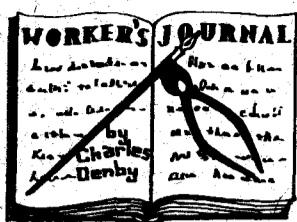


AMERICA'S FIRST GENERAL STRIKE: ST. LOUIS, 1877—PP. 6-7



Carter drops promises made in campaign

by Charles Denby, Editor

The American people have witnessed the inauguration of their 39th President—or 38½ depending on how one wants to count the two years that Ford served. As everyone knows, the new president is a Democrat and many people were expecting some important changes, especially those who gave him their support: labor, the working poor and Blacks. But it seems as though they will be in for a surprise because Carter has gone back on practically all of his campaign promises.

Many Blacks were expecting that President Carter would name some Blacks to his Cabinet, but he has named only one—Patricia Harris. He has two female appointments to Cabinet posts, one white and one Black. I have not heard or read where he has appointed anyone from labor, but there are many Southerners.

OPPOSE BELL APPOINTMENT

The appointment of Griffin Bell to the post of Attorney General has raised a hue and cry among Blacks—especially the NAACP—and the Americans for Democratic Action. They are opposing him for his anti-civil rights rulings as a federal judge.

I think an important lesson to learn is that you cannot believe anything a politician says. I believe the story of a worker in an argument once with a labor leader who was saying that he was a politician, but an honest politician. The worker said that he and a friend were walking by a cemetery when his friend stopped to read an inscription on a gravestone. It said "Here lies the body of John Doe, a politician and an honest man." His friend said if an honest man and a politician is lying there, there has to be two bodies. There is no way it can be one.

The AFL-CIO has already begun its opposition to Carter, saying he has retreated on his promise of economic stimulus. The labor federation specifically opposed Carter's proposed tax cut and rebates, calling instead for direct expenditure of \$30 billion to create an estimated two million jobs.

No president ever made as many campaign promises as Carter, and dropped them even before he was inaugurated. How can so many leaders be fooled so badly?

A worker told me that after he had seen Rev. King, Sr. hugging Carter and asking Blacks to vote for him, he felt he was the right man even after he came out with his ethnic purity remarks. He believed there was no way for Carter to get elected without the support of Blacks and poor whites and labor. It is no surprise that only a small percentage of common people go to the polls to vote. But all these people think they've been had because of Carter renegeing on his promises.

CARTER A RACIST

Many people can see he is a racist because he is closely associated with Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, the new majority leader of the Senate. Byrd opposed extension of the Voting Rights Act and supported Nixon's nomination of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harold Carswell to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Byrd also opposed any change in the Senate seniority system and voted for the Lockheed loan and the super-

(Continued on Page 2)

Self-liberating forces moving decisively in southern Africa

by Robert Ellery

As 1976 came to an end and a new year began, the self-liberating forces of southern Africa, drawing inspiration from one another, moved relentlessly to put an end to centuries of European colonial domination.

In South Africa the slogan "Black is Power" is blazed on walls from Cape Town to Johannesburg, evidence of the continuing struggle against apartheid in the belly of the behemoth.

In Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the main guerrilla force, the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA), stepped up military operations, showing little confidence that majority rule for six million Zimbabwean Blacks would be won from the racist regime of Ian Smith at the conference tables.

In Namibia to the West, SWAPO (South-West African People's Organization) led by Sam Nujoma, refused the conference table of Henry Kissinger and battled on against the de facto incorporation of their homeland by fascist South Africa.

PORTUGUESE REVOLT TURNING POINT

The distinct change in southern Africa came with the victory of FRELIMO in Mozambique in 1974 and the collapse of MPLA in Angola in late 1975. These revolutionaries not only changed the map of Africa, but inspired social revolutions in Europe as well.

Tsietsi Mashinini, the 19-year-old Soweto student leader, at a press conference in New York City in De-

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NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

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Editorial article

IS A NEW WORLD RECESSION COMING?

by Raya Dunayevskaya

National Chairwoman, News & Letters Committees

Even before Jimmy Carter was officially inaugurated President, he managed to violate every major promise he made during the election campaign. From the sharp slap in the face

of the Black vote that elected him — his galling proposal that the racist Georgia judge, Griffin Bell, become Attorney General — to the total retreat on the economic front from his rhetorical full employment promise, there was no stopping the reactionary move backward. His own Secretary of Labor appointee, Ray Marshall, said he "would have opted for a much larger package of public works and housing . . ."

The so-called North-South dialogue — the relationship between the developed and undeveloped countries — has also fallen victim to a new form of commodity fetishism. All it has produced are two new illusory phrases — "commodity power" and "commodity stabilization". Whatever illusions on the question of "commodity power" the OPEC countries have given the Third World with their quintupling of oil prices, namely, that any country can decide for itself the price it places on its commodities, the truth is:

First, sisal and cacao don't have the "power" of that crucial commodity, Oil. Furthermore, in the matter of raw materials, it is not the underdeveloped countries, but U.S. imperialism that would be the greatest profiteer, since it leads in production of vital materials and has the world's greatest agricultural output. Indeed, "the American connection" has long outdistanced all others in capital and military prowess. As against "the French connection" on something as common as crime, it exercises the greatest magnetism for that which is closest to the capitalist's heart — capital investment.

As opposed to the 1950s and early 1960s, when Western Europe attracted Western capitalism with its cheaper labor and U.S. technology, in the 1970s American capital has added a new incentive for world capital: a safe haven for its investments, now that European capital has decided the American proletariat is not as revolutionary as the European workers. As against the oil monopolists who are spending their billions on buying Western technology and military hardware, and whose actual investments in the U.S. are not directed to the capital goods market, West German, French and British capital is. However, so deep is the economic crisis in the U.S. and in the world that such European investment in the U.S. is, likewise, only a palliative.

The decisive failure is that U.S. capital has not expanded its plants and equipment sufficiently; in fact, it is stagnating. Nor is U.S. capital planning to expand, as it complains about the falling rate of profit.

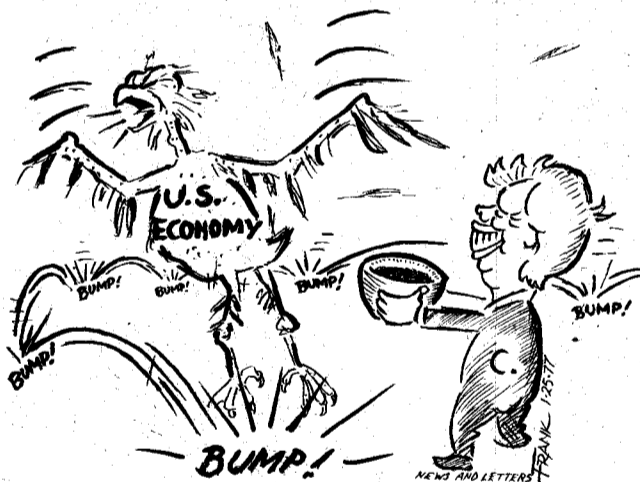
It is here, just here, that Big Business is pressuring the Carter Administration for greater incentives for capital investment rather than the one-shot deal of a tax-cut.

Let us, therefore, turn with sober senses to look at the American economy, and see how worried Big Business and its ideologists are about the so-called "pause" in the alleged economic upturn.

ALIENATED LABOR'S REALITY

Take Lawrence A. Viet, International Economist and Deputy Manager at Brown Brothers, Harriman & Co (not to mention his previous position as economist at the State and Treasury Departments), who openly speaks

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"This bowl of peanut soup will fix ya' right up."

ember, said that he saw no possibility of a peaceful transition to majority rule in South Africa. Mashinini had been president of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), when it led 10,000 students in peaceful protests against instruction in Afrikaans, the language of the oppressor.

Though Mashinini is in exile, the SSRC remains a force to be reckoned with. Over 50 percent of Soweto's 1.2 million residents are under 25, and the population as a whole is reached through the school children.

"This is why," an SSRC source is quoted as saying, "we have been insisting on maximum attendance at school and why the police have been distributing forged leaflets in our name instructing the children to stay away from school."

The power of the Black Consciousness movement resides in the fact that its appeal is so basic that it has cut through previous political and tribal loyalties. It is spurred on by fearless youth in an unorthodox organization led by an unidentifiable leadership.

Even Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, government-approved leader of the 5 million Zulu people, warned that Pretoria's stand against the Black Consciousness movement amounted "to a white commitment to a bloody revolution."

AMERICAN IMPERIALIST GUILE

Despondent over having lost Angola to Russian and Cuban-backed MPLA, Secretary of State Kissinger flew to southern Africa to win what support he could for American imperialism by guile. Powerful reasons, like 350

(Continued on Page 9)

World's oppressed youth spearheading revolutions

by Jim Mills

The growth of unemployment among student and working youth represents a crisis for all capitalist countries. The mass demonstrations in France last year, with unemployed youth chanting "revolution is the solution," typifies the unrest throughout Western Europe, where one-third of those unemployed are under 25.

In the U.S., where teenage joblessness spans even good economic years, 20 percent of the unemployed are 16 to 19 years old, and among them, two-thirds are Black.

The fact is that full employment is impossible under capitalism. Any affirmative action for youth, even for jobs with below subsistence wages, only pits older unemployed and seniority workers against youth.

In Michigan and Detroit, where unemployment of Black teenagers is at 40 percent, the minimum wage requirements exclude youth under 18. Furthermore, California Senator Hayakawa, well-known for crushing campus revolts, has now proposed legalizing child labor. This kind of help for youth unemployment promises even worse exploitation as an alternative.

The fear that a generation of unemployed will be at the root of "riots" and "crime" — euphemisms for youth's rejection of what this society has to offer—is the same fear which makes schools into prisons, with barred doors, hall guards, I.D. cards and the strictest discipline.

On the other hand, revolts in Detroit schools, such as the Mackenzie H.S. sit-ins protesting hall sweeps and the lock-out of students, and the refusal of Western H.S. students to wear I.D. cards, are less visible counterparts to the recent activity of South African youth.

In Soweto, South Africa, the Black youth boycotted final exams last June, despite penalties of losing a year of school, dismissal, and jeopardizing future job prospects. All schools were forced to close then. The Black youth were saying: what opportunity is there in apartheid education when it means perpetuating apartheid society? At the same time, they shaped a Black Consciousness movement by creating their own revolutionary education — reading forbidden books about Black liberation and passing them from hand to hand.

In the U.S., too, what kind of future is offered in

Evans death stirs outrage

New York, N.Y.—The murder of 15-year-old Randolph Evans, a Black ninth grade student at Franklin K. Lane High School in Brooklyn, by white police officer Robert Torsney, created outrage in the Black community.

Evans was gunned down at pointblank range on Thanksgiving evening, in front of many witnesses. The police were forced to arrest Torsney for murder 12 hours later, but he was shortly free on \$20,000 bail.

People from the East New York community picketed by the hundreds outside the police precinct, and fought with police who attacked them. The police even dared to make arrests at the funeral the following week, which over 2,000 attended. Raymond Evans, Randolph's brother, summed up the feeling in the Black community: "The police feel they can burn a Black kid and get away with it. It ain't gonna be that way. We're going to get vengeance, one way or another."

NY taxi drivers halt leasing plan

New York, N.Y.—The opposition of over 1,500 angry drivers at the November union meeting (see N&L, December), has forced the bureaucrats and fleet owners to scrap their proposal to lease cabs, at least for the time being. Rumor has it that the union negotiators actually apologized to the bosses for the "unruly" workers when negotiations resumed.

Just in time to undercut any strike action over the holidays, the union and the fleets unveiled a contract proposal a week before Christmas. It includes (surprise) a fare hike, as well as a "new dime" to be deducted from each trip. A nickel will go to the benefit fund, while the other nickel will go directly to the boss.

There's an ominous-sounding clause about greater "productivity" as well. The union was careful to wait until the end of January to call a ratification meeting, in another move to prevent a strike over the holidays.

Meanwhile two more fleets closed down and sold out to minis, and the shape-ups got longer and longer. Taxi Workers for Decisive Action, a reorganized opposition group within the union, did call a demonstration against leasing in mid-December, which drew about 100 cabs and 50 picketers.

A separate incident, but one which I think is important, involved white driver Morris Kott's refusal to take Black State Senator Carl McCall to Harlem from midtown in the middle of the day. It was all over the news when the Taxi Commission held the hearing on McCall's complaint, and they only slapped Kott's wrist with a five-day suspension and a \$50 fine, which is nothing compared to what you get for taking one fare off the meter.

He is not representative of the fleet drivers as a whole, but the white racism his action embodies is a chain around our necks, just as much as is our so-called union leadership, and will make it difficult for us to gain unity and public support in our fight to keep our jobs.

—Taxi driver

the schools, which are bankrupt and don't teach any skills, and when there are no jobs after graduation? Even when work is available, it leads nowhere. Employers save the hardest and dirtiest jobs for new hires, who begin work as probationaries. Even in union shops, there is no protection for new workers from hazards and firings, so that probationary jobs are often temporary work.

The concern today, voiced by economists, about the "changing attitudes to work," shows they recognize the growing alienation of workers, especially youth, unemployed and working. What they fear is the revolt.

Western H S: 'No guards, I. D.s!'

Detroit, Mich.—At Western High school, we have two new security guards. They have no sense of responsibility, and they do what they want. Just recently, a man who all the students knew wasn't another student, walked past these two, who themselves don't look older than the kids.

They're always cornering the women students, and trying to talk with them. If the girls don't want to talk, the guards begin to mess with them. If there's a girl they don't like because she won't talk, they always stop her and her boyfriend, if they're together in the hall. The two security guards have busted kids for weed, but they go up to the third floor all the time to get high.

I try to avoid them. We have enough security guards already, and certainly enough problems with school without them. Western's been integrated—Black, chicano, white — for years. Now everybody feels the same way about school problems, especially this one.

Regardless of what the school board says, Western is like a prison. We don't need I.D. cards, so nobody is wearing them at all. Things are not going the way the board wants them to go. In the beginning of December, they made the rule, that if we didn't wear the I.D.'s, we'd answer to them. They can't catch up with everyone if nobody is wearing an I.D., and nobody is.

We stuck together when we got another security guard, Sanchez, to stop harassing students. That problem got into the open with a story in News & Letters last spring. We are together against wearing the I.D.'s, too. If we stay together now, and get the situation with these new guards into the open, we'll get them out of Western next.

—Western High School student

Maritime document blasts Bridges, calls for worker control of union

San Francisco, Cal.—A written "Contribution To A Discussion" is being passed around on the waterfront here and is raising questions such as whether the longshore union is hopelessly transformed into its opposite, or can it be taken over by the membership and become a fighting organization of the rank and file once again.

The document, written by an old-timer in the maritime union, cites the observations of some working longshoremen and ship clerks that the ILWU has become a company union, and proposes checking out the thinking of the basic workers in the industry to learn how widespread these sentiments are.

It suggests that unprivileged working longshoremen and ship clerks organize and put out a publication that will print the views of those whose voices are generally not heard in the union.

The paper specifically proposes learning the thinking of dockers on forming a new kind of labor organization to fight the employer; one that would have no privileged officialdom. It suggests consideration of ways to eliminate the Steady Man practices outside the framework of the union.

The paper also questions whether we could ever emulate the 120,000 miners who used their locals in a strike against the government, the mine owners and their own national officials.

Although admittedly showing only part of the record, the paper traces the degeneration of the Bridges officialdom from about a year after the 1934 strike that founded the union. It makes short-shrift of Bridges' claim that he is "still" a Marxist and an admirer of Lenin.

Documenting Lenin's opposition to "Marxists" who based themselves on a labor aristocracy as well as citing his reliance on the unprivileged strata of the working class, the writer shows that Bridges has been just the opposite. He not only, in collaboration with the employers, disfranchised a large number of basic longshoremen (through the use of a "B" list), but he also created a new aristocracy of labor for the companies—the Steady Men.

The document concludes: "The actual story of what happened in the maritime industry and the actual situation in Russia, China, et al, shows us that heroism of masses of people that produces overthrows of what was is not enough. We either have a Marxist philosophy of liberation to guide us or we'll be set back in our attempt to create something new. So our task would seem to be to learn more in the philosophic realm and try to establish a better contact with the thinking-acting longshoremen and clerks in the industry who will move decisively when they are ready to do so."

—SF docker



Native American speaks

Council organized to protect the rights of Native families

by Shainape Shcapwe

I want to start with a letter to illustrate government's total disregard for Natives' rights in caring for their own children. Examples like this one can be found in every Native community in the United States and Canada. This letter was sent to the Native Womens' Council of Canada:

"My name is Charlie. I am 18 years old, and I have come back from Vancouver to try to find the remnants of my family. I'm looking for my parents, if they are still alive, and for my brothers and sisters, too. When I was a baby, I was taken from the hospital at Little Current by the Children's Aid Society (CAS) and brought to live with an Indian family in Wikwemikong. I lived there till I was ten years old.

"I was taken by the CAS to live with another family on the Walpole Island Reserve. While I was there, I began to make inquiries about where I was born and about my family. The CAS apparently thought it was dangerous for me to know these things, so they moved me to a white home where I lost all contact with my people. From there, I was taken to another family and from there to another Indian family in Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

"Why all this moving around? I don't know, but I've met a great many young people like myself who were ripped off from our families by the strange reasoning of the CAS. It looks to me like they are deliberately implementing the genocidal policies of the Department of Indian Affairs here and the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the U.S."

Because of this kind of government harassment, an organization called the Child Protection Council, with affiliates in both the United States and Canada, has been formed by Native Americans. Its goals are to make government and social service agencies who deal with the placement of Native children in temporary foster care or in permanent homes for adoption accountable to Native Canadians and Americans for their placement. The Council is also working to see that Natives have more control of the education of their children in public schools and in government boarding facilities.

Representatives of the Council and other Natives in the movement talked to Senator Abouresk of South Dakota about this problem. He has introduced a bill called the Child Welfare Act that will give Natives in the U.S. more control in child placement and in public education. Senator Abouresk expects passage of the bill in the U.S. Senate this year.

The idea for the organization of the Child Protection Council is a good one, but there are some problems with it. I found it very difficult to get information about the Council from Natives in my community, Detroit. This should not have been true in a community as large as this one is. There has to be better Native support.

We should be talking more with other minority groups such as handicapped people, gays, Blacks, and other ethnic groups who are having problems with these same social service agencies. The reasons for the government harassment of these people about their children aren't always the same as they are for harassing us, but the result is the same.

We all have to contend with the kind of high-handed interference from these agencies that I have written about. I'm sure that mutual support is our best weapon for our struggle to gain some control of our own lives and those of our children.

For more information, call or write the Council, care of Bernice Appleton, 3164 Linden, Dearborn, Mich., 48124. Tel. 313-562-2636.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

sonic transport. He opposed continuation of the anti-poverty program and a federal grant to aid school desegregation. He brought the house down at an all-white Young Americans for Freedom meeting in Houston with his fiery denunciation of the "monstrous and costly madness" of the Supreme Court's busing decision.

Byrd got where he is by being the ultimate insider, while Carter was the outsider. But these two men are much alike. Only, Carter can speak out of both sides of his mouth. I am sure than many of those who voted for him know that now; more will learn it soon.

Now that the inauguration has taken place and all the hollering and shouting is over, Carter is there for everyone to see. I don't see how any Blacks will ever again listen to Andrew Young or Rev. King tell us anything about Carter.

GM rewards quality by eliminating workers

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

Every month the GM assembly plants have an audit on the workmanship of cars produced. It is one of the weapons the company uses against the workers. First there is the attempt to make workers in one plant compete against workers in another plant. The company tries to do it in a "spirit of competition."

My plant, GM South Gate, knows how we come out each month against other plants and when we are number one, the plant management gives us donuts and coffee! But there is another threat which goes around. Especially with the turmoil in car production, there is the possibility that a low audit may mean the plant will be closed or not get to produce a certain car. It doesn't matter if decisions are really made based on the audit, the threat is always there.

Every month management puts up signs in the plant with the number we are to be aiming for to make the plant number one. This past month the number was 135. Since model changeover we have often been working nine, ten and more hours a day, and in one section a worker had written under the number 135—"With eight hours you get quality, with ten and more hours, quantity."

It is not only that the hours of work and the pace of the line make the production of "quality cars" almost impossible, but that is not what GM is really interested in. Lots of workers know that the company is playing a different game with this audit business and that it can mean the elimination of workers.

GM is interested in only enough quality to make a car saleable. Anything else is extra and this is most especially true when it comes to extra workers. When we have a high audit we may well be faced with lay-offs and/or speedup. If we get a high mark in the audit—say 135—but the car can be sold at an audit of 126, then it is a sign to GM management that a saleable car can be produced with less workers. The quality could drop ten points by using less workers or by speeding up, but cars would still be okay.

There is something really crazy about a system which takes our labor and rewards us with being eliminated from the plant if the work is too high quality. And yet that is what makes the most sense from GM's point of view. GM and this whole system is run on our labor, but it is a most alienated labor, taken from us in an inhuman way.

All societies are produced by labor. In a capitalist society this labor goes to produce and expand capital, and little goes to the development of human beings. All of science and thinking goes to the production of bigger and bigger machines. No thought goes towards developing better relationships between people.

How can we free ourselves? We together have to develop a new way of thinking and producing our needs. This system has to be replaced with a human society. I have read that through slavery is the road to freedom. Can we be any more enslaved than we are now? Absolute slavery to me is when man is enslaved absolutely to himself. Alienated labor is just that. Capital has become our own master and we must move to overcome it.

Local News & Letters Committees can be contacted directly in the following areas:

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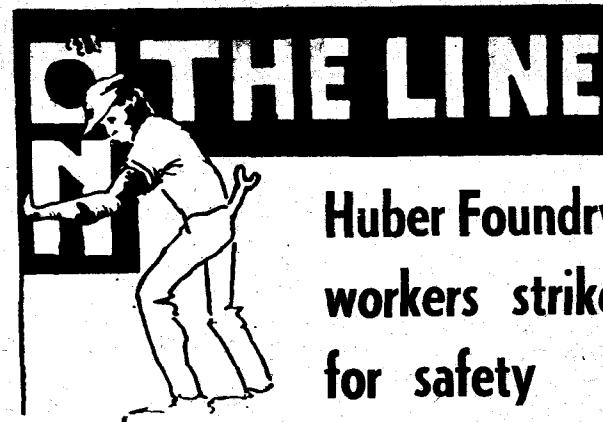
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by John Allison

The workers at Chrysler's Huber Foundry, unable to get an agreement from management over safety conditions, had to go on strike before they got their local demands approved. Huber was the last Chrysler local in the Detroit area to get their local agreement.

Huber Foundry is Chrysler's only foundry in Detroit, and is a key plant in that it casts the motor blocks and rocker arms for Chrysler autos. It is a modern plant, and that means a lot of jobs have been automated. There's almost automatically controlled production where it comes to the metal itself, the preparing and pouring of the molten metal.

It's the work after the pouring that causes the problems. Since this is the only Chrysler foundry, it's going full blast, and the pressure on the workers for the production of the blocks and rocker arms gets to be unbelievable. The result is that management is always trying to take short cuts to speed up the work, and workers are always injured trying to keep up with the pace.

The arrogance of Chrysler was revealed in the court case involving homeowners living in the Huber Foundry area, whose homes were getting coats of chemical pollution on the outside and terrible odors on the inside from the foundry operation. Chrysler put pressure on the city of Hamtramck—a municipality surrounded by Detroit where the foundry is located — threatening economic action to stop the court cases.

It isn't only in the auto plants that the corporations rule their workers with an iron hand, but they also flex their muscle power in dealing with cities where they are located. And the UAW bureaucrats are often in management's corner where it comes to community affairs, just as they are against the workers in the auto plants.

Big management and big union brutality have the power that justice should have. Corruption has given management leeway to punish workers for striking for their just rights, and denies homeowners injured by the factory operations from getting compensation for damage they have to suffer.

A year or so ago, Chrysler was threatening to close its Jefferson plant in Detroit because big cars weren't selling, and management and union officials put pressure on both the state legislature and the city of Detroit to give Chrysler all kinds of tax breaks to keep the plant open. Now Jefferson is working six days a week, and production is out of sight.

But in the shops, the only word to describe what the workers who still have a job are feeling is fear when they look over their shoulders at the army of the unemployed trying to find work.

Company, union bilk drivers; LA cabbies counter with co-op

Los Angeles, Cal.—Cab drivers here have formed a cooperative association to bid for the franchise formerly held by Yellow Cab. The co-op would be jointly owned on an equal basis by all drivers and run in a committee form, where all drivers would participate in decision-making.

The co-op idea was supported by the L.A. Board of Public Utilities, which has never before done anything in favor of workers. The bids are now being considered and the final decision awaits action by the L.A. City Council.

Yellow Cab, Los Angeles' largest cab company, closed down operations last November under the excuse of not being able to obtain insurance, but the parent company had been in severe financial trouble for the last two years due to management embezzlement.

To obtain extra money, Yellow Cab had stopped paying into the union pension and health and welfare funds, in violation of the contract. But the Teamsters just sat by silently, even to the extent of not informing the workers who found out they no longer had hospitalization coverage only when they were turned away at the hospital door.

When 200 drivers went to pick up their last paychecks after the company closed, they were met by 80 members of the police special riot control team who were there to protect Yellow Cab when they told the workers there would be no pay that day.

One driver said, "You can bet management got paid." Another driver told police, "If I went into the garage to take my money I'd be arrested, but the company has stolen my paycheck and you are here to protect them." —L.A. cab driver

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Ford Chicago

Chicago, Ill.—No one is really satisfied with the contract. They ratified it anyway even though there was a majority against it. A lot of people just want to get a whole new start and get rid of all the union leaders we have right now. Maybe then we can get the type of representation that we deserve.

Our union president died and the vice-president was moved up. So we have new guys who were hand-picked. We have an election coming up soon and we don't want to let those guys stay in office. If you get in trouble the union will go against you. You are really better off by yourself if you have to go into Labor Relations.

Last Monday we didn't work because with the snow enough people didn't show up to take on production. They didn't pay anybody any more than the hours that they spent there. Everyone was under the impression they were going to get four hours pay, but the company said they didn't have to because we are working overtime.

We understand the contract a certain way, but they do what they want. There's not supposed to be an early lunch period unless you're notified at least 30 minutes ahead. One day it was 9:44 a.m. before they said lunch was at 9:45. That made the last part of the day really long.

—Ford Assembly worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—I have been talking to some workers from the fourth floor, in Department 11. They are saying that just about every job up there has been written up since the second or third week after changeover. Yet it is now January, and nothing is settled. What good is a settlement now? The company has had its way for seven months.

They say that there is this one man, on the windshield job, who is starting in the hole and staying in the hole all night. He is constantly working way down the line.

Anyone can tell it should be a two-man job. The company knows it, because every now and then they will put a pick-up man on it to help. But as soon as he is taken off, the job is back in the hole.

At the same time, the company has men sitting over at the table for two hours, and won't give them anything to do. Finally, they get a pass to go home. It's insane, but the union is just going through the motions on all the 78's, including this one.

I can understand the company's position. They are making money off of us. But we pay the union to repre-

sent us, and what service are we getting back? When the union was first started, it was different.

The rank-and-file was the union then. You got things settled right away, not the months of bargaining we have now, where the company leads and the union follows.

There is one thing I would like to suggest. After changeover, we should get the International in here and go through the whole plant. See what jobs are overloaded. Then set a deadline on the 78's and stick to it. I am not the only one who is sick of seeing the union deliver a "5 day letter" in January that should have been done in August or September.

—Body shop worker, afternoons

Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich.—Lay-offs are going to hit at the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) again soon. The Mustang IIs are not selling and it seems there is a 120-day oversupply of them. The first week of February, 500 low seniority people will be given pink slips. This aggravates the unemployment caused by the phasing out of the Dearborn Engine Plant last year.

Rather than working all of us a few weeks on and a week off, by laying off 500 of us Ford will not have to shut down as much as it would if they kept all of us on the payroll, and they will save themselves a bit of money. While the number of jobs at the Rouge complex is ever-dwindling, the plants producing large cars (Wixom and Wayne plants) are working overtime, six and seven days a week.

All of us at Ford plants all over the country must be wondering the same thing—why is it that the long strike last fall failed to really remedy anything in these plants?

—DAP worker

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich.—Foremen are allowed to work in assembly all the time at Dodge Truck. It's gotten so bad that in the metal shop, a foreman on the box line replaced a worker in a group of welders. This group was working too slow; so he made them work at his pace. Others feeding those jobs had to speed-up, too. When two welders couldn't keep the pace, they ended up getting disciplined. Foremen are using the introduction of the Ramcharger as an excuse to get into production. On one job in the metal shop, there are two men on the Ramcharger line who have to use eight welding guns. They're supposed to get out 10 trucks an hour, but they're only able to do six, even with their foreman helping get out production.

—Main building worker



We are entering 1977 in circumstances that are far from cheering. The established political parties have all, without exception, moved very definitely to the Right. Demonstrations called by the Scottish TUC have not been very successful. In my opinion this is because they are waging a tame, defensive battle. The call on unemployment seems half-hearted when the "Social Contract" goes almost unquestioned. It now is anticipated that the number of unemployed will rise to two million in the coming year.

The Tories are attacking "Marxist Legislation" said to be passed by the Labor government. One Tory went so far that what he said about 10 MPs has been sent to a Select Committee on Privileges. The "spectre" referred to in the Manifesto is haunting the ruling class.

The racist campaign carried out by the National Front is gathering strength in some parts of England. Their vote in by-elections has been going up. I have been speaking about the need for vigilance and determination to stop the road to fascism, hammering at the example of Germany when the working class movement completely collapsed.

Harry McShane
Glasgow

We know the government is trying to falsify the unemployment figures. When a person runs out of unemployment compensation or just gives up looking because nothing is around, the government stops counting him as unemployed. In the Depression the figures given even by the most left writers were not correct. During the Depression there could only be one person in a household who was counted as unemployed. In actual fact the figures were close to 23 million out and not the high of 17 million I have seen. And now the government is at it again.

'30s Unemployed Organizer
Oakland, Cal.

I work in a bar that serves a mostly working class crowd. The daytime group used to be relatively small but in the past year it has grown much larger and older. Now we have regulars — men who come in at noon each weekday and stay until

five. They are in their 40s and 50s and come dressed for work, neat and tidy. But they have nothing to do. They aren't pathetic figures. The feelings they rouse in me are of anger.

In most cases they worked for large U.S.-owned branch plants and were caught in the cutbacks. Whole departments have been cut for good. The capitalists are taking advantage of a bad situation to eliminate plants that aren't as profitable as their plants in poorer countries. Why pay Canadian scales when you can move to Taiwan?

Supporter
Ontario

I was sickened by the Ohio Edison Co.'s defense that they had "no choice" but to turn off the electricity of a 74-year-old man who later froze to death in his home. It turned out he owed \$18.38! This is so typical of the inhuman profits-above-people attitude of the giant utilities.

Michigan Consolidated Gas Co. here just announced an end to their 20-year policy of not shutting off gas when it's below 25 degrees. And this is while they are practically locking out their own workers who have been on strike for over a month, picketing in sub-freezing weather at the main office across from the frigid Detroit riverfront. Supervisors who haven't looked at a furnace for years are answering emergency calls. Human beings don't matter as long as they can keep the profits and rate increases coming.

Cold and Concerned
Detroit

THE AFRICAN REVOLUTIONS

"Golden Harvest," Operation Namibia's ship carrying its precious load of banned books to southern Africa, will be in Senegal early in 1977. We are more convinced than ever of the importance of our project, but fear the boat might arrive "too late" in the sense of bloody civil war having broken out in the meantime. No doubt you have seen the press reports of USAID (i.e. CIA) interference in Namibia and the attempts to unseat Sean McBride at the UN and install a "moderate" (i.e. pro-American, pro-South African) regime in Namibia. It is fascinating to see imperial chicanery writ small, almost compressed into a year, whereas in most world situations it takes years before we see how oppression is operating. There is a great sensitivity everywhere to foreign interference in Namibia

and it is still possible the worst may be averted, as it wasn't in Vietnam or Chile.
Correspondent
London

Just because Kissinger is leaving and Carter's staff is coming in, doesn't mean U.S. policy in Africa will change. The fundamental necessity of Pax Americana is to prevent revolutions both here and abroad. Carter can't afford to allow the forces and ideas of revolution to spread anywhere in the world. Kissinger's legacy will far outlive his reign.

Youth
Bay Area

POST-MAO CHINA

Your analysis of Post-Mao China is very needed here . . . The East European countries (i.e. Communist Parties) are treating the "China Question" very carefully at the moment, with as little news on the developments there as possible and without any comment whatsoever. The term "Maoism" and the name of the great leader vanished completely from the vocabulary of the mass media. One has to put together the bits of news one can gather from whatever source is possible but no coherent picture can be gained this way.

Correspondent
East Europe

It was very significant to me that the Sheng Wu-lien singled out Hua as a reactionary all the way back in 1968 in their document "Whither China?" — and that Raya Dunayevskaya had selected that very section to reprint in *Philosophy and Revolution*, long, long before anybody else had ever heard of that obscure official who is now in the seat of power in China. Couple that with the fact that she was the one to "predict" that Khrushchev would succeed Beria when nobody had ever heard of him, and you have all the proof you need that a correct methodology is better than a crystal ball!

Convinced
Detroit

It was the people themselves who really won the revolution in China, but it ended up the way every revolution has so far — with a leader on top. The whole lesson is to make sure everybody is equal in what we set up. Everybody has to be the head of the government.

Auto Worker
California

Raya Dunayevskaya's Letter on Post-Mao China has got to be the most perspicacious comment on China since Mao's death that I have read. I have passed it on to others here to share.

Correspondent
Nigeria

Editor's Note: See ad, p. 11, for the entire series of *Political-Philosophic Letters*, now bound and available for \$2 plus 50¢ postage.

UNIONS AND RANKS

About two weeks ago I received a warning at work because of supposed "excessive" lates and absents. About the same time I got a card from the union requesting that I come to the union office immediately, which was very odd, because they had never contacted me either on the job or through the mails in the 13 months I've worked in Macy's. When I went down to their office, I was told by a union executive that if I didn't improve my attendance within 90 days I'd get fired. When I asked him what could be done about getting my pay raise, which the store refuses to give me because of the warning, he told me to talk to my supervisor about it. It's good to know that the union stands up for you!

Stockman
New York

There is a bulk mail center in the suburbs of Chicago, which has an automated

Readers

system for sorting parcels countrywide and which cost billions of dollars. But as far as the workers are concerned, it's a dangerous thing. One woman had her leg cut off working on it.

There's the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) and the American Postal Workers Union, which is part of the A.F. of L. They're both a joke. The president of the union, Rademaker, is only looking for a better Government job. The stewards are the same. All the stewards do is go with a worker to confront the boss and tell the worker, "Yes, the boss can do this. Yes, he can do that." All they ever got for us was trading thousands of jobs away in exchange for a pay increase. By having clerks doing things carriers used to do, like forwarding mail, they have eliminated more than 10,000 routes. They gave us a jeep left over from the Vietnam war, or paid us \$3.30 a day to use our own cars, and eliminated all the parcel-post drivers by adding their work onto the carriers.

For this we pay \$8 a month!

Postal Worker
Chicago

DEATH OF DALEY

On Dec. 21, I attended a meeting of the King Movement Coalition. As I live on the far North Side and the Coalition meets on the far South Side, I literally rode from one end of the El line to the other. Normally, I'd have a whole car to myself. Who cruises around Chicago on a Tuesday evening? Especially when it's eight below and the wind is blowing? But that night the trains were packed, and not with holiday shoppers — the only parcels I saw were brown paper bags concealing liquor bottles. Hundreds of thousands of Chicagoans had braved a hundred year record freeze to celebrate the death of Mayor Daley.

Humanist
Chicago

THE MIDDLE-EAST

Israel seems on the verge of becoming the colonialist power that Socialist-Zionists have gone to great lengths to resist. How can there be social transformation while Israel holds the bulk of the occupied territories? Allowing herself to feed the Myth of Anti-Zionism, Israel cuts off her options, alienates Black Africa and lands in the arms of apartheid White Africa. Does the government believe crushing the PLO in Lebanon will allow more "moderate" elements among the Palestinians to create a West Bank state not hostile to Israel? Or that Palestinian nationalism is somehow no longer a force to reckon with?

Some are ready with simple answers, but nothing is simple or easy when you're dealing with Jews and Arabs. The PLO talk only of political revolution, never social revolution (save for becoming MEN again and harking back to Arab bravado). I don't think it unlikely that a state dominated by the PLO would be rife with internecine

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Views

bloodshed and heavy-handed treatment of peasants and workers a la "Marxist-Leninist" procedure.

It is not that the Janus-faced nature of the PLO, the repressive regimes of Syria and Iraq, the Hitler-philia of Sadat, the naivete of many Israeli doves and the ravenous power politics of the U.S., China and Russia in any way excuse Israeli suppression of the national aspiration of the Palestinians. Indeed, Israeli society's values are being eroded from within through that suppression.

What is important is to keep looking for contact with the genuine Left, confront the lies of the "anti-Zionists," and look for every opportunity to contrast the reality of state-capitalism masquerading as Socialism to the Humanism that is "Realized Communism."

**Intellectual
San Francisco**



Joanne Little was denied parole, but one of the Parole Board members, Dr. Grady Davis, is hoping that he will get enough letters supporting parole for her that her case can be reopened. Please tell your readers that letters should be sent as quickly as possible to: Dr. Grady Davis, c/o North Carolina Parole Commission, 831 W. Morgan St., Raleigh, N.C. 27603.

**Feminist
Chicago**

There exists a group of women and men who are both prisoners and patients. The American Civil Liberties Union won a case in New York a decade ago which released to a civil mental hospital all prisoners/patients in prison mental hospitals whose prison time was completed. New Jersey does not have this law. This means that those who have paid their debt to society are still locked up in New Jersey. Prisoners Rights Organized Defense (35 Academy St., Newark, N.J. 07102), and the Mental Advocate (10-12 N. Stockton St., Trenton, N.J.) have expressed interest in forming a legal coalition to help, but we need support. Please tell your readers.

**Concerned
New Jersey**

Rosa Luxemburg wrote an essay "Against Capital Punishment" as soon as she was released from prison by the outbreak of the German Revolution of 1918, criticizing the revolution for not immediately abolishing capital punishment.

Long before Rosa, Marx had an article in the New York Tribune in 1853, pointing out that not only is capital punishment unjust, and not a deterrent to crime, but the publicity about it actually causes an increase in murders and suicides.

Now that the Supreme Court has legalized murder by the state again, it seems like civilization is going backwards.

And legal murder now seems to go on everywhere. I read that a man was executed in China for defacing a poster praising Hua, the new head of state.

**Molly Jackson
New York**

I felt sad because Gary Gilmore was killed today in Utah. Not sad for him but because his execution destroyed the 10 years of struggle that the Civil Rights movement has made.

**Black Prisoner
"Maximum security"**

You are beautiful people, trying to get freedom for the whole world at once.

But I believe you should focus most of your attention right here where you can expose the facts fully. Put your spotlight on the country that is supposed to stand for freedom, liberty and justice—America. We have to fight the whole corrupt government. The most unAmerican of all are the lawyers, prosecutors and judges who enforce unconstitutional laws made by the legislators. We need some laws to get the real career criminals off the streets—the politicians.

**Prisoner
Tennessee**

PEOPLE'S FIREHOUSE

The people of a small working class neighborhood in Brooklyn held a fire engine hostage for 13 months to force the City to reopen their Fire House, closed because of budget cuts. In December they finally won — but the City tried to staff the Brooklyn Fire House by giving them a Rescue Squad that had worked out of Queens. Whereupon, the Queens residents began their own protest. The Brooklyn residents are supporting them, insisting that the City staff their Fire House by recalling or hiring new firefighters, not moving them from other stations. They told me: "We won an agreement, signed by the City that we would get the staff we need, and we intend to get it."

**Reporter
New York**

TEXAS FARM WORKERS

A few weeks ago I met Tony Orendien of the Texas Farm Workers Union (TFWU) which he founded when he split from the UFW over the priority the UFW put on California. TFWU has daily radio broadcasts to farmworkers in Mexico, and their paper has also brought about changes in how U.S. and Mexican workers see each other.

Growers and the governments have always tried to pit U.S. Anglo and Chicano workers against those who are Mexican citizens by promoting, in local papers for example, the myth that all Mexicans are strikebreakers. But TFWU publicly helped to break down that division during a melon strike early last year, when they printed the fact that of the 11 farmworkers shot during that action, eight were Mexican.

**UFW Activist
Detroit**

ROOTS

Alex Haley came to City College to speak on "An Afro-American family finds its beginnings." Haley was late but the largely Black audience of some 600 students and community residents, waited patiently. By the time he arrived the aisles were packed.

The college administration had chosen the day to present Haley with the Martin Luther King Jr. award. The only student among the functionaries spoke of the irony of the event. He mentioned that the newly-trimmed city budget would cut the incoming student class by one-third. This, in the fourth year of the foredoomed Open Admissions policy which has enabled many Black and Latin students to enter college. The audience responded in agreement.

Alex Haley was plainly moved by the size and color of the gathering. He spoke for 1½ hours, in fascinating detail about the development of the idea, the hard foot work, the love with which he created *Roots*. The audience broke into laughter or tears as African culture and the spirit of the Black slave came alive. When he concluded his talk the audience rose in celebration of their own Afro-American "griot".

**Asian Studies Student
New York**

Editor's Note: See review of *Roots*, p. 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 the capitalistic, exploitative, racist, sexist society, we participate in all freedom struggles and do not separate the mass activities of workers, Blacks, women and youth from the activity of thinking. We invite you to join with us both in the freedom struggles and in working out a theory of liberation for our age.

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

Does one truly become a criminal by refusing to be part of an unjust war waged with a criminal strategy? A decade ago millions of draft-age Americans were forced to consider that question, not as philosophy, but in life.

There are two million war resisters who need amnesty — 600,000 veterans who received less-than-honorable discharges, 4,200 deserters in exile or "underground," thousands who resisted the war within the military (many still in prison), 8,619 convicted of Selective Service violations, 4,400 draft refusers, 7,500 who became citizens of Canada or other places of refuge, and nearly a million who never registered for the draft. On top of that there are tens of thousands of civilians who have criminal records stemming from anti-war protests.

Carter's "blanket pardon" of "draft resisters" would include only a small percentage of this vast number. AMEX is holding a conference in Toronto the last weekend of January to deliver a unified response to Carter's proclamation. The support of all is needed. Tell your readers that letters (and checks, if possible) can be sent to:

**AMEX
PO Box 189, Sta. P
Toronto, Ontario M5S2S7**

When the Chicago Women's History Conference recently discussed "Chicana Women in Chicago," the audience raised questions about the relationship of the Chicano community here and the peasant movement in Mexico, as well as the struggles of Puerto Ricans, Cubans and other Latino groups. The speaker denied any affinity of ideas, because of the differences in background of all these separate individuals. But a Puerto Rican woman, who has been active in the Mexican community for five years, concretely related the exact opposite. She proved that history is not a dead, statistical, "neutral" analysis. It moves along without the aid of those who are so busy trying to be "pure historians" that they often miss the movement entirely.

**Feminist Activist
Chicago**

The Irish situation and the lack of response from the so-called revolutionaries demonstrates the theoretical void among our revolutionists. There is little involvement beyond the general attack on the obvious—the role of the Army to maintain the Colonialists in power.

In no sense can the IRA be described as a force for liberation. It would replace British capitalists with Irish capitalists, in some respects even more reactionary.

The women's peace movement is composed of "genuine" people, as are all peace movements. But any movement that tells people to love their enemies only strengthens the status quo. The British authorities are delighted with the women marchers. These peace organizations cannot be "transformed" into instruments of class struggle because they are not grounded in class activity.

The British Army will go for the same reason that it left India: "because we don't have enough people to hold it," as Stafford Cripps said at the time. I can't see it going as a result of mass opposition because, tragically, in the absence of a revolutionary alternative in Ireland, the British Army is undoubtedly minimizing the bloodshed and the overwhelming non-

politically-conscious majority recognize this.
**Bob Potter
England**

Your article about the Quebec election made me see it in a whole new light. I was not excited about it before, thinking that the Parti Quebecois victory meant nothing because they have so diluted themselves in trying to reach a broad base of people, and won't touch on the issues of class and race. But your article shows that this is only half the story. It was very exciting to see the positive in it.

**Supporter
New York**

The new edition of *Capital*, published by Penguin in London, reveals how much had been omitted in the earlier edition—especially the "alienation" terminology of Hegel that just oozes out of the new translation. It makes the pundits who try to pose the young Marx against the old Marx look stupid indeed. But the Mandel introduction is dead, mechanistic, pedestrian. It is also boring. When you finish Mandel and begin to read Marx, you suddenly come to life again.

**Correspondent
England**

Editor's Note: This new translation of *Capital*, by Ben Fowkes, also includes the first published translation of the famous "Chapter 6." For a critical analysis of Mandel's Introduction, consult Raya Dunayevskaya's Political-Philosophic Letter #9-10. See ad, p. 11.

FANNY SAUL

Jan. 1, 1904 - Jan. 19, 1977

We mourn the death of Fanny Saul, who never lost her passion for and vision of a new world — from her earliest days in a Jewish ghetto in the midst of the Russian Revolution, to her final activities with workers, Blacks, women and youth in Detroit.

She could not speak a word of English when she arrived in New York in the early '20s but got a job in the garment industry, where she began to organize her fellow-workers. It was at Union Square where she met her husband, George — a young labor organizer and orator from the West. But it was Fanny who was on the stump speaking that day — for women's rights. From that day on, she worked side by side with George — in North Carolina in 1929, where he became one of the leaders of the great Gastonia textile strike; in Detroit and Flint in 1936-37 during the great sit-down strikes.

When there were no picket lines to organize she organized in her community, however she could — whether for better schools, or teaching sewing skills to welfare mothers, or most recently, making endless phone calls for the UFW. At her memorial service, one of her sons said of her, "She didn't only work for Women's Liberation, she lived it." We are proud that Fanny found herself close to News and Letters Committees in the last, rich decades of her life.

The American roots of Marxism, Hegelianism and feminism

America's first general strike: St. Louis, 1877

by Terry Moon and Ron Brokmeyer

We print below the full preface and excerpts from our forthcoming pamphlet dealing with the first general strike in the U.S. and the theory and practice which developed from the period of the Civil War.

The 100th anniversary of the very first General Strike in the United States—1877 in St. Louis—takes us, at one and the same time, back to history and forward to our age of sharp class struggles. What Marx called "The red tide of Civil War" preceded the General Strike. That culmination of the multitudinous events, from the question of slavery and the Black dimension, through the first appearance of the Feminist Movement (Seneca Falls Convention, 1848), to the labor struggles, ended with the strife-ridden 1880s and 1890s. It was the period of a revolution in thought, the philosophy of liberation which did not stop with the abolition of slavery. Inherent in its dialectic is the uprooting of capitalism itself.

Far from Marxism being a foreign philosophy "imposed" on the United States, its American roots were deep in the Abolitionist move-

The first General Strike in the United States erupted on the evening of Monday, July 23 in 1877. . . . At Lucas Market in St. Louis crowds swelled to the point where there had to be, at one and the same time, three different speakers and audiences. This meeting focused not only on the total crisis workers were experiencing but was a call to action. A committee of five was elected, including one Black who had addressed the crowd.

ment and in the class struggles; in the rise of Hegelianism as well as in the publication of Marx's great historic work, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, in 1852—17 years in advance of its publication in Europe.

Some of the events in the period this pamphlet is concentrating on—1857-1877—may not appear to have a direct relationship to each other and to our time. Thus, the St. Louis Hegelians were academics, were not interested in labor. Yet not only was the very first professional journal in the United States, *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, Hegelian, but other Hegelians were semi-Marxists and participated in labor struggles along with the Marxists. The early Hegelians did unite on the question of the Civil War and the Abolition of Slavery. Some, like Joseph Weydemeyer, who had a direct relationship with Marx himself, were in the actual leadership of the Union forces in the Civil War. The chapter on Weydemeyer, Marx's closest American collaborator, develops this dialectical relationship.

The St. Louis workers were striking at such deep roots, at basic social forms beyond consideration of governmental structures, that the opposition, with all its appeal to legal governmental processes, from the beginning assumed extra-legal authority. The so-called "Committee of Public Safety," clandestinely formed on Tuesday of employers and former Generals, gave receipts in its own name after appropriating any property it deemed essential to its cause.

The workers were running the city. Decisions were made about what trains would come and go. Workers committees were sent out to distant parts of the city to spread the strike. Committees of white and Black workers boarded ships on the levee and instantly won wage increases for the Black roustabouts who in turn not only joined the strike but became the leaders of other strike processions and committees.

In the Carondelet section of the city, when strikers got wind of a local version of a Committee of Public Safety being set up, they joined the meeting and transformed it into a workers organization of public safety. Virtually no manufacturing or business was operating in the city without the approval and direction of the strikers.

More than local history is indicated in the fact that the reactionary forces who took back control of the city on Friday were led by former Confederate Generals and included Colonel Knapp, who 17 years earlier was forced to surrender Camp Jackson to a spontaneous militia of German workers who secured Missouri for the North.

In a border state like Missouri the feeling that one's immediate activity was inextricably bound to important historic developments was all pervasive. In St. Louis the German workers led the way.

Weydemeyer's death in 1866 did not end the international relationship. On the contrary, some of the leaders of that 1877 General Strike in St. Louis were members of the First International headed by Marx.

It is the aim of this pamphlet to present these two critical decades of United States development as a totality. First, because this great period of mass upheaval makes explicit the continuity within the freedom movement itself, in which eventually Black and white workers together challenged the whole basis of human relations in St. Louis in 1877. The years 1857 to 1877 marked the period of Marx's greatest theoretical works, the period in which he was most

There has been a conscious omission not only of the fact that the roots of philosophy in America are Hegelian, but also that there were two 19th century women who were pioneers in this movement. It is because they were women that they brought something unique not only to the Hegelian movement, but to feminism as well.

Let us explore the magnificent part played by the woman Anna C. Brackett, the first woman principal of a normal school, one of two women Hegelian philosophers, a translator from the German of works on pedagogics still used today, and, above all a truly original figure in the annals of women's liberation. . . . Not only did Brackett recognize the validity and greatness of the Black regiments, but the idea of self-development was so much a part of her philosophy that her newspaper printed Blacks speaking for themselves, and this at a time when there was hardly an end to slavery.

intensely concerned with developments in America; the period of the Civil War in the United States which led to the creation of the International Workingmen's Association as well as the greatest revolution of Marx's time, the Paris Commune.

Secondly, the focus on the liberating energies that gave shape to this whole age illuminates both the Hegelian roots of American philosophy (which are even less known than the America roots of Marxism), and women Hegelians, who are not known at all. Chapter 5, "Forgotten Philosophers Anna C. Brackett and Susan E. Blow: A New Dimension in Feminism", is devoted to the contributions of women Hegelians.

The two decades in focus, which include the greatest conflict in our history, the Civil War, were characterized by the sharpest contradictions in the whole of society and released elemental energies of whole classes and created new departures in thought. It is at such crucial historic turning points, when the Black movement, the class struggle, philosophy, and feminism all come together, that reality is transformed. We ignore the relationship between theory and practice at our own peril.

With this in view, we have attempted in this pamphlet to deal with the essential thought and action which manifest the actualities and the developments of philosophical thought. Thus

(Ohio's Rev. Moncure) Conway discovered that even when he felt he was not communicating his views, the question of freedom was so important to the slaves that they immediately understood a total stranger's relation to that idea. What could be greater than this experience as a basis for believing that human nature is to be free. "When I returned South I found that they (slaves) not only knew what few whites knew, that I was anti-slavery, but they were eager to consult me as to how they might escape. . . . I had never hinted freedom to one of them, and it was in one of the obscurest parts of Virginia, where Northerners never came; then I saw, for the first time, that the whole social system of the South is undermined. . . ."

August Willich used the pages of the "Cincinnati Republikaner," of which he was editor, to further the cause of Abolitionism. He printed "Theodore Parker's Message," a condemnation of slavery. Besides organizing and speaking on the same platform as a Black man, as well as Moncure Conway, Willich led a mass torchlight march down the streets of Cincinnati in protest of John Brown's legal murder. . . . What is it that could bring a Prussian-trained military man together with an American Methodist minister and a former slave? It was an age of revolutions, philosophy, and the quest for freedom of American Blacks.



Artist Angela Terrano, who drew this especially for workers, and to their right are women who marched Galveston, Texas, and Louisville, Ky., who struck in workers joined Black workers, which is depicted by

chapter one begins with the high point, 1877. Chapters two and three look at the original St. Louis and Ohio Hegelians. Chapter four traces the Marxists, Weydemeyer especially, in the Civil War. Chapter five brings in the women Hegelians. Chapter six both covers the relations and ramifications of the First International and gives an overview of the entire two decades.

Native pragmatism notwithstanding, the first philosophic journal in America was not only Hegelian "in itself", but pragmatism evolved

Marx not only wrote on America but for it, as he was the official German correspondent for the Tribune. Moreover, his activity crossed the path of the Abolitionists, not to mention his writing to Abraham Lincoln in his official capacity as secretary for the IWA. The IWA, as we have shown, was in fact born in response to the Civil War in the United States to stop the hand of the British rulers who wished to side with the South.

Studies of Marxism have always suffered at the hands of American academicians, even when they call themselves Marxists, as witness David Herreschoff's American Disciples of Marx (Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1967) . . . Herreschoff's insistence that Transcendentalism was "freighted with elements of an American Marxism" leads him to the ridiculous inclusion under the appellation "American Marxist" of the very kinds of utopian, indeed reactionary, reformers that Marx was always opposed to, including the anti-Abolitionist Orestes Brownson. Professor Herreschoff does not say a word about Marx's actual theoretical developments that were based on American movements, whether that was Abolitionism or the movement for the eight hour day. If his purpose was to discuss Americans who, though they had no direct connection with Karl Marx, nevertheless made his philosophic principles concrete for America, Professor Herreschoff needed to look no further than the Abolitionists whom he chose to ignore.

from it, not vice versa. Indeed, that relationship stretched all the way to John Dewey of our era. *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* had a great influence both in its own time and in ours. It is only in the 1960s, with both the Black revolutions and student rebellions, like the Free Speech Movement of 1964 which centered on the concept of alienation, that the impulse to study Hegel's theory of alienation became actual.*

This study also aims for a new vantage point—to look at this period with the eyes of a women's liberationist, emphasizing both labor and the early women philosophers whose influ-

* See, *Free Speech Movement* by Mario Savio, Eugene Walker and Raya Dunayevskaya. Published by News & Letters Committees, 1965, 50c.

European workers fight 'austerity assaults'

Italy

Milan, Italy—The Italian political scene has effectively become an open battle between capital and labor. The struggle is no longer between various political parties but between the government and the labor unions.

Since the elections last June the principal program of the government has been that of trying to force a block on wages. In Italy, wages increase automatically when there are price increases; every three months the government announces the percentage of price increases and there is an equal percentage increase in wages.

The government has taken the position that the only way to attract foreign investments in Italy is to assure high profits through a low wage policy. This is undoubtedly true. Both the foreign and the Italian multinationals made it clear that they will make no more investments in Italy if wages are not decreased.

But government experts have estimated that at least 600,000 workers will be fired within the year, even if there is an increase in investments. This is not a happy prediction in a country in which unemployment is as "galloping" as inflation, with almost total unemployment of youth and women.

The Communist Party (CP) has behaved in the way it was expected to behave: they are trying to keep the working class "in order" and often go even to the right of the Christian Democrats insofar as wage increases, employment and other such issues go. For the first time in Italy since World War II, wildcat strikes have forced the unions to divorce themselves at least in part from the line of the CP, which is calling these workers huns, hoodlums, lumpen proletariat and "terrorists." Not even the bourgeois press goes that far.

Now the postal workers are refusing to sell postage stamps — a new kind of strike.

And it is not only the workers who are on the move. The youth are uniting in autonomous groups that are usually called "cultural clubs"—they include unemployed and student youth. There are all sorts of social and economic groupings and all of them are calling, above all, for a stop to inflation.

By now the union leaders—Communist and non-Communist—have taken the position that they will not accept any block on wages. The government is planning to pass a law for at least a temporary block and it would seem

that the CP will support this law. The unions are threatening to make a total break with the CP if it does support such a law.

England

London, England—In Britain the end of the year saw big demonstrations by public service workers against cutbacks. In London 80,000 marched in defiance of the Trades Union Congress (TUC).

It was a bleak Christmas for many this year. The Child Poverty Action Group reported 13 million people below the poverty line with almost-forgotten diseases like TB re-emerging in some areas. With unemployment and inflation worsening, the politicians are in complete disarray.

The Labor Government is hopelessly skidding on the path it treads between the International Monetary Fund's pressure to make the workers pay for the crisis, on the one hand, and the growing revolt of those workers, on the other. The miners and power workers are now preparing for industrial action.

The Labor Lefts are impotent. They favor a state-capitalist "seige economy" solution, but are incapable of supporting any mass movement from below. The Tories are split between Mrs. Thatcher's rightist leadership, which is prepared to follow Milton Friedman's advice and destroy the welfare state, and moderates who favor "compromise" with the TUC through a coalition government.

Along with the Labor Party, "moderate" Tories favor "devolution" for Scotland and Wales (a form of Home-Rule) as the nationalist parties are decimating both Tory and Labor support. Of course none of them give any support to the real nationalists fighting for self-determination in Northern Ireland, which is in reality just as much a touchstone of British politics as it always has been.

Britain, the first powerful capitalist country, is now one of the weakest links in capitalism's chain. When economists talk about the "British Disease," they refer to the fact that the working class has high expectations of a decent living standard and a welfare state—something they are prepared to fight for. Britain's class war is again hotting up.

—Dave Black



describes the scene: in the middle are the St. Louis support of the strikers; to the left are Black workers in equal pay with white workers; in one strike, white worker turned toward them.

ence on education stands to this day. We are only now discovering that an American woman Hegelian, Susan E. Blow, had such an impact on Dr. James Jackson Putnam, Freud's most avid spokesman and disciple in America, that he was impelled to challenge Freud for his disregard of Hegelian philosophy.

Or take the question of Marxism and feminism arising along with Hegelianism. Though each developed separately, one red thread running through all three was the recognition of the Black dimension as one of freedom, and an appreciation of what it meant to American development. Again, it is our age of Black revolution in Africa and the United States, of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come and thus compels a totally new relationship of theory to practice, which turns our eyes to the historic past. It is with eyes of 1977 that we feel the urgency to re-examine those American roots of Hegelian philosophy, of Marxism and of women as reason.

Thus the 1877 General Strike was not only the highest point of labor struggle reached in the United States up to that time, but also discloses the continuity in today's American development philosophically, politically, and economically, and makes it possible to draw the essential threads together—including the American ramifications of the First International and the dialectic from Hegel to Marx.

Never again will the movement's multi-dimensional expression be separated from its underlying unity in a total philosophy that can itself be ground for the American revolution-to-be.

As a result of the strikes in 1877 American workers got a new perception of themselves and their own creativity and ability to challenge and go beyond the horrors of capitalism. It was the reason, immanent in the movement of the masses, that caused the labor movement to flourish in the wake of the strike.

What was the basis for this tremendous upsurge in the thought of the workers themselves when it seemed that there was no indication of it right up to the very minute it happened? . . . Because the St. Louis workers in 1877 embodied as a condition of their existence the historic limitations of the age — the inhuman commodity form that cuts the thinking from the doing and is an end in itself — their development, their ideas, because they incorporated the objective world, really did represent what Karl Marx called "transcendence as an objective movement." Or, in more familiar language, it was the overcoming of their oppressive working conditions by becoming decision makers both in relation to their wages and actually running the city.

Book review

Roots: Africa and America in making the history of freedom

by Tommie Hope

By the end of this month, over half a million people will have bought Alex Haley's book, *Roots*, and over 100 million more will have watched the story told for eight straight nights on TV. Never before has the history of Black America had so much notice. I have just finished reading *Roots*, and you can see why it is so popular. It is a very moving book. For the first time, somebody has traced our history through six generations.

The story begins with Kunta Kinte's birth in the Mandinka village of Juffure, in Gambia, West Africa, and follows him as he is captured by slave traders at the age of 16, through his nightmare journey to slavery in Virginia. Finally, *Roots* tells the story of Black America through his children and grandchildren down to Alex Haley himself. It is so moving because it is a true story, and because it is our story.

You remember so many parts of the book, especially about Kunta Kinte. During his years of slavery he was determined to keep his mental freedom. When he was sold to a white plantation owner who gave him the name Toby, he refused to accept this name for himself; and when he was among those he trusted, he would only speak his African name.

Later, as he was about to be a father, he insisted on

*See Raya Dunayevskaya's articles in *Africa Today*, "In the Gambia During the Elections" (July, 1962), and "Under the Impact of Communism and Neo-Colonialism" (Sept. 1962). When in the Gambia in 1962, Dunayevskaya spoke in a village just 10 miles from Juffure, and her articles describe the Mandinka and Wolof people engaged in the movement for African freedom 200 years after Kunta Kinte.

Also written directly from Africa at that historic moment, and giving both a more immediate and more total global view, are Raya Dunayevskaya's *Political Letters from Africa*: "Theoreticians at the Crossroads, or Toward a New Formulation of the Relationship of Theory to Practice" (April 30, 1962), and "The African Revolutions at the Crossroads: Role of Labor, the Single Party, Neo-Colonialism, State-Capitalism and Africa, Africa, Africa" (May 28, 1962). Both Letters are included in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection; Marxist-Humanism in America*, at Wayne State University, Labor History Archives, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202. A guide to the entire collection is available from *News & Letters* for 35c.

naming his child with a Mandinka name and in the Mandinka way. Because his wife, Bell, had her first two children sold away from her when she was young, he called their child "Kizzy", which means "you stay put," so she would not be sold away. Nobody reading this book could miss seeing that Kunta Kinte's African culture was so much richer, more human, more civilized, than the white slave society into which he was sold. Through his eyes, you can see the real continuity between Africa and America, in the actions and thoughts of people the white man considered savages. This really meant a lot to me, because we were always taught Black history in school by beginning with slavery, as though we never had a history before then.

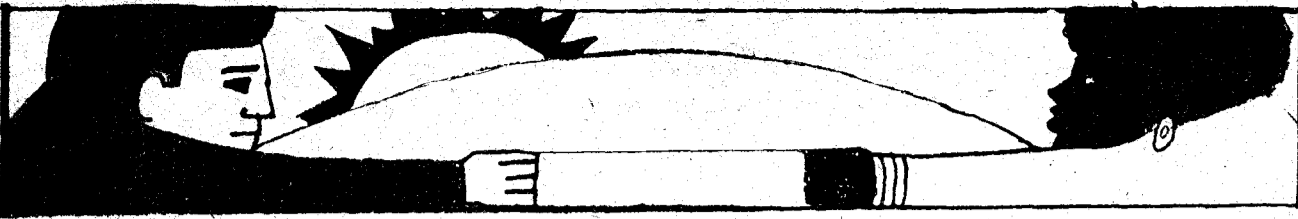
But as I finished the book, there were still some questions that I wondered about. Why does Haley present Africa as a paradise, without taking up any conflicts between Africans themselves? I would like to know who helped the white man capture so many Africans as slaves. We must have had divisions in our people even then.

I also could not help noticing how it is always the man, and only the man, who really fights for our freedom in the book. Women are always in the background, or compromising with the slave owners. They are shown as though they were not allowed to make any decisions, or to discuss any important issue, even in the section that takes place in Africa. This is not the true history of our people as I know it.

Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman are not even mentioned, and neither are any of the other Black women who fought slavery. If people like Alex Haley write about our history, but let that old stuff about their attitude to Black women get in the way, we will not only never really know our past, but our future. Sometimes he is telling his own ideas of how things should be, instead of the true history of how we were.

A lot of people are saying that *Roots* shows that there is a new stage of Black consciousness. But that stage can't stop with just tracing our ancestry, or the surface consciousness of culture, if that culture means that we put down women, or pretend that there are no divisions among us.

What is needed now is for us to consider *Roots* as a way for all of us to really get into Black history, not as fiction, and not as a wave of publicity that dies down next month, but as the continuity of ideas which will help us carry on the fight to free ourselves.



Panamanian exile speaks

U.S. imperialist aid for Torrijos dictatorship must end

The following was taken from a talk given by Miguel Antonio Bernal, a Panamanian revolutionary in exile, while he was in the U.S.—Ed.

The U.S. government has lent its support to the military dictatorship that rules today in Panama, a regime that has carried out a policy of repression against all those who come out against the control of the Panama Canal by the U.S. of America and against the presence of U.S. military bases in our country.

Because I maintain a position critical of U.S. domination of my country, the military dictatorship, headed by Gen. Omar Torrijos, proceeded to expel me from my country. I want to point out that my expulsion from Panama is not an isolated case. It is part of the larger chain of expulsions and deportations that the Torrijos military regime has carried out since it came to power in 1968. More than 500 Panamanians are today living in exile.

THERE IS also a long list of people assassinated by the military. The list includes more than 100 people.

The most recent example of repression and torture took place last September 10-20, when the students of the secondary schools and universities of Panama, together with their parents and people in general, took to the streets to protest against the increase in the prices of rice and milk. The military unveiled their armed gangs of anti-riot police and savagely attacked the young people, old people, women, students, who were protesting against the measure raising the cost of living.

In order to discredit the demonstrations carried out by the student body and the Panamanian people, the military regime made use of a strategy already known to the Panamanians. It accused the student organizations that led the demonstrations of being CIA agents and of acting in behalf of a "destabilization" plot organized by the CIA. This argument, which no one in Panama believed but which won many adherents abroad, was used with the aim of diverting attention from the real problem, which is the growing discontent among the people.

THE REGIME maintains total control over the newspapers, television news and radio news in Panama. The magazine *Dialogo Social*, of which I am the editor-in-chief, is the only one that is able to be published in Panama at present, and it publishes under a cloud of constant threats to close it down.

The collaboration of the Panamanian military and the North Americans is very close. Who can believe the anti-imperialism of the Torrijos regime? Torrijos is in agreement with the U.S. on the maintenance of U.S. military bases, but with a reduction in number. What is important, however, is not the number, but the very pres-

ence of these bases, making Panama complicit with the North American activities in the rest of the Latin American continent and in the entire world.

THE PANAMANIAN people know that it has in the American people, in the North American conscience, an ally in its struggle. I ask you to support the campaign to allow me to return, from exile, to my native country. I ask you to support the right of all exiled Panamanians to return home.

I ask you to support the Panamanian people in their struggle for the immediate withdrawal of the North American troops from the so-called Canal Zone. We are sure that the struggle you will make in the U.S. against North American military presence in our territory will determine the final liberation of our country from the claws of U.S. domination. And we are sure that nothing is more precious than independence and freedom.

—Miguel Antonio Bernal

Demanda crece al morir 25

'Necesitamos bomberos Latinos'

CHICAGO, Ill. — Un gran jurado en Chicago que está investigando los supuestos actos terroristas, está abusando de su poder en perseguir, sin excusa alguna, al Movimiento de Independencia Puertorriqueña.

Durante las últimas semanas, la comunidad Puertorriqueña de Chicago ha sido invadida por la policía de Chicago y por el FBI. Personas inocentes han sido bajadas de sus coches, amenazadas con pistola, y molestadas en sus propios hogares. Quien quizo afirmar sus derechos de la Enmienda Primera de la Constitución, en no contestar las varias preguntas del FBI, ha sido amenazado, y algunos han sido citados al mismo gran jurado.

Se hizo en defensa un gran esfuerzo para nulificar las citaciones, porque se están usándolas para la política y no para la ley criminal, como se debe. De todos modos, el juez no quizo nulificarlas, y al ver eso, los testigos no quisieron declarar. El juez decidió castigar a tres de los seis testigos.

Los seis Boriquas han recibido el apoyo del Comité Para Terminar con el Gran Jurado. El Comité ha manifestado su apoyo varias veces enfrente al Edificio Federal en Chicago. Durante las manifestaciones de diciembre, Myrna Salgado, José Lopez y otros testigos llamados por la citación, dijeron que el gran jurado no debe servir a los fines políticos del FBI.

El Comité publicó una libreta que distribuyó al público en general. Las últimas palabras son: "Estas tácticas ilegales por parte del gobierno han sido usadas contra personas envueltas en programas contra la pobreza, el movimiento obrero, escuelas alternativas, el movimiento femenino, movimientos de liberación nacional y muchas otras luchas para conseguir lo que justamente es suyo. Es importante que tomemos la ofensiva y apoyemos a esas personas quienes rechazan esta violación de nuestros derechos."

Policía molesta a Boriquas

(Nota del editor: Recientes fuegos en las comunidades latinas de Chicago quitaron las vidas a 25 personas durante los días festivos. La incapacidad de los bomberos para comunicarse, hasta en las instrucciones más básicas, en español, ha traído como resultado una gran demostración para que bomberos de habla hispana sean empleados. Esta carta fue dirigida al periódico Sun Times, que no la publicó.)

Necesidad: Guerra contra fuego.

No hay duda acerca de su interés y conocimiento de la ciudad de Chicago. Lamentablemente, hay un punto clave que ha sido ignorado por Ustedes y por el gobierno de la ciudad. Estoy hablando del departamento de edificios.

La comunidad de habla hispana no está participando en ninguna forma hacia su propia seguridad. Por ejemplo, tenemos pocas, si es que hay alguna, personas de habla hispana trabajando como inspector de edificios. No tenemos ninguna contratista de habla hispana trabajando como electricistas, plomeros y en calefacción.

La ciudad de Chicago puede traer las más estrictas reglas en los edificios, y tratar de forzar a cumplirlas, pero los latinos no podran pagar los altos costos impuestos por los contratistas anglos. Podemos también tener todos los programas de seguridad imaginables, pero hasta que los residentes de habla hispana se les permite ser bomberos, policías, inspectores de edificios y contratistas, continuaremos teniendo un gobierno local represivo a los ciudadanos de habla hispana. Y también continuaremos viendo las tragedias que han sucedido en las últimas dos semanas.

—Trabajador mexicano

New rules hurt UFW organizing

Detroit, Mich.—While the UFW was devoting its energies to the losing Proposition 14 campaign, the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board (CALRB) spent six months just trying to assemble staff and investigate unfair charges left over from the '75 elections.

Elections for union representation at ranches resumed at the end of December with the UFW winning all four held. The two latest UFW contracts are with Veg Pack and Associated.

Organizing in southern California, especially in the Calexico area, is the central focus of UFW activity now. Groups of organizers and farmworkers from ranches under contract start at 2:00 a.m. to talk to workers crossing the border, and distribute leaflets.

Rulings by the CALRB in November restrict organizers to choosing four 30-day periods per year at each ranch where they want to talk to workers, and the union must notify the grower in writing of intention to "commit" access.

Unions previously were permitted access until the certification of an election, usually months after it was held.

Now access ends five days after, with an extension of 10 possible only when there is a formal challenge of election results.

Under the new rulings, a union breaking any access rule could be denied access to all ranch property in the state.

—UFW activist

Demand swells after 25 die

'We need Latino firemen!'

(Editor's Note: Recent fires in Chicago's Latino communities have claimed the lives of 25 people during the holidays. The inability of firemen to communicate even basic instructions in Spanish prompted a mass demonstration for Spanish-speaking firemen to be hired, and prompted the following letter to the SUN TIMES, which did not print it.)

Needed: war on fire.

There is no doubt about your concern and your knowledge of the City of Chicago. Unfortunately, a key point has always been ignored by you and the City government. I am speaking about the building department.

The Spanish-speaking community is not participating in any form towards their own safety; for example, we have few, if any, Spanish-speaking people working as building inspectors. We have no Spanish-speaking contractors in the most critical crafts, such as electrical, heating, and plumbing.

The City of Chicago can come up with the most stringent building code on earth and attempt to enforce it, but Latinos will not be able to pay the inflated fees imposed by Anglo contractors. We can also come up with all the safety programs imaginable, but as long as the Spanish-speaking residents are prevented from becoming firefighters, police officers, building inspectors, and building contractors in the mechanical trades, we will continue to have a repressive local government toward the Spanish-speaking citizens. And we will continue to see the sort of tragedies that have befallen us in the last two weeks.

—Mexican worker

Police harass Puerto Ricans

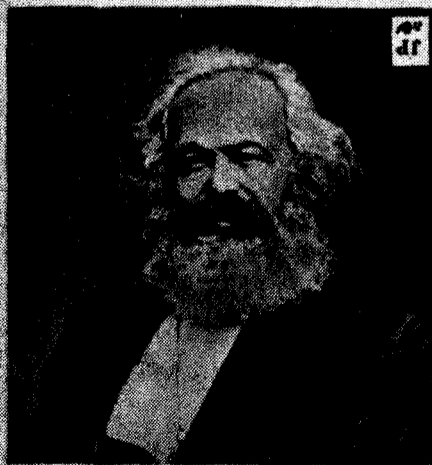
Chicago, Ill. — A grand jury in Chicago that is investigating alleged terrorist acts is abusing its power by persecuting, with no excuse at all, the Puerto Rican Independence Movement.

During recent weeks the Puerto Rican community of Chicago has been invaded by the city police and the FBI. Innocent people have been dragged from their cars, threatened with guns, and harassed in their own homes. Those who chose to exercise their rights under the First Amendment to the Constitution in not answering the various questions of the FBI have been threatened, and several have been subpoenaed to appear before this same grand jury.

In defense, a great effort has been made to nullify the subpoenas because they are being used for politics and not for criminal law as they should be. In spite of all, the judge refused to nullify the subpoenas. Noting this, those who were subpoenaed refused to testify, and the judge decided to punish three of the six.

The six Boriquas have received the support of the Committee to End the Grand Jury. The Committee has demonstrated its support several times in front of the Federal Building in Chicago and during the demonstrations, Myrna Salgado, Jose Lopez, and others who were subpoenaed, called for an end to the subpoenas, claiming that the grand jury should not be used to serve the political ends of the FBI.

The Committee has published a leaflet that was distributed to the general public. The last words of the leaflet were: "These illegal tactics on the part of the government have been used against people involved in anti-poverty programs, labor movements, alternative schools, the women's movement, national liberation movements and many other struggles to obtain what is rightfully theirs. It is important that we take the offensive and support those people resisting this violation of our rights."



Raya dunayevskaya

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Black panelists stress unity of ideas, struggles in U.S., S. Africa

Detroit, Mich.—Bringing together the Black revolt in activity and in thought, both in the United States and in Africa, was the focus of discussion at a recent meeting held here.

The speakers were three Black women representing a unity of these movements for freedom: Wyvette Linebarger, a member of the West Side Mothers welfare rights organization; Phyllis Jordan, a South African in self-exile in the United States, and Tommie Hope, a civil rights activist in the U.S. and writer for News & Letters.

WELFARE RIGHTS MEMBER

West Side Mothers is an organization of close to 900 persons who receive public assistance. In their ten-year history in Detroit they have often been in the forefront of the fight for the rights of welfare recipients.

Ms. Linebarger described as the goal of the group "to solve individual problems of recipients with the Department of Social Services . . . teach members what their rights are . . . what they're entitled to."

"We don't have to do as much marching or do as many of the other things as we used to do . . . we go to Lansing and sit in on a lot of the policy-making . . . we did have some input on the new Emergency Assistance Program and the new General Assistance Program."

Their previous trips to Lansing were not always to sit in on committee meetings, as busloads travelled to the State Capital every year to march and rally on the Capital steps for passage of an adequate welfare budget, or other much-needed welfare legislation.

While thousands of miles separate Detroit welfare rights activists and South African workers, the fight against racism and for better living conditions going on in both places brings them very close together.

SOUTH AFRICAN EXILE

Phyllis Jordan still considers herself a part of the liberation movement in South Africa although she left that country after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960.

She talked about apartheid historically as not being "just a separation of the races . . . but the policy on which the economy of South Africa has been built . . . an economy built on the exploitation and brutal oppression of workers in South Africa" since it began as a British colony.

But a number of countries around the world are responsible for this continuing oppression. "The wealth of South Africa belongs to England, America, Germany, France, and lately to Japan. Most of the American Corporations have branches in South Africa. All the 'Kissimmee Shuttle' tried to do was produce a corridor of calm around South Africa. They'll do everything in their power in Rhodesia to see that whatever Black gov-



News & Letters photo

Panelists discussed "The Black Revolt: U.S. and South Africa"; from left, Wyvette Linebarger of West Side Mothers Organization, Phyllis Jordan of South Africa and Tommie Hope of News & Letters.

ernment is installed is a government of America's making. The same with Namibia. But they are too late.

"There is no way of stopping the revolution that must come in southern Africa. The struggle that is taking place there is the struggle of the people, of the workers of Detroit, and of the world — Black and white.

"It is a great pity that in South Africa the white worker has been bought away from the Black worker. But the day is coming even for South Africa when the white worker will realize that his ally is the Black African worker."

CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVIST

International unity was also discussed by Tommie Hope: "We can see the link between the American Black struggle and the South African Black struggle so clearly, because they are united by more than just being Black. We share the same oppression and we also share the same passion for freedom which is the idea."

"Listen to what a 16-year-old South African girl had to say in court: 'We, the youth of South Africa, reject the subservient heritage that has been handed down to us'. Thousands of miles away, in Chicago, Black youth joined with their elders this summer and fall to fight racist oppression asking: How can there be freedom in the U.S.A. when we have to contend with the KKK and the Nazis terrorizing the Black community?"

"The Black revolt in America and the Black revolt in Africa have inspired each other for generations. Today, Black youth in South Africa are studying and trying to work out a philosophy of freedom not separated from their demonstrations. The newspapers have reported three books that the students have been studying: The Autobiography of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King's

Black conference searches for link of philosophy to freedom

by Louis Turner

Over 300 Black people attended the San Francisco conference on "Black Direction — Unifying Our Struggles in Afrika and America," held Dec. 17-19. The conference theme, established by the Pan-African Secretariat, drew Black activists from as far away as Guyana, New York, Sacramento, San Diego and Los Angeles. Several young Black workers and students without any organizational ties also participated.

One Black activist from New York said this was the largest gathering of Black people he'd seen in years. The level of discussion at this conference seemed to break with the Black conferences of the '60s, and indicates a new search for beginnings within the "depth of unity" of the philosophy and revolution forged by the liberation struggles in southern Africa.

Only one day was devoted to workshops, since all other time was taken up in speeches by Pan-Africanist organizers or their designated intellectuals from academia. Nathan Hare was the chairperson for a workshop on the "Black Family and Cultural Revolution". St. Clair Drake, who was slated to speak, never showed up.

The Stokeleyites had a "representative" from SASO (S. African Student Organization), Jeff Dumo Baqwa. He claimed that the S. African uprising was not spontaneous although it was a movement from below.

In face of the Soweto eruption and the high stage of development it has reached sans a vanguard party to lead (and even the vanguard party-oriented bourgeois press couldn't uncover or fabricate one), brother Baqwa, from the vantage point of Accra, Ghana, which is where he is headquartered, did admit that the struggle did issue from below.

Publicity for the conference was poor, and as it turned out, News and Letters Committees was the only Marxist organization there. One woman noted that posters that she did see said nothing about an admission fee but when she got to the door she had to pay \$2. She said that many people from the community came and left because of the fee.

The workshops were all at the same time, and there was no chance to sit in on other discussions.

Certain themes ran throughout the conference, such as culture, education, youth and always organization,

organization, organization. When they did bring in labor, it was under the rubric of Julius Nyerere's African Socialism, i.e., "cooperative economics".

The '60s, Angola and Soweto were on everyone's minds concretely, because "Where do we go from here, theoretically?" is the question. The most glaring absence from the workshop agenda was that there was not one on Black women's liberation.

The workshop with the most participation, as expected, was on "Organizing Black Liberation Struggles in the U.S." An interesting exchange occurred when a brother from San Diego said he had a chance to go to Mozambique this year and was very excited about that, but was saddened upon hearing that Machel, the Marxist president of that newly-independent nation, had invited none other than Tom Hayden to Mozambique as representative of the American Left.

He wondered what was lacking in the U.S. Black struggle that the Mozambicans would choose Hayden rather than an American Black and actual revolutionary (especially since he had to pay his own way and Hayden was given a free ride). He thought maybe the Mozambicans were doing it for the "publicity", the same reason the N. Vietnamese invited radical chic to Hanoi, i.e., to focus world attention on the struggle and U.S. imperialism.

Another brother interjected that the question should be turned around: What is lacking in the Mozambican government that it couldn't invite an American Black revolutionary who is serious about U.S. Black and African struggles? He said, and everyone agreed, that the Black movement in the U.S. and its history have nothing to be ashamed of.

Talk at this workshop centered around the need for a "total philosophy of revolution", even when the topic was organizing. But the Pan-Africanists limited the discussion to their "plan" for Blacks to follow. This "new" Pan-Africanist plan seemed to revive what the Panthers and US tried to implement in the '60s. Some ex-rank-and-filers from the Panthers and US who were there sounded as though they wouldn't support that form of organization again.

The conference firmly demonstrated the increasing concern that serious Blacks are giving to the importance of philosophy in the struggles for freedom. That was a new dimension of this meeting and others like it that are being held throughout the U.S.

Stride Toward Freedom (about Montgomery 1956) and Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*.

"One reason why Fanon is so important is he wrote about the separation between the party men who wanted to throw out the colonialists and take over themselves, and the masses of people. If you cannot trust an elite to make revolution for the masses, if the revolution must be the masses, not only conscious of their own physical power, but the power of their ideas of freedom — then, Fanon says, the critical point is how to bring out in full force and creativity, all the energies of the people for revolution.

"To me what is involved here is the self-developing subject — the masses of people — making themselves whole again by fighting in activity and in thinking, every form of oppression which split our minds and bodies into fragments in the first place.

"The South Africans' struggle for their own national liberation has to involve the struggle against the world powers who want to rule everyone, including those who pretend to be Africa's friends — Russia and China. Russia is building a military base in Mozambique and wants more. And China is so interested in fighting Russia, that they supported the U.S. and South Africa in Angola. These events cannot be put aside and forgotten, because they show how much all the big powers are striving to rule Africa.

"The Black revolt needs all the forces of revolution on our side — workers, women, youth. But most of all we need our own philosophy of freedom that everyone can share — a method to tell us what is a scheme to be rejected and what will help to bring new ideas, and new organizations forward for revolution."

Self-liberation in S. Africa

(Continued from Page 1)

American companies in South Africa and a billion and a half dollars invested there exploiting low-paid Black labor, oil in Cabinda, and chromium ore in Rhodesia, sped him on his way.

After a June meeting with Vorster in Germany, and later with Vorster and Smith in Pretoria, the U.S. Secretary of State informed the world that Smith, with the prodding of Vorster, would recommend a plan for the transition of power to the Black majority in Rhodesia.

The resultant meetings in Geneva settled on a British chairman, Ivor Richard, with Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe representing the Patriotic Front, and Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole representing other nationalist factions.

Absolutely no progress was made; the meeting adjourned Dec. 14, and it is extremely doubtful that the talks will resume.

It is not clear what will be the consequence of the front-line Presidents' decision on Jan. 9, to move from a neutral stance to "full political diplomatic and material support to the Patriotic Front." However, it is worth noting that Ian Smith has made it known that he would prefer to deal exclusively with Bishop Muzorewa.

Since Smith will never willingly accept Black rule, and believes the ideological bond between Vorster and himself will sustain him against British-American pressure to settle before it's too late (if that time is not already past), ZIPA activity becomes all important.

MINORITY RULE ON WAY OUT

Smith's plight is desperate. The number of whites in Zimbabwe is judged to be 278,000, including 12,000 recent refugees from Mozambique and Angola. Less than one third are Rhodesian-born and at least half hold non-Rhodesian passports. When things get hotter, will these birds of passage be willing to die for white supremacy?

Six million Africans outnumber the whites 22 to one. Africans comprise more than half the Army and three quarters of the paramilitary police force. The majority of Africans in the Army are from the same ethnic group which is the largest component of the Zimbabwe Liberation Army, the Karange/Shona.

These are the unsettling facts that have driven Smith's government to force the peasantry into "guarded compounds" in an attempt to isolate them from guerrilla forces. We have seen this tactic fail before, in Africa and Southeast Asia, and resistance grows.

Nor can the government of Smith automatically depend upon military support from South Africa. It has already fielded 50,000 troops to do battle with SWAPO in Northern Namibia, while it is itself being threatened with social revolution at home.

The vaunted industrial power of South Africa is jeopardized by the Black proletariat on whose back it rests.

U.S. AND RUSSIA CLOUD REVOLT

The somber note struck in Africa is that the two nuclear titans, U.S. and Russia, jockeying for position, prejudice the outcome of revolution by seeking military advantage and by tirelessly deploying their economic weaponry.

Africa is tired of winning political independence and finding itself still economically enslaved.

Black power in South Africa, majority rule in Zimbabwe, expulsion of imperialism from southern Africa will not of themselves provide a panacea. Nevertheless, they are big steps forward toward the end of class-race oppression.

Chicago nurses' strike sparks new ideas on union

Chicago, Ill.—A lot of progress was made toward building a strong nurses' organization because of the 38-day nurses' strike that began Nov. 3 at Cook County Hospital. We went back with a far greater sense of unity. It is a different kind of feeling when you go into the hospital and see people that you walked the picket line with. You have a real good feeling about them.

This strike turned out a lot better than what the administration had wanted. They were proposing to take away our pay, anywhere from one to three sick days. We certainly didn't win totally on that issue, since we lost 75 per cent of sick pay for the first day, but it could have been worse. I think that's important for all of us, too.

We did win an acceptable pay raise. We also won some contract language, to the effect that they will train nurses who have to go to work in specialty areas. We won improved coverage on our medical insurance, extending it to cover the whole family.

Right now we are working on the by-laws for our organization. In spite of the fact that the Illinois Nursing Association (INA) disavowed us, we are sticking with them, at least for the time being. We are trying to negotiate an arrangement where INA rebates a certain amount of our dues back to our local, so that we can hire a full-time staff person chosen by us. That is something really new that would give us a lot more strength and independence than we have ever had.

Yvonne Wanrow wins appeal

Detroit, Mich. — On Jan. 7, the Washington State Supreme Court reversed Yvonne Wanrow's conviction for murder and assault. Wanrow, a Native American woman, had shot and killed William Wesler, a white man known as a child molester, after he had broken into the house where she was staying with friends and children.

The Court's reversal was based on the inadmissibility of the police tape recording, and, more importantly, raised the question of how a 5'4" woman with a cast on her leg and using a crutch must, under the law, somehow repel an assault by a 6'2" intoxicated man without employing weapons in her defense . . .

The Court's ruling further stated that Yvonne Wanrow "was entitled to have the jury consider her actions in the light of her own perceptions and of the situation, including those perceptions which were the product of our nation's long and unfortunate history of sex discrimination."

This decision sets a precedent in raising questions that weren't brought out in the recent trials of Joanne Little and Inez Garcia: what ways does a woman have to defend herself?

Yvonne is now working for dismissal of her case, and is asking that letters of support be sent immediately to Gov. Dixie Lee Ray, State Capitol, Olympia, Wash.

Adrienne Rich praises women's wombs; discounts our minds

by Terry Moon

Adrienne Rich's new book, *Of Woman Born* (W. W. Norton & Co., 1976, \$8.95), purports to be an examination of "motherhood as experience and institution." Even though she claims to tell "my own story," that thread is not continuous.

One chapter contains diary excerpts, while another is an attack on the revolutionary activity that sprang up in the '60s, where she even goes so far as to put quotes around the word "movement."

A chapter on "Alienated Labor" is not an examination of the thoughts and activities of working women—who appear nowhere in this book, except as mindless victims—but is, of course, child birth.

It would have been a relief if this were her own story, because at least then it would have some relation to objectivity. As it stands, the book ends up being racist, anti-working class, anti-Marxist, and denudes history of its human female content.

CULTURE VS. HISTORY

For Rich, women who experience all the limitations of this society have nothing to offer, no direction to point to in moving towards a new society. She believes they "are far too preoccupied with the immediate effects of patriarchy on their lives . . . to demand anything." Her view of women is as mindless victims, whose only "transformative-active powerful" dimension is their wombs, and concludes that the "only way women know how "to make a clear statement" is by killing their husbands or children.

Rich has even lost the movement's beginnings in the 1960s, when women deepened the idea of freedom by demanding not only our bodies, but our heads back, declaring that because we are women didn't mean we couldn't think.

As against that high point, Rich retrogresses into culture, "biology is destiny"—the very idea we negated almost a decade ago—and concludes that it is through our child-bearing capacities that women will achieve power.

It is fantastic that this book was written in 1976. We have lived ten years of the Women's Liberation Movement, and that idea is so much a fact of the world, that there are new developments emerging from it—in the shops, and among the thousands of women who have

I've talked with various people about the idea of trying to join up with other unions in the hospital. The feeling of many is that from where we are right now, the best we can do is to develop a strong democratic nurses' union and, by example, help others to get their own unions together.

It is significant that women are no longer accepting a subservient position, or doing whatever a group of men, above us tells us to do. We will stand up for ourselves, and I don't think the hospital commission really bargained for that. They always assumed they could take advantage of us. We are part of a nation-wide, even world-wide movement of women, growing stronger and sticking together to improve life for themselves, which of course improves life for everybody.

—Cook County Hospital nurse



women-worldwide

South Korean women—many of them wives of political prisoners—are opposing the dictatorship of Park Chung Hee with picketing, international news conferences and dissident prayer meetings. The women wore large X's taped to their mouths at one protest to symbolize that there is no free speech in South Korea.

In Italy, 20,000 women marched in December to protest the increase of violence, especially rapes, in Rome. A 54-year old mother stated the march was not only against "obvious violence such as rape, but also violence in all its forms." In Verona, a 16-year-old woman, Christian Simeoni, demanded the trial of the men who raped her be opened to the public, and 400 women came in support. When the judge refused to open the courthouse, they held a debate on the public square.

The Italian women's movement, over vociferous reactionary opposition fueled by the Vatican, forced the Italian legislature to enact the most liberal abortion laws in West Europe. An Italian woman now has the right to free abortion, on demand, the first three months of pregnancy.

Clerical and office workers at G. P. Putnam Sons in New York City have won their fight to have Local 153, Office and Professional Employees International Union, represent them. Putnam's was the first company where the workers in the publishing industry began organizing for a union over two years ago.

In London, Asian women workers at Grunwicks mail order house have been on strike for over four months. The women are striking for the right to organize a union at Grunwicks, where the average wage is \$43 a week.

identified themselves as socialist-feminists. Yet Rich makes the same old false division when she writes, "The repossession by women of our bodies will bring far more (my emphasis) essential changes to human society than the seizing of the means of production by workers."

As long as she is looking for a quantitative measure, "far more," she will miss the fact that one cannot take place without the other.

Listen to how a Black Ford assembly worker describes the sexism, racism, and capitalism's inhuman direction in his plant:

"The racism out there is more noticeable now since they started hiring Black women. The company told one woman to do this operation that I couldn't do. They told her she had two days to learn the job, and kept harassing her all the time. She just walked out on her break and never came back. The women are sticking together more now, because they know they've got two obstacles to face—the company and the men."

NEW BEGINNINGS

These kinds of attacks take place against whole individuals. We are not women one day, Blacks the next, and workers still another day.

It's because all these dimensions are together in one person, that new beginnings in the movement are coming from women in the shops.

Listen to Pat Carter, a Black working mother, who speaks in *Working Women For Freedom*: "To me liberated means you don't want to be bound down . . . not to have others think for you, to be free to speak for yourself . . . If we keep it within ourselves, nobody knows how we feel . . . if we get together things can change. We need to put together work and thought. Without that we won't be moving."

Shouldn't that kind of Reason be a new beginning so that the next revolution will go all the way to freedom?

WORKING WOMEN FOR FREEDOM

by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes

With special appendix by Raya Dunayevskaya:
"WOMEN AS THINKERS AND AS REVOLUTIONARIES"
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WAY OF THE WORLD

Ford's good-byes full of lies

By Ethel Dunbar

I listened to President Ford speaking to the Congress and the nation in his State of the Union talk. He was saying that everything is OK, and that the nation is in much better shape now than it was when he took office. That's something I cannot see.

There are eight million unemployed, and that is not counting those that never were on the employment rolls. Most jobs have been lost since Ford and Nixon have taken office. How these leaders can lie to the public is amazing, especially when they know that millions of people are looking and listening. That is why Ford lost the election.

When Ford pardoned Nixon, he said he did not care what the public thought. He tried to get Congress to give Nixon more money than even Nixon thought of getting. When Ford was speaking this time, he never mentioned Nixon. He just said he had taken over in a critical situation when the country was in a mess, and that he was leaving it for Carter in a much better situation.

But out of the 25 years Ford spent in government, there has not been one piece of progressive legislation that he voted for. He was yelling about busing, and saying there is a "better way." He yelled from the White House as loud as he could, telling the racists in Boston and Louisville that "forced busing" was not the "answer." This gave the racists a clear way to keep up their attack.

Ford said this country is governed by laws, not by men, in which the people rule. When he said "not governed by men," that showed that he is also a male-chauvinist. That is why he never gave support to the women's movement.

It is not true that this country is governed by law. If it were, he would not have pardoned Nixon. There was no law that said he should have pardoned him, and that any other crime Nixon had committed could not be brought up against him.

As others see us

Working women a 'vital force'

(*Working Women For Freedom*, by A. Terrano, M. Dignan and M. Holmes, News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, MI 48207. \$1.00)

Unlike other works which deal with our history as women in the labor movement, women are seen here as an essential part of the overall struggle and as one of its most vital forces in pushing the struggle forward. The examples, such as the Women's Emergency Brigade in the 30's, show that women are more than appendages to the main thrust of the labor movement.

Women in the sweatshops and assembly lines describe their working conditions. Women who experience oppression as poor and Third World people in the United States speak out. These women's lives are not isolated as separate insignificant aspects of the movement as a whole, nor as solely nationalist struggles. Rather, there exists a real recognition of the powerful force that women represent.

The final section of the pamphlet asks the question: "Where Do We Go From Here?" Unfortunately, this part carries strong overtones of a particular "line." While we may accept the perspective presented, sole use of the information given in this section would not allow us to make a judgement concerning such issues as the UN Conference and the concurrent Tribune, women in China, and organizations in America, but there is some valuable information in this section about developments in Italy and Portugal which can aid our analysis of women and workers in those nation-states.

The pamphlet noticeably lacks information about women who are organizing and fighting outside North America and Western Europe.

In the appendix to the pamphlet, "Women As Thinkers and Revolutionaries," Raya Dunayevskaya provides us with some information about the struggles of Third World women in her description of the Aba riots of women marketers in East Nigeria in 1929. She also discusses various individual women and 19th and 20th century movements. Her discussion emphasizes the life and work of Rosa Luxemburg. She contends that even though Luxemburg didn't devote her time solely to women's issues, she nonetheless contributed to our liberation as a theoretician and revolutionary. Yet, her primary purpose in the appendix is to reinforce the general tone of the pamphlet: "As can be seen, the question of revolutionary creativity is not just that of an individual . . ."

Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes, working women themselves, have pointed out that women are in the forefront of struggle against exploitation. They should not lose sight of this when asking where do we go from here. It is women who are behind the J. P. Stevens boycott. It is women who are organizing at the Snow Lion factory in Berkeley. Women farmworkers in the fields of California and Florida continually wage war against the growers and their thugs. Women clerical workers are organizing. Our sisters are demanding that we decide which side we are on and in what direction we will go.

Kim Bouchard, Union W.A.G.E

IS A NEW WORLD RECESSION COMING?

(Continued from Page 1)

of a "premature cyclical downturn"⁽¹⁾ rather than what Ernest Mandel calls "the generalized economic recession coming to an end in 1975."⁽²⁾ Further, Viet points not only to the economic problems, but "the changing attitudes to work itself among the younger generation." Here it can already be seen that serious bourgeois analysts do see that the question of Alienated Labor is not "just theory." It is concrete. It is urgent. It affects the "cyclical downturn." Opposition to alienated labor has long been a fact (and not only among the younger generation), and has intensified since Automation first came onto the historic scene in the U.S. in 1950.

What we are presently experiencing is the worst of the five post-War recessions, along with the slowest post-War recovery which is so globally pervasive that the top bourgeois economists and industrialist fear it is not "sustainable" even at that low level of "recovery." Thus, the *Economic Outlook*, issued in Paris, Dec. 23 by the Secretariat of the 24-nation body of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, was gloomy even after they disregarded "the depressive influence of falling farm income,"⁽³⁾ (which they expected would not repeat itself in 1977), and even after, as spokesmen for top rulers of the world, they were a great deal more worried about higher inflation than high unemployment.

Still, "to correct flagging growth rates" and inject sufficient stimulus, 6 percent economic growth would be needed, and that means \$20 billion! President-elect Carter, however, is projecting only 5 percent economic growth as his goal, and that would slide down to 4.5 percent by mid-year!

Now 5 percent (6 percent, for that matter) is a far cry from the 8 percent growth Carter projected during the campaign, when the high rhetoric also deceptively spoke of "getting the country back to full employment." He is still saying that the present official 7.9 percent unemployment is "unacceptable," but "full employment" has completely dropped out of the rhetoric. The truth is that it is precisely Marx's discernment of capitalism's "law of motion," that ever greater expansion of constant capital as against living labor would bring it to its own collapse, that has been transformed from theory to grim reality. What has become grimmest, and most threatening to capitalism's dominance, is that the army of unemployed has risen to an unconscionable number as a permanent feature of the economy.

The "investment drought" is a great deal more than just "hesitant." What is interesting in the *Foreign Affairs* current issue's analysis of "The Troubled World Economy" is that it is warning "the West" not to be overly happy with their "petro-recyclers," that is to say, Big Capital's way of getting those oil billions, from the five-fold increase of prices, back from the Middle East potentates and into its own hands by selling machinery and military hardware, and at highly inflated prices at that.

VITAL LABOR POWER

Even bourgeois economists understand that the centerpiece, the nerve, the muscle as well as the soul of all of capitalist production is labor—the extraction from living labor of all the unpaid hours of labor that is the surplus value, the profits—and that, therefore, neither the market, nor political manipulation by the state, nor control of that crucial commodity at this moment—oil—can go on endlessly without its relationship to the life-and-death commodity: labor power. *Foreign Affairs* concludes: "cartels don't have infinite lives . . . (and thus) will one day narrow the conditions between prices of energy and cost of production." It costs between 12 cents and 35 cents to extract a barrel of oil; OPEC sells it for \$12 a barrel.

Business Week's special double issue at year's end (Dec. 27, 1976) on "Investment Outlook," tries its best to sound optimistic. It gloats over the 30 percent increase

(1) "The Troubled World Economy" by Lawrence A. Viet, (*Foreign Affairs*, January, 1977.)

(2) See Ernest Mandel's "A Hesitant, Uneven and Inflationary Upturn": "There can be no doubt the generalized recession of the international capitalist economy came to an end in 1975 . . ." *Intercontinental Press*, Nov. 29, 1976.

(3) "World Economic Outlook is Gloomy" (Paris dateline), *New York Times*, Dec. 23, 1976.

Over 200 children, their parents and day care center operators demonstrated in December at the Detroit Federal Building against Social Services computer delays and non-payment of day care funds.



News & Letters Photo

in net profits in 1976 and expects a further 10-15 percent increase for 1977. But it cannot skip over the following determinants: (1) the low rate of growth; (2) the hardly moveable high rate of unemployment of 7 percent officially, which does not change the truth that this is "average," but among Black youth it is at the fantastic rate of 34.1 percent; (3) the volatile undercurrent of dissatisfaction in the relationship between the underdeveloped countries and the industrialized lands to whom they are indebted at an impossible-to-meet \$60 billion; and (4) the unevenness of growth within the country, which shows that so basic an industry as steel has undergone a 17 percent drop in growth. At the same time, so bleak is the international outlook that *Business Week*, in summing up the outlook, cannot exclude even depression: "If Washington fails, fears of new world depression will intensify."

The seeming world-wide economic recovery early last year fell flat. The present world-wide slump in steel is more than symptomatic of the fact that there never was a serious recovery. Since steel's market is capital goods, the failure to invest in new plants and equipment signified that not even the 1974 levels of plant and equipment had been reached in the latest "economic upturn."

Evidently, the latest hike in steel prices is not a satisfactory compensation to the steel industry, which keeps complaining about a decline in the rate of profit. Thus, the president of Republic Steel Corp., W. J. De Lancey, complains that the Carter program "does not come to grips with the principal impediment to continued economic progress—a severe lack of investment incentive."⁽⁴⁾ One element in Big Business' criticism is that it points to the deep inner contradiction in capitalism's very mode of production, which is constantly increasing the output for machinery and decreasing the number of employed from whom, alone, it can extract unpaid hours of labor, i.e. profits.

Or take the other "miracle" of the stable Western economy, West Germany. It does have the lowest rate of inflation and it has succeeded in bamboozling organized labor not to demand "extraordinary" wage increases. Nevertheless, actual investments in real, rather than inflated, prices have fallen three years in a row.

STATE AID FAILURE

The new and startling fact insofar as Big Business is concerned, is that even state help, i.e. state intervention and state planning has not, has not, been capable of inducing the reorganization of capital's basic structure in a way that it was possible when capitalism could save itself from fatal ramifications of the decline in the rate of profit by ever-greater production, technological revolution, and the army of unemployed. Now the army of unemployed has become a permanent feature of the economy and induces fear of revolution in the capitalist's mind.

Moreover, by now its very mode of production makes capitalism invest so much more for machinery and raw materials than for the workers it employs, that its profits decline and capital stagnates. Suddenly, therefore, every nation realizes (even one as rich as the U.S.) that, on a national scale, it is impossible to solve the economic crisis. Nor can it take itself outside of the world economy, with or without plan, with or without state protection.

It is the age of world state-capitalism, and this development has no more solved its deep economic crisis than when full state-capitalism came to a single nation, Russia or China. As for inflation, it is true that the deep recession, which was triggered by those prices after the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, was by no means the only reason for the double-digit inflation, any more than that sickness could be ascribed, as Big Capital wishes to ascribe it, to workers' wages. The overwhelming reality is this: Just as monopoly growth inhibited national economic

(4) *New York Times*, Jan. 16, 1977.

In Chicago

A Panel Discussion on WORKING WOMEN FOR FREEDOM

Marie Dignan, co-author of the pamphlet with this same title, and Detroit N&L columnist Tommie Hope will be joined by a Puerto Rican activist and a hospital nurse who will speak on recent strike and community activity.

Date: Saturday, Feb. 5. Time: 7 p.m.
Place: 1305 N. Hamlin

Studies in DIALECTICS OF LIBERATION are scheduled:

- IN NEW YORK: Sunday at 7 p.m. at Advent Church, 93rd St. and Broadway (rear door at 93rd), on Jan. 30, Feb. 13 and 27.
- IN SAN FRANCISCO: Saturday, 3 p.m. at 1660 20th St. at Connecticut, beginning Feb. 5.
- IN LOS ANGELES: Sunday, 7:30 p.m., Feb. 13.
- IN DETROIT: Sunday, 7 p.m. at Highland Park YWCA, 13130 Woodward, on Jan. 30, Feb. 13 and 27.

(For more information see Directory on page 3)

growth, so the oil cartel has actually lowered world growth.

The deep recession, in the U.S. and globally, is by no means over, though some who consider themselves Marxists like Mandel think that it has come "to an end in 1975." The false consciousness⁽⁵⁾ that has permeated even economists who are revolutionaries emanates from the fact that capitalism has, in the post-World War II period, come up with ways of keeping the economy going, stopping short of the type of Great Depression, 1929-32 (actually until 1939) that led to World War II. Since this time it would lead to World War III, it is "unthinkable," because it would, of necessity, be a nuclear war that would end civilization as we have known it.

GIVING ACTION DIRECTION

Thus, capitalism's ways of containing its economic crises within recession level, rather than uncontrolled Depression, is judged to be a "stabilizer," even though it is precisely that type of concept that led to the collapse of the established Marxist (Second) International with the outbreak of the First World War. Where that shocking event had Lenin return to Marx's origins in Hegel, and the dialectic of transformation into opposite, today's Marxists plunge not only into the latest series of economic "facts" sans any dialectical rudder, but also to a violation of the dialectic structure of Marx's *Capital* itself. That, too, is not "just theory," but that which gives, or could give when not violated, action its direction.

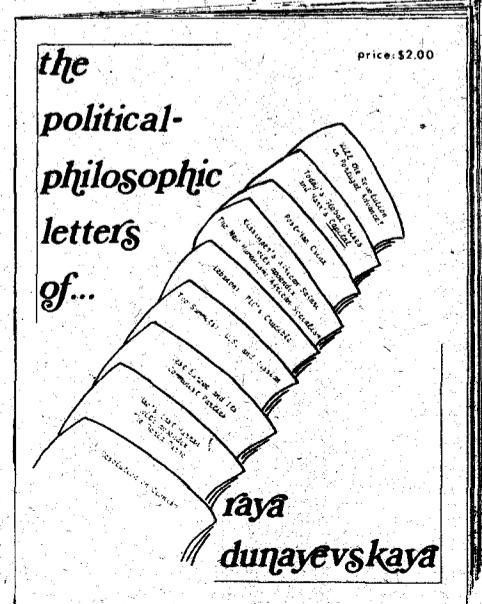
On both counts, neither can a rise in prices go on without any relationship to its real cost, nor can any so-called new economic order be created with such superstructural shenanigans. Just as imperialism in post-WWII could not do for capitalism what it did when monopoly capitalism carved up the underdeveloped world before it won its freedom from imperialism, so state-capitalism cannot save it in the 1970s. The only thing that will create a new social order is the uprooting of this society and all its exploitative relations, whether it has or it has not reached its ultimate in statification.

By having begun its opposition to the Carter Administration this early, labor and the Blacks have shown they have no intention whatever of letting the whole weight of the present economic crisis fall on their shoulders. From this opposition will flow deepening class struggles and mass revolts.

(5) Bereft of Hegelian-Marxist dialectics, one can hardly escape trying to hem in the analysis of today's crises within the bounds of bourgeois—private and state—ideology, and thus inflict structuralism and the latest twist in pragmatism on Marx's greatest original work, *Capital*. In our day, we have the situation where a new French translation of *Capital* is introduced by that official Communist philosopher, Louis Althusser, who stooped to pseudo-psychoanalysis to express his venom against Marx's *Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic* as "the prodigious 'abreaction' indispensable to the liquidation of his (Marx's) 'disordered' consciousness." And, for the English world, the beautiful new translation of *Capital* is burdened with an introduction by the Trotskyist epigone, Ernest Mandel, who spreads himself over some 75 pages of "introduction."

Along with an analysis of the present state of the economy, Raya Dunayevskaya has a sharp critique of Mandel's introduction to *CAPITAL* in her *Political Philosophic Letter "Today's Global Crises and Marx's CAPITAL"*, available separately for \$1, and is also included in "The Political-Philosophic Letters of Raya Dunayevska", see ad below.

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Oil industry greed befouling world's waterways

When an African nation, without a single port, has a registered merchant navy which is the largest in the world, one must agree with Hamlet, "There is something rotten in the state of Denmark." Here it is not Denmark that is the reference, but Liberia, which permits U.S. shipowners, oil companies and the U.S. Government itself, along with irresponsible shipowners of all nationalities, to register their rotten hulks under the command of unqualified officers with scab, underpaid crews. Plying the world's waters, they spill their oil, run on sand bars, sink their ships, cause untold destruction and get away with it, while the ship owners sit back, immune, and collect insurance on their vessels.

Within a single month, no less than eight oil tankers have either run aground, been wrecked or sunk off U.S. coasts, with a loss of 41 lives and polluting spills of 15 million gallons of oil. The costs in terms of the destruction of fish life, food resources and the livelihood of New England fishermen are yet to be estimated.

The capitalists who run these vessels, uninspected under U.S. Maritime Law, need only go to 103 Park Ave. in New York City to place their ships

under Liberian registry. The International Bank at 1701 K St. N.W., Washington D.C., handles the affairs between the oil companies, the ship owners and the U.S. Government.

For a number of years the maritime unions have protested to no avail the wage differences between U.S.-owned-and-operated ships, which pay \$700 a month in wages against \$120 a month for a non-European seaman and \$400 a month for a European union seaman.

All U.S. vessels are required to be built in the U.S. (where their owners get subsidies for the cost of construction), and are frequently inspected by the U.S. Coast Guard for safety and seaworthiness. U.S. owners are also subsidized for operating their ships in competition with foreign flag vessels. American ships are subject to a tax of 49 percent of their profits, while the ships of Liberia, Panama, Greece and other foreign flag ships get away tax free.

The corporations which own and operate these tankers, and could not operate them under the laws of any industrial nation, include Exxon, Texaco, Mobil and other U.S. oil companies and the Greek ship-owners, Niarchos and Jackie (Kennedy) Onassis.

The fact that her brother-in-law, Ted Kennedy, also represents the New England fishermen, does not interfere with his inaction.

Nothing in U.S. law prohibits the entry of foreign flag vessels of convenience into U.S. ports without prior inspection by the Coast Guard. On the Great Lakes, both U.S. and foreign shipping companies insist on sending their ships through the lakes long after they have been warned that they will be caught in the ice. After they have been frozen in, they call upon the Coast Guards of both the U.S. and Canada for help, which send in ice breakers to plough a path for them.

Up to now, this service, which costs them nothing, is paid for by the people of the United States and Canada and continues to permit these ships to use the lakes for their own private profit, using public funds costing \$19 million each year, funds that could be better used for the unemployed or social services in both countries.

It is high time that maritime affairs be so regulated that the shipping interests pay for their crimes, pay for the ice breakers, the oil spills, the death of seamen, and the destruction that they cause.

Czechoslovakia

Over 240 Czechoslovakians, from many different kinds of occupations and points of view, signed and published a statement for the world to see at the beginning of the year. The protest, called "Charter 77," is non-political and strictly a human rights manifesto, demanding that the human rights guarantees in the Czechoslovakian constitution and the published Helsinki accords be taken for what they actually say.

The revolutionary impact, under totalitarianism, of the demand that words mean what they say, has the government authorities worried. Several of the well-known intellectuals and former members of the Dubcek government who signed Charter 77 have been rounded up for interrogation. Arrests of dissidents are being made under Article 98 of the criminal code, which calls for 1-10 year sentences for "subverting the republic." The movement has become a popular focal point of world attention. Similar persecution of dissidents is going on in East Germany and Poland.

The whole of Russian-dominated Eastern Europe is in a state of political and economic crisis, as Charter 77 comes on the heels of another type of direct communication: the total opposition last June of the Polish workers, who burned a Communist Party headquarters and tore up railroad tracks, forcing the government to take back its food price increases.

Our East European correspondent writes:

I do not know more than I am told from abroad of the authors of Charter 77. The public is not informed of arrests and trials except by hints, the naming of two or three names, and veiled blaming of "foreign legionnaires", etc. If logic should be applied to the behavior of the present regime, it would

sound strange that the ruling "elite," proclaiming to have all the people on its side, should be so much afraid of a small group of dissidents "with no base among people," that it dare not even inform the people what this group is talking and writing about!

France

Abu Daoud, long sought as the organizer of the murder of 11 Israeli athletes and six others at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games, was arrested in France Jan. 7, unbeknownst to French government officials. After four days, a surprise court session and the rounding up of judges on the French appeals court in a special car, Abu Daoud was freed, despite extradition requests from both West Germany and Israel.

There has been a wave of criticism in the French press and from other Western countries in light of such a blatant and complete lack of principles in international relations.

The response of Interior Minister Michel Poniatowski, France's ex-officio national police director, was: "France does not give behavior lessons to others. In return, she does not expect to receive them." What French leaders do expect is to finalize a \$4 billion contract with the Arab Military Industrial Organization, which includes building assembly lines for Mirage jets and Matra missiles in Egypt.

Another aspect of the strange mixture of French business and morality was brought out recently, when some French arms peddlers took Libya's dictator Colonel Qaddafi for a ride, and countless of his excess millions of dollars ended up safely out of his reach in secret Swiss bank accounts. One deal was for Israel's secret optical aid Startron, whose infrared night-seeing ability gave Israel such an advantage over Arab armies. Instead of 3,000 Startrons, 3,000 empty aluminum tubes were delivered.

West Germany

(News of November's mass demonstrations in Germany was evidently considered "irrelevant" by the U.S. press, which did not report them. The following article is based on information from LNS which obtained the story from friends in Germany —Ed.)

Throughout the month of November, the West German government has been rocked by a series of protests against the construction of the Brockdorf nuclear power plant in Northern Germany. Over 30,000 demonstrators, young and old, from all over Germany converged on the site of the proposed plant Nov. 15, in the largest anti-nuclear demonstration in West German history.

The turnout surprised even demonstration organizers, who had appealed for help in the campaign after a previous march, in which the site was occupied by the demonstrators, had been brutally attacked by mace-spraying, club-swinging police.

Marchers arriving at the site Nov. 15 found that police had closed all roads five miles from the site. Those who hiked in were faced by 3,000 police with helicopters, spraying mace and water. The site itself was ringed by concrete walls six feet high with an especially vicious type of "NATO" barbed wire on top. In four hours of attempting to enter the site, more than 300 demonstrators were injured.

Immediately after the demonstration, the Schmidt government attempted to blame the demonstration on "leftwing extremists." But the fact that 75 percent of the region's people had opposed the plant in a recent referendum made the government's position ridiculous. New demonstrations are now planned for February, and the government is busy increasing its fortifications at the site.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Andrew Young's appointment as the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, by President Jimmy Carter, represents a pattern of politics which Carter developed in his campaign for the Presidency and during the interim period of the changeover of power from the Ford administration.

When, as a Presidential candidate, Carter was severely chastised for his statement on "ethnic purity"—a phrase that every Black person knows is the code word for the continuation of segregation in schools, jobs, housing, etc.—the President-to-be attempted to soften the issue by trotting out before the public, "responsible" Black leaders to say that is not what he really meant.

Again, when as President-elect he nominated Griffin Bell for the office of Attorney General, it was revealed that this was the same Mr. Bell who, when he was a federal judge, attempted to thwart school desegregation in Georgia by judicial action. He had also, by judicial fiat, denied Julian Bond his seat in the Georgia legislature because of Bond's opposition to the Vietnam war. Carter hurriedly brought to Plains, a number of Black bishops from Atlanta to avow that Griffin Bell was indeed a good man.

So, the inevitable question is: does the appointment of Andrew Young as the Ambassador to the United Nations represent, in the Carter scheme of politics, another screen to hide the inherent racism that permeates both the Democratic and the Republican Parties? Here you have Andrew Young, a Black man who is a civil-rights leader and activist, becoming directly responsible for the execution of the USA's foreign policy within the United Nations — most particularly the State Depart-

Young's appointment is screen for Carter's racism

ment policy as it relates to South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Both recent and past history has shown that capitalist United States' policy toward apartheid South Africa has been one clouded with ambiguity and conciliation, while giving direct economic support to the racist regime in South Africa. Too, it is now obvious that former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's much-vaunted safari to Africa was more concerned with preventing revolution in Africa and securing the continuation of neo-colonialism on that continent, than with the liberation of its people from the servitude of imperialism. There is no indication that President Carter and his State Department will differ from this policy.

Young has avowed that "he would play an independent role in the job and not parrot instructions from Washington". Can we presume that he will propose policies in Africa that would differ from the interests of U.S. capitalism? Hardly not! Once joined to the team of U.S. imperialism, you play the game by the rules dictated by its interests. And, to date, Young has not expressed any major differences with either President Carter or with Cyrus Vance, the Secretary of State. In fact, he has said he has found "an amazing amount of agreement" with Vance.

Of course this is a political charade, but it is a marked change from the position that Young proclaimed during the election campaign when he said: "I want to continue as an independent critic, helping Black people to be heard in the chambers of power. I personally don't want anything other than what I have, a seat on the House Rules Committee where I help push important legislation through".

Putting the above aside, as the usual debris that flies around at election time, Andrew Young did show during the campaigning that he was not only a capable organizer of the Black middle class to support Carter, but he knew when to soft-pedal the question of race. It was amazing to hear, at this period of American and world history, a Black civil rights leader say: "This is not the time for racial posturing. Even when I talk on African affairs, I talk in terms of copper and oil. I don't play up human rights for Blacks, since sometime I feel not too many people are interested but me."

The Black middle class has hailed the appointments of Andrew Young and Patricia Harris to Cabinet positions in the U.S. Government as the beginning of a "new era" in American politics—a "new partnership", the sharing of power between a white Southerner and Black minority leadership.

It is a new era—but not as the Black middle class sees it. It is an era that marks the evergrowing separation between Black leaders, Black workers, and Black ghetto dwellers; a separation that became evident during the ghetto revolts and the Black Power movement. It is an historical irony that the Black middle class marched to a position of "shared power, within the system", behind the banner of Black Power.

In the long run, no amount of tokenism, which now also comprises the rise of the Black middle class in the capitalist system, can solve the needs of the Black worker, the ghetto dweller or the welfare recipient. A new militancy will arise from these American "Wretched of the Earth" that will fashion its own leadership for its own needs: totally new human relationships.