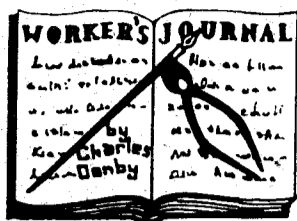


ON THE INSIDE

- New Essays reviewed
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New pamphlet to explore Black thought

by Charles Denby, Editor

I have been thinking about the whole question of the Black dimension in the United States and how it is integral to the total idea of philosophy and revolution. Both thought and action came out of the history of the Black revolt, whether it was Marx looking at it in his day, the time of the Civil War — or today, especially the civil rights struggles of the last 20 years, as recorded by News and Letters Committees.

But even before News and Letters was born, we started a new way of recording Black history as revolutionary, even when it was just a biography. I am referring to *Indignant Heart* which I wrote in 1952 under the name of Matthew Ward. I am bringing it up to date this summer, showing some of the most revolutionary action on the part of many individuals in the South never heard of before.

First, let's begin with the most fundamental statement of Marxist-Humanism, the book, *Philosophy and Revolution*, by Raya Dunayevskaya, so that we can see this analysis of the 1960s as the very moment when the Black revolution both in Africa and America reached a higher stage in the world.

BREAK WITH MASSES

Philosophy and Revolution points out that when Stokely Carmichael put forth the slogan "Black Power" in 1966, it marked the end of Dr. King's predominance in the leadership of the movement, as well as the beginning of a separation between the masses and the leadership, including Carmichael.

Both in the 1967 rebellion here in Detroit as well as in an article I wrote after the rebellion, one could see our view of revolution right at the point of production. As one worker stated at that time, "The most popular word in the shop these days is: revolutionary. In the past, even when we didn't parrot the union leadership and call workers 'Communists,' we would shy away from any worker who declared himself to be a 'revolutionary.' Now we say to him: 'Why be for foreign revolutions? We need one here, right here.'"

Actually, long before then workers revolted in the shops, not only in auto, but in mines and steel mills. We in News and Letters were the first to raise their revolutionary banner in a pamphlet called *Workers Battle Automation*.

I was rereading what I had written in *Workers Journal* back in 1953 when I was already referring to the union bureaucracy in the plant, and contrasting it with the way it was when the CIO was first organized, especially the UAW. At that early date, I said the unforgivable crime that a chief steward or committeeman could commit in the shop was to be too footsy with a foreman—and some were. But now they are such buddies

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NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

VOL. 22—NO. 3

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Union Shop

APRIL, 1977

U.S. economic crisis deepens as permanent unemployment swells

by Andy Phillips

At the root of all of the economic programs proposed by President Carter and the Congress to try to save American capitalism from increasing collapse is one indisputable fact: never since the Great Depression of the 1930s has an economic depression lasted as long as the present

one, dating back to the end of 1974, which was heralded by unemployment that skyrocketed to the highest levels since the Great Depression and has persistently remained despite the efforts of both the Ford and Carter administrations to reduce the number in this growing army of the unemployed of over 10 million workers.

This is something new since World War II, and the failure of any substantial recovery from the '74-75 economic crisis is forcing an increasing number of both government and private economists to forecast another recession. Some predict it will hit next year, while the optimistic say it will be delayed until 1979 or 1980.

A recognition of the seriousness of the explosive nature of sustained unemployment has been shown in Congressional action extending unemployment benefits to 63 weeks for another year. This legislation, approved in 1975, was scheduled to expire in April.

The fact is that 18 states have unemployment rates above the official 8.3 percent national average, with five states — Michigan, California, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania — with unemployment rates above 10 percent.

FEAR REBELLION

The fears aroused by these conditions were expressed in the recent government report of the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. The Committee's Task force on Disorders and Terrorism noted that the problems and frustrations which erupted in the mass actions of the 1960s have not been resolved, and that "There will surely come a time when once again socio-economic conditions will generate violent reactions." In preparation for this, the report reveals that security precautions — on national and local levels — have been refined and increased to control and crush the anticipated rebellions.

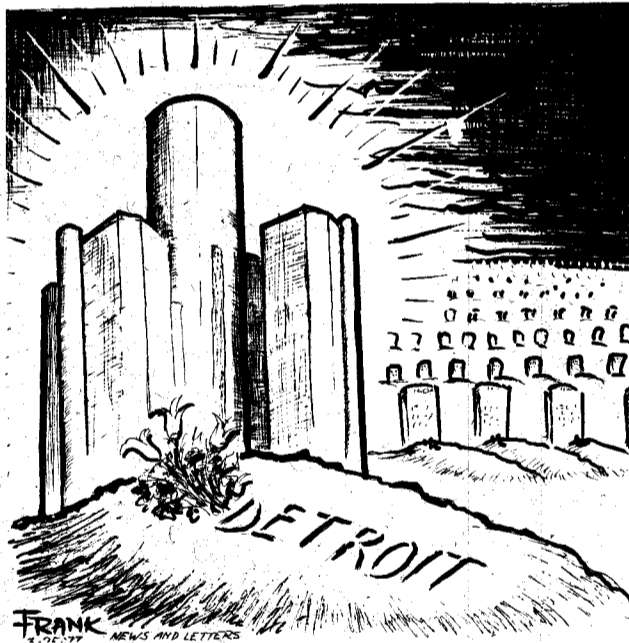
The simple fact is that the decline in the rate of profit, while always a consistent feature of capitalist economic production, has reached the point that there is a great reluctance to invest in the necessary capital improvements to maintain the system. Capital investments in every post-recession period since World War II increased by 10-11 percent; in 1976 they increased by less than 3 percent.

It is precisely these capital investments that President Carter is trying to encourage by his proposal to increase corporate investment tax credits from 10 to 12 percent, which translates into billions of dollars in tax writeoffs for corporations, but is criticized by business as not being enough.

President Carter's economic advisers project a necessary growth in the economy of at least 5.5 percent to reduce national unemployment from the present "official" level of 8.3 percent to around 7 percent by next year, but economic indicators at present show that an increase of only half that rate will be achieved. Commerce Secretary Blumenthal, acknowledging that the present growth rate is inadequate to reduce unemployment, insists that the implementation of Carter's economic programs will provide the needed growth.

A look at those job programs, however, reveals at once that the proposed remedies can't come close to solving unemployment. For 1977, Carter's job programs call for \$9 billion dollars to be spread through public works, public service, youth training and grants to cities hit hardest by unemployment. For the following year, 1978, this sum would be increased to approximately \$15 billion.

According to administration experts, there is no way
(Continued on Page 8)



Ren-Cen: Detroit tombstone?

Our life and times

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Africa: new pawn in global power struggle

Africa, now largely free of imperialist domination except for South Africa and Rhodesia, has become a battleground between Russia, China and the United States. These three superpowers are fighting for domination of the minds of men, domination of territories, as well as access to ports, resources and profits. This new exploitation of the continent by neo-colonialism is made possible with the help of opportunist leaders who play politics with either of the poles of world capital.

The despicable despotism of Idi Amin of Uganda has not deterred Fidel Castro from sending a military mission to Uganda to seek closer ties. The move was without question instigated by Russia, which at the same time was also acclaiming Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam as ruler of Ethiopia.

While such maneuvers might be discounted as the hairbrained imagination of Western imperialist ideologists, these moves must be considered within the global context of the two superpowers, Russia and the United States, aiming at single world mastery, and the role of China which holds Russia to be Enemy Number One.

After China had provided the materials and manpower to build the Tan-Zam railroad located

between Zambia and the seaport in Tanzania and providing access to the sea, China's role was unchallenged. China had accomplished this great industrial feat, which the Western imperialists had declared "impossible," not only in record time, but with so new a non-colonialist attitude that Maoist ideology was by far the most popular of all "socialisms."

So now the sudden friendship of Tanzania with Russia is looked at by Peking, if not as an outright "betrayal," with great suspicion. China prefers to lean toward U.S. imperialism whenever Russia's role comes up, be it in Portugal or Africa.

But the innumerable double crosses being prepared against each other by the U.S., as well as Russia, and by China and the Middle East do not interest us. What is important at this moment in Africa is to see how the state-capitalist societies calling themselves Communist are playing the same imperial politics as Western imperialism and the Middle East potentates. At this moment of crisis, nothing smells worse than Russia and Cuba building up ties in Uganda and Libya and Ethiopia without any regard for the African masses whatever.

(Continued on Page 8)

Boston conference highlights office workers' unions

by Molly Jackson

Women are forming office workers' organizations—large city-wide groups, small-town groups, huge insurance company groups, tiny single-office groups. I recently attended a regional conference sponsored by 9 to 5, the Boston group, and what seemed to excite people most was just discovering all the women fighting similar fights throughout New England and the Northeast.

9 to 5 is one of the oldest (1972) and most active office workers groups in the country. It has spun off a union local, 925 of the SEIU, which is presently organizing university office staffs; so is District 65 (Distributive Workers). Between the two unions, nearly every school in Boston is being organized simultaneously. 9 to 5 has different kinds of organizing going on in banking, insurance, and publishing as well, plus committees for specific issues, such as affirmative action laws.

The conference in Boston was one of five regional ones called to launch a campaign of petitioning the federal government to enforce the equal employment opportunity laws, on the books for some years. The campaign arose out of the first nation-wide meeting of office workers organizations a few months ago.

Many women I spoke to at the conference were anxious to discuss how you begin an organization; when, whether and how you move to unionization; and whether you call in an existing union or form your own. Because the office workers movement is so new, it is only at such meetings that we can learn from each other's experiences.

One inspiring story that was told was the "perfect" strike by the 400 secretaries at the University of Rhode Island in January. They had won the first clerical workers' contract in R.I. last year, but this year negotiations reached an impasse. A primary point was job classifications—the women wanted some recognition that they actually run the school, doing such non-clerical work as counselling the students in place of the professors. They also wanted more money.

When they pointed out that they made less than the cleaning staff, the university tried the usual white-collar appeal by saying, "Do you want to scrub floors?" The secretaries had a good laugh and explained to the gentlemen that they do so all the time — at home.

The strike vote was nearly unanimous. The next morning, 300 women picketed 11 entrances on three campuses, and closed down the entire school. Students, professors, other workers and even a construction crew—no one got on campus. The contract was settled that night, by the same men who the day before had jeered at a union officer, "You'll never get those girls to leave their desks."

The New Haven, Conn., office workers group described their surprise when one of them was fired the day their first newsletter came out. They had no idea

what a threat the employers thought they were. She eventually won back pay through the NLRB. They also told the story of the secretary at Olin-Winchester who, after months of wrestling with her conscience, exposed the company's illegal sales of arms to South Africa. She did so last summer, after reading about the Black students there being shot by the police.

There are reasons to have a national petition campaign, mainly to show our muscle as a national movement. It was the coordinated efforts of women's and Black groups last fall which stopped the proposed, decimating changes in the federal contract compliance regulations, and the appointment of anti-affirmative action Dunlop as Secretary of Labor.

But groups conducting such campaigns need to state that the purpose is to stop the counter-revolution by the government against the gains in women's rights. Such legalistic programs cannot take the place of the revolutionary movement of women workers themselves, who, it is clear, are moving everywhere in new and creative ways.



News & Letters photo

International Women's Day activities in New York City included this rally, March 12, of 1,000 people and a march in the Latino community stressing the day's historic origins with demands for jobs, food, free education and day-care centers.

Chicago King Movement marches on City Hall

by Rev. Edgar Jackson,
M. L. King Movement Coalition

Chicago, Ill.—The Martin Luther King Jr. Movement Coalition had a funeral procession around City Hall on March 11. We carried a casket that had written on it, "Plantation Politics", "Uncle Tom" and "Racism". After we marched around City Hall handing out leaflets and chanting, we went in to see Bilandic, the Acting Mayor of Chicago. He was too busy to see us as he was entertaining Black singer Aretha Franklin. This inspired us to begin singing our own songs, but our freedom songs didn't bring any response.

Daley built his machine so that his successors would be ready to move into positions and maintain the status quo. The sons of the plantation know who is going to be the next King. It is up to the people to let them know that this chaotic plantation system is dead. This is the reason to take a coffin to City Hall.

We want to let the ministers know, too. Fifty ministers led by Bishop Ford went down to beg Bilandic to run for mayor. These ministers are supposedly leaders of the Black community but they have been unsuccessful in their straw boss tactics to keep the natives quiet. These straw bosses in Chicago are refugees from the plantation, they're imports.

We have to go to the police headquarters with the coffin. Black people are still being brutalized in this city for no other reason than asking a few questions. The stop-and-frisk law exists nowhere except in Chicago's Black ghetto and other Black ghettos in this country.

This is all part of the plantation system that Mayor Daley maintained very shrewdly without building housing for people on the plantation, without creating jobs, without allowing Black policemen to be upgraded, without allowing minorities to get jobs in the fire department. For example, Manfred Byrd, the Black man that was in line to be Superintendent of Chicago Public Schools, should have been elevated immediately, but instead they picked Hannon, a white man who has little experience.

Another example is Wilson Frost, a home grown straw boss who found out when Daley died that he was not a part of the red-blooded plantation sons. He was told bluntly by Alderman Vrdolyak, Deputy Mayor Sain, and Press Aid Sullivan that he was not the acting mayor and would never be the mayor.

The coffin campaign by the King Movement is to let the public and the officials know that their plantation politics are dead. As far as the people are concerned, brutality is dead because we're not going to stand for it. Chicago politics is only equalled by that of South Africa and Rhodesia. Our fight is worldwide. This racism should be put in a coffin and buried for ever.

Boycott Stevens products!

New York, N. Y.—The national boycott of J. P. Stevens products was publicized both outside and inside the company's annual stockholders' meeting here on March 1. Some 3,000 supporters of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' (ACTWU) unionization drive at Stevens' southern plants marched around J. P. Stevens Tower for several hours, while inside the meeting, the usual business was halted by a succession of small stockholders demanding a change in the company's anti-union policies.

J. P. Stevens is the prime target of ACTWU (which was formed by the merger of the two largest textile workers unions), because it is the country's second largest textile company, with 85 plants in the U.S. and abroad, and because of its long anti-union history. Stevens has been found guilty of breaking the labor laws a record number of 15 times. The company is also notorious for its discrimination against its many women and Black employees.

The New York demonstration was led by Coretta King and a bevy of local politicians, and was composed mainly of other unions. The ILGWU, Dist. 65, Local 1199, and the Furriers turned out in numbers, but so did unions we rarely see at demonstrations here, like the UAW and the Seafarers.

Although little effort seemed to have been made to bring out groups other than unions, a number of student and women's groups demonstrated, too. A large contingent came from Princeton University, where the students are pressuring the school over its Stevens stock. The National Organization for Women has endorsed the boycott; its N.Y.C. chapter was present, as well as Women's Liberation-News and Letters and Women Religious.

The large number of union bureaucrats, easily identifiable as the white males with ties on, did not make it a very lively demonstration.

Unfortunately, the union has not been leafletting stores, and since Stevens products are sold under other names, it is necessary for people to have the boycott list: Sheets and pillowcases: Beauti-Blend, Beauticale, Fine Arts, Peanuts (comic strip), Tastemaker, Utica, Utica & Mohawk, designer-labels Yves St. Laurent and Angelo Donghia

Towels: Fine Arts, Tastemaker, Utica.

Blankets: Forstmann, Utica.

Carpets: Contender, Gulistan, Merryweather, TasteMaker.

Table linen: Simtex.

Hosiery: Big Mama, Finesse, Hip-Lets, Spirit.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

no one can tell the difference between them when it comes to fighting on shop conditions or any other kind of grievances.

The conditions at GM Fleetwood in Detroit are so bad that about 100 workers had to picket Solidarity House last week to try and get some action. They went to their local union first and were told the local couldn't get any answers from Solidarity House, so they went there and picketed. This was something you did not hear of in the early days of the union.

UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

The Black dimension is not only seen in the shops. The pamphlet, *American Civilization on Trial*, traces the real roots of American so-called civilization in the factories—the slavery and the revolts throughout history. And that revolution is still going on because it has remained unfinished to this day. Workers are the key to the whole revolution.

As stated in *Philosophy and Revolution*, "The Black people have always been the touchstone of American civilization precisely because they could both expose its Achilles' heel—its racism—and because they were always in the vanguard of its forward movement. It was so in the struggle against slavery when they fought together with the white Abolitionists. It was so during the birth of imperialism when the Blacks stood alone in their opposition. It was so when, with white labor, they reshaped the industrial face of America through the creation of the CIO. And it is so now when the Black Revolution has reached the crossroads between nationalism and proletarian internationalism."

One may ask what has happened to all our civil rights leaders of the '60s now that they are all looking for some state or federal job. Some have even come out in support of right-wing reactionaries like Wallace.

They have turned their backs on working and poor people, even though these same leaders were yelling for a complete change in this society just a few years ago. But their demand for change was not based on a philosophy of liberation, so they could take the easy way out that gets them a high-paying government job.

What is important is not only the history of the Black revolt already recorded, but a new pamphlet being discussed and developed now to be published by News and Letters later this year, called *Frantz Fanon and American Black Thought*. As with everything we have printed, this new pamphlet will reflect the ideas of Black people who speak for themselves and are seriously interested in working out the problems of today. We invite you to share your thoughts with us in creating this pamphlet.



women- worldwide

Iris Rivera, a Chicago secretary fired in January for refusing to make coffee for her boss, won her job back on March 1. Ms. Rivera was supported by Chicago Women Employed and other women's groups.

Striking workers, mostly Asian women, at Grunwicks Film Processing in North London, have voted overwhelmingly for recognition of their union. Despite the over six-month-long strike, government arbitrators decided another two weeks were needed to consult on the balloting with the company, and management and scabs continued to harass the pickets outside the factory.

In Rhodesia, the Women for Peace movement demonstrated outside Parliament on March 2, calling for an immediate end to all discrimination.

Inez Garcia, accused of second degree murder of the man who held her while another raped her, won an acquittal in California on March 4. This was her second trial, following a conviction in 1974 that was also overturned after she spent 15 months in prison.

In Japan, housewives joined workers at a rally and march of 24,000 in Tokyo recently, demanding higher wages and an end to inflation.

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

DETROIT: 1900 E. Jefferson,
Detroit, Mich. 48207 (259-0404)

SAN FRANCISCO: PO Box 77303, Station E,
San Francisco, Cal. 94107

LOS ANGELES: PO Box 29194,
Los Angeles, Calif. 90029

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

CHICAGO: PO Box 11865,
Chicago, IL 60611

FLINT: PO Box 3384,
Flint, Mich. 48502

New Yorkers sit in to stop City service cuts

New York, N.Y. — The city of New York has once again been "saved" from defaulting on its loans by scraping together one billion dollars to pay off the banks. Once again, the banks get their payments and interest, while the people have their municipal services cut.

On the subways, the city decided to save money not

Uniroyal: more work, less money

Detroit, Mich. — At Uniroyal production standards are so high that our "incentive" system is killing all incentive. It's inhuman.

A guy I know up in sixth floor heavy service told me about a machine where they couldn't get enough production on the new standard and were going to lose a production contract. So they started paying some builders by the old rate. The union said they were going to try to set it back to the old standard, but they didn't.

What they did was let the company write up phony delay-time on the time cards so they could pay the old rate but not change it. One of the builders still had to work under the new standard. That shows how much help the union is.

With all this added work, far from making any more money than before, we're getting far less. There's no such thing as a raise here.

Every time we get a "raise," the company lowers the rates and with prices what they are, we make less than before. The job hasn't changed, just the speed, and the company just gets more free tires.

It's no wonder so many people are out of work. Back when I hired in here, there were more than 5,000 people working. Now there's only something like 1,500.

—Uniroyal worker

only by running fewer and shorter trains, but also by locking up 40 subway entrances at night so it can lay off the token booth attendants. This means many people have to walk up to six extra blocks after 9:15 p.m.

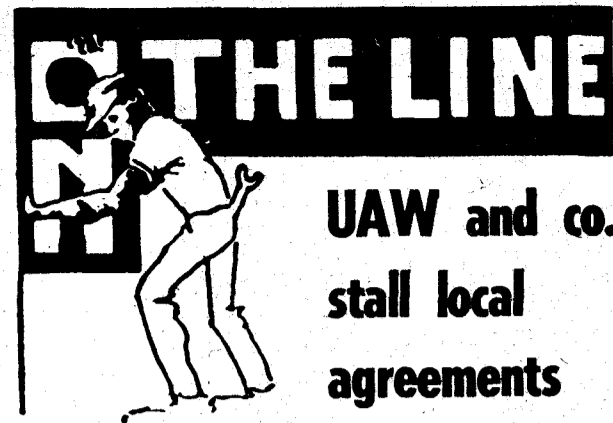
Residents of the West 96th Street area in Manhattan responded by "standing-in" the subway and preventing the gates from being closed. Several hundred protesters turned out at the first two weekly demonstrations, and we were joined by people coming off the trains.

The Transit Workers Union (see March News & Letters) sent a speaker and sound equipment. The police made no effort to remove us. Our chants changed during the night, from "Open the gates, lower the rates," to "Remove the gates, abolish the rates."

Also on the Upper West Side, residents have been sitting-in at the local library branch from 6:30 to 8:30 every evening to extend its slashed hours.

In Brooklyn, Northsiders appear finally to have won their 16-month fight to reopen their firehouse. Calling it the People's Firehouse, residents have occupied the building since November, 1975, holding a fire engine as hostage. When the city offered to transfer a Queens fire company there, the Queens neighborhood stopped the plan with their own protests. Now the city has agreed to rehire 20 laid-off firefighters to staff the firehouse.

Elsewhere, the crippling cutbacks continue. The day-care program has been decimated. Bus service is to be cut 10 percent. Women who can't work because they are laid-off or have no more child care, have an increasingly hard time getting welfare. The latest bright idea for reducing welfare by making fathers pay child support, is to require the mother to swear that she had sexual relations with the father and no one else around the time of conception. Some social workers are leaving these new forms in the drawer.



by John Allison

Rank-and-file auto workers shocked the UAW leaders in 1968 when they came out on strike after the national contract was signed with the auto companies. They were sending the message to the union leaders that their shop problems were as important to them as the economic package — if not more so.

In the 1971 and '73 contract negotiations, the union and company decided to head off a repeat of 1968's strikes by setting up negotiation sessions many months ahead of the contract deadline to work out the local shop grievances. With a few exceptions, they succeeded.

But by the time the last contract came around, management and union had worked out still another plan. This one was to negotiate the national contract and to require union authorization for any strikes to be called over supplementary shop contracts between the local unions and plant management.

As a result, by mid-February, almost six months after the confused, so-called Ford strike was settled, followed by the Chrysler and GM agreements, there were 10 of Chrysler's 42 production and maintenance units and 23 of its 136 white collar units still without a local settlement; at GM, 37 of its 105 production plants did not have local agreements.

The pattern has been the same for all of the Big Three: where vital production units are involved that can halt the company's auto production, the international union comes in and negotiates the local contracts with management, sells the workers a false bill of goods, and that way pulls management's chestnuts out of the fire. Less important plants are left hanging — and sometimes never get a local agreement.

The fact is that the major concerns of the workers over their job conditions go down the drain, because these all have to do with production. And that's one thing that rules with more power than any king ever had. It rules management. It rules the union. And it rules the workers. The big difference is that the workers are trying to break out of these production chains that bind them. The only way they can get freedom is by beating both the union and management bureaucrats.

UAW brass can't represent rank-and-file at convention

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

The United Auto Workers convention is going to be in Los Angeles this year. They will go through the motion of picking a new president to replace Leonard Woodcock who is retiring.

The workers on the line are saying they really don't have anything to say on who will be the top brass. The union tells us that we can have five delegates to represent us at the Convention, that they will speak for us. But if they represent the workers at the Convention like the committeemen represent us in the plant, our voice will be very weak.

It is forty years since that great sitdown strike in Flint when all of the power came from the workers. Today we have almost none of that power left. Why? Because today we have someone else doing our thinking. How can Woodcock or Fraser, who haven't been on these assembly lines, know what we want and how we feel?

Top brass today seem to be elected to keep us in line for the auto makers. They couldn't represent us even if they really wanted to. No one making \$50,000 a year knows how a worker lives who makes \$12,000 to \$15,000. How can they know about the working conditions when they come to work to an office which is just like top management, with cool air and soft chairs?

On the line where I work I saw a foreman pull a chair from under a worker who had a second to sit down because the line had stopped. The foreman said you can't have a chair. If that worker or any other doesn't have a right to sit down, who does?

Forty years ago the workers took that right. They sat for 44 days and nights. General Motors wasn't anything without the workers then. And it is the same today. Workers produce everything. We don't need GM, they need us. And the UAW, which was formed by the workers, should understand this. The leadership seems to be more interested in relations with the company than relations with the workers.

I plan to try and look in on the UAW Convention to see if there are some rank-and-filers there who want to try and recapture the kind of a union movement that gave birth to the UAW.

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich. — Since the lay-off of 500 workers in February, more work has been added to the remaining workers in the Dearborn Assembly Plant. The week of March 7 still more work was added to most jobs.

A union meeting was called for March 12 which was used more as a campaign medium for elections next year than to attack the overloaded job situation.

The downtime schedule made Feb. 21 — which was to result in six weeks off — was cancelled, supposedly due to a 33 percent sales increase of Mustangs. But many view it as a ploy by the company which tricked workers into trading December eligibility vacations for pay-in-lieu, in anticipation of downtime. This enables the company not to have to schedule vacations in its production from January through June.

Changes in this plan will not come from the union leadership — those eagerly waiting to be re-elected, expounding their over-inflated past achievements which somehow never make matters any better. Nor will changes come from those seeking to replace the current leaders by telling us how much better things will be once you elect them.

Changes will be brought about by getting our heads together on and off the shop floor, and addressing the problems management creates and union office holders tolerate because they see through a clouded perspective of safeguarding their cherished positions.

—Assembly plant worker

GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — Word of the upcoming nine-hour work days beginning in April and extending through June has spread through the plant. And while the committeemen are busy assuring workers that this means the new contract guarantees no more than one hour overtime, many working on the lines believe a regular nine-hour day will open the door for 10 and 11-hour work days like the ones imposed by the company this past fall. One worker said "Hell, we're already working a lot of nine-hour days — and we're only scheduled for eight. A scheduled nine can only mean nine-plus!"

Meanwhile, in the Body Shop, the addition of the Buick and Olds to the assembly line—already putting out Chevys — has doubled the workload for many in the Drill and Stud section. The workers, refusing to kill themselves with the additional work, have let many jobs go down the line incomplete.

—GM South Gate worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — Last week quite a few of the officers and some of the members of Local 15 picketed Solidarity House. They were saying that the International won't give the Local strike authorization, even though we have been working without a contract since last September. It's not just the Local officers who are mad at the International. Everyone knows about the way they have

been settling jobs without even coming into the plant and looking at them. Curt McGuire is the worst.

But the International is not the whole story. Rufus Coleman didn't even come to the picket line, and Jim Gabbard, who was running it, is just trying to get the heat off himself for leaving hundreds of 78's unsettled in the plant.

Just about all the union politicians at Fleetwood are running scared. They figure that many will get voted out in the election. Conditions are so bad now that you can feel the tension. In the paint shop, a foreman on the sealer line named Mike took a worker down to the blue-room for disciplinary action. It ended with the foreman getting his jaw broken.

What we need now is to tell the International and the Local to quit trying to blame each other for the mess they have made and do something about it now.

—Dept. 11 worker, afternoons

Ford Chicago

Since there have been rumors that we are going to vote on a strike over working conditions, the line has been slowed down and people aren't running so fast. But they want us to work on paid holidays, and while we're only supposed to be working two Saturdays every month, now they've got us scheduled for every one of them.

In the local election we didn't get everybody we wanted to win elected. We got some of them in, but we still have the same president. I don't know if it's going to make any difference. There wasn't too much excitement about who won. If the election is close they bring all the retirees in to vote and all too often they vote with the guys already in office. That's what makes it so hard to get someone out once they get in. That clique of retirees is a hundred votes right there.

—Day shift worker

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — Chief steward Jack Barrett and Committeeman Bernard George are both running for Division II Committeeman. Each talks about what a bad job the other does.

Once a worker got called back after a disciplinary lay-off. His foreman never brought him in from the gate; so he had to go back home that day. After two months he hasn't gotten his four hours of call-in pay. George says Barrett has to take care of it while Barrett claims the matter is in George's hands.

Now Barrett is hollering about all the grievances George is sitting on. Barrett filed six grievances against foreman Larry Comb for harassment — but most have been filed only in the last four months.

Barrett refuses to file grievances and he never wifis any on the floor. Instead, if you have a problem, he blames other workers, especially if they're women. George negotiates by making deals workers lose out on — like when he "won" a grievance by getting an unjust disciplinary lay-off off a worker's record, but he gave up the worker's back pay.

—Main building worker

EDITORIAL

The 50,000 student youth who demonstrated in Rome on March 12-13, while thousands more marched in Bologna, Milan, Turin, Florence and Naples to protest the killing of a 25-year-old medical student leader — like the tens of thousands of British students who have been marching in the streets and occupying colleges in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland — have raised the specter of '68 that has been haunting rulers all over the world ever since that near-revolution was aborted and all was supposedly "quiet" again.

The discontent of the students is deeply rooted in the total bankruptcy of this society, the world-wide economic crisis and the political move to the right everywhere. The Italian students had been occupying every major university for many weeks, protesting a government plan to "reorganize" higher education in such a way as to eliminate most of the students and exclude especially the children of the working-class.

The British occupations were triggered by the prospect of such astronomical tuition increases that virtually all Third World students who do not get government assistance would be eliminated from the universities and polytechnics. The prospect that universities everywhere will return to being reserved for the "elite" is very real.

(For activity of students in New York, see p. 7.)

Seething protests are erupting in every part of the world. In Mexico City, 15,000, mostly students, demonstrated early in February to defend trade-union rights of professors and workers in the universities and protest "austerity measure" cut-backs. A month later saw ten days of bloody clashes in Oaxaca, Mexico, between police and students who were demanding land reform for Indian peasants. In British Columbia, 3,000 marched March 1 to protest fee hikes of up to 30 percent; and thousands of students at the University of Hawaii marched on their state Capitol in Honolulu to oppose proposed cuts there. Egyptian students, who were in the forefront of the recent "food riots," marched around Cairo University last month in defiance of a law that made demonstrators liable to life sentences at hard labor; and in Athens,

20,000 students defied a government ban and protested the acquittal of officers accused of repressing an earlier student demonstration; while the Turkish government has been unable to control a veritable student civil war between left and right-wing students there.

Whether the silence of the American press — it took the New York Times until March 20 to report the first word of the massive British occupations that began on Feb. 9 — was because they did not want to contribute to an atmosphere reminiscent of '68, or because they didn't think the occupations as "important" as the activities of '68, the truth is that the current student protests are new and on a different level, worldwide.

The current discontent reflects the students' own experiences with the massive unemployment that is facing all the world's youth. In Italy 72,000 new university graduates will be looking for jobs this spring, but only 30 percent will find one. The rest will join a quarter of a million earlier graduates still out of work. "We realized we were just unemployed, like so many others in this society," said one 23-year-old Italian student about to get a degree in philosophy. Unemployed youth demonstrating in the streets of Paris earlier this year were reported to be chanting, "The only solution is revolution."

At the same time, the revolt — especially in Italy — is being charged with being "anti-political," by which is meant that the students are rejecting "parties, politics and unions." The truth is that the students now consider the Communist Party as part of the ruling establishment. Neither the CP nor most of the "far left" groups such as the Maoist PDUP have supported the current movement. When Communist leader Luciano Lama appeared at the occupied University of Rome in February in an effort to contain the student movement, he was, instead, chased out by students, despite his police escort, and the university was closed until further notice.

The student demonstrations come at a time when the workers everywhere are also growing angrier over government "austerity plans." In Britain the four-week

Leyland strike was credited by students there with inspiring their own strikes. In West Germany the mass discontent erupted over the government's planned nuclear program; 80,000 from all over West Germany defied intense government intimidation to take part in two demonstrations on Feb. 19 at Brockdorf and at Itzhoe. In Spain thousands have demonstrated for the dissolution of the paramilitary Guardia Civil Police. And in Portugal, where students were active in a resistance during the '60s even under fascism, they are sure not to permit the present move to the right to proceed unchallenged.

Whether the students can unite with the unemployed, the workers, the women and the other forces of revolt as they did in 1968 is important, but that is not the crucial question. The students well understand the need for that unity by now. What was not understood in '68 was the critical need for theory. If the new student activities are united with a search for something new in thought — and, thus, in organization — a new high stage of revolt is, indeed, in the offing.

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THE STUDENT STRIKES

The occupation continues. The London School of Economics sit-in ended on Feb. 26 after the police moved in with crow-bars in the middle of the night. Labour Party MPs have complained of over-reaction by police. All over the country, however, other colleges and universities are taking action by occupying, or striking, or marching. The "Communists" on the National Union of Students Executive are still trying to cool things down. But the peak has not yet been reached. A Luta Continua.

British Student
London

We got into some good discussions with Black students at CCNY about the article by the British students. One said it made sense for the American press not to report as much as a word on the English takeovers because "the same things are happening to students here, and they might decide to follow the British example." Another student talked of how the vanguardists on campus were harmful to the fight against the cut-backs. He considered the YSA and the Maoists "reactionary" because they never try to work with students when protests break out, "they only use the protests to get the credit for themselves."

Student
New York

I warmly welcome the new student strikes in England, but was stopped by their apparent belief that being "strongest in support of the IRA" is proof of being "most Left" on the question of Ireland . . .

The very day I read their article in N&L I had two letters from Irishmen living in England. One, a Belfastman who had just moved to London with his wife to seek work, the other who has been working in England for several years. They both write that with the worsening of the economy the Anglo Establishment, in the manner of fascism, is using the large but minority Irish working class of England to nurture organized hate against these Irish. It is becoming very uncomfortable to be working-class Irish in England. I would like to see the English student strikers bring

some clarity to this. It would be more important than "supporting the IRA".

Seamas
Minnesota

On March 20, The New York Times finally caught up with the news of the British student strikes that you printed three weeks ahead of them—and not half as well as the report the British students gave you. I haven't read anything about it in the radical press, to date. I didn't read about the Flint women's demonstration against the UAW anywhere else, either. Nor have I seen a report about the dissent in the Irish Peace Movement anywhere but in your paper—until I just saw it mentioned in the Irish publication, Dawn. And nobody else reported the recent precedent-setting ARA case, either. For a monthly publication you are doing pretty good with your "scoops" lately.

Contributor
Ohio

TWO WORLDS

A word about the last "Two Worlds" on "Roots, errors and dialectics" . . . Mere genealogy is not always just a matter of "mere" genealogy. When I was in 10th grade, I had an English teacher who was very right-wing. One day, to cultivate a backward-to-the-past mentality and nurture patriotism, he encouraged us to examine our roots. I took him literally and for several months explored them. I discovered one rebellion and revolt after another, generation after generation, in my Irish ancestors, beginning with one who was poisoned in the Tower of London in 1628 because of his longing for freedom. I soon extended my examination to revolution-as-such, then applied what I learned to my conditions in high school, and the result was a serious student revolt in 1961 . . . That's why I believe mere genealogy is not always "mere" genealogy.

Revolutionary
Minneapolis

Regarding Raya Dunayevskaya's last "Two Worlds", although I think that there are much more important things to write about, I want to tell you that exactly 50 years (yes: fifty!) ago, I

helped Kurt Mandelbaum on his edition of Marx's letters to Nikolai-on (Danielson), a result of a seminar with Prof. Gustav Mayer (the biographer of Engels). The name always appeared correctly in print. It looks as if Fred Halliday talked out of his hat since Korsch's brochure in German appeared 5 years before the one by Mandelbaum. I don't know if Korsch misspelled Nikolai-on but the reference to Mandelbaum is false in any case.

P. B.
New York

'THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES'

The "Two Worlds" column in your March issue captures the spirit of the rest of the paper. The Watergate cover-ups outraged everyone, but the historical cover-ups Ms. Dunayevskaya points to are more criminal. The articles pertaining to the UAW's "cover-up" celebration of the great sit-downs in 1937 expose the attempt by General Motors and the union to persuade us that this great outpouring of worker self-activity was for the purpose of culminating in a "good relationship" between union and management. Their effort to re-write a crucial chapter of American labor history cannot succeed — because "The Struggle Continues."

Black Intellectual
Los Angeles

The Chinese garment workers at Jung Sai in San Francisco gained national attention in 1975 when they won a year-long fight for union recognition. The company was ordered to reopen the factory they had shut down in the face of the picket line, and to pay the workers all their lost wages. But the company appealed and the NLRB has just rejected the ruling about reopening the factory. Now the company is appealing the back-pay ruling, too. The ILGWU says it is satisfied, but many of the

Reader

women are still without work, and fear—with good reason—that other Chinatown employers won't hire them because of their involvement with the Jung Sai strike. Whoever coined the slogan "Lotta Continua", The Struggle Continues, was sure right!

Women's Liberationist
Detroit

UNITED FARM WORKERS

The United Farm Workers Union has reached an historic agreement with the Teamsters Union.

The growers, however, have come up with a new ploy to keep the UFW out of their fields, a company union. The UFW has been pressing the ALRB to declare these company unions ineligible for certification, since they violate the intent of the law. Suits against individual company unions could take years and much energy out of UFW people.

Farmworkers and their supporters have gathered in Sacramento for a major demonstration against the ALRB for not taking up the question of company unions. I hope the UFW doesn't waste too much energy at the ALRB offices and the legislature and instead goes directly to the workers, since they were the union's strength to begin with.

UFW Supporter
Oakland

SOUTH AFRICA REVOLT

Support for the struggles of the Black majority in Southern Africa was very visible in the Bay Area this week. Tsietsi Mashinini, 19 year old founder of the Soweto Student Representative Council, now with a price on his head by the ruling white racists, was sponsored by an enormous coalition of organizations, churches and individuals and spoke to jammed audiences at Berkeley and in Oakland. A rally in San Francisco drew approximately 3,000. The

TWO WORLDS

New Essays: new unity of theory and practice

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION**
and **Marxism and Freedom**

Editor's Note: Raya Dunayevskaya is giving her column over this issue to a letter from a colleague concerning her latest pamphlet. See ad, p. 8.

Dear Raya,

I have just finished reading your **New Essays** for the first time as a totality, and felt that I had to write you this note, because I had been so impressed with **Philosophy and Revolution**, especially with Chapter One on Hegel, that I didn't think anything could add to it, in its universality and concreteness. But what you have achieved in "Dialectics of Liberation: Absolute Negativity as New Beginning" is so new that for the first time I see what the term "new" you are always using really means.

So limited is the essay to one single chapter of Hegel's **Science of Logic** — the final one, "Absolute Idea" — so rigorous and textual is it, moving paragraph by paragraph through those final 27 paragraphs of the **Logic**, that at first sight it would seem that no concrete — or "political" — conclusions could be revealed. But in fact, what I come to understand by the time I reach your conclusion is that the newness is not alone in relation to ourselves as revolutionaries and as Marxists, but even in relation to Hegel himself.

NONE OF THE Hegelians, whether of the "non-political" variety, or those that considered themselves socialists — like Theodor Adorno — have been able to see Absolute Idea, not as pinnacle, not as conclusion, but as the mediation that creates an immediacy. From the very beginning of the essay, your insistence that "the Absolute Idea is a new beginning, a new beginning that is inevitable, precisely because the Absolute Idea is a 'concrete totality' and thus entails differentiation and impulse to transcend," struck me as the new ground on which to work through Absolute Idea — by subjecting it to Hegel's own method.

Such revolutionary excitement is created in following the Idea in self-movement that I feel that anyone reading

this would have to see in the dialectic no separation between Absolute Form, the Method, the Notion, all revolving around the pivot of "universal absolute activity." No longer can it be vulgarly said that Marx "revolutionized" the Hegelian dialectic. Instead, Marx's actualization of the dialectic as "a new Humanism" is seen as the realization of a philosophic method that was already revolutionary — and which drew its revolutionary passion not from speculation, but from 2,500 years of the history of the struggle for freedom — even if "only" as the freedom of the Idea — culminating in the great French Revolution.

The truth is that, even if one wished to call what you have accomplished here a "re-statement" of Hegel, it would be a "re-statement" unlike any that has been created up to this historic moment. While Hegel constantly stressed the necessity of considering things "in and for themselves," generations of those studying his method—academics and Marxists seeking to "apply" the dialectic — have missed the source of that method's explosive energy. Their failure stands out all the more starkly when one considers the clarity with which you express it: "The point is that it is the power of the negative which is the creative element; it is not the synthesis, but the absolute negativity which assures the advance movement."

The height is reached in the last paragraph of the entire **Science of Logic**, which even Lenin skipped over in his **Philosophic Notebooks**, saying "further till the end of the page is unimportant." You have proved that what Hegel is stating in that last paragraph is what he will not "know" until he writes the final three syllogisms of **Philosophy of Mind** (paragraphs 575, 576, 577) in 1830. In doing so, you have brought in both the movement from practice and the movement from theory. In other words, you have shown that Hegel is here anticipating himself.

IS THE ANSWER to why you were able to see this anticipation, where Hegel scholars who had spent their lives could not, the same reason that you are demanding that all attention be paid to the third syllogism (paragraph 577) where "Logic has been replaced, and in its

stead we get, not the sequential, but the consequential **Self-Thinking Idea**?" In other words, does the dialectical distinction lie in the opposition between Absolute Negativity as Absolute Method and every other method of thought in which substance rules, even when substance is as high as the system itself?

This whole question of Hegel's "anticipating himself" has really set me to thinking, both backward to the

(Continued on Page 7)

WHO WE ARE

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

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

Views

many Black speakers made strong identification with the struggles at home and in Africa. The multi-racial audience, predominantly Black, had a new dimension of Black senior citizens from the many churches.

Mashinini told the audience: "The student's actions were considered a revolution, there was no precedence for it in Soweto . . . I am not a communist, we never learned about communism, but I know what we need is self-determination and total liberation . . ." We distributed our own leaflet, both in S.F. and in L.A., on "The New Stage of Black Thought and Action" this movement represents.

Committee Member
Bay Area

Tsietsi Mashinini began his talk to 500 NYU students with a paragraph in Afrikaans, a language derived from the 17th century Dutch conquerers. "That's the crap we were forced to study in our schools. Our native tongue was being suppressed just like our freedom," he said.

Mashinini said that Blacks in South Africa are not allowed to carry guns so they fight the armed government with stones and knives. They want to control their own lives and are saying to hell with white power even if it comes to death.

He asked the audience to help get their country out of his, and to stop America from identifying with the racist regime.

Student
New York

An exiled leader of the Soweto Student Representative Council, Khotso Seatholo, spoke at a campus meeting here of the horrors of apartheid, and the key role of American imperialism as backbone to the Vorster regime. He told of an 8-year-old child being shot dead in the street by soldiers for making a Black

Power salute, and emphasized the determination of the Black youth to totally uproot the apartheid system.

Yet I was left with questions. He praised Idi Amin as "my father, my leader." The hypocrisy and racism of the Western press is evident in the difference between its treatment of Amin and Vorster; yet Amin is an oppressive ruler over the Black Ugandan masses. Surely the tremendous Reason in the self-activity of the S. African youth is a drive for total freedom, an end to all elitist leadership, including dictatorships like Amin's.

Concerned
Detroit

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

The cultural extravaganza in Nigeria ended a couple of weeks ago. It must have cost the country plenty. The justification for such an expenditure is that it brought Africans and Black people together. It is ironic that at about the same time, the East African community was disintegrating: Ethiopia, Somali and Sudan intensified their war of nerves; Amin's reign of terror remained unabated. Instead of tackling these and other problems, the leaders opted for a circus.

Frankly, I see **Roots** and the hoopla surrounding it, in the same light . . . Haley, in his interviews, seems to want to encourage Blacks to go searching for their roots, as if knowing where one's great-grandfather came from is going to impress a slum landlord about to hike his rent. The problem in Africa and even in the U.S. is for radicals to realize that with the external trappings of colonization dismantled, the struggle now has to assume a class dimension. Andrew Young, in spite of his utterances, has very little in common with the guerrilla fighters. He has more in common

with Muzorewa and Nkomo, both of whom are now struggling to get to power on the backs of the guerrillas. Any book that portrays Africans as one happy family does a disservice because it does not portray the reality of Africa, not even Africa during the slave era. Someone collaborated with the foreign slave raiders.

Correspondent
West Africa

In a sociology class that I teach, we were talking about working conditions in modern society, and I mentioned Marx's concept of "dead labor dominating living labor," i.e. that under capitalism, machinery is more important than the living human being. One young white student protested that this was impossible, maybe Marx was relevant for his day, but not for ours. Immediately several students who work in various auto shops mentioned concrete examples of "dead labor over living labor." One man told of how a woman who had been hit by a machine and knocked unconscious was allowed to lie on the floor for almost ten minutes — but when a machine broke down, management was there within thirty seconds. The "voices from below" know far more than those who pride themselves on intellectual "sophistication."

Instructor
Detroit

Some of the women's groups here have refused to support the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement. They don't seem to understand that Nazism is also a "women's issue." It would seem that all one has to do to see that is to look at what happened to the tremendous women's movement in Germany once Hitler took over. The acceptance of racism by so many of the Left, both men and women, is very unsettling to me.

Feminist
Chicago

The quote you printed from the **N&L** constitution as a short Editor's Note last issue really hit me. So much was expressed in those few lines—not only that "party to lead" is no simple, undiffer-

entiated, historically-linear product, but that its negation is also not so simple as mere counter-posing. Philosophy and revolution—it is all there in that constitution to be worked out.

Marxist-Humanist
Detroit

Editor's Note: Copies of our constitution are available for 13 cents postage.

FANNIE LOU HAMER

The death, on March 15, of Fannie Lou Hamer, brings to mind an outpouring of images from her life as a freedom fighter, beginning with her decision to join the 1962 SNCC voter registration campaign in her hometown—Ruleville, Mississippi. From that moment, nothing could stop her—not the instant eviction from the plantation where she sharecropped, not the arrests, not the bombings or the murders.

Sister Hamer gave all of us in the movement for "Freedom Now" not only strength, but ideas. She never divided up the struggle. She said that 40 years of being Black, woman and a sharecropper in the Delta taught her that. From voter registration drives to organizing cottonfield workers and maids by creating the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union, her fiery voice and her leadership inspired thousands to join the movement.

It is with the greatest bitterness that I hear her magnificent legacy reduced by today's politicians—some of whom were yesterday's civil rights workers—to "making the election of Jimmy Carter possible." Those who still share her vision of a total change, see her legacy not as "past history," but a light to the future, for white as well as Black, for the women's movement, and for new human relations everywhere.

—Mike Flug

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Last month a summit conference of government leaders from Black Africa and the Arabic world was held in Cairo. Like most summit conferences, this one was organized to conceal more than to reveal, except for one major agreement: in exchange for the paltry sum promised for Black African aid by the Arab oil producers, they were able to achieve a unanimous declaration of support for the Arabs against Israel.

The offering of a few billion petro dollars, which will hardly solve any of the stressing economic problems in Black Africa, or offset the cost of the increase in oil prices, is an insult while the oil-rich Arab nations invest many more billions in the industrialized U.S. and Europe.

There was no indication that this conference even made an attempt to deal with the actual relationships that exist between the oil-rich Arab states and the poor Black states south of the Sahara, or the internal difficulties that these leaders are having with their own workers, peasants and students at home.

If the Cairo summit has any uniqueness about it, it is that this was the first time that Arab leaders like Sadat of Egypt, Assad of Syria, Khalid of Saudi Arabia and Hussein of Jordan have shown any interest in the revolutions in Black Africa. Not one of them can be considered a revolutionary leader engaged in a struggle against capitalism and world imperialism.

Sadat has proven himself to be an agile compromiser who can deal with either Russian state capitalism or U.S. private capitalism, while at the same time suppressing revolts against poverty and inequity in Egypt. Assad, last year, destroyed without mercy the Lebanese revolution when it attempted to break out of the confines of the narrow nationalism imposed upon it by Yassir Arafat's P.L.O. Hussein, the highest paid known CIA agent, is even now negotiating with Israel to promote

Philosophic controversy sparked over pamphlet excerpts

Ed. note: We received a critique of our forthcoming pamphlet on the St. Louis 1877 General Strike, excerpts from which were printed in our January-February 1977 issue. We print it below, with a reply from the authors.

I will read your forthcoming pamphlet on "The American Roots of Marxism, Hegelianism and Feminism" with care. The topic is important . . . judging from the excerpts you present, your pamphlet will include a quantity of misinformation. This regrettable result is guaranteed by the tendency of the authors to fling labels carelessly about. Thus, in one paragraph Joseph Weydemeyer is grouped among the "early Hegelians" and in another he is identified as a Marxist.

Even more regrettable is the tendency of the authors to regard Transcendentalism and Abolitionism as mutually exclusive categories. In this regard they betray their deep ignorance of important American intellectual and social movements. Let them read Thoreau's "Plea for Captain John Brown" and some of Theodore Parker's sermons and Margaret Fuller's writing on the topic of slavery. If they do, they will know more about the relationship between Transcendentalism and Abolitionism . . .

I suspect that Moon and Brokmeyer never actually read my book before they decided to dismiss it as an academic attack on Marxism. What gives rise to that suspicion, apart from the fact that they misspelled my name, is that the single quotation from it they make appeared in an earlier review in which the reviewer complained of the pragmatic, undialectical character of my thought. In any case, I am charged with writing that Transcendentalism was "freighted with elements of an American Marxism" and I plead guilty. But then I am charged with slapping the label "American Marxists" on the Transcendentalists, and to this charge I plead not guilty. The American Transcendentalists are like the German Left Hegelians. Their thought contains elements which are carried over into Marxism. They are pre-Marxists, if you please. I believe in precision in labelling; I am not like Moon and Brokmeyer who refer to Weydemeyer as both a Hegelian and a Marxist . . .

In mitigation of their error let me say that they may have been misled by the title of the first edition of my book. They could have seen "American Disciples of Marx" on the cover, then noticed I discuss Emerson, Thoreau and Brownson, then concluded the syllogism: therefore, Herreshoff says these Transcendentalists are Marxists. They could not have known that the title was forced on me by an academic publisher . . . when Monad Press brought out a paperback edition, I was at liberty to choose a more accurate title. It is "The Origins of American Marxism."

—David Herreshoff

David Herreshoff accuses us not only of "a quantity of misinformation" but of "deep ignorance of important intellectual and social movements." His critique rises to a crescendo at our calling Weydemeyer both a Hegelian and a Marxist — the "regrettable result" of our "tendency to fling labels carelessly about." More regrettable: still is our considering "Transcendentalism and Abolitionism as mutually exclusive."

To the latter charge we could not agree more com-

Beware Cairo 'brotherhood'

Jordanian hegemony over any Palestinian state set up.

The Cairo summit conference was not a new development in Black Africa's potential to evolve into a free humanistic society, but an expression of the very opposite. A close look at the Cairo summit, in spite of its "militant" rhetoric against Israel, will show that the main goal of the organizers of this meeting, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, is to maintain the class status quo in the Middle East.

The revolution in Lebanon last year taught the Egyptian, the Saudi, and the Syrian leaders that the masses of the Palestinian dispossessed had gone beyond the goal set for them, i.e., the destruction of Israel, and were now demanding revolution in class relations within the Arabic world itself. And what was even more ominous about this situation for these leaders, is that this attempt to destroy the prevailing class structure in the Middle East did not come from Arafat's P.L.O. leadership or the Rejection Front headed by George Habash, the so-called Marxist, but arose spontaneously with the rejection of capitalist exploitation and terror in Lebanon, by both Moslems and Christians.

More than anything else, it is the fear of revolution from below that is bringing about a "solution" to the Middle East stalemate. The U.S., Russia, Israel and the Arab nations want "peace" in that area — a peace that retains the rule of capitalism and imperialism.

Black workers, peasants and students in southern Africa have declared war on capitalism and U.S. imperialist attempts to intervene in that area as a "neutral", whereas Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the P.L.O. want U.S. intervention to set up the Palestinian State.

Black Africa, for the sake of its own revolution, and its own humanity, must be wary of the newfound "Brotherhood" in Cairo. Real brotherhood and sisterhood will be found amongst the masses of Blacks and Arabs struggling toward achieving their own freedom.

pletely; Herreshoff's eclectic persistence in the opposite conclusion is exactly what led him to identify Emerson's petty-bourgeois individualistic standing-on-the-sidelines with the movement for freedom which inspired white and Black Abolitionists — including the revolutionary petty-bourgeois among them — to risk their lives to put an end to slavery. It is this which is at the root of his disagreement not only with us but with Marx himself, who castigated those "Marxists" who refused to get involved in the anti-slavery movement by exclaiming, "If this is Marxism, I am not a Marxist." Herreshoff goes so far in the opposite direction as to elevate the anti-Abolitionist, Orestes Brownson, to nothing short of being a sort of predecessor (sic!) of Marxism.

As for Herreshoff's suspicion that we "never actually read his book" before deciding "to dismiss it as an academic attack on Marxism," all we can say is that if we hadn't we could have given him the benefit of the doubt, since it is not possible in a letter fully to express one's thinking on important intellectual and social movements. Unfortunately, when his eclecticism is expanded to book-length, lack of space cannot be used to justify such fantastic anti-Marxism as elevating that anti-Abolitionist Brownson to some sort of root of Marxism, whether he is called an outright "disciple," or a mere part of the "origins of Marxism." In his book, Herreshoff devotes the whole of Chapter 2 to "The Anti-Abolitionists: Brownson and Kriege." Though he shows that they "opposed Abolitionists' efforts to make the Negro free" (p. 39), he dares to drag in Engels' *Conditions of the Working Class in England* — as if that had any affinity to the views of the "pro-slavery anti-capitalism of Brownson" (p. 41).

It is natural for someone who loosely uses the word "cohort" for genuine Marxists (as in "Sorge, Weydemeyer and their cohorts" — p. 28) to go wild against the designation of Weydemeyer as both Hegelian and Marxist just because he was Marx's closest American associate and published all of Marx's works on both economics and history, in both of which Marx acknowledged his indebtedness to Hegel. So blinded is Herreshoff by his anti-Hegelianism that he fails to note the great divide between those to whom he attributes an affinity to Marxism and those Marx himself chose.

The Abolitionists Herreshoff chose to ignore — Gerit Smith, William Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips — are the very ones that Marx singled out in the *Vienna Presse*, saying their intellectual and political activity for 30 years was thoroughly an expression of a movement. This movement of Black and white was the human content of what Marx called a "world upheaval" in America.

It was that Abolitionist movement which led to the Civil War and to what Marx called the "first fruit" of the victory over slavery — the struggle for the eight-hour day. It is that section of Capital which the American Marxists, whom Marx did acknowledge, translated and used as leaflets in the eight-hour movement, which, in turn, became part of the great first General Strike in the U.S. in 1877 . . .

Clearly, what is involved in Herreshoff's critique of our work is not "mistakes" or "oversights," but totally different concepts of revolution and revolutionaries.

—Terry Moon and Ron Brokmeyer



Need FBI watchdogs, and more

by Shainape Sheapwe

John Trudell, national head of AIM (American Indian Movement), spoke recently on the Native American Solidarity Committee and the Lawyer's Guild in Ann Arbor, and the Lawyer's Guild here in Detroit. He was trying to raise funds for Leonard Peltier, who had been extradited from Canada and is on trial for charges brought against him related to the June 25, 1975, shooting of an FBI agent on Pine Ridge.

But in addition to that, he called for the formation of committees to investigate the wrongdoings of the FBI. This makes sense for Indians living on reservations, but in urban areas it may not be very effective.

What was important, however, is that he appealed to a broad spectrum of people to join in these committees, including women, who have been harassed by the FBI in their liberation activities; the Blacks, who have had more than their share of oppression from the FBI during the 1960s and since then; and even the handicapped, especially militants among them who have also been victimized by the FBI.

And it is true that the government is directly involved in the things that are going on in the reservations. For example, in the last Akwesasne Notes, there was a report that at least 50 people have been killed at Pine Ridge since 1973, and most of them have been natives—dead as a result of direct FBI involvement.

In my own tribe, there is constant harassment over a lot of little things. Like persons being investigated for a petty crime that may have been committed a long time ago, and threatened or actually convicted and put in jail for the offense. These are mostly native Americans active in trying to make things better for their people. These FBI actions often have the effect of intimidating many native Americans who are then afraid to act.

But in directing our energies toward that, in AIM, on reservations or in Indian communities, we must be careful not to lose sight of our other major goals. We also have to keep track of things like mercury poisoning, problems with native children, fishing and land rights, employment and the whole range of discrimination issues we have to keep high on our priorities.

One of the best things in Mr. Trudell's proposal is to involve other groups, and that can be the most important part. By all of us getting together, we can accomplish a great deal that will help every group and lay the basis for united action.

Farmworkers sit in at ALRB

Los Angeles, Cal.—Twenty-three farmworkers were arrested in the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) office in El Centro, Cal., on March 1, when they attempted to find out why a company union was allowed on a ballot.

Royal Packing Company, one of the largest growers in the Imperial Valley, created a company union out of fear of UFW organizing, and petitioned the ALRB for a place on the ballot. It was granted.

Hearing of this, UFW members went to the ALRB in El Centro and demanded an explanation. While the farmworkers waited for an answer, Counsel General to the ALRB, Deliznanno, who was appointed by Gov. Brown, got a court order for their arrest and prohibited going to an ALRB office without an appointment.

The next day farmworkers were sitting in every ALRB office in the state asking the same question the arrested farmworkers were asking. Thousands of UFW supporters sent telegrams and made phone calls to Brown's office in support of the farmworkers.

The way the election was set up was perfect timing for the growers, because at the time the election was held the workers consisted mainly of skilled labor and tractor drivers. The ground crews who would vote UFW were not even working yet. Thus the election was held and the company union won.

Continuous attacks on the farmworkers' movement, such as the recent access laws and the company's ability to form a "union", are on the farmworkers' minds. The question "what do we do now?" is being worked out by the farmworkers themselves.

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Supreme Court suit threatens to dismantle affirmative action

Berkeley, Cal.—Thousands of students turned out for a rally and teach-in Feb. 25 on the Berkeley campus to protest a recent Supreme Court decision to hear the Bakke case. Allen Bakke, a white civil engineer, sued the University of California at Davis Medical School, charging that it had discriminated against him by admitting less-qualified minority students under a special admissions program for the educationally or economically disadvantaged.

State courts had recently ruled that Bakke had been discriminated against. The University appealed this to the Supreme Court. One of the great concerns voiced at the rally was that the University has never championed affirmative action programs, and thus will not present a sound case before the court.

Fears are further intensified by the fact that it was a University admissions officer that encouraged Bakke to sue, and provided him with all the necessary information.

Speakers at the rally, which included Black Scholar editor Robert Allen, Angela Davis, Erica Huggins, and Lee Brightman, from AIM, pointed out that the Bakke suit was part of an ever-increasing attack on civil rights that was connected to the deepening economic crisis within this country.

The Bakke case will now give the Supreme Court the right to decide whether any affirmative action programs can exist nationally. The court decision could extend beyond medical school admissions to include an attack on housing, employment, and educational rights of minorities and women.

The programs that do exist were not established by the "good will" of universities, but grew out of the demands of the Civil Rights movements in the '60s. The feeling at the rally was that it will take more demonstrations like this one to insure that these programs are not dismantled.

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

process of your coming to such ideas and "forward" to Mao's death and today's headlines on China. The work that I have been doing with your archives has been tremendously revealing of the "labor, patience and suffering of the negative" that revolutionary theory must undergo if it is to meet — and in this case "meet" must also mean "anticipate" — the movement from practice. After working with your 1949-50 philosophic correspondence, I am convinced that the phrase "it is no accident" fails completely to explain your discovery of a movement from practice in your *Letters on Hegel's Absolute Idea* six weeks before the East German masses gave that movement a world reality in their June 17, 1953 revolt against Russian totalitarianism.

THERE IS ANOTHER sense in which I was impressed by the "newness" of your essay. I felt more that it is only because you have penetrated so deeply into philosophy that you have been able to see the biggest headlines as anticipation — not the crystal-ball kind, but as theoretic preparation for each new moment, and for revolution itself. Take the essay which begins the pamphlet: "Post-Mao China: What Now?" It was written one short month after Mao's death, yet has both a scope and a specificity which still escapes the China commentators.

If anything was needed to show philosophy's importance, it is the contrast between your essay and Julius Jacobson's "Notes on Mao's Death" in the current *New Politics*. Jacobson certainly thinks he agrees with you — politically. But in reading his piece, you don't get any idea why Mao had ever achieved the great national revolution he undeniably headed. There is a failure to see either the peasantry as revolutionary force, or the appreciation of philosophy in the depth of the idea of freedom which makes you believe that each person can really be 10,000.

This is exactly what Mao misuses in the Great Leap Forward, and what makes his counter-revolution the worst of all state-capitalisms. Far from national revolution representing for Mao a necessary moment in the path to world revolution, thought and action divide totally when Mao assumes state power. By the time his refusal to back Hanoi as U.S. bombs are raining down on that country exposes him, the Chinese revolution has been transformed into a national state-capitalism fighting for global mastery, whose "proletarian internationalism" turns out to be a new imperialism. If the new beginning with which you face the crisis of our nuclear age is anything less than Absolute Negativity, there is every sort of counter-revolution waiting for you.

THIS IS THE ground of the Trotsky essay as well. Not that Trotsky was ever a counter-revolutionist or retrogressionist. You show him as a great man and a great lifelong revolutionary. Yet Trotsky's "permanent revolution" doesn't end up equaling world revolution. Especially where the peasantry is concerned, self-movement, self-determination fall before the immovable substance of their "incapability of an independent political role, and even less a leading one."

Just two points on your exchange with Mandel printed after the Trotsky essay. His vulgarisms on the peasantry made me laugh, as his position changes three times in as many paragraphs. I am sure there is the closest relation between these attitudes and his disgraceful introduction to the new British edition of Marx's *Capital*. Everyone should read your critique of it. ** I also couldn't get over his male chauvinist arrogance. It is really so damning when the Fourth International's supposed "internationalization" of Women's Liberation is exposed by their biggest theoretician's own sexism.

Freedom, Michael Connolly

*Available in "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection" on deposit at Wayne State University. A guide can be ordered from News & Letters for 35c.

**See Political-Philosophic Letter, "Today's Global Crises and Marx's *Capital*," available from News & Letters for 50¢ (See ad, p. 6).

Students back UofM strike

Ann Arbor, Mich.—The 2,300 service and maintenance workers at the University of Michigan went on strike Feb. 22. The workers, members of Local 1583 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees union (AFSCME), struck after 85 percent of the rank-and-file members rejected the contract tentatively accepted by their bargaining team.

The University has responded to the strike with police attacks on the union's picket lines and by enlisting scabs to take the striking workers' places. Students have been forced to fill in for the AFSCME strikers under threats from the University to rescind their financial aid if the students refuse.

Students have responded to the strike with strong support. They have helped to "man" picket lines, organized rallies to protest police violence against the strikers, and initiated rent strikes against the University.

After three weeks, students and other campus workers remain solidly behind the AFSCME workers' strike, even in the face of increased threats and coercion from University administrators. Student (As we go to press, the strike ended with ratification of a new contract.—Ed.)

Maoism no substitute for workers' self-activity

by Jim Mills

The direction and need for workers controlling production is a daily demand in my shop. A woman had to work with a broken hand although the company doctor excused her from work. Metal shop workers never see a day go by without someone getting gashed. A worker forced to do poor work because of speed-up was disciplined, without protest from the union representative. Every worker knows exactly what problems he or she faces due to production, at work and at home.

During recent contract negotiations, you could see how the Maoist factions and the union are similar barriers to workers controlling their own lives by controlling production. Neither wanted to hear and project the concrete, self-expressed problems and ideas of workers. Yet they always speak "for" the workers.

At the factory where I work, Maoists represent the old left. They deny the self-activity of workers, or the new passions for freedom appearing everywhere.

Take the Women's Liberation Movement. One Maoist worker said we ought to defend seniority rights over affirmative action for women.

An article stated that only after successful struggle by the proletariat can women be liberated. This "strategy" is in spite of the fact that working women everywhere are demanding freedom by not separating their oppression as workers and as women.

Maoism in the factory stifles self-activity in similar ways. In their shop leaflets and papers, you cannot read what workers have to say for themselves. The people handing them out ask you to come to their rallies, to read their literature and ask them questions, even to wildcat. They ask you for everything except your ideas.

Ignoring what workers have to say reflects a theory of organization, which is also without the thought of workers. One Maoist worker said that the Communist Party, not the Democratic Party, needs to control the union. But why not rank-and-file control of the union?

A worker asked him if it would be revolutionary if there were always militant rank-and-file workers ready to take the places of fired representatives? He answered no, only "reds" can fight for the interests of workers.

In fact, the Maoists would have you believe they could negotiate a "better" contract with the capitalists. Yet neither they nor the union will allow talk about workers controlling production. The truth is that workers gaining control of production would replace the union and the party with the workers' own organizations.

The elitism of the shop Maoists cannot replace the workers' way of knowing—what labor is like and how to uproot inhuman capitalist relationships.

New CUNY protest against cuts

New York, N.Y.—After almost a year of inactivity, the CUNY student government called a rally in Albany for March 15, and students at City College held a teach-in on the effects of cutbacks in the tuition assistance program. Smaller protests occurred at other campuses for the first time since last spring.

Students at Hostos College, who occupied their school for two weeks last year and turned back administrative plans to close it, are organizing community and student groups for a demonstration April 15. Students from Hostos addressed the International Women's Day march as a first step toward that.

A proposed new restructuring plan would merge the City University with the now separate State University (SUNY). If it passes, "major" four-year CUNY colleges will merge with the larger SUNY senior colleges, while community and "lesser" colleges will be lumped into a separate university. Some students are worried that this could result in a two-tier university where the smaller schools—like Hostos—would receive less proportional funding.

Alongside the increased activity at CUNY is the intensification of the British student revolt, where 100,000 students took part in occupations of 30 colleges the first week of March. And Italian students are striking major universities, attacking both the poorly funded and overcrowded school system and the government and Communist Party responsible for their conditions. (See Editorial, page 4)

The interconnection between these upsurges was spelled out by a City College student who said: "What's going on in England sounds like the same plan they have for here. They're trying to reduce numbers of Blacks and poorer students—just like here. The problem seems worldwide."

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Africa: new pawn in global power struggle

(Continued from Page 1)

What is new here is that, at first sight, some of Russia's shifting global alignments seem to contradict its "direct national" interests. Thus, Ethiopia, which is heavily dependent on U.S. imperialism, is suddenly flirting with Russia because of Russia's influence in Somalia, and therefore also with ethnic Somalians in Djibouti, the capital of Afars and Issas which is finally due to gain its independence from France this summer. It is this independence which Ethiopia fears most of all since Djibouti is the chief outlet to the sea for Ethiopia. But why should Russia be listening since it is alleged to have nothing short of a missile base in Somalia?

An answer to that might be found by looking at Russia's eroding role in the Middle East. This is due in no small part to Saudi Arabia's influence there, both because of its massive gold and its Islamic role — be it in the Middle East or Africa —

but specifically at this moment because of Saudi Arabia's aid to Islamic Eritrea and its promised help to Islamic Somalia.

Thus, Russia has its own headaches in both places, and China is there too, challenging Russia's claim to "Marxism-Leninism." The single thing both powers are ready to trade away is the class interests of the African masses.

It is this, just this situation, however, which is sure to explode this summer. The very fact that Afars and Issas will gain its independence is sure to lead to eruptions both in the Gulf of Aden and in Africa, especially East Africa.

Here the issue is not so much Kenya, as ally to the U.S. and British imperialism while hostile to Uganda, but Tanzania, as exiled home of Milton Obote and thousands of other Ugandans who fled Amin's terror. This terror was not that of Amin's

supposed crackdown against imperialism or Indian merchants who had been expelled, supposedly for Africanization, but terror against Africans, native Ugandans who struggled in any way to make independence from Great Britain true freedom for the masses.

The greatest delusion that Russia and Cuba can experience now is to think that, because of their aid to the revolutionaries in Angola, they can cover up their present global imperialist moves in Uganda, Ethiopia and Libya. Nor is China the one to drive Russia out of Africa by aligning with U.S. imperialism.

The moves for freedom the African masses will make this summer from Afars and Issas to Uganda, from Eritrea to Namibia and Zimbabwe, can become decisive for the world when the masses in the U.S. and Europe fight their own capitalists at home and align with the freedom fighters in Africa.

England

From London we have received the following report:

As the jamboree to celebrate Queen Elizabeth's 25 years on the throne gets underway, the living standards of British workers continue to decline. Inflation is running at 21 percent; prices, especially food prices, continue to rocket upwards (in five years bread has gone up 280 percent); real wages have fallen by up to 20 percent; and public services are dying the death of a thousand cuts. Where I live, four local hospitals are threatened with closure.

If the Tories win the next General Election, the situation will worsen. Tory leader Margaret Thatcher's speeches are being written by Robert Moss, a counter-insurgency expert and leading figure in the right-wing National Association for Freedom, which recently used the courts to prevent industrial action by post office workers against the apartheid regime in South Africa. Moss's recent book on the coup in Chile was published with funds provided by the CIA. Thatcher is attempting to divert workers' attention from their economic problems by trying to reheat the cold war.

The media, together with reactionaries like Tory MP Ian Sprout, are whipping up a hate-the-poor campaign, accusing the unemployed of being idlers and sponging off the state. Even the Queen's hus-

band, one of the biggest social parasites of all time, has joined in.

At British Leyland, 3,000 toolmakers are on strike for separate negotiating rights and have been threatened with being fired unless they immediately return to work. (Ed. note: The strike was broken after four weeks.) The unions are backing the company but toolmakers at Rolls Royce are striking in sympathy with them. Workers in the Plessey Electronics company threatened with redundancy (lay-offs) replied by occupying their factories. Even the police are demanding the right to strike.

Racialism remains a big problem, and now the U.S. is exporting its racialists to Britain. Recently J. B. Stoner, Dr. Field and Dr. Warner of the National States Rights Party have addressed British Fascist meetings and the KKK is trying to organize a British branch, while Irish Nazis are trying to set up an international radio network with the Minutemen Council of Indiana.

—Terry Liddle

Chile

Resistance to the Chilean government is growing, members of Action for Women in Chile (AFWIC) announced at a meeting in New York on International Women's Day. Although the fascist regime has not lessened its repression, the population is devising new ways to express its protest.

Industrial sabotage is increasing — someone forgets to shut off the water in a mine or factory

and it floods; someone forgets to oil a machine and it's ruined. Work slowdowns take place.

Unemployment is up to 35 percent, and salaries are down by 35 to 50 percent since the 1973 coup. One-half to three-quarters of the people do not consume adequate calories to maintain health. When a supermarket recently announced a one-day sale, hundreds of women ransacked the store to show their disgust that prices were lower for only one day.

People are organizing on the job and through social clubs. They have set up soup kitchens for the unemployed and helped the families of political prisoners. Recently, word went around that an upcoming annual religious procession was going to be a measure of political protest this year. So many people planned to take part that the government called it off. Tiny booklets urging resistance are dropped from rooftops and distributed by the wind.

Meanwhile, the Chilean junta is trying to improve its "human rights" image abroad by saying it has no more political prisoners. But the truth is that people are now being arrested on the street rather than at home where there are witnesses, and then there are simply denials that they are prisoners. The junta has also just renewed the "state of seige" under which it operates, and has added a ban on all political parties, censorship of mail, and new work and press restrictions.

Resistance support groups such as AFWIC urge people to boycott Chilean grapes and wine, and to write letters to the junta asking for release of political prisoners.

U.S. economic crisis deepens as permanent unemployment swells

(Continued from Page 1)

they can accurately predict how many more jobs these outlays would create, but even their optimistic estimates reveal that perhaps 40,000 jobs would result for each \$1 billion pumped into the job programs. And that would mean less than 300,000 jobs for 1977, and about a half million jobs for 1978. Such job-making programs can hardly be classified as solutions for the over 10 million workers without jobs.

In Detroit, however, unemployment is above 13 percent, and the decaying state of the city may be now irreversible. Much hullabaloo has been spread around the Renaissance Center hotel and office building complex being completed in downtown Detroit as the answer to Detroit's economic disaster, but nothing could be further from the truth. Ren-Cen, as it is called, is a suburb that has been built in a dying central city area. It is nothing less than a guarded fortress, surrounded by concrete bunkers that look exactly like what they are: physical barriers separating the building complex from the rest of the city.

Far from being Detroit's economic savior, this new hotel and office complex will hasten the exodus of office and hotel tenants out of other Detroit buildings into Ren-Cen and speed the economic death of the city. Detroit, of course, while it may be the worst of the large cities, is hardly alone. Every major urban area in the U.S. is facing similar problems of survival.

President Carter, since his inauguration, has made it perfectly clear that his campaign promises, while carefully formulated to win the election, were not to become the basis for his administration programs and appointments. The concern of the business community over Carter's campaign insistence that he would bring in new, non-Washington establishment figures to head his administration, turned into glee with each cabinet position he filled.

Far from being "outsiders", virtually every appointee was a familiar Washington figure — from Secretary of State Vance, the Pentagon's second highest ranking officer under Presidents Johnson and Nixon who had supported the blanket Christmas bombing of North Viet-

nam in 1969, to HEW Secretary Joseph Califano, who aggressively opposes abortions yet heads the key government department whose responsibility it is to carry out the law under which about 300,000 abortions are paid for each year by Medicaid.

As for the 94.5 percent of the Blacks who voted for Carter, he rewarded them by appointing that racist Georgia Federal Judge Griffin Bell as Attorney General. Bell was the chief legal architect of the "massive resistance" plan to prevent school desegregation in Georgia, and advised that state's racist Governor Ernest Vandiver from 1959 to 1961. Since his appointment, Bell has reiterated his opposition to busing to achieve racial integration except as a "last resort", which means never.

REALITY OF RACISM

It's true that Carter also appointed Andrew Young as U.S.'s first Black UN Ambassador, and he certainly made national headlines with the appointment. But the fact is that there is probably no other high-ranking U.S. office that is so completely controlled by the Administration. Far from Young being able to exercise any inde-

pendent influence, he will be totally controlled by Carter.

Further Black window dressing, the appointment of Patricia Harris as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, was followed by the more shocking reality for Blacks with the Supreme Court decision related to segregated housing, which virtually all social analysts agree must be desegregated to fundamentally alter the patterns of discrimination in the U.S. — not only in schools, but in society as a whole. The Court decision on Arlington Heights, Ill., an all-white Chicago suburb, upheld the legality of the zoning laws which prohibited Blacks from moving into the community, and further decreed that even if it could be proven that zoning laws were consciously drawn up to enforce discrimination, that it would still be legal if "other factors" were involved.

Meanwhile, the economic conditions of Black Americans, far from improving, continue to drop. According to annual report data compiled by Urban League, out of a total Black labor force of 10.8 million, there are three million, or nearly one out of every four Black workers, now unemployed. Even more startling is that 64% of Black youth from 16 to 19 years of age are unemployed, while an equally staggering 33% of Black youth from 20 to 24 years old are unable to find work, and even 26% of Black Vietnam war veterans are out of jobs.

What is of even greater importance is that there is no hope whatsoever that the present unemployment will be cut in the foreseeable future. Women and youth, forced into the job market due to the pressures of constantly escalating cost of living, are also swelling the unemployment lines, while the annual increase in the number of jobs is no longer able to absorb even those high school and college graduates normally entering the job market each year.

This is the grim reality of the economy facing the American working class this year as five million of them face new contract negotiations, including coal miners, communication, steel, electrical and transportation workers. Their responses to the growing threats to their jobs, health and safety will contribute more to the solving of the nation's economic problems than all of Carter's programs.

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