for the appropriate time and the precise interpretation to express their position-the moment after 200,000 people in Madrid mobilized for support to Generalissimo Franco, and condemned the interference of foreigners in the internal affairs of Spain. For a TV commentator in the U.S. the Franco regime was not a Fascist regime, but an authoritarian one, the key element in creating the big economic growth which Spain has had in the last 15 years (per capita income went over \$1,000 last year and industrial production of Spain has become the 10th most important in the world). To them the executions were a "cycle of violence" created by a band of terrorist "cop killers." The demonstrations in Europe were over-reaction instrumentalized by the communist and the radical left.

The interpretation of the establishment media hides the whole history of the Spanish people under the Franco rule. It's true the Franco regime has differences in origin and history compared to Mussolini and Hitler. The Franco regime did not need a political and ideological organization as did the Nazis and the Italian fascists for the simple reason that in Spain the present regime was consolidated after a civil war which destroyed not only the liberal democratic republic, but also one of the most original workers' movements in Europe and its revolutionary objective.

A million people died on the battlefields and through repression. Moreover, the church was the ideological force used by the regime. The Falangists were only the political organization that created an ideological homogenization and control over the bureaucracy.

But the di iffere less important than the similarities. All of them have been the expression of the crisis of a ruling class unable to reproduce its domination.

In 1948 Spain was isolated economically and politically from the rest of the world by a resolution of the United Nations. The beginnings of the cold war and the agreements with the United States, 1953, were instrumental in breaking down the international boycott. Franco won over the crisis with a new image: a leader of the anti-communist world with a key ally-the U.S.A.

The repressive nature of the regime that forbids entirely union organization and the minimal freedoms of political expressions has permitted the creation of the conditions for a spectacular accumulation of capital, and at the same time, it has become one of the most attractive nations for the investment of multi-national corpo-

(Continued on page 8)

## Latinas organize Mujeres Unidas de Michigan

Detroit, Mich.—The first Mujeres Unidas de Michigan (MUM) conference was held Oct. 4 in Detroit. The conference wasn't just for those who were career-oriented but for housewives and mothers, too. All were invited and all contributed something, whether ideas or just letting their feelings be known and talking about day-to-day problems.

MUM wants to establish a communications network. because a lot of places say they want to hire minority people, but then say they can't find them. Also, there are many social programs, but often you don't find out about them for quite awhile, when you really need the service right away.

We might also have a newsletter, and are thinking about forming a 24-hour-a-day bilingual hotline. Many agencies do have bilingual people, but they are only there for part of the day.

MUM is also thinking about co-op baby-sitting where each member would take a turn. This way, most women

### Women Teamster fund workers fight to save old contract

San Francisco, Cal.-We work for the Teamsters Security Fund and are represented by Teamsters Local 856. In September the company filed for bankruptcy. We hired an attorney because we needed someone to translate what was going on for us. We didn't even know that there was any question of our contract being in force until someone accidentally found out there was going to be a hearing on our contract.

After the hearing our Business Agent told us they would meet with us later, and in the meantime they met with the company. No employees were present at those talks. They wanted us to go from a 4-day, 32-hour week, to a 5-day, 35-hour week. We would be asked to work one additional hour a day at straight time until next April. They also wanted to get rid of our seniority clause and severance pay.

We voted to retain our current contract. We may have been willing to go along with the 5-day week, but not the elimination of the seniority clause or severance pay. They wanted to get rid of the seniority clause because they said some of the older workers weren't pulling their weight. But to take out the seniority clause means that if they don't like the color of your hair or your politics, you can be automatically thrown out. Their main purpose is to get rid of the troublemakers. I'm sure the union local knew what was going on. Everytime we wanted to fight a grievance, they said, "Why bother, the whole thing is going down the drain anyway."

We worked very hard to get what little we do have. It's not a very good contract except for the 4-day week, but it's still our contract and we feel very possessive about it. Now most of us have had a small taste of fighting and want to stay and fight. The women are finally learning what the word union means - not union in terms of our union local, but union in terms of our unity.

-Teamster Security Fund employee

I recently attended a conference of women academics in philosophy, and was surprised to find them discussing the very same ideas which are being debated in the women's liberation movement. Every paper at the conference had some relation to feminism, and the same two philosophers kept coming up: Marx and Hegel.

Other philosophers arose and fell in the abstract theses presented, but Marxism and the Hegelian dialectic were what the academics returned to, to grapple with the real world. There is a wide gulf, however, be-tween what they "know" intellectually and what they can relate to the reality of Women's Liberation as a mass movement.

In fact, most of the concrete ideas they came up with were the academic equivalents of NAM's "Socialist-Fem-Conference's "strategy and tactics." A woman who inist' spoke on the division between public and private life wanted to redistribute power within the family by passing laws. Two sexual separatists called for relations between women as a "tactic" to demonstrate relationships based on equality.

What was missing from the papers was an understanding of the process through which freedom is won. Instead of human beings struggling to transform the quality of their lives, we were offered quantitative changes in things: more laws that won't be enforced, a higher statistical probability of sexual equality.

Marx described the basic defect in this kind of thinking in his 1844 Essays and in the first chapter of Capital. on the "fetishism of commodities." Today the commodity form still dominates every single aspect of life and thought. We continue to treat people as things, and to think that things, not human beings, create change.

could come to the meetings, and if they were the babysitters, then the other members could let them know what happened.

We want a change in the way the media always portrays Latina women. It's either as the motherly type who just stays home all day and whose

whole world is only the children and the family, or, in the movies, it's always as the barmaid or the old meddling type. One woman said it's not fair because the

world is changing and so are we, but they are still stereotyping us. We have to fight

like the Blacks did, who were all categorized as saying "Yes sir, no sir." It's the same way with Latinas. We don't want to be classified as just a lazy kind of person who takes a siesta every day and drinks tequila all the time.

Considering the response, which was very enthusiastic, there will probably be a MUM chapter in Detroit.

Many women knew others who wanted to come and join, or who didn't come to this meeting because they thought it was only for professionals, or that you had to be invited. But this organization is for all Latinas. - Monique

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

# WL NOTES

After more than five years of organizing, the Cannery Workers Committee (CWC) in California has gained some control over its union, Teamsters Local 679, by electing Mario de la Garza as trustee of the local. Most of the workers are of Mexican descent and about twothirds are women, but as one woman said of the union leadership: "They just didn't want a woman up there with power, even though so many members here are women."

At a conference in Atlanta, Ga. following a rally for the defense of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, Black and white women agreed to work together for the right to abortion for all. Over 400 people attended the rally. \* \*

\* 4 \*

In Lisbon, Portugal, women workers refused to allow the Swedish owner of a brassiere factory to leave his hotel until he promised to stay in Lisbon to work out the payment of severance pay at the closing plant. Hotel workers joined them in their picketing. \* \* \*

Attorneys for 1,320 women workers filed a federal court suit charging sex discrimination at Uniroyal's Mishawka, Ind. plant. The suit asks that Uniroyal be required to repay the women workers \$18,480,000 and states that Uniroyal maintains segregated "male" and "female" jobs and seniority lists; has entered into discriminatory union agreements; and discriminates in hiring, assignments, transfers, bumping, layoffs and firings.

### Women academics discuss feminism and Marx By Molly Jackson

The women at the conference missed the meaning of Hegelian dialectics, that philosophy is a total world view, and that to grasp Marxian dialectic requires a total reorganization of thought. Instead of tackling that, they wanted to know what conclusions they could "use" from Marx and Hegel. They didn't see that the process, or methodology, is all-important.

It is no accident that they don't understand the process of change, because they don't see the masses of women as the subject of history, as creating their own destiny through their thoughts and mass activities. This elitism is common in the movement, but is intensified in the ivory tower, where they are not only isolated from working class and Black women, but are also trained to believe that philosophy comes only from people like themselves.

Thus many were receptive to the line given out by Marxists, anu unat no pnnosopny encomp women's liberation, and women must create one entirely out of their own heads. One whole paper was devoted to attacking Marx, at the same time the woman claimed to agree with him as to male production workers. She said he simply left out women, and SHE would supply philosophy for women instead. She "proved" he left out women by ignoring everything he wrote on women and on humankind, and attributing to him the perversions of others such as Mao.

It is also interesting that this group had the organizational question arise: should they remain an academic organization or work to open it to non-academic women? I have seen the same debate in Left, women's and liberal-professional organizations. It reflects the pull of the revolutionary forces on every single question we face today. Yet none seem to realize there is a movement from below - the movement from practice to theory.

## Welfare groups control rally

Lansing, Mich.-Members of welfare rights groups took over a rally on Oct. 15 sponsored by Republican State Senators Davis and Young, to support legislation hitting at welfare recipients.

The proposed legislation (S.B. 576) and the rally were designed to divide the newly-unemployed from the long-term unemployed, by making it harder for recentlylaid-off workers to get welfare.

The bill would make anyone who owns property valued at more than \$10,000 ineligible for assistance, regardless of how much they still owed on the property. The law would also legalize surprise searches of welfare recipients' homes at any time of the day or night.

Before the rally speakers arrived, a large group of welfare rights supporters, armed with banners and signs with slogans like "End forced labor," occupied the Capitol steps and delayed the program. Welfare rights people actually outnumbered participants in the rally.

People standing behind the speakers platform heckled into the microphone, often drowning out the drone of propaganda from the podium. The large number of welfare rights supporters present prevented the Michigan Chamber of Commerce from collecting more than a few signatures on petitions supporting the bill. -Welfare rights supporter

#### WAY OF WORL

### **Rockefeller's racism unmasked** By Ether Dunbar

Vice-President Rockefeller, who posed for so many years as a liberal, is now showing his true colors. The closer it gets to elections, the more his racism appears. Rockefeller has just finished his campaign swing through the South. After his tour, the headlines in the papers said that Rockefeller had come out against everything he once stood for. He is against busing; he is against integration. Since he's against everything Black people are for, he hopes this will get him enough votes to get elected together with Ford.

But the racists he was appealing to did not believe him and said they will not vote for him. And then Rockefeller rushes to get hold of a Black man to make the cover-up of his racism look good.

Rockefeller gave a big birthday party and invited every big shot he could. He also invited a Black man, who was not from their class. But Rockefeller said this man was there representing the poor, and was also there to see that \$30,000 bed in the Vice-Presidential mansion -and he might just sleep in it before he leaves.

I wondered, what poor people could this man be representing, when they cannot even get \$30 to buy groceries with? But they always find their man, and this time it was good old Rev. Ralph Abernathy.

I am sure other Black people see through this too; the same old tricks just don't work anymore, and for many Black people they never did.

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### NOVEMBER, 1975

### **NEWS & LETTERS**

## Uniroyal workers plan for contract negotiations

Detroit, Mich .- The meeting to discuss demands and plan a strategy for the new rubber workers contract is being held in October. At Uniroyal, we just elected the people to represent us and the president of the international was not elected, nor were a couple of his aides. There is a general attitude in the plant that he is not doing his job.

Contract time comes up in April of next year. The locals are sending representatives to this meeting in Florida to figure out what they're going to ask the companies for in the negotiations.

Workers from all the rubber companies will send delegates. They'll get a package deal that they will take back to each individual rubber company. Then, they will designate one of the companies to strike. Now it's our turn, while last time it was Firestone.

Several of our committeemen were elected-ones that work right on the floor. Out of this trip the one thing

### Auto changeover results in more machines, less workers

By Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

Every changeover at the plant seems to bring more automated machinery to replace workers. This time they have automated the hoist men out of existence, and over in the door bay, new machines are in.

But that is not what concerns our local union leaders who greeted us with bumper stickers reading "Get us moving, buy an American car." Then came our foreman telling our "team," the body shop, to report to the mess hall to receive our pep talk from our coach, the superintendent of the body shop.

The theme of the pep talk was that we were in competition with the foreign models and that we should buy American cars. Of course they also told us we had to do a better job building them. They had a couple of foreign-made cars in the mess hall to show us what a good job the foreign workers do, so we could see how good we would have to do.

After the pep talk we had a question-and-answer session. Most of the questions were on the price of the new models and on gas mileage.

But the biggest question is the one about being laidoff again. Many workers in our plant have drawn only around 30 weekly paychecks since 1973 and no one knows how long the work will last this time.

SUB has run out and one of the questions raised was why not go into the strike fund to supplement our unemployment checks. We don't need a strike fund when all GM has to do is lay us off. The financial situation in the social security system has workers wondering about their retirement and who will be working to pay into the system when they retire.

Watching more and more machines replace more and more workers no one knows what to expect, because all of us know machines don't pay into social security or retirement. It takes living laborers to produce value, not machines.

When we returned to the line discussion turned to whether Los Angeles would go the same way as New York, to whether our state will run out of funds for welfare, to the racial problems of Boston and Louisville, all of which affect each and every one of us.

With all these problems how can a company expect us to go into debt to buy a car to keep them in business making high profits? What we think of is the millions of our brothers and sisters who have already been replaced by automation and now are either on or are going on welfare. Who knows which of us will be next?

we can count on is that we'll get a raise in dues that are now \$8.81. It always happens that way. The general attitude of the workers in the shop is that even though we are sending these people down there they are not going to accomplish anything.

Now I hear the union is proposing \$15 dues and anything over \$8.81 goes into the strike fund. They are starting to build up for the strike. But even if they start now, we are anticipating just getting \$25 for four weeks, maybe \$15 for a couple of weeks and then the strike fund will be exhausted.

They'll borrow maybe a half million dollars from another union and then say, "Well, we have to continue to leave your union dues at \$15 until we pay back this money." And yet we hardly get any of that money in the strike fund. This is what happened in 1967 and everybody is anticipating the same thing happening again.

Everyone is upset and they think that the union is sending too many representatives. Where they are sending ten sorry ones, they could send two good ones to do the job. This is waste of union money.

If the company can increase production from now until the first of April, they will welcome the strike so they can unload all the tires we will have built. They're screaming more production and if we give it to them we're cutting our own throat.

There will probably be a strike for three or four months but it won't mean anything. They will welcome the strike, because they don't have to pay compensation. They don't have to pay SUB pay and they don't have to pay medical. They're off scott free. They are even saving vacation money because our vacation is compounded according to the amount of money we made during the year.

- Uniroyal worker

### ER 'S

### (Continued from Page 1)

From Sojourner Truth to Joan Little, Black women have always had to organize on their own to get recognition. Mrs. Rosa Parks has told the story many times about her experience that started the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

All this talk that she was planted there and told not to move is hogwash. She said she doesn't know why she didn't move, but she didn't, and the bus driver called the police and they took her to jail.

The late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. had said that some students from Alabama State came to his office to use the mimeograph machine to run off leaflets in her support. The leaflets asked Black citizens not to ride the bus on a given date and come to the courthouse and support Mrs. Parks. Everything was pretty quiet until the Montgomery Advertiser got hold of the leaflet and printed it, saying who do they think they are, asking everyone to stay off of the busses.

Dr. King said as far as he knew this was supposed to be a one-day strike. The day after when they went back to the busses the white bus drivers would not pick them up. So the people said we walked yesterday, so let's walk today, tomorrow and forever until we are treated as human beings. This was a full blown movement uncontrolled by anything.

What happened to many Black women before is still happening today, like the attack of the white jailer on Joan Little with an ice pick as his pass. As long as he had that, it would cause you to say yes when you knew that you meant no.

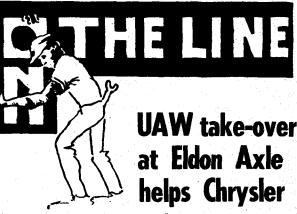
Black women have always had it worse than Black men. They were even excluded from the protection of the union until after World War II. But their struggle to be free will never be stopped until equality is won.



Warren, Mich. - The situation in the Dodge Truck plant parking lot is really getting bad. The guards are supposed to be out there protecting the work ers and the cars, yet when you go out in the parking lot at night time, there isn't a guard to be found. People who have been leaving early or after their regular shift change have been getting ripped off and even shot. The cars in the parking lot get ripped off all the time. One woman was raped. But when it comes to going out and having a few beers at lunch time, they're trying to bust people right and left.

One guy came into the plant with blood pouring out of his hand from being shot. The guy in the guard shack said he couldn't call the police, that he had to wait for the sergeant. That was on Friday. On the following Monday, we went out to the parking lot to have a beer and they had undercover security guards out there trying to bust people for drinking beer. Coming out that night, there wasn't a security guard to be found.

-Second shift worker



PAGE 3

By John Allison

Local Union 961 at Chrysler's Eldon Axle Plant was put under the iron heel of the UAW Executive Board. which used the excuse of the racial troubles at the union to place it in receivership. There is racial conflict there, and it heated up during and after the May local union election, when Black President Jordon Sims was reelected, but along with an anti-Sims local Executive Committee.

After the election, the financial secretary and his anti-Sims clique called for an audit of the local's books. The audit showed that all the money was accounted for.

Sims knows both the company and UAW bureaucracy want to get rid of him, and are tightening the screws on him. Caught in this cross-fire, Sims called for action he knew the workers were all for — the settlement of a bushel of unresolved grievances. He called for a vote authorizing the local to strike over grievances.

The big point is that almost all of Chrysler car axles are produced at Eldon Axle, and if this plant isn't putting them out, the car production comes to a near halt. Both Chrysler and the UAW know this, and so the UAW moved to pull Chrysler's chestnuts out of this fire. Claiming that Blacks were protesting about not being represented, the UAW took the local union over. As everyone knows, no local under UAW receivership has ever been allowed to strike.

Now, while the UAW is taking care of Chrysler, the corporation is coming down with both feet on the workers. The work is speeded-up and long overtime hours are being scheduled. At the same time, the work grievances, instead of being solved, are growing faster.

If workers need proof that the company always gains when workers are divided along racial lines, this is it. This has always been true, but now it is more important than ever for both white and Black workers to stick together. This is easier said than done - especially since Black and white union politicians are so full of dirty tricks they pull on each other at the expense of the rank-and-file workers. Unless the rank-and-file does something about this situation, there is no help in sight for this troubled local.

## N.J. metal workers wildcat

Carteret, N.J. - I work at U.S. Metals Refinery, a division of American Metals (Amex). There have been two wildcats recently, and the president of our local was impeached for stealing union funds and taking money from the company.

The last wildcat was the result of our refusing to work under the company's efficiency experts - timestudy men. This happened in one of the key departments in the plant, where workers have a lot of control over production in the whole plant.

There was another wildcat where they refine or clean the copper to go into the furnaces. This department has a very heavy history of struggle and disobedience to the bosses, the union, and even the U.S. government regulations. One reason is this department is 90% young people.

About 3,000 people work in the shop. Many are from East Europe, from the 1956 revolt in Hungary. There are also many Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Blacks.

In two years here, I've been laid off seven or eight times, once for over six months. We expect new layoffs soon. The company says it's because of higher oil prices and competition from Japan. They also say they're short of capital, but they're still going to open new plants in Poland where they'll have cheap labor and no unions.

We have many fights over working conditions and some gains. One problem is the foremen, who don't know what they're doing and interfere with everything. Strange as it might sound, people prefer to work the midnight shift. Why? Because there are no foremen standing over you so you can just do your work. - Latino metal worker

	Letters Committees can the following areas:	be
	0 Box 77303, Station E,	

	& Letters Committees can be in the following areas:
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CONNECTICUT:	PO Box 291, Hartford, Conn. 06101
LOS ANGELES:	PO Box 29194, Los Angeles, Calif. 90029
DETROIT:	1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit 48207 (259-0404)
NEW YORK:	PO Box 5463. Grand Central Sta. New York, N.Y. 10017

Detroit. Mich. - Rumors have been going around that Fleetwood is going to strike. We should have gone out first thing, after we came back from changeover. then come around just before the holiaon t wait day period and threaten to strike.

If the union calls a strike in November, that is just what the company wants. If it isn't a fast settlement, we would be off for the holidays but with no pay. You can bet the company wouldn't be making any offers to end the strike before the holidays. A lot of these union people don't know how to bargain. Either that, or else they just don't care, and are there on committees just to get off the assembly line.

Many workers have been disappointed with the new union administration. We don't see any results at all. We still have most jobs not yet settled after 18 months, while the union claims they're negotiating, or it claims the jobs are settled. Meanwhile the jobs are still overloaded. If there has been any improvement since the union election, none of the workers know about it.

- Second shift worker

### NEWS & LETTERS

Ford-Kissinger cannot save tottering fascist Spain

### EDITORIAL

The deliberate hospitality shown to fascist Spain's Foreign Minister by Henry Kissinger the very moment that the entire world was erupting in massive demonstrations against the execution of five young Spanish antifascists, reveals the extent the Ford administration was determined to go to assure the U.S. bases in Spain. Ford had already made clear, during his late spring trip to Europe, how tightly tied to that fascist bastion is NATO's life, when he dared go to Spain to pledge his friendship to Franco against the unanimous opposition of all of West Europe — who capitulated to him nonetheless.

How paper-thin is the European rulers' "anti-fascism" has just been shown again in the fact that the ambassadors of Switzerland, Britain and West Germany, who had been withdrawn, were already back to their jobs in Madrid in two weeks. West Europe's rulers' "review" of their relations with Spain was, clearly, nothing more than a hasty response to the impassioned demonstrations of their own masses.

### STUDENTS, WORKERS ERUPT IN PROTEST

The most widespread were in France where students and workers marched not only in Paris, but in almost every city in France. There were work stoppages in Greece and Italy and West Germany. Scandinavian unions banned Spanish goods and services. Longshoremen in Britain and the Netherlands refused to load or unload Spanish ships. Railroad workers halted service from France and Switzerland. Within four days of the executions on Sept. 27, every Western European government except Ireland had been forced to recall its ambassador from Madrid.

The massive protest was an outpouring of sympathy not only with the two million Basques in the north of Spain — who have been fighting for an independence they knew only briefly, during the Civil War of 1936, before Hitler's dive-bombers reduced Guernica to rubble, thus ensuring dictatorial control of all of Spain by Franco — but with the opposition to fascist rule that has been going on throughout Spain since the end of World War II. In the first five years of Franco's regime no less than

200,000 Republicans were executed or died in his prisons,

but this recent barbarism has been the most vicious repression in Spain in 30 years. The "anti-terrorist" law decreed at the end of August makes it a crime to defend or encourage communism, separatism, anarchism, or violence, or to show sympathy with people accused of these crimes, or even to criticize judicial decisions against them. Hundreds were arrested in the first month alone, and the death penalty may be asked in 150 cases now before the courts.

### THE SPECTER OF PORTUGAL

The specter that is haunting Franco is the revolution that overthrew Portugal's 50 year dictatorship in April of 1974. Now it is the death of Spanish fascism — and not only Franco's belated demise — that the world is eagerly awaiting.

The wave of protests and strikes that began in Spain last November, in the wake of Portugal's upheaval, culminated in a "Day of Struggle" on Feb. 20 that involved all layers of the population, and all parts of the country: 6000 miners in Asturias and 10,000 workers from 30 different factories in the Basque port of Bilboa had stopped production on the job; students boycotted and closed down nine different universities; women in Madrid kept all 72 markets there empty for 24 hours. Moreover, that climactic day had been preceded by strikes in oil, rubber and textile, and by auto workers occupying a SEAT factory to hold meetings there.

This discontent was so deep that by this summer it had spread to the Army, when seven Spanish officers were accused of having contact with Portuguese counterparts, and an illegal "Democratic Military Union" was estimated to have at least 1,000 members.

The second of Franco's strongest pillars, the Church, has also been affected. Over 800 priests have just signed a document protesting Franco's torture methods and accusing him of creating a "climate of fear." In Madrid, six priests were arrested for reading a sermon attacking the so-called "trials" that preceded the recent executions. For years the lower echelons of the church have been giving sanctuary to political opponents of the regime, and the Catholic hierarchy has been moved from

### its traditional support for Franco because of fear of its own rank and file.

### FASCISM'S DEATH AGONY

The neofascism inherent in Kissinger's negotiations with Spain while the rest of the world was revulsed in horror, can be seen in what was at stake in the Pact they have just worked out: for the U.S., three Spanish airbases and an undisclosed number of nuclear warheads; for Spain, \$750 million in military and economic aid, much of it without doubt to be used for putting down Spanish resistance to fascism.

Yet it is precisely this movement from below that Franco cannot stop, no matter how many thousands of Falangists and Guerrillas of Christ the King he rallies in Madrid's Plaza de Oriente, and no matter how many Pacts his Foreign Minister signs with Ford-Kissinger.

In its death agony, Spanish fascism is sure to overreach itself. It cannot be saved with or without Franco, because the masses have shown that they are preparing themselves for a new, and this time a total Spanish Revolution.

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Raya Dunayevskay	ya, Chairwoman torial Board

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### THE STRUGGLE IN SPAIN

"Stop U.S. Support To Fascist Spain" was the rallying call for a demonstration on Oct. 11, sponsored by the Spanish Democratic Association of Northern California and the U.S. Committee for a Democratic Spain. Over 400 people showed up, with a very large contingent from the Spanish-speaking and Basque communities and many students from Spain.

Messages of support came from Congressmen and Senators who oppose any more secret "agreements" whose contents are not subject to Congressional ratification, like the secret "Madrid Pact" with Franco, signed by Kissinger and Nixon in 1970, and now up for renewal.

The CIA now is pouring millions of men and dollars into Spain, ready, under the cover or without the cover of the Madrid Pact, to be the open counterrevolutionary force to uphold fascism against any popular uprising and the Basque struggle for National Liberation. Anti-fascist, 1935-1975 Bay Area, California

#### \* \*

The Ad Hoc Committee of the proposed Scottish Labour College, of which I am chairman had a meeting on Sept. 27 at which it was proposed that we send a deputation to one of the large stores here where there was a display of Spanish flags to advertise the sale of expensive Spanish goods. We went only to find that several Marxist groups were there before us. They had scattered leaflets from a gallery inside the main store and were thrown out. We entered the store and demanded to see the manager. After some wrangling he agreed to meet two of us, and finally agreed to pull down the flags. It was a slight victory, but by that time the five Spanish men had already been executed.

> Harry McShane Glasgow

#### AND IN LATIN AMERICA

I was very happy to see your front page devoted to an article on U.S. imperialism in Latin America, when every other radical paper seems to concentrate only on Portugal and Spain these days. It is not that I do not realize how important Portugal is to the international movement, but Latin America is the colony of our country, and yet nobody seems to pay attention to that unless it happens to be the headlines that day. I especially liked the way you linked the Latin American question with the whole question of the Third World and Maoism and OPEC, and, on the other hand, with the struggles of Black, Brown and Red right here at home.

#### Reader . Michigan

The article on Latin America last issue gave me a lot more understanding of where the Latinos I work with are coming from, and how much worse the suffering is if you stay down there, even compared to a New York garment sweat-

shop.

\* \* \*

#### Garment Worker New York

I liked your pamphlet Black, Brown and Red. The Latino part was good because I learned about movements I didn't even know existed, like La Raza Women.

What I liked about the pamphlet was that it was so unbiased. It told you just how it is. If you read the newspaper or watch TV, there are a lot of things they don't let you know about. I was raised in the Latino community, but I really didn't know a lot of things about my culture and about these movements until I joined the Farmworkers and began meeting different people, in the movements. I gave the pamphlet to my father to read because I thought he could really like the section in Spanish.

#### Chicana SW Detroit

### WOMEN'S LIBERATION

It helps us understand how to separate Women's Liberation as a revolutionary force from its distortion into real counterrevolution when you read that two Nazi films directed by Leni Riefenstahl, a close friend of Hitler, were scheduled to be included during a festival in Atlanta to recognize the achievement of women in the arts, because film experts consider her camera techniques "notable". To underline the insult and the absurdity, the festival was billed as a "salute" to the "humanism" in society as portrayed by women artists ! The Southern Office of the Anti-Defamation League demanded the city disclaim its endorsement, but the city refused. Many members of the Jewish community have protested hotly. I wish some of the women's liberation groups in the country could be heard raising **their** voices.

\* \* \*

Indignant Woman Michigan

Felix Martin

I was invited to a Socialist-Feminist meeting where a Black college educated woman who had been active in SNCC in the '60s was called on to give a 15 minute presentation that lasted an hour. Her view seemed to be that if a woman didn't have at least one college degree she couldn't deal with men and the problems facing society. There was another Black college-type woman there from Elkhart, Indiana who had come to Detroit in 1970. She said, "Coming to Detroit from Elkhart and looking for a woman's group is like going to the back-Well, I'm Black and I woods country." lived in Elkhart, too - and believe me, I don't know what neighborhood she lived in, because the only organized group of any kind I ever knew about in Elkhart was the KKK.

How do we help people like that? "Where Do We Go From Here?"

#### \* \*

Detroit

I was excited when I heard about the Detroit Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) meeting that was to be a speakout on the economy. It was the first meeting open to those who didn't have a union card — the unorganized, unemployed and those on welfare. But, after they started (almost an hour late), the same old speakers spoke first. Selma Goode, who is not on welfare, spoke for welfare rights; and Olga Madar told us what we should talk about for the next few hours.

Then I expected it to be open to the floor. No ! Twelve pre-selected speakers were told to come to the front to speak for five minutes each, after which the panel would get to talk over the testimony, after which the floor would be open to "questions." Finally one of the women who planned the speak-out spoke up and said that they had planned it to be open to all. The chairwoman agreed but by that time many had left.

Reader

Co-Editor

To me what was the most disturbing was the lack of any rank and file women — organized or unorganized. There couldn't have been more than ten. I am just afraid that the union bureaucracy has such a death grip on CLUW that it will never be the kind of organization that can mobilize **all** working women and poor women. We will have to do that ourselves.

\* \* \*

#### Feminist Detroit

#### To my beautiful supporters — I get a new trial ! I am so happy. I received word by phone at 3 PM today and I cannot describe how ecstatic I was. It'll be easy for me now because I am so confident. However, there is still the need of funds to pay attorney fees, so the work is not over. Any suggestions? Be free to drop me a line. And if you wish any material let me know. May Grandfather Great Spirit smile on you always and protect you from the offending forces.

Yvonne Wanrow Yvonne's Indian Legal Defense Comm. P.O. Box 49

### Inchelium, Wash. 99138

### FROM AN IMPRISONED CITIZEN

Thank you for the literature I sent for. Your pamphlet called American Civilization on Trial was mean, to say the least, but what really blew my mind was your booklet entitled "Dialectics of Liberation." I feel as though you people of the Left are taking care of business for me while I am in here, unable to help you. Thank you for helping me get my head in order.

Black Prisoner Pennsylvania

### TWO WORLDS

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

Recently I talked to some high school classes and also sat in on an informal conference of high school youth in Detroit who came from schools ranging from the educationally "most favored," like Cass, to the "least favored," like Highland Park. They had been involved in everything from mass walkouts to individual disputes with teachers who supervised the type of articles the youth had dared write. They raised the whole question of desegregated education — which was suddenly being called, not following the law of the land, 21 years too late, but "forced busing" and "reverse discrimination." Yet, while all adults in the education field of high

Yet, while all adults in the education field of high school youth seemed to discuss nothing but busing, the youth were preoccupied with the latest and hardest manifestation of totalitarianism: ID CARDS.

### YOUTH KNOW RACISM IN U.S.

This was not due to any delusions about how much of the very warp and woof of America is racism - from that racist occupying the White House to the lowliest student in South Boston, egged on by the neo-fascist Councilwoman Hicks. On the contrary, some had made the bus trip to South Boston to participate in the struggle against those fighting to establish white supremacy in what, as far back as 150 years ago, was the citadel of Abolitionism. Rather, it was due to the maturity of the 1970s, as against the more famous 1960s when college students thought they were being made aliens in their own society by being computerized. Later, it was not just that they had no personal identity, but were numbers on a card. By the 1970s the high school youth were saying that, as persons, they were not just alienated, but reified, that is to say, made into things, things with pictures on them to identify living persons and tags to specify home and phone and list of courses. They felt just like prisoners, with ID cards as in fascist and totalitarian countries, who are allowed no travel abroad, no travel from country to city, or from job to job - or, like them, from school to school.

They saw little distinction between those high schools

### NEWS & LETTERS

## Youth ID cards vs. youth passion for freedom

like Highland Park where the teachers cared absolutely nothing about you once they took the roll call, taught you nothing, and gave you a passing mark just so they would not have to face you twice in the same grade, and a school like Cass that was proud of its "high standards" in what they called education, but where students felt teachers often just talked "at" them.

### "OBJECTIVITY", ID CARDS, BRAINWASHING

One student from another school related the story of an argument with an administrator because she had been courageous enough to describe a bus trip to South Boston. One would think she had just committed the most "subversive" act against the government if one were to judge by her teacher's outburst. He finally came up with the word, "subjective." The report, according to him, was not "objective."

What she wanted to know was: who was the judge of what was "subjective" and what was "objective" in a description of a demonstration — the participant in it, or the man on high sitting either in Washington, D.C., or in Detroit, Mich.? Wasn't there a division within subjective, between her story and his judgment? And wasn't there as "great a divide" between what, objectively, happened, depending on which side of the police lines you were standing? What is "observing"? What is acting?

The discussion then moved back to ID cards. At first, the reason for the introduction of ID cards was supposed to be for the protection of the students against the "criminal elements" who were preying on the students. To keep "the criminal elements" out of school, you were to have an identity card with you on entering the school. Now, you were to wear them in school and any one at all could take information from it, or memorize it, or whatever.

The point was that there is no privacy left whatever. You are not the one who decides anything; the authorities decide everything. You are made to feel a prisoner because that is what you ARE. Was there any difference between this "democracy" and the police state?

It was at this point that the whole question of brainwashing came up as it related to war situations, especially in the Korean War which by no accident, preceded the Supreme Court decision finally to recognize that "separate but equal" has been the lie of American education ever since the counter-revolution of the Bourbon South against the Civil War and Black Reconstruction. It was at this point also that the question moved to a philosophy of freedom, Marx's Humanism and the adventures of Hegelian dialectics. Because it is necessary to restate it in both the old and new context, here is an excerpt from a lecture I gave several years ago:

PAGE 5

(Continued on page 7)

#### WHO WE ARE

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

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



### NEW HARASSMENT

They are already using the recent assassination attempts on Gerald Ford to start up some new harassment of the Left. During Ford's recent visit to Stanford, police were using a telephoto lens to photograph anti-Ford demonstrators at the very moment Ford was supposedly criticizing government violation of personal privacy. Other police were searching, without warrants of course, the house where some of the demonstration organizers lived. Here we go again! Student

California

### HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

One of the reasons that kids aren't out protesting today like they were a few years ago is that the schools were forced to give in on many things. Dress codes, hair regulations, rules about smoking, - a lot of the petty harassment is etc. over with. Also, the teachers don't try to indoctrinate you like they used to. Our history teacher tells you different sides to a question and then tells us to make up our own minds. The way kids treat each other has changed, too. Each one has more freedom to be an individual than before. There are still cliques, but not like before.

But grades and College Board scores have been declining sharply in my school for several years. This is a sign of how disgusted many students are with the educational system and the "rewards" of success. All the mass media who say how quiet we are compared to our older brothers and sisters miss the point. If an issue like Vietnam came up again, we'd be out in the streets, too.

High School Senior New Jersey

\*

Recently the TV and newspapers have been reporting every fight at my school, Southwestern H.S. This is because the ninth grade at Wilson J.H.S. was moved over here to increase the number of white students and make the school more

\* \*

integrated. There are police and reporters everywhere.

I was arguing about somthing with my girl friend (she is Black, I am white) and this security guard runs up to us and says: "Are you going to fight?" I said, "Why? Do you want us to?" Now we are inking shout it call the

Now we are joking about it all the time, pretending to yell at each other so the guards come running. They think everything you do is going to be a race riot. It would be a lot better if they just left us alone.

#### Southwestern Student Detroit

### HOSPITAL WORKERS

I was very interested in the letters from hospital workers last issue, because there is a big fight going on at the VA hospital in the Detroit area, where veterans and hospital workers are uniting against the incredibly bad conditions for both. Patients and hospital workers put on a demonstration on Sept. 6 right in front of the hospital entrance. One patient came carrying his intravenous stand, and others were there in wheel chairs. The worsening conditions in the hospital are the result of more and more cutbacks in the staff, making one person do the work of two at the expense of the patients. (There was a write up with pictures in the October issue of the VVAW paper The Veteran, if your readers are interested in sending 25 cents for a copy to VVAW, 837 W. Newport, Chicago, Ill. 60657.)

### Veteran

#### Detroit

### ANTI-SEMITISM

"Big Daddy" Amin, the dictator who idolizes Hitler and is erecting a statue to him, was given the opportunity to speak to the UN General Assembly and to the world. The words were Hitler's but the anti-Semitism was a continuation of over 5000 years of history. His plea to Americans to rid the country of Jews was a repeat of what Hitler said in the 1930s. That this could have been stated so openly in 1975 proves again how little we have progressed toward a new Humanism in this society, and gives even further urgency to what the multitudes are thinking and doing to create a new society. Anti-Semitism in the white or Black skin will not bring freedom for **anyone**.

> Activist Detroit

### MAOISM

Your discussions of Maoism are of particular interest to me. I have lost several of my Nigerian comrades to Maoism. I think that, among Blacks, gravitation to Maoism is a reaction to racism. Without seeing the economic roots of racism, they see white society as racist and the only sizeable, left-talking, nonwhite society around is China. Like Stalinists of the early '30s, they have "explanations" for every twist and turn of the Chinese bureaucrats. These shameless bureaucrats are now running around Europe encouraging everyone to remain in NATO. They have gone out of their way to cultivate the most anti-communist conservative leaders in Europe. It is frightening.

> African Student Canada

### NEW YORK CRISIS

The capitalists are saying New York is "broke" and the poor and working class will have to tighten their belts. They say it's because N.Y. has been too "kind" to the poor. If this is true, why does New York have the worst slums of any American city?

A lot of taxes might have been spent on social programs, but most of it went from the workers' paychecks right into the pockets of the slumlords who charge \$200 per month and up for housing unfit for human habitation. On top of that, most of the landlords don't even pay their taxes, claiming they're "broke."

The City Treasury might be broke, but the banks and the landlords aren't, except for the little ones who are getting gobbled up by the big ones.

Taxi Driver New York

### TAXPAYERS VS. THE IRS

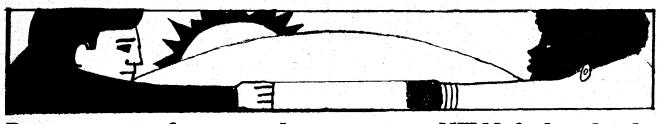
It made the news last January when the IRS seized the house in Ohio where Ernest and Marian Bromley had lived for 25 years (and sold it at auction in May for \$25,100), in an attempt to squelch the War Tax Resistance Movement. It didn't make the news on Aug. 29 when the IRS, for the first time anyone is aware, returned the confiscated property. What I consider most important of all, is that their group, The Peacemaker Movement, says that after all the effort they poured into bringing about the reversal against themselves, they are "more concerned than ever about the continuing jeopardy to other political activists." They insist that the IRS notify all the other 11,000 individuals and groups on the Special Services Staff list that was set up in 1969 to investigate the tax status of "ideological organizations." And they demand that all politicallyoriented material be purged from IRS files. This small victory shows how much more work there is to do.

#### Peacemaker Ohio

I sent the following questions to the IRS, but my letter has never been answered. I wish public pressure would force an answer — or better yet, a collection.

- 1. Does the President of the United States receive his salary in the form of a bimonthly government paycheck with his taxes, insurance, retirement and CFC payments, etc., automatically deducted?
- 2. Why hasn't former President Richard Nixon been forced by the IRS to pay his tax debt after he was exposed for unlawful income tax evasion? And,
- 3. Is there a Statute of Limitations now in existence which could eventually free Nixon from having to pay his tax debt?

It seems that the IRS has conveniently forgotten about collecting the bill. Other public servants and U.S. citizens are regularly tapped for taxes and are paying through the nose while "Richard's" 1969 tax debt still remains outstanding. No way are we going to forget that.



## **Pressure on farm workers grows: UFW fights back**

Oakland, Calif.-The letter-writing campaign that the United Farm Workers Union (UFW) has instituted to Governor Brown to fire the General Counsel of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB), Walter Kintz, apparently has been having some effect in making the ALRB crack down on unfair labor practices by growers in the fields.

The Board has fired four regional heads who were either pro-grower or incompetent, and has set up a special investigating force to prosecute violators of the new secret ballot elections law.

The pressure in the fields on workers to vote against the UFW is tremendous. One UFW organizer in Santa Maria explains it this way. "There are two kinds of

### ACK-RED VIEW 10 years reflect last 200

By John Alan

The United States is approaching its Bicentennial with a mood of uncertainty about the future in this period of high unemployment, inflation, and the continuing world-wide crises of capitalism. To grasp possible future eventualities, it may be a good idea, instead of looking at the entire expanse of the 200-year history of this country, to focus on a smaller segment of time, the decade between 1965 to 1975.

#### **NEW CONSCIOUSNESS**

The Black mass movement struggle for freedom and equality - which has been ceaseless and is the touchstone of all U.S. development - reached its greatest maturity during the 1960s. It moved from protest to rebellion, thereby bringing a new self-consciousness to Black people which questioned the ability of American capitalism to resolve 200 years of racial oppression.

In the wake of the Black movement came the student protest against the multiversities, demanding the right to freedom for their tongues and for their heads. For such presumption students suffered beatings and jailings. But this crass, senseless brutality failed to stem the tide of growing protest.

Even more important was that students were able to universalize their plight on the campuses. The previous year (1964) many white students had gone South to participate in the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project. There they experienced Southern racism in all its naked brutality, attempting to quell the Black movement as it struggled to achieve freedom and human dignity.

Although the majority of white students are a privileged element within American society, the persistent dynamics of the Black struggle revealed to them that their position was sharply curtailed by the bureaucratic university administrators. This new consciousness reached its highest point in the Free Speech Movement on the Berkeley Campus.

At that time, all elements of the Black Movement eagerly supported the Berkeley students and identified with their cause as their own, demanding that the "Bill of Rights" include both Mississippi and the University of California.

It was this spontaneous unity between the Black Revolution and the student revolts, and the spirit of freedom which it engendered, that made many events possible, including the massive anti-Vietnam War Movement which finally helped force the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam.

**COUNTER-REVOLUTION: INSIDE AND OUT** What is yet to be clearly understood is why this unity didn't last the decade. It was split asunder by counterrevolution that developed both inside and outside of the Movement. The outside counter-revolution we know too well - Nixon-Fordism that makes a virtue of antiusing, builds mythical isions of mounting we as a conspiracy by the poor and unemployed, and blames the victims of capitalism instead of the capitalist system. The inside counter-revolution was more subtle because it was able to substitute elitism of leadership for the mass movement, as the self-appointed leadership sought to replace the philosophy of freedom the masses were striving for with its own ego.

But the Black struggle cannot be relegated to the back-alleys of the mind as long as racism, unemployment, bad housing, and the vast number of inequities that Blacks face every day persist.

In the coming decade unity between Blacks, students, workers and women can reforge a challenge against the continuing crises of U.S. capitalism, if it learns the lessons of the past 200 years and especially the past decade and refuses to separate what our age demands be unified: philosophy and revolution.

votes: a free vote and a fear vote. Fear of the grower, lack of a job, fear of the future, fear that some crewman will finger you as a Chavista - this is a life-changing struggle within each worker.

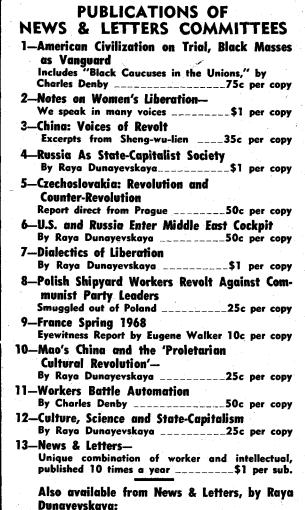
"Every worker who makes the decision to vote UFW does so with very little confidence in the law. He has seen the law violated when growers threaten workers, and knows the Board agents have instinctively turned to growers to arrange the details of the voting. They are lazy liberals and ignorant bureaucrats, and they must go!'

Even the Los Angeles Times has found non-compliance with the law by growers: foremen and Teamsters threatening workers with guns; UFW supporters fired before elections; growers stacking payroll lists with nonworkers; transportation to polling places on company buses with warnings from supervisors of "dire results" if the UFW wins.

They can disregard the law because they know that it will take years before any unfair labor practice is finally proved in the courts. Some Teamster representative have even attacked and beaten two of the Labor Board members, Bishop Mahoney and Leroy Chatfield.

The workers and UFW aren't taking all this lying down, however. The union has initiated a massive letterwriting campaign to Governor Brown to get the Labor Board moving against the more than 200 charges of unfair labor practices at ranches. The workers are still voting for the UFW to put the union ahead of the Teamsters in the number of elections won. And, of course, the union is still pushing the boycotts as a strong weapon against the growers.

-Chris Norwell



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from Black movement

By Shainape Schapwe

What I want to write about isn't something that has made news headlines, but it can be as harmful to the movement as some of the FBI's activities have been. I'm talking about racism. I don't mean the hatred we feel toward the white man's racism and oppression.

I was talking to an Indian friend about busing. He said that he felt that if Indians could send their children to school with white kids then they couldn't object to sending them with Black kids. What a slap in the face! He was laughing as he said it, but it struck me as a completely negative attitude. He's ignoring the whole history of Black people in the U.S.

Another Indian acquaintance of mine wrote that life in South Dakota is much worse than life was in Mississippi in the 1950s before the Civil Rights Movement. She admitted, though, that she'd never been in Mississippi at that time.

Some people feel, and that includes members of my family, that Native Americans have their own culture and life style, and that if we learn to live the traditional way we will be doing enough to keep the movement alive. That's not enough. Learning the culture is an important part of the movement, but it is not the entire movement. It shouldn't keep us from sharing our experiences with other oppressed people.

One of the main objectives of the American Indian Movement is to set up Indian Survival Schools all over the country. One of the main speakers at the fifth annual AIM Convention at White Earth, Minn., was a man who worked for the Federal Government. He explained how to get federal money to set up these schools.

Why didn't they get someone who had helped set up the Black Freedom Schools in Mississippi during the Civil Rights Movement? They were started to teach people how to survive then. They didn't use government funding. They used their own initiative to make these schools work. It would have been so much better to talk to people who knew what white oppression is and who have had experience resisting it.

When I was a teenager, Robert Burnette, who was then in South Dakota, encouraged Indians to take part in the Civil Rights Movement. It was at his suggestion that some of us took part in the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955. He felt that we could learn from the Black Movement. He was right.

I don't mean that we always have to agree with each other, but we can learn from each other's experiences. Exchanging ideas and taking part in activities can strengthen both movements. Black support at Wounded Knee and Indian support at Montgomery are examples.

### 'Grim experience' for Black Gl stationed in Canal Zone

(In response to last month's lead article on Latin America, we received this story from a GM worker-Ed.)

Detroit, Mich. - My encounters in the Panama Canal Zone were very grim experiences. We never knew what to expect. When the alert phone rang, the only thing we knew was to be ready whatever the cause was.

When I arrived in Panama in 1967 I didn't know much about the military, but I assure you that it didn't take long. The Southern Command is one of the most racist outfits anywhere. I decided to learn the Code of Military Justice to protect myself, because I witnessed Black men being stripped of rank for no reason at all.

There was only one Black commissioned officer and one non-commissioned officer in the whole battalion. But even they couldn't be trusted. All they cared about was promotion. If they had to spit in the Black trooper's face to get more rank, they would do just that.

I found the Panamanians had a lot of dislike toward Americans. I coudn't figure out why.

Finally one day our platoon leaders told us about the political uprising that took place in 1964 which left 20 anamanians dead and a couple of Americans dead from the 193rd Brigade, the brigade I was in.

I asked people a lot of questions and found out that the Panamanians wanted to fly their flag in the Zone, and the USA was willing to kill them to stop it. The crowd was shot down with 50 caliber machine guns. You can still see where it happened.

Every year the Panamanians remember this day of killings. That time of year everything was off limits to Americans. Nobody could go downtown. Everybody was restricted to post until things were quiet.

In the Panama Canal I learned that you can have a Vietnam in Latin America. The commanders are always afraid of a guerrilla scare, and when one comes, they send you out to dig foxholes. A lot of the soldiers don't know about how the U.S. stole the Panama Canal Zone to begin with. But if the U.S. doesn't leave, they will find out fast, because there will be guerrilla war.

### **NEWS & LETTERS**

## Highland Park students walk out for education

Highland Park, Mich.—The walkout at Highland Park High School on Sept. 24 took place the day after we met with the school board in the high school auditorium. There were about 600 students in the auditorium, as well as parents supporting the walk-out.

The meeting started at 8 p.m., and by the time they got around to answering questions, it was 11 p.m. There were only two questions answered when half the people left. So we decided since they weren't going to listen, we had to put on some kind of pressure and walk out.

On Monday, Sept. 22 English teachers and students had got together at an assembly and talked about how the school board has cheated us.

The school board found out they had a deficit they didn't know about, and so, they're trying to cut costs by laying off teachers who don't have any seniority.

The administration threw in a lot of teachers that don't know about the subjects. And they say they are going to leave them until they get a regular teacher so students can have somebody to report to when they get

### **Cass students oppose ID's** Detroit, Mich. — There is now at Cass Tech High School the probability that the students are going to have

Detroit, Mich. — There is now at Cass Tech High School the probability that the students are going to have to wear their ID cards pinned on their clothes. My homeroom teacher has already gone through the process of punching holes in all cards for the pins.

At present every Cass student is supposed to have an ID card. Why can't we just continue to be asked to show them if necessary? The administration might as well just give us all striped outfits with numbers on them. We could put them on when we come into school and take them off when we leave.

One of my friends said she suddenly realized why the new windows Cass got over the summer do not open except for a little panel at the bottom: "They're probably going to put bars on them."

There have been petitions passed around in classes against wearing ID cards (unanimously signed), and it has become one of the most important issues we have been discussing.

One entire period of my Government class was devoted to the subject. Everyone was opposed to the idea, and some students said they would not only throw the pins away, but if they were reprimanded would have a sit-down. They figure that the school can't expel everyone for not wearing their cards because they would surely have an empty school. —— Cass Tech student

## Racism threatens to divide new CUNY student coalition

New York, N.Y. — The outbursts of student anger over budget cutbacks in the City University look promising, but already on my campus racism has entered into the developing student struggle, and threatens to render it a stillbirth.

About a month ago, when a city-wide walkout and rally was called, buses were rented to leave from my campus (Queens College), and before they were scheduled to depart about 400 Black and Spanish students in the SEEK Program marched through campus encouraging students to leave classes and attend the rally.

By the time they got to the parking lot, the buses were already pulling out, although they were half empty. The Black and Spanish students demanded that no buses leave until everyone was assured a seat.

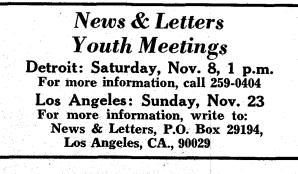
It didn't take long for racist remarks to be heard on campus about how the SEEK students "attacked" the white students on the buses. The next week one of the campus newspapers that supported the demonstration published an outrageous racist cartoon implying that Black students in CUNY's Open Admissions program were expendible.

While this has been going on, students and faculty at Queens are trying to organize an on-going coalition to fight all cutbacks. However, one Black student said, "Black and Spanish students know what these cuts mean, and we're ready to fight them. But a lot of my friends won't join a coalition until it's proved itself.

"We've gone out and built struggles over and over, only to see them taken over by people who don't care about us afterwards. We want to be sure this coalition is different before we join it."

Too many struggles in the past ignored racism only to fall apart later. The student actions at CUNY will go nowhere unless we work out relations totally in opposition to the poison of racism.

---CUNY student



to class. So we have gym teachers for science and music teachers for English.

By the time you get out of the class the whole year is gone. You've had a substitute teacher, and you know nothing about the subject.

Year after year courses are taken off the curriculum, and we're fighting to get a lot of our courses back. At Highland Park we have trigonometry, but they cut out our calculus class. Yet there's a minimum of students taking the trigonometry class; that's mainly because of the way they have it on the schedule, along with High School Math and things like that. High School Math can be equivalent to 7th or 8th grade math.

If Highland Park schools were very good scholastically ten years ago, it was because then there were more whites. When it started becoming Black and there were still a lot of white members on the school board, the students wanted change. We wanted more Black members. We got some.

Things still haven't changed. Now it's up to the students to sock it to 'em and get not only what we want, but what we need.

This year they are doing the scheduling by computer. It's supposed to be easier on the counselors; they say give it a chance, but a lot of times when a student is supposed to have six courses, only four will be on the schedule. And that means going to night school to make up the courses needed to graduate.

We might not be able to do anything about it, but I'm quite sure we can. I think you can do anything you want if you put your mind to it. My mind is to this, and so is everyone else's mind to it.

One teacher was brought back, after the first day we were out, though the board claims that our protest wasn't responsible. We decided to go back to classes by Monday, Sept. 29, but also to press for our demands.

### **Unemployed youth picket Ford**

Detroit, Mich.—On Sept. 10, about 60 high school and unemployed youth demonstrated outside of Cobo Hall where, inside, President Ford was attending a \$100 per plate Republican Party fund-raiser. One organization demonstrating outside was the Youth Caucus which was there to protest the alarming rate of unemployment among the young, especially in Detroit.

The Youth Caucus wants Congress to pass the Hawkins Bill which has been pending since 1970. It would provide jobs for high school students 16 to 18-years-old for 36 hours per week at union wages and jobs for unemployed youths 18 to 25-years-old for 40 to 50 hours per week, also at union wages.

One Youth Caucus member, who is a high school student, said about several congressmen: "They say, 'I'm going to do it,' but then they turn around and say, 'You're crazy. I'm not going to do anything. Why should I? Youth are nothing to me'."

At least Ford, GM, and Chrysler used to have a program for high school students after school hours. They trained them in computers, auto parts and things like that. But they shut down the program in '64 after someone got hurt. Then they filled the jobs with 25 to 30-year-old workers.

Besides pushing the bill, the Youth Caucus also wants to have Detroit declared a disaster area due to the severity of the unemployment. — Unemployed youth

## **Racial tensions at Van Nuys HS**

Los Angeles, Cal. — The racial fights that broke out at Van Nuys High School on Oct. 8 remind me of the fights that happened at my school in Palm Springs a while ago.

At Van Nuys, one youth said that there was general hostility brewing between the whites and Chicanos. It finally broke out at noon, with gangs of Blacks and Chicanos and gangs of whites going after each other. The police only arrested the Blacks and Chicanos, though, and seemed to let the whites alone.

At my school the fights occurred during Black History Week when a Black youth club set up white tents to hold their exhibits for the week. Some white students came and poured black paint on the tents, and the fighting started.

Later the principal, who had tried to limit the activities of the Black club, set up a meeting between Blacks and whites "to work out problems," but what he really wanted was everyone to remember that the fighting was between Blacks and whites.

He blamed the fights on "outside agitators," but the fact is there's tension within the school. If we don't get together, then we'll be doing just what they want us to do — fighting each other.

- Palm Springs high school student

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Detroit N&L Youth Committee 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207

## Youth: new questions, activity

#### By Jim Mills

In two different controversies reported on this page, Detroit area high school students are going beyond the narrow limits set by educational experts who say youth are returning to traditional values and by the leftists who say students need party organization to succeed.

One struggle is at Cass Tech where students are discussing how they will actively resist wearing ID cards. (See "Cass students oppose ID's.").

Whereas the Free Speech Movement brought alienation into the vocabulary of students fighting either for freedom of expression or civil rights — the "identity crisis" of a generation springing from that — the Cass students would just as soon NOT be identified, if it is by a police state apparatus.

In the 50's and very early 60's, before the Youth revolt was recognized as a force making history, the movement was obscured by "expert" observations of the "end of ideology."

And meanwhile, Black youth were propelling the Montgomery Bus Boycott, making freedom rides and sitting-in as they continued the unfinished revolution for freedom against an American way of life — racism.

The resurgence of youth activism which ceased at the end of the Vietnam war is not alone what we're looking for. Because a new level of questioning is transpiring, it is no accident that deeper levels of youth are raising the questions — the high school youth.

Unlike the supposedly more politically sophisticated college youth who might hang the question of their own freedom on the farmworkers' movement, the high school youth make the reason in their revolts cogent by not separating their freedom from what they want to change.

The walk-out by Highland Park High School students (See "Highland Park walkout") is the other event where new voices are raising new questions.

The students organized themselves. Their own way of finding out what the educators were NOT providing was also the way they planned how they would tell and act on what they knew. They used the English classes, required for everyone, to discuss their problems and actions. And they started with the Black Literature class.

This kind of self-activity is emanating from youth whose ideas are very closely checked at home, during a time when the ideas of youth — like wanting to get something out of integrated education — are denied selfexpression by racist parents and the government.

Their thinking is not separated from what they want to change because they are educating the educators in order **not** to be forgotten, even if the Civil Rights struggles and the city riots have been.



### (Continued from page 5)

THE EDUCATORS MUST BE EDUCATED That academic tradition that operates on the assumption that the generation that could understand Hegel's **Phenomenology of Mind** has died, cannot help the youth of our epoch grasp the grandeur of the vision of the most encyclopaedic mind of Europe who wrote:

"Within the short span of man's own life an individual must learn the whole long journey of mankind. This is possible only because the universal mind is operative in every individual mind and is the very substance of it."

It would seem that if you, we, everyone have to learn all of civilization in one's own lifetime, and that be but the preliminary for adding his/her own dimension to future mankind's history, then it would look like we all had to be geniuses. Not so, says Hegel. We have the advantage of living in an age where "what in former days occupied the energies of man of mature mental ability, sinks to the level of information. In this educational progress we can see the history of the world's civilization delineated in faint outline."

And indeed, what schoolboy doesn't know more about geography than Columbus did when he discovered America? What about the law of gravity? You can name thousands more of such examples. Good, so we start on a pretty high level — and the youth particularly have absorbed in them 5,000 years of Western Civilization by just being born today.

It is true that Hegel himself threw a mystical veil over his philosophy by treating it as a closed ontological system, but he also warned against those who become the self-styled "representatives" of a philosophical work who, he said, "are like the dead burying the dead." He put his own faith in the public instead, not alone because of its modesty but because, "it is the nature of truth to force its way to recognition when the time comes."

That the time is NOW is heralded by the fact that we are the ones who live in what I call the age of absolutes — on the threshold of absolute freedom out of the struggle against absolute tyranny.

If the high school students have now reached such a crucial point (and I am sure we have) in their specific fights against ID cards and segregated, racist education, and for freedom not alone in education but in life, then it is we who can both best understand Marx's statement that "the educators must first be educated," and make the idea of freedom a reality. We do, indeed, live in an age which has erased the distinction between theory and practice.

### OUR LIFE AND TIMES

### By Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

# Anti-Semitism is new focus of Communist, fascist and Arab amalgam

The United Nations Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee confirmed a new direction of imperialism when it passed a resolution declaring "that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination."

This blatant anti-Semitic act, supported by an unholy amalgamation of Arab, Communist, fascist and some Black nations, was spearheaded by the Arab states who used their oil leverage to gather votes.

A high official of the American Mission to the UN claims evidence that Chile's military dictatorship traded support for the resolution in return for a whitewash of the charges against Chile's terrorism and torture against political prisoners in that country. The charges against Chile will be heard before the same committee that condemned Israel.

Five African nations refused to go along with

### South Africa and Youth

There has been an outpouring of protest, primarily among the student youth in South Africa, Black and white, against the government's accelerated political repression. The repression began a year ago with the arrest of nine Blacks at a demonstration in support of Frelimo, the national liberation army that defeated Portugal in neighboring Mozambique. Those nine are now on trial for their lives.

Under a so-called "Terrorism Act," which gives the government the right to detain anyone indefinitely without access to lawyers or family, Vorster has been arresting mostly student leaders, including seven members of the South African Students Organization, a militant Black group.

He also arrested 14 members of the South African Student Movement and the past and present leaders of the interracial National Union of South African Students. One member of parliament estimated that there were 68 arrests in all. Among them is Breyten Breytenbach, a well-known Afrikaaner poet who has spoken out against the apartheid system.

The arrests have brought out even more opposition, including a protest meeting at Witwatersrand University of 1,500 students, several hundred of whom braved the police in a "victory through unity" demonstration in the street. the Arab resolution, but a number of the Latin American military dictatorships voted for it.

The U.S. ranted about how "Latin America deserted us," especially Chile—the very tortureregime the U.S. installed as it did everything to undermine Allende whom the Chilean people desired. But the sadder truth is the sheer opportunist vote of the African countries that had won their liberation from imperialism and Arab slavery. Whether it be oil, or the desire for help for the fight against South Africa apartheid, the damning truth is that they themselves have moved away from their own masses; in place of revolutionary means, they stoop to the oldest racism: anti-Semitism.

By no accident whatever, Russian Communism and its satellites (where anti-Semitism is still rampant), as well as the alleged opposite, Maoist Communism (that is trying to buy its way to the "Third World"), are transforming the very concept of so-

What is foremost to the Vorster regime, whether it is expressed as detente with Black African leaders or the new level of repression at home, is the preservation of this apartheid police state.

The result, however, has been a deepening of the revolt of the South African youth that has shaken this whole country. It even has the reactionary Afrikaans paper, **Die Vaderland**, saying the new policy of detention without trial "is becoming increasingly difficult to defend."

### Thailand

Tens of thousands of students and workers marched through downtown Bangkok on Oct. 14, celebrating the second anniversary of the overthrow of the military dictatorship. In Thailand's present state of crisis it wasn't as much a remembrance of things past as it was a warning to the present government.

The government of Premier Kukrit Pramoj has done little to alleviate the plight of the rice farmers who, though they are the backbone of this country's economy, are piling debts upon debts. They have to both rent the land and buy materials, which the crops never bring in enough to pay for.

As against this government being locked in official corruption and ignoring any enforcement of laws against exorbitant interest rates the farmers must pay, the farmers have been demonstrating their total opposition and independence by rioting in northcialism into its absolute opposite: chauvinism. Just listen to new "radicals" like the Syrian delegate, Moufflak Allaf, talk of "the so-called Jewish people" and then have the gall to say that it is "only" Zionism, not the Jews that the Communists oppose.

No, the truth is that the vote of the 70 on that resolution of opposition to Zionism is the new form of anti-Semitism. Just as the UN intervention in the Congo in 1960 exposed a new form of imperialist struggle between the two nuclear titans, Russia and the U.S., so the UN in the 1970s, when the Arab kingdoms, sheikdoms, emirates and "radicals" are using it as their platform, exposes the Sino-Soviet conflict to be for new reactionary nationalisms. The UN today continues to reflect Lenin's designation of its old form, League of Nations, to be nothing but a "thieves' kitchen" for the redivision of the world in the same old exploiters' hands, against their own masses.

ern towns and marching in Bangkok.

What is clear is that only a full mass movement in Thailand can make the ideas in the 1973 student uprising a reality.



Shanghai radio reported on Sept. 19 that Red Army troops were called in to help move goods in the Port of Shanghai, several railroad depots, a steelworks and several glass plants. They bragged about moving no less than 600,000 tons of goods, including 46,000 bottles of beer, without a single bottle broken. Bravo!

As usual, Radio Shanghai does not bother to explain the strikes on the docks, railroads, steelworks and glass plants that made this strikebreaking activity of the Red Army necessary. Neither did it explain anything during the recent strikes in the nearby City of Hangchow in which 11,000 troops were employed in 13 factories to show the workers the way.

The success of combatting worker unrest under Mao is faithfully reported, but the cause of the unrest remains a divine mystery. American workers, however, who have had troops and police used against their strikes for many years understand this problem very well.

Only one mystery remains: why was it so important to move 46,000 bottles of beer out of harm's way?

## Worldwide revolutionary youth challenge fascist and capitalist repression

(Continued from page 1) ing to reduce the student body and the teaching staff. If the students of the City University feel victimized, how must the hundreds of thousands of New York youth feel who have not made it to college by any route? If they are lucky enough to catch a job, it could be in one of the thousands of small manufacturing or garment shops that pepper New York. Often the conditions in the organized shops are as bad as in the unorganized shops. The pay is low, and the restroom and lunchroom facilites are minimal or non-existent.

#### **DISCRIMINATION AND LOW PAY**

Conditions are kept bad because the bosses have a tremendous labor pool from which to pick and choose. Most discriminated against in this recession are the Black youth and even worse off the Hispanic youth, with unemployment rates of 35 to 40 percent. The U.S. Immigration Service estimates that there are about two million people in the New York metropolitan area that have illegally entered the country, mostly from the Caribbean and Latin American countries, who for the most part fled improverishment and hunger in their own imperialist-ravaged countries in the hope of finding something better in the heart of the monster. They live in daily fear of deportation.

The undercurrent of workers' revolt and youth rebellion against segregated and deformed education is rooted in the worldwide crisis of capitalism. It is not only the fight against budget cuts that is involved but the whole question of education by whom, for whom and for what. (See Two Worlds, p. 5 and youth stories p. 7.) So deep is the crisis and the revolt against it, that by now there is hardly any distinction between what is "merely cultural" and what is "truly revolutionary." Take the women's movement. It is difficult to separate the Women's Liberation question from the youth; SDS at Columbia was deepened by the revolt of the women.

At root is the phoney separation between thinking and activity. On the one hand we see three generations on welfare, and on the other hand, PhDs walking the streets after 15 years in college, having exhausted life as students. One Black worker said, "On my job there are at least three PhDs, 12 with Masters degrees, and other college grads. All of them are doing what anyone who can read and write could do. The ones still in school are mainly concerned with jobs after graduation. Ghetto kids I talk with are 16 and 17 when arrested and tell me they've been out of school a long time. They support themselves by 'hustling'. Working class kids with two or three years of college are disgusted, too. Others are laying out a lot of money for technical schools that turn out to be swindles. Meanwhile fights between Blacks and whites continue all over the country."

### **REVOLTS ARE NEW BEGINNINGS**

The revolts against these alienating, racist, exploitative, sexist conditions are but the beginnings. They will deepen in the fight against the Gerald Ford-led segregationist, anti-busing freaks who veil their hostility to Blacks with talk of "quality education" and preservation of the "neighborhood school"—provided there are no Blacks in the neighborhood.

Moreover, these beginnings here are not another



world separate from the mass demonstrations against Spanish fascism or French capitalism. On the contrary, all the rebels are following most closely such outright revolutions as the one in Portugal, with a view to hewing out new roads for direct confrontation with "democratic" capitalism right at home.

### **Executions shake dictatorship**

(Continued from page 1) rations. The wages of the Spanish workers are among the lowest in all Europe. The only freedom left in Spain

is the freedom of the market. Why now does Franco need to show this display of power, control and repression? Four new factors have developed in the past two years:

1-The assassination of the President of the Government, Carrero Blanco, in 1973, and the increasing contradictions which this caused among the different segments of the ruling class.

2-The increasing power of the political organization of the left, as well as the growing movement of students and neighborhood community groups.

3—The third factor is the political stand taken by the Catholic church against the present regime. During the last ten years, not only the lower levels of the hierarchy of the church but the Bishops have openly criticized many political actions. Signs have also appeared inside the organization of the Army that indicate its unity is no longer so solid.

4—The events in Portugal have increased the instability on the Iberian Peninsula. While the situations of Portugal and Spain are quite different — the Spanish capitalist development is related to the western capitalist economy and not to a colonial base — the mass movement of Portugal has induced hopes on the one side, and fears on the other.

It is from this perspective that it is necessary to understand the so-called "over-reaction" of Europe as claimed by the American media, and the politics of containment that USA is following in the Iberian Peninsula. At the moment that the European protests were at their height, the only other government besides the USA that expressed explicit support to the Franco regime was the military junta of Chile.

<u>— Manuel del Valle</u>