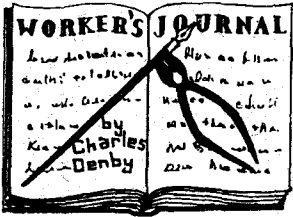


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GM-UAW banquet is insult to auto workers

by Charles Denby, Editor

Last month, the UAW sent out private announcements that it was co-sponsoring a special banquet with GM executives to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the first GM-UAW contract which resulted from the Flint sit-down strike in 1937.

We have said that since the end of World War II, the UAW leadership has turned into its opposite, and it was demonstrated more clearly at this celebration than anything we could have said. There were not many older workers at the banquet, and in fact, many did not even know about it because the UAW did not intend for them to come. No young workers were there either, because of the separation that exists between workers and union leaders. They knew that the banquet of the big wheels completely distorted their history of struggle that still continues daily in the auto shops.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock and GM chairman Murphy were the principal speakers. Workers asked what the GM chairman had to do with our making history by sitting down in GM plants in 1937? What side of the barricades would he have been on?

TUXEDO UNIONISM

They had also sent an invitation to Genora Johnson Dollinger, who was one of the organizers of the Women's Emergency Brigade which worked and fought outside the plants while the men were sitting in. She did not know until she arrived that the union was having a joint celebration with GM executives in a week-long observance of 40 years of contractual relationship. She called it "tuxedo unionism," and said that in the early history of unionism the union threw out all leaders who were accused of it.

She said that 40 years ago GM was "breaking workers heads", not "breaking bread," and that instead of winning and dining with GM officials at a party that Friday night in Detroit, she would go to Flint, where she earned her credentials at the battlements in 1937, and join local unionists at their Sunday celebration. The UAW bureaucrats said if she did not attend their Friday dinner, they would not pay her plane fare from California.

Then at the Sunday program, they were not even going to let Genora speak, let alone invite her to sit on the stage, until all hell broke loose in a demonstration, and a banner was unfurled to protest the absence of any women on the program and the way she was being treated. Woodcock was forced to give her 15 minutes (See p. 2 report). There was no woman originally included as part of this historical occasion as a speaker, despite their great contribution made in winning the sit-down strike. They were all white males, from the beginning to the end. They had a few women in long dresses giving out programs, but that was all. I was told that a UAW official's wife made a crack that this was supposed to be a celebration, not a demonstration.

This union has gotten so close to the company, that if young workers did not know better, they would think it has been that way from the beginning of the UAW. Irving Bluestone, a UAW Vice-President and director of the

(Continued on Page 7)

10¢

NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

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MARCH, 1977

2 a.m. call from Middlesex Polytechnic

Thousands of protesting students occupy colleges throughout England

Compiled by Peter Wermuth from direct student reports

"It's two a.m. Friday, Feb. 18 here in London. We're occupying the administration offices of Middlesex Polytechnic. We've been here 12 hours to protest the astronomical increase in overseas students' tuition fees." This transatlantic call placed to the national office of News & Letters



Chanting "No More Cuts," and "Axe Shirley," demonstrators, including students, teachers and public service employees, surround Ms. Shirley Williams, Education Secretary, on her arrival at Newcastle-on-Tyne Civic Center.

in Detroit was the first word received that a new nationwide student upsurge, affecting almost every university and polytechnic in England, was underway. At least nine institutions have been occupied, including the London School of Economics which was taken over Feb. 9, Warwick University, Essex University, and Manchester Polytechnic, in addition to Middlesex Polytechnic.

(Ed. Note: As we go to press, Feb. 26, we learn that the London School of Economics has just been cleared by the police. The National Union of Students has called for all 800,000 British students to strike March 2.)

"This is not the first time we've had an occupation," the students continued. "But before this, most have been planned and led by Left groups telling students, 'we're experienced at this, just follow us, we know what to do'. But this time the occupation revolved primarily around the Black students particularly from India, Pakistan and Cyprus. Some other students thought they wouldn't have as many ideas as the 'revolutionaries', but they certainly had enough ideas to know they were being pushed around, and they didn't intend to take it any longer."

STUDENTS FACE DEPORTATION

The fact is that 80 percent of overseas students in Britain come from Third World countries. "Many of the overseas students face deportation for their involvement. The Iranian students are especially vulnerable in this situation. They don't have regular visas; they have special permits from their own government. They are immediately subject to being recalled home by their totalitarian government and drafted into the army. In spite of this, and despite the fact that there are at least two known SAVAK agents on campus, there are Iranians participating in the occupation."

The increase in the tuition fees was staggering: For British students — from 182 pounds to 500 pounds for undergraduates and 750 pounds for postgraduates; for overseas students — from 416 pounds to 650 pounds for undergraduates and 850 pounds for postgraduates.

"Many British students have tuitions at least partially paid by a local council or the government, but that would undoubtedly now change. As for Third World people, who pay their own tuition, virtually none would be able to attend college. That is why this occupation has involved people who were never interested in politics before — even the engineers, who are usually conservative."

"AUSTERITY" HITS WORKERS HARDEST

These devastating tuition increases are a direct result of the economic crisis of the British government. For three years the Labour Government has imposed an "austerity program" on the British people, including a wage freeze accepted by the trade union leadership.

"Workers are taking a beating," the students said, "battered by both the wage freeze and the 20 and more percent inflation rate, which hits them the hardest. Now workers are starting to demand shop-by-shop negotiations to be able to keep their heads above water. There is a real rebellion in the trade unions against the leadership. There is definitely an upsurge on the part of the rank and file workers, and the student movement is being influenced by what the workers are doing, especially at British Leyland."

At the very moment we were speaking there were

(Continued on Page 7)

Just off the press NEW ESSAYS

By Raya Dunayevskaya

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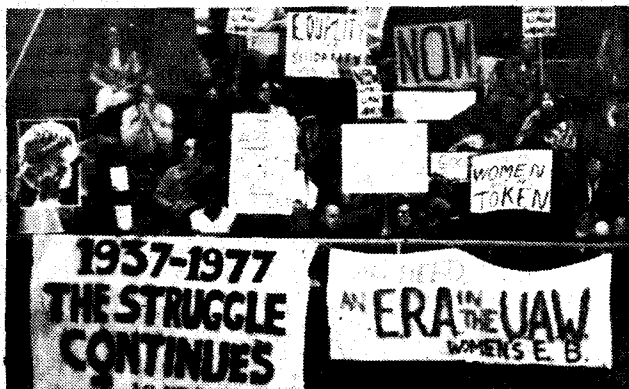
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Women win right to speak at Flint sit-down celebration



—News & Letters Photos

Genora Johnson Dollinger, founder of the Women's Emergency Brigade, points to banners raised by demonstrators demanding she be allowed to speak.

Flint, Mich.—The Women's Liberation Movement won an important victory when it forced the UAW bureaucrats to give Genora Johnson Dollinger the right to speak at the UAW's 40th Anniversary Celebration of the 1937 Flint Sit-down Strike, on Feb. 13.

Incredibly, despite the vital role that women played in winning that historic strike, and despite the large number of women auto workers now in the plants, not a single woman was to be seen—much less heard—anywhere on the program.

Black, Puerto Rican, white working women

WL panelists describe unity of all revolutionary struggles

(For International Women's Day, I wrote my column on the tremendous activity of the women's movement in Europe. But because space is so limited, and since International Women's Day's roots are right here in the U.S., I wish to give this space over to four women's liberationists who recently presented a panel discussion on Working Women For Freedom in the Chicago Puerto Rican Community—Molly Jackson.)

Caroline, a Cook County nurse active in the 38-day recently-settled nurses' strike, began the report. "My interest and awareness of Women's Liberation started a long time ago, not as part of a group, but by becoming aware of problems in my own life that had to do with relationships and problems I faced at work.

"A lot of the problems and frustration that we faced as nurses were because of the authoritarian structure of the hospital. When I got to Cook County Hospital, the strike was just starting. It helped me to see the possibilities of the system changing a little bit because of people getting together and organizing."

Marie Dignan, a co-author of Working Women For Freedom, described how it was just this kind of gathering that helped to write the pamphlet. "I feel that masses of women, throughout the ages as well as today, in this country and world-wide, wrote this pamphlet."

Marie then told of her own experience as an office worker, when the women went out on strike in 1969. "There is an affinity of ideas with freedom in the air inspiring everyone. It's no accident that our strike followed a decade of the civil rights movement, the Detroit Rebellion, and welfare mothers sitting in."

Kathy, a Puerto Rican working woman activist, described growing up in the Bronx, N. Y. "While attending school, I was discriminated against, not at that point as a woman, but because I was Latin. In high school, I was put in a category of being a slow learner. This is the kind of thing this system does to strangers in a strange land.

"Later on I learned of discrimination because of being a woman. That was two strikes against me. Spanish women have a bad idea of what women's liberation is. Yet, of the five Puerto Rican Nationalists that are in prison, one of them is a woman, Lolita Lebron.

"This is why I like the pamphlet Working Women For Freedom very much and think it should be translated into Spanish. It straightens out the erroneous ideas of what women's liberation stands for. It also shows it's not just a question of women's liberation, but, in the process, it will liberate men as well.

"Being involved in the Puerto Rican Independence

But the angry women who converged on the auditorium—from CLUW, NOW, Women's Liberation-N&L Committees, the Ann Arbor Labor History Project, and the Washington, D. C. Women's Film Cooperative — were heard, loud and clear, as soon as the program began.

Genora, who had originally organized the famous Women's Emergency Brigade (see Working Women For Freedom, pp. 17-18), and two of the Brigade's original lieutenants arrived, wearing their red berets and tear-gas-stained red arm bands. To show their support for their protest, sympathizers—men and women, old and young alike—pinned on red crepe-paper armbands, and tried to sit together in the audience of over 1,000.

When Genora stood, just as Leonard Woodcock was about to be introduced, to demand an answer to our grievance asking for women's representation on the platform, a bedsheet-sized banner from WL-N&L was unfurled from the balcony, reading: "1937-1977: The Struggle Continues." Signs appeared saying: "We Need an ERA in the UAW", "NOW Supports our UAW Sisters", "We are a Part of Past AND PRESENT History". The women began to chant in unison: "Let the Women Speak!" And the TV and news cameras began to grind.

The embarrassed and angered program moderator, after hurried consultation with Woodcock, finally "invited" Genora to come to the platform, where she gave a 15-minute talk, not only on the proven contribution women have already made to UAW history, but on the grievances and needs of women workers today.

That, in fact, was the key to why it was a "victory". Many of the original sit-downers came over to shake Genora's hand and tell her, "It's good to see you haven't lost your guts!" The young women who took part in the protest made it clear they have no intention of merely celebrating the past. It is action for today that got a new beginning with this protest.

—Women's Liberation-N&L Committees

Movement has opened my channels to other movements, and I've noted there's a big movement all around the world for freedom. I see everybody, welfare, workers, white, Black, any color. They are all fighting for their freedom. We're not alone and we have more strength within ourselves to continue the fight."

Tommie Hope, a Black feminist and writer for N&L, said that she, too, "was struck with the idea that we are not just speaking as individuals, although we are each unique people. But we also represent the many voices of working women on the move.

"I was working in a laundry in Alabama before the civil rights movement. The foreman was a white man, and he watched over us all the time. His mentality is what we are fighting to overthrow. But the relation between Black men and Black women is what is troubling me right now. Many people in the Black movement agree, but some say the way to solve things is for Black women to step back and support the men.

"Don't believe we have just discovered this problem. Working Women For Freedom tells about the very high level of Sojourner Truth separating from Frederick Douglass, when he said he did not wish to burden the struggle for the 15th Amendment by also demanding the right of women to vote. Sojourner Truth's words tell so much—she called him 'shortminded.'

"The point is, when are we ever going to learn that nobody can free us but ourselves? That is what Marxist-Humanism is all about—that freedom is developed out of yourself, as your individual desire to be whole and free is joined with the particular struggle of others."

As others see us

Women: creators of new age

(Working Women For Freedom, by A. Terrano, M. Dignan, and M. Holmes, News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, MI 48207. \$1.)

Women workers/women thinkers merging ideas and action, emerging as innovators and creators of a new age. This is what Working Women for Freedom is about. "A history of women, white and Black, who live in this pamphlet through their experiences as production and office workers (and as unemployed), and who wish to uproot this whole exploitative, racist, sexist system."

Produced by a Detroit women's liberation group, the struggle in the United States features centrally, but it is always placed in a wider international context: "the women's voices are being raised everywhere demanding a new reality." The pamphlet is consistent in this sense, ending in a description of women's pivotal role in the Portuguese revolution. The appendix on women as thinkers and revolutionaries is by the inspiring Marxist feminist Raya Dganayevskaya.

—From Spare Rib: A Women's Liberation Magazine London, England, December, 1976



women-worldwide

Iris Rivera, a legal secretary in the Chicago public defender's office, was given two-weeks termination notice on Jan. 25 when she refused to make coffee for her boss. Women's groups in Chicago and secretarial workers across the country are supporting Ms. Rivera's sex discrimination suit and her fight to save her job.

An African correspondent writes us:

The debate on the Nigerian constitution continues. Various women's groups are fighting for the deletion of a clause that reads, "none of the above should override Islamic laws or native customs." The "above" refers to items granting women voting rights, etc. In the past, women in the Islamic North of the country had been denied the vote on religious grounds. The women's groups argue that in giving them the vote in one clause and adding that other clause, is tantamount to depriving them of their rights. The native customs are not known for their equal treatment of the women.

(For a woman's view of FESTAC see p. 8.)

In Israel, a law granting abortion was passed over strong religious objection. The law requires a woman to get the approval of two doctors and a social worker, and will not go into effect for a year.

Lucy Parsons' life and legacy

Lucy Parsons, American Revolutionary, by Carolyn Ashbaugh, Charles H. Kerr, Chicago, \$3.95.

Today, on the 100th anniversary of the 1877 General Strike (see News & Letters, Jan.-Feb. 1977) that had such a profound influence on Lucy Parsons, it behooves us to place in history and revolutionary perspective this woman's life. This history of Lucy Parsons is indeed welcomed. We find ourselves witness to a woman, of Black and Indian heritage, as an American revolutionary.

Lucy Gathings and Albert Parsons, with whom she left Texas in 1872, came out of the white supremacist South. That they saw through it, met, fell in love, took measure of this capitalist society and found it wanting—is not only remarkable, but a tribute to the human spirit and the revolutionary times they lived in.

Following Lucy and Albert to Chicago, one becomes aware of the richness of that city's great labor and unemployed struggles, of the many socialist and anarchist organizations, of radical ideas that abounded.

With the mid-1880s struggle for the eight-hour day, Lucy and Albert, just as in 1877, are swept into the struggle by the sheer number of workers involved. Yet, where Marx had included the earlier eight-hour day struggles of 1866 right in Capital, saying that the question of workers of "when does my day begin and when does it end," was a far greater declaration than the pompous Rights of Man, Lucy and Albert never seem to see workers as Reason. Which is why, when times are "passive" and capitalism especially brutal, suddenly the answer seems to be "the bomb."

Through slavery, atrocities and child labor, the bosses and their police and their press practiced more violence against labor and radicals than did any anarchist against capitalism. In face of the Haymarket Police Riot in 1886 which led to the frame-up of seven men and rail-roading of four to the gallows, her beloved Albert included, and lynchings and mass murder of Blacks, Lucy Parsons' hatred of this society grew with a passion that has few equals.

Not so much from the little that is left of her writings, but from where her remarkable and revolutionary life led her, I am led to believe that she, like so many others of her period — although they had the revolutionary fire burning bright within because they broke with bourgeois society — had in thought not gone anywhere as far as in action, and thus left no ground for us to work out a total philosophy of revolution.

In the end, Lucy Parsons does go for "vanguardism" and joins the Communist Party (1939), rather than uniting theory and practice, thus permitting such a transformation into opposite as state-capitalism calling itself Communism to appear as the "legacy." And so the CP is trying to make it be. But everything in Lucy Parsons' activity speaks against such a conclusion.

This is an important and moving work and will aid in preserving the true heritage of Lucy Parsons, Black Revolutionary Woman — the second America of unfinished revolutions that cry out for completion in our time.

—Angela Terrano

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WORKING WOMEN FOR FREEDOM

by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes

With special appendix by Raya Dunayevskaya: 'WOMEN AS THINKERS AND AS REVOLUTIONARIES'

Price: \$1 (plus 15¢ postage)

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NY transit workers rally against budget cuts

New York, N.Y.—Thousands of transit workers rallied downtown on Feb. 11 to show the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), which really runs the City, that they will not tolerate more budget cuts or any interference with their contract.

Uniroyal rehires lose seniority

Detroit, Mich.—At Uniroyal, the company sure knows how to cheat the employees. They've started to rehire a lot of workers who were laid-off over two years ago. But what they've done is to wait until two years were up and the workers' seniority rights have run out.

Now they can hire back experienced people, but with no seniority. In some departments, we have the crazy situation of rehires who have only 15 minutes' difference in "seniority."

At least the "new" people didn't lose their union representation, but it's hard to know what that's worth right now. Pete Swider, the man who built 500 radial-ply tires (and went around with a "500 Club" T-shirt on) a little over a year ago, and lowered the rates on that tire (so you have to build more in order to make it), got elected Committee Chairman by something like four votes. In some departments on some shifts, there aren't any committeemen right now.

In general, the work has been getting harder here. Right now the company is getting very picky about scrap, and inspectors are always snuffing their noses around in your work, which makes it even harder.

How do they expect not to get some scrap, when the rates are so far-down and you have to build them so fast to make it? Sometimes you get yelled at for just a tiny strip of material and they weigh it on a scale. The speed-up and pressure is really bad.

—Tire builder

The Transit Workers Union (TWU) asked the public to join the demonstration on the basis of recent decreases in services. While the politicians and bureaucrats were speaking about what the City "ought" to do, the workers were chanting "strike!"

Cuts in subway and bus service have already caused inconvenience, discomfort and danger to the public and workers alike. Meanwhile, all City workers' pay is frozen. Most of the unions have acquiesced in the freeze and even agreed to decreases in wages and benefits. A few have won improvements, only to have their contracts voided by the EFCB.

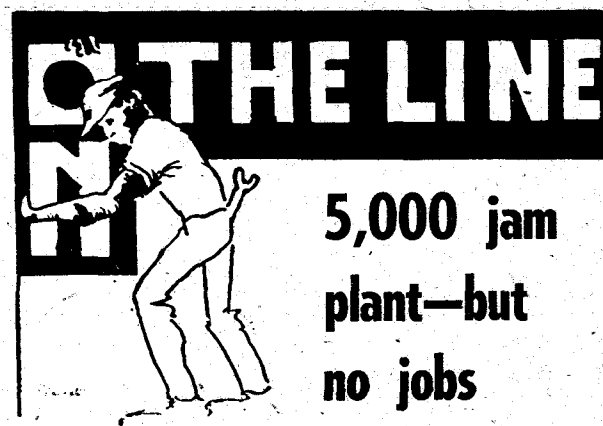
The TWU recently negotiated a pay increase in exchange for a promised increase in "productivity," after which the City announced the service cuts — in other words, lay-offs and speed-up for the workers. And even that contract may not survive the present review by the EFCB.

The EFCB was appointed by the State to oversee the City's fiscal problems, but it represents the banks whose loans keep the City on a string. Recently, the Board suggested placing a member, with veto power, right into City government, ending the pretense that our elected officials have any independence from Wall Street.

Now the banks are threatening to withhold all loans unless the City agrees to drop its affirmative action laws relating to them. A banking representative spoke at a recent hearing on proposed regulations to broaden job opportunities for minorities and women, and called the rules "un-American, unreasonable and unjust."

A new study of the City's problems has just come out, jointly written by Harry Van Arsdale, chief union bureaucrat, and David Rockefeller, banker extraordinaire, recommending the elimination of affirmative action and rent control.

Assaults on welfare, child care, the public schools and the university system continue. So far, each group in the city has held its own separate protest. Perhaps the transit workers will start something new—a subway strike would be a good start for a general strike!



by John Allison

Five thousand jobless workers besieged Chrysler Corporation's Detroit Tank plant on Jan. 3 looking for jobs only to find out there were no applications available.

There was no explanation of why the crowd showed up, except that Chrysler announced last year that it would hire 1,000 workers at the plant during 1977. However, laid off workers from other Chrysler plants have first choice at the jobs, and no new workers are to be hired until that list is exhausted.

The scene was reminiscent of Nov. 1 at Detroit's Cadillac plant, again when no hiring was being done. Both incidents demonstrate the widespread unemployment of some 10 million workers across the nation.

Meanwhile, temporary shutdowns have been announced by a number of auto companies in mid-January, including Chrysler plants in Hamtramck, St. Louis and Newark, GM plants making small cars and Ford plants as well as individual departments. The lay-offs involve tens of thousands of workers for periods varying from a week to months.

Now hear this. Auto sales are up by 17 percent over last year, making the 10.1 million sales the fourth highest in history, and profits for the Big Three have set records.

These record profits have come out of the hides of the reduced work force that has been working since the big layoffs two years ago. It means the auto corporations are getting out record production with at least 30,000 less workers than they had before the lay-offs. No wonder they're making their record profits.

Skilled trades, as well as production workers, are getting weary of 10-12 hour days, six and seven days a week while unemployment among young workers continues to increase. The apprenticeship programs for young skilled workers are supported by the union and management, and both only give lip service to the problem. Both know overtime kills employment. Government, industry and the labor unions keep their crying towels out, but the real suffering keeps eating away at the workers—employed and unemployed.

Workers pay for military bloat

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

It is the time of year for the military-industrial complex to scare the hell out of us, the taxpayers, with the idea that the United States is about to be "taken over" by the Russians. At least this is what the war hawks in the Pentagon and the government bureaucrats want us to believe.

In this year's annual report to Congress, the Pentagon argues that in spite of detente, in spite of the arms limitations talks, and in spite of the wheat deal, the situation today with Russia is more dangerous than in the 1960s. Unless we do something quick, the Russians will be landing on our beaches.

This year the threat is supposedly so grave that the war junkies are forming committees to bring pressure on President Carter and Congress against any softness in policy toward the Soviet Union and to increase the defense budget.

A worker in my plant said, "They are beginning to tell us again that there are Communists under our beds, behind every rose bush, and it's better dead than red." Those slogans seem to be always new.

This year's Pentagon report makes it clear what a sham the SALT talks were—the same familiar double-talk that the imperialists on both sides use—talk peace, but prepare for war.

In spite of all this propoganda, the main threat posed by the military might of both Russia and the United States is not to each other. It is to keep in line those countries which fall under their influence.

The people who suffer under Russia's imperialism are not Americans, but East Europeans. It was Hungary and Czechoslovakia that Russia invaded, not the United States. The greatest reason for the current Russian military build-up is that the Russian ruling class is afraid of the workers of Eastern Europe, as well as their own working class.

Similarly, it is the working class in the Third World, Latin America, Africa, Asia, who suffer most from U.S. imperialist military might. Much of the military defense budget goes to prepare for new military intervention in places like South Africa or any place where people begin fighting to free themselves from U.S.-backed oppressors.

This propagandizing the Russian threat is a cover-up to hide the real truth from the American taxpayers. The real danger is not to our security, but to the profits of the military-industrial complex.

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—The latest news is that Rufus Coleman, Local 15 president, locked the door to the committee room on the third floor, last week. He said that the committeemen were sitting in there, drinking coffee and not being available to the membership. Everything he said is true about most of the committeemen, but to me it just means that the elections are coming up, and Rufus is trying to look good.

Some of the committeemen are still hiding, even with the door locked. In Dept. 11, there is Howard George. He has been a committeeman for quite a few years, but most of the time he is hiding out in the cafeteria or someplace else where you can't find him. The turnover in Dept. 11 is so big that he hasn't had much opposition in years.

Yet Dept. 11 is in the worst shape of any department at Fleetwood, especially where Howard George is, on the fourth floor. Just about every job has an unsettled "78," and you have to do that operation 54 hours a week now.

Also, in Dept. 21, Wayne Powell is coming around again after laying low since last summer. Even his own clique is mad at him, so I don't believe he can win. But you know Dept. 21 needs somebody who will do something. The way it is now, they have no committee service at all, with Powell disappeared and the alternate on sick leave.

I feel like this time the rank-and-file is sick of election games and tricks. We have never gone this long without a local agreement in all the time I've been here—which is nearly 10 years.

If we are going to really change this mess at Fleetwood, it will take more than Rufus locking the committee room door.

—Fleetwood worker, afternoons

Ford Chicago

Chicago, Ill.—Before I started working at Ford I was a cook making good money. But I was putting in from 70 to 80 hours per week, and working weekends and holidays. So I figured I would get a job where I could work 40 hours a week and come home for the weekend. Now here I am, working six days a week and ten hours a day. I don't think the working man really has a chance. What are you going to do? You've got to survive.

A friend of mine just got his hand operated on twice. He hurt it in the plant and they still haven't fixed it right. He can only work eight hours a day because he's not a "complete, full man with two hands."

On medical, they put you under investigation to see if you're really sick. The doctor that's involved is under

a big strain because they are pressuring him. I know a worker who had two hernia operations from the work. He tried to get compensation but they said there was no way to pinpoint when and what caused the hernia. But there's nothing else involved except the job.

—Ford worker, day shift

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich.—I heard about a young Black woman assembler on the final line who had a hand injury. She wasn't allowed to go to medical until the relief man had finished relieving. She asked the foreman to call for the chief steward, Jack Barrett, but he didn't come.

When she finally was allowed to go to medical, the doctor told her she had a left fractured hand and gave her a PQX, saying not to use the hand. The foreman put her right back on the job.

She looked for Barrett during lunch break and when she found him, he said the foreman never called. When he came over to the area after lunch, she was sent back to medical to get another PQX. When she came back again, Barrett was gone, and the foreman put her back on the job.

When she called Barrett again, he didn't show up for two hours. When he finally came, he told her she would have to do the job with one hand—even though the foreman had threatened her about messing up. She ended up doing the job the whole night with a broken hand.

—Main building worker

GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — The jobs in Trim have been so impossible that the workers with seniority wrote grievances on them and were consequently taken off and put on less demanding assignments. Who takes their place? The new hire, who has little if any seniority, and certainly no rights.

For two days, close to 40 workers in Trim alone stayed out. Because GM hires the minimum of workers—heightened by the fact that the company has just laid off 200 or more workers—it has had to reshuffle its "spare parts," the emergency operators. Many EO's were sent to Trim from Body Shop. After the first day, some body shop EO's were saying "While I was in Trim, I was only able to do half the job and was still falling behind!" Others found excuses to get sent home rather than work in Trim another day.

—GM South Gate worker

EDITORIAL**World-wide economic crises and move to the right**

The myriad expeditions by President Carter's appointees to every corner of the globe—beginning with Vice-President Mondale's consultations with America's allies in West Europe and Japan, in the very first week after the inauguration—try to give the impression that the new administration is taking charge. Such flurries of activity, even when they include the likes of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's journeys to Moscow and the Middle East, as well as the already concluded tour of Africa by Andrew Young, have served only to reveal the diversity and depth of the crises—economic, political and military—and the world-wide move to the right that has characterized the rulers' responses.

It was not for any such superficial reasons as "re-affirming old friendships" that Mondale was so quickly dispatched. The urgency is real. While some "Marxist" economists have convinced themselves that the recession "came to an end in 1975", bourgeois economists are agreed that the economy, far from recovering from the worst crisis since World War II, is on the brink of yet another serious decline.

For Britain and for Italy, no significant recovery has yet begun, and prospects are grim. British unemployment has now officially reached 1.4 million—highest since the Depression. Prime Minister Callaghan immediately admitted that he could see only more unemployment in the immediate future, as public spending cuts demanded by the International Monetary Fund take effect. In Italy, inflation is currently running at 20 percent, and oil price increases have so devastated the economy, that no growth at all is forecast for 1977. Other forecasts—in Europe, and in the underdeveloped world—are either only marginally better, or worse.

Thus, while even the so-called "strong" economies of the U.S., Germany and Japan also face severe strains, Mondale's meeting with German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt was seen as the most critical of his trip. On both economics and politics, Schmidt was reminding Mondale that he had "saved" Portugal for NATO with his strategy, while Kissinger had been ready to concede it; and telling Carter that he did not intend to be dictated to by the U.S.

Thus, while both Carter and Schmidt prepare their differing positions for the "economic summit" meeting of the industrial West now slated for summer, and their "unified" position as NATO facing Russian military forces in Europe, neither can afford to take their eyes for one minute off the "North-South debate" between the developed and the underdeveloped countries.

So desperate has the situation become for the "South" side of that confrontation, and so much instability has that desperation introduced, that even Secretary Vance is saying that "the issues of the North-South debate will determine how—or whether—the next generation will live." Since the rise of the OPEC powers in 1973 and the effects of their oil price increases on the rest of the underdeveloped world, it has become clear that to subsume all under the term "Third World" is to ignore the creation of an actual "Fourth World," with 1.2 billion people subsisting on per capita incomes of less than \$200 a year.

Where, during the sixties, this figure was increasing at a rate of two percent a year, since 1973 no economic growth at all has been seen, and incomes have steadily fallen. Only the rate of indebtedness and the death rate have consistently risen.

These conditions have assured that what Vance terms "instability"—the threat of social revolution—will continue to emerge from South Africa to Colombia, and from Lebanon to India. Most telling is the fact that in many countries—including Panama, Poland, Portugal and Egypt—the cause of the revolt is the price of food. There is no doubt that it is the seriousness of this threat, along with rebellion in the "advanced" countries, which is being reflected in the world-wide move to the right we are now experiencing.

Such a move is evident in the Middle East, where the aftermath of the Lebanese civil war left the most right wing elements in the ascendancy, both inside Israel and in the Arab world, where Saudi Arabia has a host of like-minded allies terrified of the new social forces in the Middle East and determined to suppress them. Or take Europe, East and West. The sweeping unrest

seen in last year's Polish strikes has not only persisted in Poland, but spread to East Germany and Czechoslovakia, with the resulting crackdown more severe than any since 1968. All signs point to Russia's planning of even harsher measures, both in East Europe and in Russia itself.

But nowhere can the measure of the reaction be taken more clearly than in that model of bourgeois democracy—Britain—which is currently experiencing a McCarthyite hysteria which threatens to equal that of the USA in the '50s. Coming as it does not only from the corporate board rooms and the Tory benches in Parliament, but also from within the leadership of the Labor Party, including some of the "Left wing," its proportions could grow enormously.

The truth is that it is the working class—in Britain and throughout the world—which threatens the continuation of this murderous, degenerate capitalist system. The months ahead are sure to see President Carter sending out many more emissaries to ever-new countries as both the crises and the revolt deepen.

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THE BLACK DIMENSION

Nigeria is at the moment in the middle of a cultural extravaganza called FESTAC. Delegations from all African countries and Black communities from the U.S., Canada, Australia, Britain and other lands are represented. It is costing almost \$300 million to stage. The government justifies this on the grounds that such activities raise the "consciousness of the Black man." Part of the extravaganza is a colloquium to examine the fortunes of the Black man. A Brazilian Black submitted a pertinent paper on the plight of Black people in Brazil. His paper was turned down on the grounds that it was "too ideological"! A lot of the papers deal with the past of the Black people. Papers dealing with problems are not allowed. The Military Government is chalking up the festivities as one of its accomplishments.

Correspondent
West Africa

Editor's Note: For more on FESTAC, see "Our Life and Times," p.8.

The struggle for school integration is beginning now in L.A. A march to the Board of Education took place Feb. 12 but many in the Latin American and Asian communities were not in attendance. They say they fear that if school integration is achieved, special programs already in effect will be taken away. They should remember that bilingual education, benefitting non-Black minorities, was one of the gains that flowed from the Black movement in the sixties. And that the government rollback of civil rights gains, if allowed to continue without a struggle, will mean the eventual elimination of all special programs for every minority.

Black Activist
California

I was one of the millions who sat hypnotized by the TV showing of Roots. But when the ending was shown—how the Haley family arrived, with their white friends, into Tennessee, as if that state were the Mecca of Freedom, and the subsequent prospering of the family as mill owners, and educators—I thought, is this the message? That all Black people can really make it, if they have

"what it takes" to succeed? Today? In racist America?

I seem to remember that it was in Memphis, Tenn., where Black garbage workers were out on strike for a living wage and union recognition, that during his encouragement of this struggle, right there in Memphis, Martin Luther King was shot to death. The struggle for total liberation is still the only answer.

Liberationist
Detroit

Editor's Note: For John Alan's view of of Roots, see p. 8.

The Concerned Black Parents of Englewood's Youth would like to state that we have suffered for years alone, some of us without husbands, trying to raise our children in this city of plenty where we have none. We have watched our young children through the years play in the alleys with the rats, rabid dogs, dirty rags, filth, and broken bottles. When we ride the buses into the white neighborhoods, we see community houses, and feel we have a right to some of the same funds to open a house of our own for programs like reading, math, music, arts and crafts, cooking classes, sewing, furniture repair, class counseling for the mothers and children and free clothing and food for the needy. Our children also have a right to the tree of life. All who wish to uplift the quality of life in the ghettos of this country can get in touch with me.

Helen Jackson
6440 South Ashland
Chicago, Ill. 60636

CIVIL RIGHTS

Nearly 150 people attended the first public hearing on Detroit's proposed civil rights ordinance. The "new" city charter, passed by voters over three years ago, extended full civil rights protection to include age, handicaps, sex, marital status and sexual orientation to the already-covered race, creed, color, and national origin. But the provisions of the charter have remained unenforceable.

A blind city worker told of discrimination against handicapped city workers. A Black man in a wheelchair told how his right to work or go anywhere was

denied because the city streets were never cleared of snow; the buses, even when they did run, were, like most public and private buildings, inaccessible to him. A gay liberationist told how religious exemptions are used against gays.

The hearing lasted only 1 hour and 45 minutes and got almost no press coverage. The ordinance is once again behind closed doors and still not passed. Now we have learned that the state civil rights law has been re-written, passed both houses of the Legislature and been signed by the governor without a mention anywhere. The masses who fought so hard for these laws know how little they are worth. The fact that we still use and fight for them doesn't show faith—it shows desperation.

Handicapped Fighter
Detroit

MORE ON IRELAND

I must reply to a few of Bob Potter's comments in the last issue . . .

The IRA "would replace British capitalists with Irish capitalists"? Where is it going to find them? A far greater amount of capital, land, and factories in Ireland is controlled outright by German and Anglo capitalists today than before 1916 (and this was one of the causes of the 1916 revolt).

As for the Peace Women's movement "not being grounded in class activity" . . . let me point out that the State is war, and any anti-war movement has thus at least some potential as anti-state movement, some revolutionary potential that cannot be ignored.

From Ireland I have heard that there are rebel meetings of the Peace movement being held in the Shankill. The rebel Peace women demand that the "leaders" stop their international jettings-about and recognize that the problem is in Ulster. They demand a constitutional-type convention for the Peace Movement with democratic controls from

Reader

below. They want the magazine "Peace By Peace" to publish factual local groups' reports, instead of abstractions about peace. But whether the rebellion will spread or where it will go is hard to say.

Living process is fluid, spontaneous, creative, flux of history. In Ulster either you work with living process or you do nothing . . . Dunayevskaya in *Marxism and Freedom*, in words of beauty, described the 1916 revolt. She saw pattern and in detail, but many Anglos, past and present, cannot see that pattern. As for the "overwhelming, non-politically conscious majority" in Ireland, I was amazed when I was in Ireland at the degree of political consciousness, not just from political friends, but people I never expected it from. Perhaps we differ in what we mean by "political."

Seamas
Minnesota

UFW AND CALRA

February saw nine new certifications of the UFW as bargaining agent, and three new contracts signed under the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act. However, the Board set up to enforce the CALRA still acts slowly on unfair labor practice charges. Recently carloads of protesters went to Sacramento, claiming the Board had acted on only "1/100 of the charges."

The Teamsters were convicted Jan. 24 of more than 20 major violations of the CALRA at the V. B. Zaninovich grape ranch in Delano. Their penalty was a first in California labor law: they were ordered to re-imburse the cost of the investigation and prosecution, and must post in each of their offices in the state an admission of having used violence and intimidation as "organizing tactics."

UFW Organizer
Detroit

TWO WORLDS

Notes from a diary: Roots, errors, and dialectics

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

The concerted way in which the mass media are trying to escape the consequences of the impact on the masses of the eight-day TV showing of **Roots**, has sent me back to the notes from my Diary on an entirely different subject and different historic period — 1943, when Stalin tried to cover up the historic roots, that is, the dialectical processes by which a product of labor assumes the specifically capitalistic value-form of a commodity. Just as the attempt, now, is being made not to make a category of slavery, reducing it to mere geneology, so, then, Russian theoreticians, in revising Marx's theory of value, tried reducing the historic Subject (the exploited laborer) to labor as an "element" inherent in all production "throughout history."

SLAVERY AND NEW TIMES

It is not that slavery and wage labor are identical, of course. It is that the two concepts—yesterday's slavery and today's racism, both integral to U.S. capitalism, on the one hand, and private capitalistic wage labor and state-capitalism calling itself Communism, on the other hand—reach a point of such irreconcilable contradiction with their Subjects, that the dialectics of history, under the mass impact of the new times, erases all distinction between past and present, between concept and reality, between objective and subjective, and you desire to uproot the existing society.

To try to blot that out, in Stalin's time, Stalin's theoreticians tried to roll history back to "roots" beyond the pale, when they revised Marx's theory of value and surplus value in answer to the question the Russian students were then asking: what, precisely, was different in a Russian factory in their "socialist land" from that which Marx described in capitalistic England? In the same way, liberal journalists here today, even as the rulers in today's and yesterday's America, in sending the historic roots of slavery beyond the pale, whitewash

the racism still oozing out of every pore of "the American dream." And it isn't of course, only two different concepts that are being buried, but two different real and antagonistic worlds existing in the very same capitalistic America. Geneology, individual geneology at that, is a good way, they hope, to keep the racism of the present as deeply buried as the slavery of the past.

JOAN ROBINSON AND LITERARY 'STYLE'

Just as the liberal journalists and historians today are busy explaining away **Roots'** impact on the audiences, so my Diary reveals that it wasn't a question that the independent academics in World War II didn't know the reality of Stalin's Russia, but that they nevertheless proceeded to explain away Stalin's startling revision of Marxism and break with the dialectic structure of Marx's **Capital** as the needed antidote to the alleged mysticism of "Hegelian dialectics." I felt this especially sharply in my 1947 discussion with the great British academic economist, Joan Robinson, who had praised the "expose" I had published in the **American Economic Review** (September, 1944 and 1945), but whose affinity of ideas actually lay with the Russian economists on the question that the law of value operated also in a "socialist society." I thereupon called to her attention what I thought was not accidental: that she had left out a pair of parentheses in a quotation from Marx in her **Essay on Marxian Economics**. Specifically, this was a quotation from p.221 of Ch. 10, Vol. III of **Capital**, which in Marx's text reads:

"(Only when production will be under the conscious and prearranged control of society, will society establish a direct relation between the quantity of social labor time employed in the production of definite articles and the quantity of the demand of society for them.)"

By having left out the parentheses, Joan Robinson made Marx's next series of sentences appear as if he were still talking of socialist production, as he continued: "the exchange or sale of commodities at their value is the rational way, the natural law of their equilibrium."

Joan Robinson got very upset as to why I had not

brought the error to her attention, as the second printing of her **Essay** was going to press. I said I was sorry, but that it had never occurred to me that it was only a typographical error—it was just too ordinary an error for so serious a thinker to have made unless she literally didn't see, i.e., conceive it. On the other hand, as Hegel put it, "error is a dynamic of truth," and I hoped she would see that it was no simple matter of leaving out a

(Continued on Page 6)

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

AIM TRIAL

Paul Durant Skyhorse and Richard Billings Mohawk are awaiting trial in Ventura County, California, in a case known as the "AIM Camp 13 murder" of cabdriver George Aird in October, 1974. The defendants and supporters say it is a frame-up designed to destroy the American Indian Movement in California.

The defendants have been confined in solitary, shackled, beaten, and drugged with tranquilizers. Known CIA/FBI informants helped set the stage for the "murder" and Douglass Durham, masquerading as "an Indian professor of psychology," testified against the defendants. Persons arrested with the victim's blood on their hands and clothing were granted immunity in return for testifying against the defendants.

Support has come from Native Americans and from Chicano and Chicana workers in Ventura County, but mass support is desperately needed. Write or call: Skyhorse/Mohawk Judicial Liberation Committee, 322 N. Ave. 66, Highland Park, California 90042, phone (213) 255-3975.

AIM Supporter
Michigan

PRAISE AND CRITICISM

The great Latino page in the Jan.-Feb. **N&L** was a terrific way to celebrate the New Year in which outgoing President Ford had already drawn the battle lines around Puerto Rico. It was significant that the response of los boricuas to Ford's announced plans to annex a new state was so immediate and so negative that even the "statehood" Governor, elected by default, was forced to say, "no."

Supporter
Chicago

I was disappointed in the recent column on sexist language. (**News & Letters**, December 1976). I see a change in language as a measure of revolt when it comes out of a mass movement, espe-

cially with a class or race dimension. In 1970 the fight to change job titles at ARA was part of a deep revolt against sexism of the most vicious kind. Last month, the City of Detroit put out a list revising all civil service job titles to non-sexist language, and it means almost nothing because they are laying people off, not hiring.

Member, WL-N & L Committee
Detroit

The Jan.-Feb. issue of **N&L** is great, one of the best I've seen. Absolutely everything was there. Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer especially deserve a hand for their article on the Liberian shipping disaster. That small article was better than all the articles the **Globe** has published on this problem. All they've emphasized is the need for more "clean-up" technology rather than looking for the root of the problem in the capitalist nature of the shipping industry.

Supporter
Boston

N & L is much freer of leftist clichéish rhetoric than one usually finds but still it could be put into plainer language.

Psychoanalyst
California

Yours is the best "Left" publication I get. Love and kisses from an old Emma Goldman anarchist. Keep up the good work!

Bill Hoch
California

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

Your reportage of worker struggles in Eastern Europe and other Communist countries is essential considering that most publications on the American Left either hand out blanket endorsements, tend to be reactionary in their political analysis, or ignore these struggles altogether. In our work to develop and apply Marxism to modern conditions while

avoiding the pitfalls of Moscow or Peking, we must shy away from reporting that parrots CIA propaganda.

Marx and Engels rightfully left solutions out of the Communist Manifesto. Democratic-minded communists are not reactionary conspirators, as they are stigmatized by their respective governments. Neither are all dissidents in these lands progressive freedom fighters. People have to teach themselves how to think. We cannot blindly follow words, phrases or leaders. **N&L** goes a long way toward providing a tool in this area. It's a shame your circulation isn't a couple of million.

Supporter
Virginia

The new collection of **Political-Philosophic Letters** gave me all sorts of ideas for other pamphlets that could be put together. Raya's Outline of **Capital** from the Archives, the **American Economic Review** debate, the last **Political-Philosophic Letter** on "Today's Global Crisis," the review of Mandel's "Marxist Economic Theory," the Critique of Rosa Luxemburg's **Accumulation of Capital**—what a pamphlet that would make to show exactly what Marxist-Humanism means in terms of economics.

Student
Boston

Editor's Note: A Guide to the "Archives," the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection on deposit at WSU (and available on microfilm from them), can be ordered from **News and Letters** for 35¢.

What a triangle we are in. The company controls the union, the union controls the workers. When you pick up the Jan.-Feb. issue of **News & Letters** and see articles written by six different workers in six different places all pointing out the same problem, you can see where all labor stands—pushed to the limit, by and for a society of bureaucrats that use our own labor to further enslave us in this capitalist system.

Auto Worker
California

I was pleased to see you dealing with the faker labor unions, but less pleased with the failure to analyze the reasons why the labor unions have degenerated

into the job-trust outfits (and misfits) they are today. You might have alluded to the job-consciousness of workers today, as opposed to the requisite class-consciousness so necessary to the workers for reconstruction of a sane, rational socialist society . . . I also regret that **News & Letters** does not have a program or plan for the aforementioned, implied revolution. I would like to call your attention to the Socialist Labor Party whose purpose is to educate and agitate amongst the working class to organize into Socialist Industrial Unions . . .

Michael Ecker
New York

Editor's Note: "People everywhere today are looking for a new way of life under which they can be free to guide their own destiny, to set and establish their own way of living, own conditions of work, and own forms of associating with each other . . . The new historic passions and forces set in motion in the 1950s gave birth to a new generation of revolutionaries in the 1960s, and in the 1970s have put a mark of urgency on the need for integrality of dialectics and organization. As against the 'party to lead' concept, such integrality of dialectics and organization reflects the revolutionary maturity of the age and its passion for a philosophy of liberation." Those are a few lines from the Constitution of **News and Letters Committees**. Copies are available for postage cost: 13¢.

SPANISH WORKERS APPEAL

In the beginning of February, police in Barcelona violently invaded a meeting of 50 CNT anarchosyndicalists and arrested the participants. A week later judicial authorities ordered their release, but the police have refused, and have submitted the prisoners to ill-treatment to extract "confessions" about arms storage. AIT (Association International Des Travailleurs) is asking for international help to free our comrades. Messages of protest should be sent to the Spanish Embassy in your locality, the "Gobernacion Civil de Barcelona," or the "Ministerio de la Gobernacion" in Madrid to let them know how their actions revolt the whole world.

International Workers Assoc.
France

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

pair of parentheses, but the oh, so-needed dialectic for reading Marx. Naturally this made her angrier still: Oh you Hegelians! That is exactly what was wrong with Marx. If only he had allowed Engels, who had a good "Anglo-Saxon" style, to write his Capital for him.*

UPROOTING, OR FORGETTING?

Error, indeed, does not act as a "dynamic of truth" where dialectics is rejected as the needed methodology, whether that be by bourgeois thinkers or professed Marxists. What is at stake is the recreation, not so much of causal connections between past and present, undiluted by "errors," but of uprooting the existing society. It is the neglect of this, just this, concept of the dialectics of negation which, in fact, is at the root of mistakes when they are serious—and it is only when they are serious that they merit becoming subjects of controversy.

Fairly recently (in the early 1970s rather than the 1940s), an error aroused my ire, again not because it was a matter of "catching" someone making a mistake, but of confronting a mistake which eradicated both a concept and a whole page of history. I was reading Fred Halliday's first translation into English of Karl Korsch's 1923 *Marxism and Philosophy*, and 1930 *Anti-Critique*, and out jumped the reference to the German edition of Marx and Engels' *Letters to Nikolai*.**

For some 20 years, I had borne in silence the vulgar bourgeois scholarship's disregard of Russian history, specifically on the topic of Rosa Luxemburg's scrupulous revolutionary manner of protecting the names of dissidents of the Tsarist regime. In 1913, when she had written her greatest theoretical work, *Accumulation of Capital*, she devoted Ch. XX to Nikolai-on. By the 1920s, when "the West" first started paying attention to her work, "Russians" took for granted that everyone knew that there was no such name; that the hyphen before the "on" signified that the name was not spelled out, but was the ending of any ordinary name; and that, in fact, the name was Danielson. Nikolai Danielson was a great Russian Populist and the first editor and translator into Russian of Marx's *Capital*.

When Oxford University Press, after a lapse of nearly 40 years, finally published Rosa Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital* in English translation, I was shocked to find that, despite the fact that the translation is by no less a scholar than Dr. Agnes Schwarzhild; that it had a prefatory note on Rosa herself by none other than Dr. W. Stark; and that it carried a 15-page Introduction by Joan Robinson, who was full of praise for the "dynamic model" of capitalist development by Rosa Luxemburg "neglected by Marxists," nevertheless the name of Ch. XX was Nikolayon.

With all this accumulation of erudition and high regard for Rosa Luxemburg, a "technical" error of such vast dimensions as to eliminate nothing short of the autocratic era of Tsarist censorship could only, it seemed to me, be due to the capitalistic class character of the new discoverers of Rosa Luxemburg's work. Unfortunately, it was not limited to the bourgeois scholars.

In 1968, the Monthly Review Press reproduced it "as is." And, in 1970, in an entirely different work published by New Left Books, the German disregard of Russia's theoretical contribution is so total, that even so great an independent Marxist as Karl Korsch refers to "the outstanding introduction by the editor Kurt Mandelbaum to the German edition of Marx and Engels' *Letters to Nikolai*." By then, I did fire off an epistle to Fred Halliday, the editor of Korsch's work, stating that it was one thing for bourgeois academics to make such errors, but for Marxists to do so displays more than forgetfulness of a page of history; it is the dialectics of present history that is the issue. After some delay, I did finally get an acknowledgement from Fred Halliday, to the effect that he had turned my letter over to the publisher. There has been no second edition of Korsch's work, but why could a correction not have appeared in the *New Left Review*?

The "New Left", as the old and new academics, is so bereft of seriousness towards dialectics, be it of roots or errors, be it of history, past and present, that they all end up by tailending some state power. Which is why, "East" or "West," empiricist concepts are so far removed from the dialectics of liberation.

*In a way, Joan Robinson's Preface to the second edition of her *Essay on Marxian Economics* says the same thing when she holds that Marx's "academic analysis can be separated from its unacceptable ideology," and, again, when she talks of Marx's "nineteenth-century metaphysical habits of thought"—her designation for Hegelian dialectics. What came out more sharply in our conversation (and in her commentary on *State-Capitalism and Marxism*), was the direct reference to Hegel and Marx. Her "taking sides" with the Russian theorists on the whole question of the law of value and "socialism", as well as the dialectical structure of *Capital*, was no more accidental than her "taking sides" with the "communes" in China during the Cultural Revolution. (See her commentary on my first draft of *Marxism and Freedom*, which was called *State-Capitalism and Marxism*, in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, Vol. III, Section 3, on deposit at the Labor History Library of Wayne State University, Detroit, MI, 48202, and available on microfilm. Also see Joan Robinson's *Cultural Revolution in China*, Penguin, Baltimore, 1969.)

**See Karl Korsch, *Marxism and Philosophy* (New Left Books, London), 1970, p. 123, fn. 38.

La Migra uses seized Manzo records to deport 'illegals'

Detroit, Mich.—The Border Patrol (La Migra) of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service has been using the confidential files of the Manzo Area Council of Tucson, Ariz., to locate, harass and deport persons legally entitled to remain in the U.S. who have not been informed of their legal rights or status.

Among them are people whose immediate family are citizens, or who were born here but lack a birth certificate, or who entered the U.S. before the first immigration law for Mexico was passed in the '20s.

The files were confiscated when the Patrol raided Manzo in April 1976, allegedly looking for evidence of attempt to defraud U.S. welfare agencies. They found no such evidence. The Manzo Council was funded in 1965 by the U.S. Community Services Administration, and has helped residents deal with the red tape and language barrier preventing them from taking advantage of existing social services. In January of 1976, Manzo also began an immigration counselling program, following U.S. guidelines.

This program was needed because of the overt racism of government agencies—most often taking the form of arbitrary raids and mass deportations by La Migra—which do not inform the estimated 75 percent of Mexican nationals in the U.S. who are eligible to become legal resident aliens or citizens of these rights. At the same time, employers of the so-called illegal aliens are explicitly exempt from prosecution for harboring them, or paying them starvation wages out of which they make tremendous profits.

In addition to mass deportations of those who had sought confidential counselling, four of Manzo's workers are now facing charges ranging from transporting and aiding and abetting illegal aliens and felons to conspiracy.

If convicted, not only would the four—Margo Cowan, Cathy Montano, Margie Ramirez, and Sister Ann Gabriel—face a total prison sentence of 166 years, but it would set a precedent endangering all programs to advise aliens and threaten the rights of all persons seeking private counselling. To help, please write or call: Manzo Area Council, 1025 N. Grande, Tucson Ariz., 85705—(602) 623-5739 (In Detroit, 831-6971).

Protest Argentine repression

New York, N. Y.—A picket line in front of the Argentine consulate in midtown Manhattan on Feb. 10 presented a sharp contrast to the luxurious wealth all around us, for we were talking about the death and violent suppression of a whole nation of people.

The demonstration was called by the Solidarity Committee with the Argentine People (S.C.A.P.), to protest the death sentences of 41 Argentine political prisoners. And these are only the ones we know about! Many more have already been killed or have simply disappeared. According to S.C.A.P., there are crematoria in Cordoba for disposing of political dissenters. We shouted slogans comparing Argentina today to Germany under the Nazis.

Men, women and even children have been murdered. Fanatical anti-Semitism has been unloosed; ten Catholic priests have been killed. Strikes have been violently suppressed at Fiat and elsewhere. A poet was beaten and arrested in full public view in Rosario.

For petitions, or to send contributions, write to S.C.A.P., 41 Union Square, W., Rm. 1037, New York, N.Y., 10003.

We apologize for the error in transposing the headlines on the two Spanish articles in our last issue.

Nos disculpamos del error en el número pasado en transponer las cabeceras de los dos artículos españoles.

Native American and Australian Aborigines' struggles are united

Some of us supporting native people's liberation movements in England are angered at a recent attack by a British AIM spokesperson on the Australian Aborigines. According to this anonymous "anti-imperialist," "to draw a parallel between the oppression of North American Indian people and the Australian Aborigine is impossible, except if you happen to abide by the ideology of the reactionary petty bourgeois" (From AIM Bulletin No. 5, published in Birmingham, England).

It is true that certain minority rights groups once found the Australian Aborigines an attractive and tame enough people to support with ease. That was before the Aborigines opened up Embassies, carried out civil disobedience, took mining companies to court and cried "Black power!" and "Self-determination!"

The AIM-writer asks why Aboriginal supporters don't draw parallels between the people of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Palestine or Oman, and their own? In fact, some of us were doing that before AIM was born.

I would like to hear responses from anyone in AIM in the U.S. I have spoken to the organizer of the upcoming Research and Action-Group some of us hope to establish in London, which will bring representatives of native peoples to London, Bonn, etc. to facilitate their confronting RTZ, Alcan, etc. in their citadels of power. This idea came from Aborigines in Queensland . . . We're hoping



Native American speaks

Mich.: Indian legal battlefield

by Shainape Shcapwe

Two important developments involving Native Americans in Michigan are turning a town in the Upper Peninsula, Sault Ste. Marie, and the whole state of Michigan, into a legal battlefield.

In Sault Ste. Marie, the battle is over a low-cost housing project the Indians want to replace their dilapidated housing. The program would involve putting up 65 low-cost housing units in the area owned by the Indians, to which HUD has agreed.

But the so-called white liberals and others who had supported efforts to improve the living conditions of the Indians there seem to have turned against them. The big cry of the whites, including a Catholic priest who now calls the Indians morons, is that if the Indians get the low-cost housing they will set back the "assimilation process."

By the "assimilation process" they mean making the Indians over in their own mold. They'll take an Indian, train him to be a welder, at the end of which he is supposed to be almost as "good" as the whites. Then he is sent back to the reservation . . . and for what? What's he going to weld on the reservation?

That's fine if someone wants that. But Indians just don't think like that. In present society, the measure of how much you are worth is how much more you acquire than you need. It's based on greed. This kind of life is completely alien to Indians, who believe in everyone having enough to live a good life.

The same thing with land. Whites have the idea that they can own the land. You can't own land. It's there for everyone to share, and is to be protected for future generations to enjoy. We believe our philosophy of life is better than the one of dog-eat-dog that governs present society.

The whites in Sault Ste. Marie could support the Indians so long as they were controlling what was to be done. But as soon as the Indians got something concrete that they could control, that they could decide to do something to achieve their own goals, they came under these attacks. There are now deep divisions in the Indian community, and the city council has declared it will not approve the HUD-financed housing project, which apparently is required for the project to be built.

Another issue is over the fishing rights of Indians in Michigan. There has been a case in court for six years, and finally we thought it had been settled by giving Indians the right to fish in the Great Lakes, but regulated under the laws of the states.

Now an effort is being made to amend the treaties giving Indians these rights. Representative Dingell of Michigan has introduced a bill in Congress that would take away the rights we've won in the hard court struggles. If they can change this, they can change anything.

The way it is now, if Indians on the Bay Mills reservation who depend on fishing for their livelihood make \$5,000 a year, that's a real good year. Usually it's much less than that. One group has 18 boats, and that's 18 families, who net about \$15,000 a year, so that's not even \$1,000 a year. The amendments to the treaties would limit the fishing even more than it is now, so how can the families possibly be able to have a decent standard of living?

Right now what's important is to defeat the Dingell bill in the House of Representatives. Unless we can do that, a lot of the legal battles we are winning will be taken away from us by this legislation.

that British AIM's obvious change of heart is only a flash in the pan.

—Roger Moody, England

I wish I knew more about the person who wrote the piece in the British AIM bulletin. I just can't believe that anyone speaking for AIM could possibly say anything that would separate the struggles of the Australian Aborigines from those of the American Indians.

Sure, the problems can be different. There are different circumstances. But the goal of all is freedom, and this doesn't know any national boundary. Why, here in the U.S. the problems of the tribes are different; the problems of the Sioux tribes in South Dakota are not the same as the Chippewa tribes in Michigan. But both are fighting against oppression, just as the Aborigines in Australia are.

I know the official position of AIM supporting the Aborigines in Australia, and that no one who is serious about the struggles of native people could write something like that.

Unfortunately, there are often people who have their own ideas and will express them in the name of an organization, even if they don't know the position of the organization. That's the only explanation I can see for the misrepresentation of the AIM position reported in the British bulletin.

—Shainape Shcapwe

Draft resisters demand total amnesty NOW

by Jim Mills

I attended the conference of war resisters, called by the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty (NCUUA) in Toronto, to work out a unified response to Carter's pardon for draft resisters. The urge to expose Carter and push for real amnesty was so great that the conference, originally planned for 100, drew over 350, during the winter's worst blizzard.

The very form of the organization of the conference opposed the class and racial divisions imposed by the Carter pardon. No real distinction was made with respect to participation among deserters, draft resisters, and veterans. An ovation greeted the suggestion of an exiled veteran that deserters now be called "absentees gone for over 45 days", connoting that they'll return to the U.S. someday as free people.

A representative from Vietnam got a standing ovation after giving a moving description of the devastation he had seen in Vietnam and asking what the U.S. was going to do to reconstruct that ravaged land. Before passing a single resolution about their own problems, the conference passed one demanding post-war aid and reconciliation with Vietnam.

For the first time at an NCUUA conference, 50 to 60 veterans formed their own caucus, and like the Army itself, one third of its members were Black. Their

participation was pivotal, especially in light of a fact that, in 1971, twice as many Blacks as whites received bad discharges, often for acts not punishable by civil law.

The largest two groups still needing amnesty are the veterans with less-than-honorable discharges—800,000—and the deserters—30,000—whose forms of revolt against the war appeared only after induction. They are disproportionately poor and minorities.

Although the conference was based upon anti-war activity, it also recognized the importance of the activity of those who resisted inhuman Army rigor in a myriad of ways, got bad discharges and also need amnesty.

One example is a young Black worker at my shop who told me of his experience. He entered the army at 17 to avoid a foster home, was wounded seriously in Vietnam, lost a 30-day automatic recuperative leave for missing a single bed check, took the leave anyway, served time in the stockade, and was assigned to a training facility to "play insurgent" in war games.

He left that depressing existence by deserting, and returned to take a bad discharge rather than sweat the risk of being found, and was convinced by his lawyer in the court martial to accept a Bad Conduct discharge—only to discover promised VA medical attention for his wounds wasn't available to him.

One resister in exile who participated in the demonstrations following the conference in Washington, D.C. against the pardon, for reconciliation with Vietnam, and for VA services to all veterans, told me he talked with a senator from his home state about these issues. This youth was asked if he is a communist, and whether he would have served if drafted for World War II. He said it was clear from these questions how distant this "representative" is from the Peace Movement and the Total Amnesty movement now.

As against relying on Carter's racist administration or this legislator's distance from reality, the Total Amnesty movement, as seen in the conference, must rely on working class and Black thought as a total method for realizing total amnesty—and resisting the reinstatement of the draft.

African youth joining guerrillas



South African students protest by burning examinations.

Hundreds of Black Zimbabwe youth are answering the latest attempts to stall majority rule in southern Africa by joining en masse the guerrilla forces training in Botswana and Zambia.

Over 800 youth recently crossed the border into Francistown, Botswana, and another 300 arrived there over one weekend. Of the much publicized group of 400 from a missionary school who left Rhodesia, close to half were women and a majority were in their early teens.

The Rhodesian government tried to present this flight to freedom as a "kidnapping," but even parents of the youths who refused to return to Rhodesia admitted that no coercion was used.

On the contrary, the youth movement is a direct reaction against continued harassment by Rhodesian soldiers who are stooping to torture and "relocations" of entire border villages. The youth well know who the enemy is, and this kind of Reason embodying movement toward new human relations does not require teachers or "maturity."

That Reason became explicit the same week when thousands of Black South African youth in Soweto turned their revolt against the educational system, burning textbooks and examinations.

In Cape Town groups of teenagers occupied three primary schools in a direct assault on racist educational policies. Partly in response to such protests, one Catholic school recently opened its doors to Black and white alike.

The intensifying revolts are involving larger numbers of women and pre-adolescent youth at the same time that the Smith and Carter administrations look for ways to delay the transformation of southern Africa. The attitude of Carter was revealed when he said, in relation to Andrew Young's African trip, that Ford/Kissinger African policy was "not so bad."

Despite the plans of these and other heads of state, African youth are not waiting for any outside forces to act for them, and are certainly not waiting "to grow up" to transform their lives.

Student strikes sweep England

(Continued from Page 1)

23,000 Leyland automobile workers out over strikes, including workers in Coventry, Castle Bromwich and West Lothian. In addition, 2600 Ford-Dagenham workers were also on strike. The students added that the miners "voted 80 percent to strike unless they got an agreement for early retirement at age 62 with three-fourths of pay, and pay non-taxable. Union leaders compromised by agreeing to three-fourths — but having the pay taxable. This means a severe cut in retiree living standards."

CLENCHED FIST SUPPORT

The first call from Middlesex was suddenly interrupted: "We can't talk any longer. Somebody has set off a fire. It is probably a Right wing attempt to have us ousted." Later they reported that the fire may have been set by those they called "left loonies" adding, "It really turned out to be humorous. The police and the firemen entered the building, and put out the fire. But on their way out, with the firemen on one side, the students on the other and the police in the middle, the firemen gave us the clenched-fist of support!"

This new student action which has been influenced by the increasing revolts of British workers, has won the support of many more students than those actually occupying the buildings. At the London School of Economics, when moderate students attempted to end the sit-in after a week, a meeting of 700 students outvoted them five to one.

The occupation resulted in intense activity and thought on the part of the students, and serious discussions of both national and international concerns. At the same time that exams are being completely disrupted, they have organized themselves to continue their academic studies, enriched by the great variety of cultures and nationalities of the students. "There are many groups on campus — a South African Society, Irish Society, Caribbean Society, Rhodesian and Zimbabwean groups—and all are active," they told us. "Middlesex Polytechnic has a reputation as the most Left school in England. It has been the strongest in support of the IRA. We have had a lot of discussion about Ireland and the Peace Movement there, and we think there is a lot of confusion in the U.S. about the whole question.

"We've been discussing everything from the working class in a counter-technology situation (fighting against Automation) in Scotland, to the new British edition of Capital with the introduction by Ernest Mandel. That introduction is so bad that he is a real source of embarrassment to his political cronies on campus."

REPORTS, IDEAS EXCHANGED

The British students were as excited to hear about developments at the City University of New York last term, in which I participated, as we were to learn about the new stage of revolt reached with their struggle. Bilingual Hostos College in New York was occupied by a Black and Latino student-community coalition. It is clear that neither occupation is an isolated event.

The Hostos occupation was initiated by minority students, and, as in London, was not planned from above or intended as a pawn with which to negotiate with the administration, but became a center for organizing continued protests.

Nor are the actions restricted to these in London and New York. Masses of students at the University of Quebec have joined a six-month faculty strike that was initiated by a strike of maintenance workers, and the Soweto student uprising in South Africa has attacked the educational crisis by confronting that most crucial relationship: Black to white.

We cannot tell where this new British upsurge will lead. But surely it has already by-passed restrictions of vanguardist leadership not flowing from the actual occupations and takeovers that do not work out new relations with workers, community residents, and students themselves.

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

union's GM division, yelled after GM announced its record profits recently, that this proved that the contract GM signed with the UAW is not inflationary.

DON'T KNOW WORKERS' HISTORY

Not one thing is said about how GM really made that profit—through speed-up and laying-off workers and forcing those who are left to produce more. Bluestone talks about workers, but he has never worked in a plant one day in his life. These are the so-called labor historians that workers have to learn from. When they say anything about labor history, they always refer to the history of the distant past. They don't know the labor history workers have made in the last 15 or 20 years, but always point to 1937-47. It's as if after those years, there's no history at all.

That was when the late Walter Reuther began going to colleges to recruit students to the International Union. Before that, they all came from the plants where they worked.

I was talking to some young men from the UAW International at a Labor History Conference in Ann Arbor, Mich., last week. Neither had ever worked in a plant, but one was working in the Dept. of Health and Safety. When I told him about the accidents that are happening in the shop each and every day, he told me that the company says most of them happen because the workers, especially young workers, are not careful and drink and use drugs.

I told him he should start with what the workers say and not with what the company says. I told him what safety was like in the old days, when the safety man always came to us and asked us about safety. Then they would give the company so many days to correct it, and if it was not done we would shut down that operation. Many times we would shut it down right then.

He seemed stunned but I told him that today it is production and more production, so there is no concern about a worker's safety, just the talk of safety. I told him that workers will have to write their own history by throwing the bureaucrats out and taking destiny in their own hands. That's when we'll get job safety and the true history of the UAW.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Egyptian masses rebel against Sadat's high-living, heavy-handed regime

When Egyptian President Anwar Sadat gave in to the demands of the International Monetary Fund and decreed a 10 percent raise in the price of rice, sugar and cooking gas, the workers responded by streaming off the docks, burning and sacking the home of the Vice-President, Husni Mubarak, and precipitating a nationwide protest against his incompetent, corrupt government.

At Aswan, where Sadat waited in his winter home to greet Yugoslav President Tito, the workers burned down the triumphal arches erected for Tito, who elected to stay home in his own dictatorship. In Liberation Square in Cairo, they battled with police and destroyed a 10-foot-high Sadat poster while shouting, "down with Sadat."

When order was restored by the police and the army, 77 dead were counted, 1,200 arrested and hundreds wounded. The price raises were rescinded and Sadat's authority was severely undermined.

During the riots, a middle-class young man tried

to defend the regime with the crowd. A middle-aged government worker responded, "Sadat spends his winters at Aswan and summers in Alexandria, what does he care?" A waiter shouted, "If things are so good here, why do we have to go off to other Arab countries to find work?"

On Feb. 12, about 400 students marched at Cairo University, demanding the repeal of a new Sadat decree setting a life sentence at hard labor as the penalty for demonstrating. The police did nothing, fearing another general outbreak.

Egypt owes \$10 billion abroad and another \$10-11 billion to Russia for arms and munitions. Faced with this staggering debt, the government is seeking \$338 million more from the International Monetary Fund, yet spends \$60 million for four Boeing 707 airliners, when the people of Cairo do without buses and street cars for transportation.

In the six years that Sadat has ruled the 38

million Egyptians through a government that he calls "socialist" 500 new millionaires have been created, while the masses continue to live in chronic poverty. For workers with an average monthly wage of \$80, a pair of common shoes that cost \$14 are a luxury that few can afford.

In the week since the riots, Sadat has been conducting a series of televised meetings with labor leaders, and professors and students at Cairo University. The best he could promise labor was, "I must warn you that you have four more hard years coming." The professors were told, "Politics have no place in our universities." The students were told, "The only off-key note in this country, is you."

Challenged by the President of the Cairo University Student Federation with, "Only those who bow to the authorities remain in power — they become hypocrites with you and the other leaders," Sadat's response was explosive abuse.

FESTAC and women

FESTAC, the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture, has just ended in Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation. A front-page editorial in the government owned DAILY TIMES exclaimed, "What a brilliant spectacle it turned out to be!" But a woman writer, Bisi Adebisi, presented a much different view on the inside pages. Below are brief excerpts from her column, "Woman's Angle":

Just how liberated is the African woman? This was the crucial question before the celebrated FESTAC colloquium last week. But nobody cared to answer it. Perhaps because it has haunted the African man like the ghost of Ian Smith or John Vorster haunts all of us . . .

The point raised before the conference of eminent scholars was a recommendation that read: "Emphasis must be given to women's education by according them equal opportunity in schools and colleges as a process of liberating them and enabling them to play equal roles as their male counterparts". One after the other, the gentlemen of the colloquium raised hell over their bug-bear. "The word 'liberating' must be deleted from the recommendation," they roared. "The question of liberating the African woman simply does not arise because there's nothing to liberate her from."

There were very few women delegates . . . If we can find large contingents of women on the stage of the National Arts Theatre wriggling their feminine buttocks to feed the lustful eyes of men, what more do we want, to claim full participation in FESTAC?

Barely two months before FESTAC, some of us were shouting ourselves hoarse for women in the northern states of Nigeria to have something as basic as the right to vote. They've now got it. Millions of women remain tucked away in the repressive culture of purdah. . . . And in the Southern states, which claim to be better advanced, women

in the rural areas continue to languish in a culture which survives on the economic contributions of the women — their agricultural roles — but makes the more sophisticated agricultural tools available only to the men.

For the rural woman, the prospects are still the slow death from disease and unabated pregnancies. Watch her as she trudges home from the farm — a heavy sack on her head, a baby on her back and a "bundle of joy" in her stomach, and you'll see how much the African woman can be liberated from.

Latin America

In a recent interview in Hamburg, Germany, Gladys Dias, a well-known journalist during the Allende government in Chile and a leader in the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left, described in detail the horrors of all the stages of what is for most torture unto death.

She was held at a DINA (Chilean Secret Police) torture center, Villa Grimaldi, where "few people survive" and whose existence, like all the torture centers, is officially denied. There was an international campaign on behalf of Gladys Diaz. Her concern now is for the great many prisoners who are still anonymous.

Much of the same systematic use of torture and imprisonment of political opponents goes on in Paraguay, Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina. There are over 100,000 refugees in Argentina who fled other military dictators. They have been in great danger since the March 1975 coup there. Amnesty International reports that in the last year alone some 1,300 people have been assassinated by neo-Nazi death squads that work hand-in-hand with police.

All the rhetoric about human rights coming from the White House seems to be directed everywhere except where it is responsible, namely, the military regimes in Latin America who are underwritten and trained by this country. That training for Latin American military personnel includes the detailed

study at Fort Gulick in the Panama Canal Zone of the philosophy and execution of the coup d'etat. The U.S. manual states that after a coup "it is extraordinarily important that all the government supporters be immediately eradicated and . . . to be excessive in intimidatory ferocity."

Anti-Semitism

Arthur Butz, a professor of engineering at Northwestern University, has published a book calling the holocaust—the extermination of six million Jews by Nazi Germany — a hoax. The University Provost, Raymond Mack, answered the Anti-Defamation League in Chicago, by saying that officials at this well-regarded university are "great First Amendment people," and that only one tenured professor has been fired from a major American university in the last 50 years.

Aside from the fact that that is a lie — whether you consider the countless academics fired during the McCarthy era, specifically the collaboration of Northwestern administrators with the Illinois Senate's Broyles committee, or more recently the case of Marvin Shinbrot, a full math professor who was also a critic of the Vietnam war — what Northwestern is not taking a stand on is growing anti-Semitism.

That new stage of anti-Semitism is worldwide. Just last month, the Russian history magazine, *Ogonyok*, printed an article "revealing" that before World War II "Zionists" conspired to set up a pro-Nazi Zionist state, and that Israel's kidnapping of Adolph Eichmann was to prevent him from disclosing the story. Such vicious madness is only slightly removed from the everyday anti-Semitism currently encouraged by the Russian government.

The Nazi party in the U.S., which is using Butz's book as a fund raiser, has found in "ethnic" Chicago fertile ground for a center of its activities against Blacks and Jews. Action is needed now, not only in Chicago, but globally, before this new anti-Semitic wave becomes the forerunner of a new holocaust.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

ABC television network has estimated that 81 million Americans saw Alex Haley's *Roots*. This is a very, very big segment of the population and this fact alone places *Roots* in a unique category.

When ABC contrasted *Roots* with *Gone with the Wind*, on a purely commercial level, whether they knew it or not, they were bringing into opposition two distinctly different views of American slavery—one representing the decadent glorification of the dying-out slave-owning class, and the other the human saga of a Black slave and his family's struggle for freedom during slavery and after the Emancipation Proclamation.

It is this quest for freedom, cast in the framework of history, that gives such universal appeal to *Roots*, and which also gives it the ability to transcend the obvious weaknesses.

The impact of *Roots* upon white America has been "phenomenal"! Phenomenal in the sense that a "serious" television drama about Blacks is able to make a visible impact, not only in the ranks of white liberals and radicals, but in those sections of the white population that never expressed any great sympathy for the plight of Black people.

To many people, *Roots* is not just history—Haley does not call it history, he refers to it as "faction," a combination of facts and fiction—but a work that has an immediate quality with an impact upon "the here and the now." This is true in the negative reaction of white parents who express the fear that *Roots* may cause Black children to be aggressive toward their children in school.

To put it more positively, a Black youth had this to say: "*Roots* is keeping America's feet on the ground to show that the job isn't done. What we need now is another *Roots* to show what conditions are like NOW. Blacks are

Impact of Roots is for full liberation today

not suffering the way they did then, but they do still have pains and problems."

History has never been too far from the average African-American family. Slavery itself ceased a little more than a century ago and there are many Blacks alive today who have heard their history from parents, grand, and great-grandparents, who had relatives that were born into slavery. When an African-American man admits that he "had an uncontrollable fit of crying after he saw *Roots*, that it was the same story that his own grandfather had told him about slavery," we are talking about a legacy that hits very close to the living of today.

African-Americans have always been concerned about their history. When you stop and think about this, you become aware that it is not a concern with "dead" history, but as an action and desire to establish that American Blacks are an historical people, and knowing their history was the method to combat the stereotype images of African-Americans as being "non-historical"—living in a time-warped vacuum. The scene in *Roots*, where Kunta Kinte was whipped until he accepted his new slave name "Toby", was brutally symbolic as the denial of Kunta Kinte's past history. But at the same time this whipping set into motion the central theme of Black history in this country, the continuing struggle for liberation.

This has been what history for American Blacks has been all about, whether the form was the fight against slavery, the struggle against night-riders after reconstruction, the protests against lynching, the mass movements for civil rights, the daily battles against economic deprivation, the Garvey movement, the M. L. King movement, or the push for better education, housing, jobs and human relations.

Roots certainly is not the most definitive story about African-Americans. It is easy to point out its defects re-

garding specific facts and its slight treatment of historical events like the Nat Turner revolt that almost took place just outside the plantation where the Haley ancestors lived, or few words about the Abolitionists. Some of these weaknesses and even absurdities were placed into the story by the TV producers whose first concern was to make money, and some others are inherent in the original story.

We are going to hear a lot more about *Roots* from both white and Black intellectuals, each with his own set of private facts. However, the real importance of *Roots* is that, although it is seen from the point of view of one Black American family, it was able to transcend its factual and historical weaknesses and appeal to the universal struggle for freedom going on today.

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