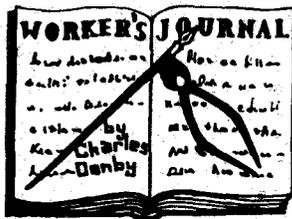


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## Ford workers: 'What did we strike for?'

by Charles Denby, Editor

The Ford strike is over and many workers are asking: "What did we strike for? We are going back to work and have not seen the contract. Practically all of the workers are just as confused now as they were before the strike, and now even Woodcock refuses to answer whether he considers it a good settlement or a bad settlement. Many of us know it stinks."

I think it was a game between Woodcock and Ford. The first offer the company made was to take away part of the insurance benefits. Everybody knew this was nothing but silly sparring by the company.

From the beginning of the bargaining, only those in higher places had the slightest idea what was going on. Union officials have been consistently trying to minimize the effect of this strike, which they never wanted in the first place. The local union allowed streams of scabs—salaried personnel and hourly workers with union passes—to pour through the picket lines.

It was said that union officials at the Ford Rouge plant made some kind of agreement with the National Maritime Union to disregard the pickets and deliver coke to the plant. Five pickets boarded the ship in an attempt to stop it. The local tried to justify it by saying the coke oven was necessary to maintain the operation of the coke oven, to keep it in shape for when the workers returned. This was one more example of how Woodcock and the union officials failed to shut down the entire plant.

Some are saying that we will get a three percent increase in the second and third years and slightly more in the first year, and 13 additional paid holidays rotated on an individual basis over the life of the contract. Retirees will get up to a \$600 cash settlement to be paid from the Cost-of-Living Allowance (COLA) payment of working auto workers.

The company and the union have been reporting there is more money in the retirement fund than they will ever use. They have millions of dollars, so it seems  
(Continued on Page 7)

## On south side of Chicago

# King Movement marchers escape church bombing

Chicago, Ill.—The King Movement Coalition had scheduled a march on Marquette Park, Saturday, Oct. 9, but we were stopped by police as soon as we got out the door. We didn't know then about the bombing of the church right around the corner where we used to meet. The bombing of this church, where it was a miracle that a lot of people were not inside or passing by, was ignored by the media—no reports appeared.

That church was chosen to be bombed because we usually meet there. The terrorists put it there by mistake instead of where we were meeting. The blast from that bomb knocked people down a half block away. It is a miracle there aren't some dead people. Rev. Wright, whose church it was, has no enemies. He just believes a community group has a right to a place to meet.

Aside from the countless attacks on Blacks and their homes near Marquette Park, union members reported to us over the summer that there were attacks on 126th Street going toward Torrence Avenue at the Ford plant. There were also attacks over on Foster Avenue beach.

There has been mass leafletting along with verbal attacks in Rogers Park. The Nazis also have phone lines that daily attack Chicanos and all other so-called "impure" races. But the most vicious thing to date was the church bombing.

The police knew about the bombing when we left the "freedom barn", as we call it, and they came up with this conspiracy to stop us as we walked out the door. We didn't get off the block we're located on before two of our people were arrested.

They had enough police, plus over 200 in reserve. Being only 70 of us, they had us outnumbered three or four to one. What they did with this Gestapo-like tactic was to say in effect that we don't have the right to attempt to get redress of our grievances by marching through the streets with picket signs.

Chicago, along with the federal government, has violated, this year, all the rights of the free press and the first amendment. The major papers and news media

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# NEWS

# LETTERS

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## U.S. global reach expands

# Pax Americana's imperial sweep now claims the ocean sea beds

by Michael Connolly

From the rostrum of the United Nations General Assembly Hall on Sept. 30, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger delivered the official U.S. view of the state of the world today—and the Ford administration's plans for a future in which the Nixon-Ford dream of "Pax Americana" reigns forever under the alias of what he called "a new understanding of community." Kissinger embraced every area of the world in his speech, from Southern Africa to the Middle East, from nuclear weapons to Latin America, and not excluding the bottoms of the oceans.

Despite the fact that the speech was billed as "historic"—a farewell statement—its text did not appear in a single U.S. newspaper. Such downplaying of the latest

adventures of U.S. imperialism is not, however, limited to the media. It is currently at its worst right within the UN itself. In fact, in such sharp contrast has the current UN session been to last year's, that its proclaimed "decade against racism" has very nearly degenerated into creating a hero's role for Kissinger, especially in Southern Africa.

## U.S. DEMANDS SEA LIMITS

But on no issue did Kissinger trumpet U.S. disdain more blatantly, or the delegates from Third World countries reveal their disarray more completely, than on the question of the negotiations on the treaty to govern the "Law of the Sea." The 150 nations represented at the conference had long since agreed that the deep seabeds were the "common heritage of mankind." It was believed, at least in the corridors at the UN, that the U.S. and Russia, who have the technology to mine those incalculable riches, would be pressured into sharing them with the less industrialized countries.

Yet so many, and so convoluted, were the alliances and splits at the conference—technological vs. non-technological, land-locked vs. coastal, long coastline vs. short coastline, fishing vs. non-fishing—that Kissinger was able to announce American "limits" on negotiations, and add: "If attempts are made to compel concessions which exceed those limits, unilateralism will become inevitable."

Such unilateralism will be truly staggering in its economic magnitude. U.S. revenues from the seabeds today amount to \$100 billion each year. And plans are already underway for a U.S.-Belgian consortium to begin mining huge amounts of nickel, manganese, cobalt and copper at a site in the Pacific. Never has the "new world economic order," proclaimed so loudly at the UN last year by Third World delegates, seemed so far removed from reality.

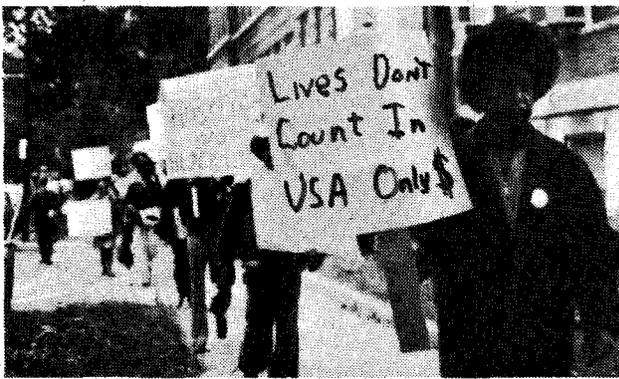
U.S. imperialism is certainly riding high, even successfully compelling the finance ministers of the Third World countries belonging to the International Monetary Fund to agree that bringing down the inflation rate should take precedence over reducing unemployment, or providing new loans to developing countries—at least temporarily. At the same time, nearly every corner of the Third World has seen some form of protest in the past month, as the effects of the continuing worldwide economic crisis hit hardest in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

## NO FREEDOM FOR PANAMA

When he referred to Latin America, Kissinger assured the delegates that relations between the U.S. and the rest of the hemisphere were "based on equality and mutual benefit . . . a longstanding tradition," but not once did he even so much as mention the Panama Canal, that garrison enclave where the U.S. has invested \$5,680 for each Panamanian—nearly 100 times its per capita investment in any other Latin American Country.

Nor does President Ford's announcement that he is sending that "Vietnam hand" Ellsworth Bunker to reopen negotiations on a new Canal Treaty mean anything. Neither Ford nor his Presidential opponent, Carter, have any intention of ever giving up control of the Canal Zone. They have been vying throughout the campaign on the subject, with Carter lately adopting even more reactionary language than Ford.

Incredibly, the issue of the U.S. colony in Panama—on which Third World delegates vowed only six months



News & Letters Photo

## Marchers protest criminal negligence against Black patients in Chicago hospitals.

in this city are in on the conspiracy. If someone they control says some kind of ridiculous thing against us, they will print it every day.

For years our main thrust was attempting to get people jobs—to open up the all-white construction industry, the all-white divisions in the police and fire departments.

But when our people don't get fair medical care or responsible treatment, we feel it is our duty to march to let people know hospitals treat Black people as animals. When some of our people were hurt and taken to Holy Cross Hospital, nothing was done for them.

At Englewood Hospital, Reginald Harris, a young brother who marched with us 32 days in the struggle against the assaults in Marquette Park by the Nazis and the KKK, was brought in at 7 a.m. and no one helped him. They had barely touched him by 10:45 a.m., and he was dead. Reports from his mother and other relatives who were there said the only help he got for three hours was from a security guard.  
(Continued on Page 6)

(Continued on Page 8)

## Chicago WE fights Feds to save affirmative action law

Chicago, Ill.—Women Employed (WE), a Chicago-based women's group, is fighting the Federal Government's plan to sneak in amendments that would pull what few teeth are left in the Affirmative Action program.

The proposed new regulations for the Office of Contract Compliance would allow a company to conduct its own investigation of complaints against it, and then hold endless agency "hearings". There is no point at which the company would be charged with discrimination and its contract cancelled. Instead, women would be expected to rely on the "good faith" of these companies—the same ones who have and still do discriminate against us.

This discrimination can be seen clearly in Chicago, where thousands of women are employed in insurance factories in the sky, like Prudential and John Hancock. Starting salary for a claims adjuster trainee is \$150 a week. The job includes taking a claim, doing all the research and verification on it, and then deciding the amount of the settlement. The "training period" is a year and a half!

The WE meetings have been very exciting, with progress reports on the drive to stop the new regulations. Larry Lorber, the man who wrote the regulations and tried to keep them hushed-up to avoid holding public hearings, is creatively confronted at every meeting. At the last meeting, one woman brought a tape recorder and we gave Larry a message about what we thought of his suggestions for Affirmative Action.

One thing that impressed me is that there are so many women's groups all over the country also involved in this fight—in New York, Boston, Los Angeles, Maine and New Hampshire, to name a few. It means that almost 10 years of the Women's Liberation Movement has created at least some organizations that can fight on the legislative level.

In Chicago, although we had been told no officials would see us, about 70 of us did meet in the Federal



## WL NOTES

The traditional legal system in Kenya where women, their children and possessions belong to the husband—and where a wife can be "inherited" as an additional wife by her deceased husband's brother—is being challenged by a law before Parliament. Although it doesn't mention polygamy, it will give wives the right of property inheritance, provide sanctions against wife-beating, and prohibit forced child marriages. A clause that will make adultery punishable by a six-month jail term has caused vehement opposition among many men.

In Zaragoza, Spain, Maria Immaculata Benito was acquitted Oct. 9 of charges of adultery, on the grounds of "insufficient evidence." Her husband had initiated the charges as a "point of honor" under the reactionary legal system of Spain, where women can be jailed for up to six years and must pay a \$700 fine (which goes to the husband) if convicted of adultery. Men are rarely convicted. Ms. Benito was supported by the Association of Democratic Women of Aragon Province.

## Two views of women's history: with and without dialectics

by Terry Moon

Recently I went to a meeting in Chicago of a group of feminist historians who are planning a national conference for next year. While it is tremendous that so many women would want to come to a conference on women's history, I was disturbed because the planners did not see their own relationship to the Women's Liberation movement. The only reason they could hold such a conference is because that movement has existed for 10 years. But most importantly, they ignore the critique that movement had, and has, of how history is taught.

In the late 1960s, women were realizing that we had been left out of history, but our critique was not limited to that single dimension. Women were attacking a whole methodology of teaching, in which some were the "experts" (those with degrees), and the rest were, as Mao said, "blank pages." We may have called those structures "male-defined"—and in fact, they are—but they are also the way all learning is viewed in this society.

What was interesting to me was the reason one of the planners gave for holding the conference. Besides helping those whose papers are accepted to make it up the academic ladder, the purpose of the conference is to have a "perspective on women's perceptions as separate experiences."

This sounds great—but is it?

The problem is that so many want to separate women's history from that of men. And, not as result but as part of the same undialectical thinking, they also treat women as if they had no relation to history at all. For example, look at what a well-known feminist journal,

Building with Alexander White, Regional Director of the Labor Dept. We were amazed that 70 women on their lunch hour required an armed guard of over 15 policemen who ushered us into elevators, acted as elevator operators, and ushered us out again.

Just the fact that all these Labor Department Directors in several different cities got the word—from the Ford Administration, no doubt—to meet with us, means we are making some impact.

## Discrimination at ARA

### Trial opens after 6-year delay

Detroit, Mich. — A suit filed in Federal District Court six years ago by four women workers from Automatic Retailers of America at the Great Lakes Steel Division seeking an end to discrimination against women on their jobs, has finally come to trial here.

The company finally settled with them out of court and the current trial, which began Oct. 13, is hearing charges against RWDSI, Local 1064, affiliated with AFL-CIO.

ARA employees service the food vending machines in thousands of plants and offices throughout the country. At Great Lakes Steel, the principal job classifications are repairman, serviceman, truck driver and attendant. Almost all the women—who make up the overwhelming majority of the Local—were classified as attendants, which paid the lowest rate.

When one woman, June Chambers, who had top seniority, back to 1949, informed her steward she intended to bid on another classification, she found the company suddenly posted the jobs open for bidding as "men's" and "women's."

Later it was stipulated that workers had to be "qualified" for the jobs they wished to bid for, and when women pointed out that they were already performing jobs similar to the men's, qualification was defined as having been "trained by the company," which, of course, none of the women had been.

When, in 1969, the company finally did agree to train one woman, Minnie Farmer, her program was much more severe than the men's. After she nonetheless successfully completed the training, she was disqualified as "physically unfit" because she couldn't move the machines, though she was never asked to move one. The women charge that the union has refused to arbitrate many other grievances, and has consistently perpetuated the company's sex discrimination.

Since their fight began, the four women have been under severe stress. One of the four original plaintiffs is now dead. Another was injured at work and wears a brace. A third, the woman with top seniority, off work as a result of an accident at work, suddenly found a new contract stipulated that if you were "on leave" over two years, you were eliminated from the seniority rolls, and that she was out permanently.

Those of us who have been supporting the fight since its beginning, have nonetheless been amazed at the contemptuous attitude of the union's lawyer, William Mazey, who referred sarcastically to the women as "these poor downtrodden plaintiffs." The women have been wiping the floor with him in their testimony, but miss the support they had been given by the Women's Liberation Movement earlier. The media have also been completely silent about their case, now that it has come to trial.

—Women's Liberation, N & L Committees

Signs (Vol. 1, No. 4, Summer 1976), prints as an example of the theory of women's history.

In an article titled "The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History," Joan Kelly-Gadol ignores the great contribution of the women of the French Revolution, in saying "the moment one assumes that women are part of humanity in the fullest sense—the period or set of events with which we deal takes on a wholly different character or meaning from the normally accepted one. Indeed, what emerges is a fairly regular pattern of relative loss of status for women precisely in those periods of so-called progressive change . . . And the Revolution expressly excluded women from its liberty, equality, and 'fraternity.'"

Isn't it more meaningful to look at history the way the women of the Paris Commune did, inspired by the women of the French Revolution who "had once before gone to Versailles to carry off the baker and the baker's wife and the baker's little boy . . ." (The King of France and his family)?

You really begin to see how important dialectics is when you see how history is represented without it. Why does there seem to be such a resistance among some academic women against seeing that development is through contradiction, through alienation? Wasn't it this very development through contradiction that impelled women to not only seek out our history, but also to question the method of instruction 10 years ago? It is this dialectic which has shaped "women's perceptions as separate experiences," and without dialectics, no revolution will be able to really change human relations.

## African women reject apartheid

"For their triumphs and for their tears: Women in apartheid South Africa," by Hilda Bernstein. International Defence and Aid Fund, London, 1975. \$1.25.

As a Black American woman who is hoping for African freedom, this is the kind of book I have looked for ever since Soweto burst out in June. People have been discussing the revolts in South Africa, but no one has once taken up the crucial factor of the women in the struggle for freedom. This book follows Black women's daily lives and their activity in the movement, historically and today.

In South Africa under apartheid, Black women have no rights from the time they are born. Regardless of their age and marital status, women are considered children. They cannot own property, or act as guardians of their own children. The husband, the father, or the brother is responsible.

If a woman is "Colored", it is not quite as bad. At one time in the U.S.A., only the lighter Black women could get jobs. The darker women were not allowed to work in places where the public could see you until after the Civil Rights movement that began in 1956. The lighter women joined the U.S. Civil Rights movement, too, and now the "Colored" women have begun demonstrating in South Africa.

During and after World War II, Black families came to the cities in South Africa to work. The men sold their labor for practically nothing, and the women and children were removed from the urban area. The "townships" and the shacks—that's what urban South Africa has become for Blacks.

In the last two or three years, the situation in the townships has gotten even worse. In Alexandria Township, outside Johannesburg, you have to live in new developments called hostels. They are like concentration camps. Husbands, wives and children are separated. Each person has a cell to live in, and there is a police officer plus riot gates in each hostel.

On the reserves, there are few jobs for women. They are afraid to go to the cities seeking work, because they will forfeit their right to cultivate the family land. The only jobs they can get are as domestics, laborers, or work in the small scab textile plants, where they are paid less than men for the same work.

This is what Black women face in South Africa. But the book shows that they have been fighting to change it since 1913, when women began to struggle against passes in the Orange Free State. Their demonstrations were so great that the passes were withdrawn.

In 1955, the Minister of Native Affairs stated: "Women will be issued with passes as from January, 1956." In October, 1955, 2,000 women, mostly Africans but including women of other races, began protesting in Pretoria. They continued to fight the passes with march after march, and August 9, 1956 was made "Women's Day" in South Africa when 20,000 women converged on Pretoria.

The book also has pictures and stories of South African women who are serving long prison sentences, or are "banned" because they demand the right to live as normal human beings. The story of the Black women's struggle for freedom continues up to the great rebellion we are seeing now, with women leading many marches.

—Tommie Hope

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## UMWA delegates take over convention, back Miller

Morgantown, W. Va. — At the most democratic labor convention held in recent history, the 2,000 mostly young delegates to the UMWA International Convention held Sept. 23-Oct. 2 in Cincinnati, Ohio, supported President Arnold Miller against a concerted attempt by a majority of the UMWA Executive Board members to remove him from office.

President Miller, although he suffered some defeats, won out for the simple reason that he refused to play union politics with the future of the UMW. Vice President Mike Trbovich, who had opposed Miller almost from the time that Miller won the election against corrupt Tony Boyle in 1972, went down to defeat when he tried to red-bait Miller, accusing him of filling his staff with "Communists, Socialists and other radicals."

Although Miller wrongly capitulated to the pressure from his opposition to expel reporters of the radical press from the convention hall, it was Trbovich whom the miner delegates rightly rejected by their actions. The radical press yelled in protest at being excluded from the proceedings, but not a single radical group caught the revolutionary significance of what happened at the UMWA convention.

The capitalist and radical press reported that the convention was disorganized and chaotic, but that's because their reporters have seldom—if ever—actually seen democracy in action. As a matter of fact, it was when the delegates took control of the convention—as opposed to either the Miller or Trbovich faction—that they carried through on the actions they wanted.

Miller's greatest response came from the delegates when he said that they should keep an open mind and vote for what they believed to be right for the mine workers—not for the selfish interests of any group. Miller also gained a groundswell of support when he proposed, and the convention passed, the unprecedented resolution to open the meetings and minutes of the UMW Executive Board to the rank-and-file so they could "judge for themselves who is disrupting this union."

Nevertheless, the delegates voted to do away with a grievance arbitration proposal Miller had negotiated in the last contract and still supported. The reason was simple: the Federal court intervention in UMW strikes is based on the Supreme Court decision which ruled that

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a no-strike clause exists in a union contract if there is a binding arbitration clause, such as the miners' contract contains. By removing this provision, the miners were giving notice that they were demanding the right to strike over local grievances without interference from the Federal courts which have granted coal operators injunctions against massive wildcat strikes which have been triggered in the coal fields over contract disputes and mine safety violations.

The nation's coal miners have long been known as the shock troops of American labor, and at their International Convention they combined both their thoughts and actions to pave the way to change their conditions of both work and life—which they mean to control. They will be heard from very loudly in the future.

## Lesson in auto for teachers

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

Most auto workers saw the Ford strike as automatic. The union bureaucrats began brainwashing us over a year ago, saying that we wouldn't gain anything in the new contract—"We would have to really put up a fight to hold what we already have."

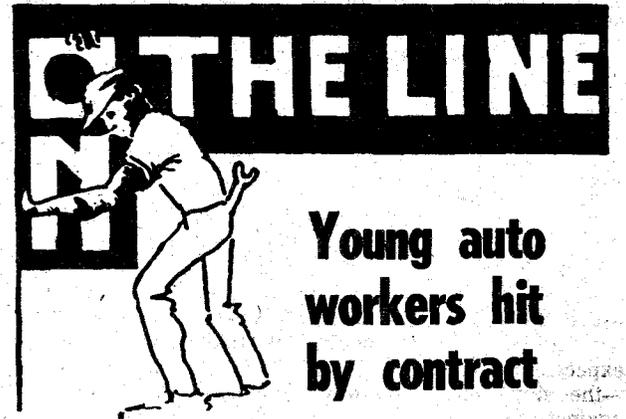
Woodcock told the UAW Council that winning 13 additional paid days off was a first step toward the shortening of the work week. One GM worker commented:

"Look at the automation in auto. The last contract Woodcock signed had a unit on overtime, but nobody did anything about it, because of the depression and inflation at the same time. Wait and see what that 13 days off will cost us workers. Ford said it would cost him a billion dollars over the next three years. How can it cost Ford anything? It is labor which produces everything—for itself and for Ford too."

In Pico Rivera the teachers struck the school system and I heard many teachers say, "here we are the educators of Pico Rivera and now we are only beginning to get an education." The teachers had a meeting together with parents and one of the school board members. The board member was using the Ford strike to show that workers were the cause of inflation, and therefore the teachers should not be asking for more. But an auto worker in the audience got up and gave everyone an economics lesson.

He showed that while in 1937 it cost \$500 in labor to produce a Chevrolet which sold for \$900, today the labor cost for a car is around \$300 yet the car costs around \$7,000. In addition, he spoke about the worker producing the value to produce himself, and to house, clothe and feed himself and his family, in just a few minutes on the assembly line. All the rest of what he produces goes directly to the company as profit.

The teachers are back in the classroom now. Time will tell how many will remember the lessons they learned on the picket line and in talking with other workers. What is new is the development of self-consciousness of groups like teachers who are beginning to question this capitalist system.



## Young auto workers hit by contract

by John Allison

If anybody needs to be convinced of the hell hole that auto workers have to put up with in the shops, here are a couple of figures to show how many people have refused to put up with it altogether, and how much of a continuing revolt there is every day among the workers:

Between 1970 and '73, in Chrysler Corp. alone, at least 50,000 auto workers quit. And in any single day from Tuesday through Thursday, there are 42,000 who don't go to work, with absenteeism double that figure on Mondays and Fridays.

Most of these are the younger workers, and they're the ones that both the union and company are trying to whip into line with the contract.

In the first place, new hires have a probationary period of 90 days before they can come under the so-called protection of the union. They pay union dues, but have no protection from management whatsoever.

These new workers also get less pay—45c per hour during the probationary period . . . and Chrysler wants to raise it to \$1 an hour less, and extend the time to six months.

They talk about the worker getting a "pay bonus" at the end of the 90-day probationary period. A bonus is something extra, but this isn't something extra, it's the money the worker has earned and has been kept from him by an agreement between the company and union.

Instead of demanding that every worker come under the protection of the union from the first day of being hired, the union is working hand-in-glove with the company to put more pressure on the younger workers. The reason is simple: the younger workers revolt against the dehumanized conditions of labor on the automated production line, and one form this revolt takes is absenteeism. And if there's one thing the company and union can't tolerate, it is revolt.

This is one of the biggest problems auto management faces, and the union, instead of supporting the younger workers by providing protection they've paid for in union dues, is trying to solve this management problem by penalizing the younger workers.

But one thing is for sure, and that is that younger workers aren't about to give up in their battles against the automated production line, and in the process, they're helping to open the eyes of a lot of older production workers who have been beaten into line by the contract.

## Uniroyal battles need unity

Detroit, Mich.—We learned during the recent rubber strike how important it is to stick together. We always talk about it, and we all know it's true. What's important now is to keep sticking together, because nothing has changed very much at Uniroyal insofar as production is concerned.

Working conditions are the most important thing for us in the plant, and they haven't changed one bit so far as anyone can tell. We know that management doesn't do anything but pay lip service to the things that are wrong, like machinery and equipment that aren't kept in good operating condition.

When a wheel goes bad on a truck that you have to pull, it takes more time and effort to do the work, but management still expects you to get production. It's management's responsibility to maintain the machines and tools we work with, but we're always penalized when they aren't kept up.

When workers complain or file grievances, management has a bag of tricks they pull to keep from doing anything. If a worker tells the boss about something being wrong, the boss will note the complaint and write it down along with the day and time. And then, when nothing is done about it and the worker files a grievance, management will say, "Oh yes, we know about that; we have it all down in our records."

They'll talk about doing something, but never do anything to correct a problem unless you put the pressure on them to do it. And that's why the rank-and-file has to stick together, to put pressure on the supervisors, management and the union to take care of the problems the workers know are important.

All Uniroyal workers know these things, and a whole lot more. They also know they can demand more and get results when they're all-together. That's the big job, getting them together. Now just might be the time to do it.

—Tire Builders, Midnight Shift

## FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

### GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — Operations for projected full production began, but GM has had a hard time getting to full production. Now the bosses are talking about making up for the delays with 10-hour work days. According to our last contract, work over nine hours a day could be refused. Yet day shift has been working nearly 10 hours every day this week, and when night shift was told they were doing 10 hours, the committeeman informed some body shop workers that "you better work all the time the company tells you to."

One worker said, "The plant manager wouldn't know what to do if we all punched our time cards out at nine hours and walked out." When someone cautioned about the company and the union retaliating, another replied, "The same thing that made us stand up together and walk out would keep us together to make what we did stick."

—GM South Gate worker

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Negotiations for a new local agreement are going on at Fleetwood, but so far they haven't even cleared up all the 78's. I understand they have settled some jobs in the body shop and back dock, but in the warehouse and Building 6 where they have added on to just about every job, they haven't settled them. On the floors, there is no movement at all on 78's.



The only real thing the bargaining committee is pushing for is to try to get 17 people back, ten who were fired because of the walkout and seven others for very petty reasons. But one committeeman was saying if the GM national contract is strung out, it might be January or later before they arrive at a local agreement. This is a new model and the company has broken up the jobs in their favor, so they are happy to stretch a settlement as long as they can.

Three months after changeover, we are still working regular involuntary overtime, till they reach production. Every night they stop the line for as few as ten jobs in nine hours; then they can run ten hours production. That means hi-lo drivers feeding the line work 11 hours or more. While there is no local agreement, the company wants to get as much as they can.

—Second shift worker, Dept. 21

### Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — A tall probationary worker was forced to work in the final line pits even though he had a back injury from work and the plant doctor gave him a PQX saying not to lift or bend. No one can work in the pits and not bend over to avoid trucks, but even the chief steward told him he had to work there. The next week, the chief steward apologized for making a mistake, saying the PQX really applied to the pit jobs after all. The truth is that there might have been no one to do that job since absenteeism was so bad that night, and the chief steward helped management out of a jam.

—Main building worker

# EDITORIAL

# Ford-Butz reveal depths of U.S. racism

President Gerald Ford once again confirmed his ingrained racism in the disgusting fashion he handled the "resignation" of Earl Butz as Secretary of Agriculture. By not firing Butz immediately, Ford in fact exposed his own agreement with the substance of Butz's racist obscurities. His only concern was clearly for how voters would react.

The fact that Ford at first rushed to find out what white farmers, not Blacks, thought, shows how totally the Republicans have already written off the Black vote. Despite the best Republican efforts to ignore Blacks, and of Democrats to take them for granted, Black rage did force Butz out as an embarrassment to the Administration at home and abroad.

## STENCH OF RACISM REMAINS

Belatedly removing Butz from the Cabinet hardly clears Ford of the stench of racism. The day after Butz resigned he announced, with the obvious approval of Ford, that he would continue to campaign for Ford in the Midwest and South, and promptly appeared for Ford in Mississippi. Back home in Indiana, Butz received a rousing welcome, with one saying, "Back here they value people for what they do, not what they say."

What Butz did is precisely the problem. Many Blacks were enraged to hear the Black Deputy Assistant Secretary of Agriculture James Bostic say, "I know my racists and Earl Butz is no racist," despite revelations that Butz had personally helped instruct county agents in how to get around federal affirmative action hiring laws, and despite the fact that Bostic is the only Black appointee at his level in the whole Department. But breaking the law on minority hiring is just one example of how politicians have not only catered to racists in this country, but have also helped foment further racial division.

The Nixon Supreme Court, by letting stand the death

penalty laws of three Southern states, has chosen to support a judicial system built upon racism. The Supreme Court has in effect sanctioned local option, and the continued use of barbaric laws that are rarely enforced except against minorities.

A new "habitual criminal law" in Louisiana, with a penalty of "only" life imprisonment and conceived as some sort of lifetime vagrancy statute to clear Bourbon Street in New Orleans for the tourists, has filled the prisons with 40 percent more inmates. One recent TV report showed only Blacks sentenced under this law in Louisiana, and for original convictions for such things as possession of a stolen TV.

## HIGH LEVEL RACIST SUPPORT

When Blacks in South Chicago are repeatedly attacked by Nazi thugs around Marquette Park, the forces of law and order cannot find these street criminals, even when they have attacked marchers of the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement in broad daylight. Instead, it is the protesters who are arrested. (See story, page 1).

The Chicago suburb of Arlington Heights is using the courts to state that it has a continuing right to use zoning laws to keep its own "special character" by banning housing that could be available to Blacks. Between Ford and Carter, whose code words are "ethnic heritage" and "ethnic purity" respectively, Chicago has encouragement and support at the highest levels. House Speaker Albert and Vice-President Rockefeller, unaware of an open microphone in Congress which carried their words, demonstrated the non-partisan nature of racism in a laughing exchange about Sen. Brooke as a potential African slave and jokes about Liberia during a speech by the Liberian President.

Another especially destructive fact of racism is seen in official figures showing Black unemployment as

75 percent higher than the recession-level of all workers, and Black teenage unemployment as five times higher than that. Many gains by Blacks won on the strength of the Civil Rights Movement in the '60s now have to be fought for again.

Despite these concerted efforts to turn the historic clock back on Blacks and other minorities, they unceasingly continue to battle against all regression, and in their struggles are again inspiring revolutionary elements at home and abroad. That is why the forces of repression have been stepped up. The struggle is now at a new stage, and it is high time that whites begin to recognize that their future cannot be separated from what happens to Blacks in America. Nowhere is this need more urgent than among the white working class, suffering from the effects of automation and permanent unemployment that can only be erased by the efforts of all workers thinking and acting together to transform society.

## News & Letters

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## AFTER MAO

The picture of Mao shared alike by most of the Left and the bourgeois scholars and journalists is that he made the "European" theory of Marxism fit the Third World, led the greatest revolution since WWII, fought the U.S. to a stalemate in Korea, and most important for today, saw that Russia had become a bureaucracy and sought to avoid that in China. That seems the common view of the *New York Times*, *Le Monde* and the *Maoist Guardian*.

In other eulogies after Mao's death, the "independent" CPs of France, Italy and Yugoslavia praised him warmly, only to have their condolences returned by Peking just as Russia's were. Meanwhile Peking did accept condolences from Pinochet and Schlesinger—and, of course, Pinochet had three days of mourning for Mao in fascist Chile.

Part of Mao's attraction for would-be revolutionaries was that they read him as saying that the masses can overcome material obstacles if they have revolutionary philosophy. It is necessary to examine their claims against the actual reality of life in Mao's China, and to connect the twists and turns of Mao's regime with the objective world developments, as Raya Dunayevskaya does. That is the only way to fight Maoism which has made a new form of Stalinism palatable for the New Left who thought they were rejecting Stalinism.

Student  
New York

Mao's death hasn't had much of an impact on the U.S. Maoist Left thus far, except that they have all put out memorial issues of their newspapers. They seem to be anticipating a power struggle, too. I suspect that Mao's writings will become ever more sacred, but China's post-Mao policy (both foreign and domestic) will now be open to criticism. No doubt, Mao's writings will be the basis of these criticisms in the same

## TO OUR READERS

As we go to press with our November issue, we have learned that many readers in different parts of the country have not yet received their October issue, which was mailed out Sept. 30. If you did not get your copy, please let us know and we will send you another.

way that fundamentalist Christians use the Bible to criticize the more orthodox churches.

Marxist-Humanist  
Bloomington

I wish the frontpage headline of the *Two Worlds* article on the death of Mao last issue had made it clearer that we were not mourning it. Many of the workers were clearly so fed up with all the radical papers that had been crying about the "tragic loss" that just seeing Mao's name in another headline turned them off. We had the same experience selling the paper at several factory gates.

Committee Member  
Detroit

## SOUTH AFRICA/CHICAGO

The only "fan letter" I ever wrote in my life was to Athol Fugard, Winston Ntshona and John Kani—the white playwright and Black actors from South Africa—who held me spellbound when I saw "Sizwe Banzi Is Dead" on a visit to New York two years ago. It was not only that the play showed that the worse the treatment the more the Black South Africans found creative ways to rebel—but the scene in the auto factory was so real, that I wondered how the actors could have done it—until I found out that Mr. Kani had been a Ford employee and Mr. Ntshona a factory lab assistant. The fan letter I wrote them was to try to convince them they should bring their play really "off Broadway" to Detroit, so auto workers here could share this magnificent play. I rejoiced when they shared the Tony award that year for best actor of the 74-75 season. And I shuddered when I read that they were just arrested under the "security laws" in South Africa after performing their play there. That is more proof than the Tony ever could be just how powerful their performances were!

Supporter  
Detroit

The Chicago Tribune is defending the U.S. interference in southern Africa by saying that our government is "as interested in preserving minority rights and economic health as it is in bringing about majority rule." (We see how interested the government is in "minority rights" by looking at Boston, Detroit, and the NAACP). The *Defender*, on the other hand (Chicago's leading Black

newspaper), blasts our government's approach to the South African crisis for its "moral inadequacy" and says that Kissinger is "toying with the fate of the world for the sake of protecting U.S. business interests." Well, at least they agree on one thing: our interests in Africa are economic, not human.

Humanist  
Chicago

I attended a lecture on the South African revolt at Northwestern University up in Evanston. Though the lecturer drew a comparison between the spirit that animates the South African youth and the youth on the Southside of Chicago, I had the feeling that the last thing anyone there wanted to hear was the concrete nature of the Black struggle right in their own backyard.

One of the things the Black activists here are most angry about is the Black students who think only of Africa. The greatest thing in Chicago is the Martin Luther King Jr. movement. We tried to bring the international movement and Chicago together at our own meeting where Rev. Jackson of the MLK Jr. Movement spoke on Chicago and Mike Connolly of News and Letters Committees spoke on South Africa.

Committee Member  
Chicago

## SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

It seems incredible that Ford actually committed the political faux pas of saying that Eastern Europe is autonomous and free of Russian dominance. We know the basic principles of "detente" and "peaceful co-existence" are that East Europe is recognized by the U.S. ruling class as the Russian "sphere of influence," and that Latin America is recognized by the Russian rulers as the American "sphere of influence"; that both parties agree to disagree about disputed areas such as the Middle East; and that neither will make any serious attempt to destabilize the other party's class rule. But to hear this pro-Russian propaganda from a U.S. President dem-

# Reader

onstrated how close the partnership world domination really is. Even mass media, who usually can swallow anything dished out by the ruling class is gagging on this one.

Re  
Oklah

## TEACHERS/PARENTS STUDENTS/PROTESTS—

Approximately 1,500 students walked out of George Washington High School to protest the demotion of 17 teachers and an increase in the average class size. They carried signs saying "We are students, not Sardines" and "Don't mess with our School". A rally was held on the football field, complete with cheerleaders and student speakers, to tell the school board that they won't support bureaucratic, insensitive cutbacks. The teachers, who were sympathetic to the students, were warned by the administration not to join the students, they said, "you could be consolidated (demoted), too."

Re  
San Fran

Parents here in California have been protesting the treatment of young people by police in almost every community. Whittier is a conservative Nixon town across the river from the workers' town of Pico Rivera. One mother there told me she sent her son to Colorado to get him away from the police who had already put the first offense against him. I told her that I had sent my sons to state too, after paying over \$500 in lawyer's fees when they tried to put me in jail for having a "weapon"—a piece of stove wood left in our car from a fire to our cabin. I wanted to keep the police from making them into criminals. Half a day goes by that there isn't a newspaper article about a police killing of a young person.

Auto W  
Pico Rivera,

Recently, members of a GM local union here joined with other UAW 1

## TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
Author of *PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION*  
and *Marxism and Freedom*

(Editor's Note: The May 1976 issue of *Paunch*, a literary magazine, was devoted to "Marx and Critical Thought." Below we print excerpts from Raya Dunayevskaya's sharply critical commentary on the essay by Bill Harrell.)

Marx's Humanism — and that is what Marx named his discovery of a new continent of thought: "a new Humanism" (1)—is either a revolutionary philosophy of liberation or it is nothing at all. Just as a revolutionary philosophy of liberation is not just a "philosophy" (much less Harrell's concept of "sociology"), but a struggle for actuality, the actuality of freedom, so the uprooting of the exploitative system, existing reality, is a great deal more than freedom from economic exploitation, rooted though it is in that necessity. Rather, the process of liberation — "the negation of the negation" — creates what Marx called "new forces, new passions." (2) Having uprooted the exploitative class structure of society, the Subject (the proletariat) has achieved a whole new human dimension. Because "the individual is the social entity," (3) the contradiction between the individual and society is transcended. Even when this was still expressed in the abstract philosophic language of Hegel, instead of Marx's analysis of concrete class struggle and historic revolutions, the dialectics of liberation was unambiguous: "Individualism purified of all that interferes with its Universalism, i.e., freedom." (4)

(1) Lest this be identified only with the young Marx of the famous 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*, consider also Volume III of *Capital* (p. 954) where he defines freedom as "development of human power, which is its own end, the true realm of freedom."

(2) *Capital*, Vol. I, (p. 835) contains paragraph on "new forces and new passions"; and (p. 837) "negation of the negation" (Charles H. Kerr edition is used throughout.)

(3) Again, lest only the 1844 *Manuscripts* be thought of when identifying individual and social, consider the expression in *The Communist Manifesto*: "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

(4) Hegel, *Philosophy of Mind*, par. 481.

## Worker's self-emancipation crucial to Marx

Harrell is right when he says labor is "central to Marxian critical analysis" (my emphasis) — and totally wrong when he speaks of it as "ultimate end" as if that were not Marx's specific description of capitalism, but of "any" society. All that did was permit him to impose on Marx's "ambiguous" conception some sort of kinship with today's state-capitalist societies that call themselves Communist. Though Harrell feels compelled to qualify that allegedly theoretical affinity, holding that the "totalitarian result" "clearly violates its (Marx's) spirit," he never lets go of his perverse definition:

*Perhaps the most succinct way in which one could summarize Marxian political-economy is: a theory of the development of workers' control as the prerequisite for a society based upon work.*

Far from looking toward "a society based upon work" as an "ultimate end," Marx was so appalled by labor that he, at first, called for "the abolition of labor." (5) What convinced him otherwise, that is to say had him concretize the concept, and call, instead, for "the emancipation of labor" was the laborer, his class struggles, his daily resistance at the point of production, where the instrumentality, machinery, dead labor, dominated living labor. The revolt of the laborer against his exploiter, the capitalist, was also directed against the ideology, the false consciousness, which represented him as what he is not.

**MARX'S CRITIQUE OF** classical political economy's great discovery that labor was the source of all value was that labor was treated only as "source," not as Subject, the "gravedigger" of the system resting on alienated labor. Naturally, workers' control of production would change that mode of labor, but for that to be the absolute opposite of capitalistic reification of labor and its transformation of man into thing, labor has to become self-activity, development not only of production,

(5) *The German Ideology*, p.69.

but the self-development of man/woman, (6) the human dimension. Over 100 years before Hannah Arendt discovered the difference between labor and work, and profoundly misread Marx, and Harrell read Arendt as (Continued on Page 6)

(6) In the same *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* where Marx wrote, "The secret of the relationship of man to man finds its unambiguous definitive, open, obvious expression in the relationship of man to woman" he attacked not only capitalist private property but also "quite vulgar and unthinking communism".

### 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

a support of Ford workers on strike at Pico Rivera. Some of the workers on the picket line tried to raise the old banner long of "Solidarity," but the mood there was anything but one of solidarity. The union leadership is as little interested in workers joining together as the corporations. A mile from the picket lines at Ford, teachers and students of Pico Rivera were striking against a school district board that refuses to negotiate with the independent union of teachers. When representatives of that strike came to the nearby Ford plant to lend their support to the striking auto workers, the teachers were told by UAW bureaucrats that their support was not welcome! If any victories are to be won, we are going to have to go over the heads of our official union leadership.

J. Hillstrom  
California

### PLAYING WITH OUR LIVES

It is not that I believe the deaths of the elderly people given swine flu shots were because of the vaccine, but it is ridiculous to deny there was a "direct" connection between the shots and the deaths. It shows precisely the sad state of medicine in our so-called "advanced" world, that nobody considered it important to think of the whole person, to show any sensitivity to stress on the aged, and to prepare those who might suffer a heart attack as a result of a procedure that had herded people into long lines and talked up how many were inoculated on some impersonal score-board. Medicine under capitalism becomes more and more like production on an assembly line.

Angry Reader  
Detroit

In the Northside area of Brooklyn, the community has occupied a fire house and prevented the City from closing it for the past year. The occupation began when the City decided to ease its financial crisis by closing several fire stations, claiming that the extra minutes would take to reach fires in the area

were not "critical." The Northside community disagreed, and took matters into their own hands. The City has been "negotiating" ever since, and now has a "fact-finding" panel looking into the matter. How blatantly they play games with people's lives!

Concerned  
New York

I recently began work as a non-union welding trainee on the CETA program, and was issued my helmet by a young white male foreman. The inside foreman, who is Black, fortunately noticed that it did not have the essential dark protective glass without which I would have suffered severe burns of my eyes. I don't know if it was a careless disregard for human welfare, or a conscious or unconscious attempt to injure a woman trying to learn a traditionally male skill—but what has struck me is who is helping me. My work partner is a young Black man who gives me a lot of support. I'm beginning to understand that I have a lot to learn, and who is helping me to learn it.

White Working Woman  
Detroit

### INDIRA'S "PROGRESS"

In America poor people have to sell their blood. In India, they sell their capacity to reproduce. India claims it is "making some real progress" in birth control but it is just increasing poverty and repression. One state said those with more than three children can no longer get land grants or housing loans. After 1977 civil servants who have a 4th child will lose their jobs. Some are told their children cannot continue in school unless the parent is sterilized, and some businesses send lists of newly sterilized employees to the government. There are "brightly striped awnings all over the country" where those desperate for money or food receive \$8 and 2 cans of cooking oil in exchange for submitting to a vasectomy. There is nothing that can be said about a situation like this except that a true social revolution be-

comes more necessary every day if humanity is to remain human.

Feminist  
Chicago

### SCHOMBURG APPEAL

The world's most important repository of Black literature and art is in jeopardy. Fifty years after its founding, the irreplaceable collections of the Schomburg Center are threatened with disintegration because of the lack of adequate funding for their proper care. Every year thousands of students around the world use its facilities through microfilm. Wide public support is essential to preserve these treasures. Gifts should be sent, payable to "The Schomburg Center" to:

Committee for the Schomburg Center  
476 Fifth Ave.  
NYC 10018

### PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

If you look at the UN last year, it seemed like the "Third World" was taking over, but this only gave Kissinger a chance to come out "against racism." Before he went to Africa to deal with the "revolutionary leaders," Kissinger met with the Black Caucus and the NAACP here. Now contrast this with what the youth in both South Africa and Chicago are saying right now with their self-activity. So alienated is the Black leadership from the real movements for freedom that they have dealings with the very person who is interested most in putting down any kind of revolt, instead of seeing solutions as embodied in such mass youth movements.

Old Politico  
Los Angeles

There have been two important developments in Canada recently. On the one hand, increasing workers' resistance to the deepening economic crisis, shown by the National Day of Protest on Thursday, October 14. This strike was partly inspired by the militant activity of Quebec workers in past years, and it brought together workers from all parts of the country and all origins. On the opposite side is the increasingly blatant anti-French racism in English Canada, epitomized by the resignation of Defense Minister Richardson on the day preceding the strike over federal bilingualism policies, and by continuing racist opposition to bilingualism by Anglo-Canadian air-traffic controllers. The strike was just the "tip of the

iceberg" of the workers' movement, but if the counter-revolution is to be overcome, racism cannot be allowed to be used like a "tool" by the bourgeoisie to pry it apart—as it was used to divide Quebec workers against Native peoples in the James Bay. Unfortunately, the enormous chauvinism of many middle-class French-Canadian intellectuals and professionals helps the racists, and amongst English-Canadian intellectuals, even the most liberal-minded are not clear on this linguistic issue, and this includes even the N.D.P. and the Left groups.

It is urgent to recognize how deep and dangerous racism is in Canada; no one can afford to "play innocent" on this question any more.

Observer  
Windsor

I received the Political-Philosophic Letter #1 on the "UN Resolution on Zionism" and I thank you very much. The Letter is excellent. The ability of "revolutionaries" to "see no evil" when it is the easy or convenient choice is unfortunately an all too pervasive reality. Keep up the good work.

New Reader  
Berkeley, Cal.

Editor's note—See ad for *Letters*, p. 7.

Thank you for your new pamphlet. I'm glad women are beginning to come into their own after all these centuries, but it is only a beginning. Whenever I think of how fortunate it is that the Red Beret Brigadiers of the Women's Emergency Brigade were "rescued" for history before it became too late (the BBC-TV documentary on the WEB that was made this past year and was just released in October is a work of art) I feel angry for all our foremothers who must remain anonymous while we read about their spouses and slavemasters.

I am impressed with new Israeli women I met recently. Regardless of set political ideas I feel sure they will be a greater instrument for liberation of the poor Arab women, as well as the rest of the downtrodden in that area, than any other force now on the horizon.

Genora Johnson  
California

Editor's note—Genora Johnson was the recognized leader of *The Women's Emergency Brigade* which played a critical role in the first sit-downs during the birth of the CIO. See our newest pamphlet, *Working Women For Freedom*.

# TWO WORLDS Self-emancipation and Marx

(Continued from Page 5)

an improvement on Marx's concept, Marx had spent a lifetime developing the concept of the duality of labor. It is "about" (7) the only category Marx takes credit for creating . . .

None before Marx had split the category, labor, but it is this, just this, which discloses the perversity of capitalism whose mode of production, with its factory clock, pounds all the many varieties of concrete labor into one abstract mass of "socially-necessary labor-time." (8) Marx, having followed the worker from the market place, where the worker, though "free", had sold himself, or rather his ability to labor, labor power, as a commodity, proceeded to the workshop — the centerpoint of Marx's Capital is the analysis of "The Labor Process and the Process of Producing Surplus-Value." There he traces the laborer as he is turned into an appendage of a machine. This dead labor (labor congealed into the form of machine) dominates living labor, after which "it", as commodity, be he employed or unemployed, gets thrown back into the market. There — and this there is not only the market place but includes the whole of bourgeois culture — "The Fetishism of Commodities" reigns supreme not only over capital/labor, but also over independent intellectuals, including the discoverers of labor as the source of all value. (9) This

(7) The only other category Marx claimed credit for is the split in the category of capital into constant capital and variable capital, but since capital was treated not as a thing but a relationship of production of capitalist to laborer, and since constant capital was but another name for dead labor and variable capital to living labor which is the only element that underwent a variation in magnitude because, of all the millions of commodities exchanged daily, this alone was living and could be and was exploited to produce all surplus values as well as its own exchange-value, wages, they all ended with the split in the category labor, thus: concrete and abstract; labor/labor power; living labor/dead labor; constant/variable capital; fetishism of commodities.

(8) Contrast this concept of time by factory clock and world market as "socially-necessary" with Marx's concept of historic time as "place of human development." The same totally different world relates to all the criticisms piled on "immiseration" as against Marx's insistence that, be the worker's payment "high or low", capital ("value big with value") "vampire-like" sucks him dry of "free individuality." (See the whole of Part VII, "Accumulation of Capital," and the penultimate chapter, "The Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation," Capital, I.)

(9) In The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Marx explained why it was he considered intellectuals "petty bourgeois" like "shopkeepers", though in "their education and individual position they may be separated from them as widely as heaven from earth. What makes them representatives of the petty bourgeoisie is the fact that in their minds they do not go beyond the limits which the latter do not go beyond in life, that they are consequently driven theoretically to the same tasks and solutions to which material interests and social position practically drive the latter."

## King marchers escape bombing

(Continued from Page 1)

His girl friend died in that same hospital 18 months ago because of what her people feel was criminal neglect, which is equivalent to murder. Many other people have since come to us and written us letters about similar stories of negligent treatment. So what we are talking about now is being involved in a total kind of struggle.

This racism is the kind of atmosphere Nixon rushed into America—this atmosphere of killing students at Jackson State campus or Kent State, or shooting brothers in the street, or killing Fred Hampton because his ideology is negative to their interests—killing people and getting away with it. Medgar Evers' killer is still walking the streets in Mississippi. It is this kind of atmosphere America is now in with the Mayor Daleys and the Fords. (See Editorial, page 4.)

Right now they have the courts, the police, the mayor, the press and all the tanks and weapons you can think of. We have exactly what King talked about, what Gandhi talked about, what Jesus preached about. We have what Medgar Evers and Mrs. Liuzzo and all of those who died in the South fighting for freedom and justice had. Hundreds of thousands of student had it.

We have what the South African and Rhodesian masses have—the will to be free. The desire for the truth, love, and that undying will to be free will prevail over all nuclear bombs and other weapons of destruction.

Dictators and terrorist conspirators always attempt to destroy the truth through acting out the saying in the Bible: "Behold here comes the dreamer and let's slay him and see what will become of his dreams." They will kill King, Lumumba, Malcolm, and Luthuli. They were vessels of the truth. But they will not kill the truth. All the young men and women all over the world who embody the truth cannot be destroyed.

— Rev. Edgar Jackson

### Nueva edicion, en espanol . . . Marxismo y Libertad por Raya Dunayevskaya

"El intelectual revolucionario de los Estados Unidos no puede sino tener deseos de mostrar la otra Norteamerica, diferente a aquella del capitalismo . . . La solidaridad mas significativa es aquella que expresan los intelectuales revolucionarios, para quienes los actos de solidaridad son inseparables de una filosofia de la liberacion."—de la Introduccion especial a los lectores latinoamericanos.

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is no accident, says Marx, as only "freely associated men" can strip the fetishism from commodities.

Obviously, Harrell thinks he is the exception and can give a more "substantive" view of freedom whose thought, as it moved to materialist "political economy" was "so wrong as to be irrelevant" and became "progressively narrower." To correct that, Harrell empties the specificity of Marxian categories, introducing such total confusion into that most precise expression, "capital accumulation," as to make it both equivalent to bourgeois culture and acceptable to Marx since "bourgeois culture provides the necessary capital accumulation as well as the abstract insight as to the ultimate end of universal freedom." On the way to his conclusion of the know-it-all, be-it-all "sensual needs," Harrell arms himself with what he conceives as support from "Critical Thought" . . .

UNFORTUNATELY, THOUGH HIS sympathy lies in the direction (of the Frankfurt School), Harrell hardly presents a total picture of them, whether in relation to Marx or "as such." First he fails to show the division within. What they were in the 1930's and early 1940's, and what they became in the post-war years hardly makes a unified outlook — not totalitarian, need it be added, but nevertheless motivated by Marxism, independent, and separate from both the German Social Democracy and the Russian "state socialism." Secondly, he acts as if the present "school" — the Habermas "school" — that is altogether removed from both Marxism and the original Critical school, speaks with a like voice . . .

Though he analyzes more of Marcuse's works as against none of Adorno's and little of Horkheimer, the founders of Frankfurt School, the truth is that his preoccupation is Eros and Civilization. Or, more precisely put, sensuality sans history, applicable to "all" cultures, as substitute, not just for Marx's "economics" or "sociology" — or passions, striving to reconstruct exploitative capitalism on humanist beginnings . . .

As for Harrell's dramatic climax, that the inclusion of "sensual needs" into "socio-historical categories" would assure the conquest of "unhappy consciousness" — "unhappy consciousness" resolves itself through the discovery of the sensual in the form of its particularity." — I wish him happiness. But let him not forget that the "unhappy consciousness" is only a quite early stage in Hegel's Phenomenology, and in Marx's new continent of thought and in critical thought to the present; there is a long, long road still ahead.

### From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao . . . Philosophy and Revolution by Raya Dunayevskaya

"The fact that everyone from Henry Kissinger to 'populist Maoists' identify Mao and China as a single unbroken totalized unity cannot hide either the life-and-death divisions between the Chinese people and their rulers, or those within the 'leadership,' as Sheng Wu-lien's Manifesto, on the one hand, and the 'liquidation' of Lin Piao, on the other hand, prove." —from Alternatives, Ch. 5, "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung."

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## Indian activist sees no answer in working with present system

(I am turning over my column this month to Butch Elliott, a long-time activist in the Native American movement—Shainape Shcapwe.)

Dennis Banks, Russell Means and two other members of the Indian movement who were accused of killing FBI agents are now free, in one sense, of the charges, but they are not free of the system. Indian treaties still have not been dealt with and we are all still facing many problems.

As good as Dennis Banks and Russell Means are, they are not the sole purpose of what the movement was all about. The movement didn't set out just to free its leaders when they were sent to jail. It looks like the federal government has laid one on us. It took away the original idea of what people had set out to do.

I've been to Wounded Knee, Montreal, Caughnawagha, Kenora, doing the same things and coming up with the same results. Just like when we fought to get Dick Wilson out, you fight for three or four years against the elective system, and then you turn around and elect a good guy. So you have a good guy now, but what about the next election? You are still using the same process.

### NO WORKING WITHIN SYSTEM

After a while you start thinking that maybe you can work with that kind of system. It used to be a go-round fight with me and a cousin in Canada who works with AIM (American Indian Movement). He said he wouldn't have anything to do with federal monies. I would say, "Well, couldn't you just sort of tie in to something and use it to hold you over?" But now I can see his point.

Take Wounded Knee, for example. Sometimes I think nothing really came of Wounded Knee, not immediately at least, but I still keep in the back of my mind that that was the first big step.

Some people say, "What came out of Wounded Knee was that the government took notice of us and gave us all these federal funds." A reporter asked a colleague, "How did Wounded Knee affect what you are doing today?" and he said, "The movement is a big thing among Indian people, and with these federal funds we can move more forward." He really believes that!

### FUNDS TO BUY OFF THREATS

I say that we did get noticed because of Wounded Knee, but as a threat. And in a "sophisticated" country what you do with a threat is give people money so their aches and pains will go away, but it is these federal funds which move you closer to the noose.

People will say, "Indians are getting more progressive; we can set up large centers and constructive organizations." That kind of organizing isn't a threat to anybody, especially the government when they're in control.

In most native people now this big internal struggle has to go on and be resolved as to what, really, are we going to do. What kind of direction are we going to take as a total sovereign people? What stand do Indian people have to take to get the recognition of their treaties? And you are never going to be able to do that unless some kind of drastic thing happens.

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# Thai student revolt crushed by rightist coup

by Jim Mills

Thai military dictators seized power Oct. 6 in the wake of growing revolutionary youth activity, and reactionary frenzy orchestrated against it.

It was the third day of a joint demonstration by the National Student Center of Thailand (NSCT) and the National Labor Council, which included all state-owned industries that had planned a general strike for Oct. 8.

Over 41 leftist youth were killed at Thammasat University in Bangkok, either by police weapons or by brutal lynchings. Inside the university, 1,700 were arrested, and 3,000 more students and intellectuals were rounded up throughout Thailand.

Besides closing the universities and arresting thousands, the new regime combed Bangkok for "communist" literature and confiscated and burned one million such books.

The NSCT had mobilized 20,000 students throughout the country to demonstrate against the Seni Pramroj regime which had failed to remove former dictator Thanon Kittikachorn from Thailand after he returned from exile on Sept. 19. Demonstrations had already forced former dictator Praphas Charusathien back into exile after he entered the country Aug. 15.

These protests had roots in those which toppled the 41-year dictatorship, headed by the two, in October, 1973. Later demonstrations brought three successive civilian

governments to power. Thai youth had also moved again this year to eject U.S. B-52's and soldiers from Thailand.

Yet the spectre of reaction never diminished. In March, a military alert was called in the face of a NSCT demonstration against a delay in U.S. withdrawal. Again, in July, right-wing students bombed crowds protesting the remaining U.S. troops.

The Thai youth revolt represents more than the continuation of anti-U.S. imperialism movements in Indochina and the rest of the world. Revolutionary youth resurgence is world-wide.

South African youth are ever-deepening their revolutionary activity — and Reason. Most recently, groups of youth in several townships smashed hoarded liquor stocks and children searched cars to destroy liquor bottles they discovered. This activity served as opposition to heavy drinking, seen as a sign of capitulation to white control.

In Colombia, students at the national University in Bogota demonstrated in October in the face of renewed martial law which they were protesting.

The youth passion for freedom in the U.S. likewise shows itself daily, from Chicano youth marching against increased police harassment in Oakland, Cal., to youth's opposition to renewed curfews in Detroit, meant to suppress opposition to both stagnating unemployment and the emptiness of prison-like schools.



News & Letters Photo

Several thousand women and men joined the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Abortion Legal in a demonstration at the second Ford-Carter debate in San Francisco. The hastily organized pro-abortion demonstration grew out of women's rising fears that, like the civil rights gains of the '60s, the right to abortion would be lost due to the constant threat of a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion.

## BLACK-RED VIEW

By John Alan

"The stage following on independence is the most dangerous."—Oginga Odinga

It has been reported by a New York Times correspondent, in South Africa, that the Black youth that sparked and led the demonstrations and strikes against the apartheid government of South Africa are busy reading banned copies of Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*. This report indicates that the activist youth are as much concerned with ideas as they are with demonstrations, strikes and guerrilla warfare.

Of all the theorists of the African liberation movements of the 1950's and the 1960's, Fanon was the one that was the most concerned about what happens after a colonial country has gained its independence; and his concern was not an abstract analysis, but very concrete and very human.

He saw and experienced those movements from the point of view of the masses in revolt against the dehumanizing system of colonial exploitation that reduced humanity to an object among other objects to the extent that a colonial peasant was less than an animal.

It was from the lowest level of colonial society that Fanon judged the validity of the national revolutions and the national bourgeoisie. For Fanon any abstract shibboleth about economics, democracy or morality was a heap of rubbish if it did not find concrete existence in the very lives of the masses. In the colonies the hollowness of western democracy was self-evident.

In *The Wretched of the Earth* Fanon wrote that all these values, "the triumph of the human individual, of clarity and of beauty—become lifeless, colorless knick-knacks. All those speeches seem like a collection of dead

## African youth, Fanon's theory

words; those values which seem to uplift the soul are revealed as worthless, simply because they have nothing to do with the concrete conflicts in which the people are engaged." And if the national bourgeoisie and its intellectual entourage assume these 'values' to be the goal of the revolution and have not grounded themselves in the mass movement, whose very existence is a cry to transform society, then the revolution is at the point of slipping precipitously into neo-colonialism.

In Fanon's philosophy the purpose of the revolution is not a mere exchange of power, but the transformation of all social relationships that literally brings into being new men and women. He did not think that Africa should imitate Europe, but must create an absolute new beginning for Africa and the world.

Fanon has come under considerable criticism from Maoist and other state capitalist groups for basing his philosophy of the African revolutions on the "lowest" segment in colonial society. Their criticism, however, fails to mention Fanon's philosophical reason for doing so, which is derived from Hegel's *The Phenomenology of Mind*—particularly on "Lordship and Bondage."

It was there that Fanon discovered the dialectical relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed, that is, how the oppressed gain their own self-consciousness—being-for-self. The concept of being-for-self and not for-other was the revolutionary hub of Fanon's philosophy of the African revolutions. In the deepest strata of African society this idea was most evident. It was the basis of the only "ontological opposition" both to colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The youth of South Africa are reading Fanon because they are seeking a philosophy of revolution. They know who their apartheid enemy is, but their concern is also with the new society that they must have in order to live as totally free people.

To many African revolutionaries this concern is as urgent as the revolt against the white oppressor because after two decades of African 'liberation' they can see a veritable Sargasso Sea of wrecked economies and bankrupt politicians. Zimbabwe and South Africa are at a juncture of African history when neo-colonialism is on the agenda with European oppression.

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## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

insane that the union would agree to have those that are working pay for those who are retired.

The union is hollering that it is a victory, that the workers ratified it. They never take into consideration how many did not vote for it. Most of the workers were opposed, but they said, "What can we do. It was not what we wanted to strike for in the first place." Already GM has notified the union that it will not be bound by Ford's contract. In the past, when one of the Big Three settled, it set a pattern for the others.

The union today is a far cry from what it was years ago. Some are saying that Woodcock never speaks like a union leader, doesn't even mention gut issues that workers face each and every day of their lives. But that is not the reason that the union has deteriorated to where it is today.

Many of the things that workers were yelling for in the old days, the union leaders opposed. Workers would call for a general strike and strike all the auto plants at the same time. Today, this is the worst thing a worker could ask for, according to union leaders.

Workers used to get the contract as soon as it was agreed to by the company and the union, and would have time to study it before they ratified it. Now you cannot get it until months afterwards, if at all.

Workers have been sold down the river so often in recent years that they do not expect major gains out of any contract. All contracts that the union negotiated years ago were retroactive from the date the contract expired. Now it's six months to a year later before the company begins to pay and nothing is mentioned of the date the contract expired.

It is no longer a question of looking for any good leaders. It is a question of workers taking complete control of their union and their lives. It is a question of basic principles that one stands on—to live and die for.

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

**In memoriam of the Hungarian revolution vs. Ford's lies**

Of all the stupidities and lies that have issued from President Ford's mouth in this electioneering campaign, none compared with his assertion, in the debate with Carter, that there was "no Russian domination of Eastern Europe." And yet that was no accidental obtuseness to the East European Freedom Fighters who fought Russian totalitarianism.

It is a fact that President Eisenhower was busy sending "condolences" to the Central Committee of the Communist Party upon Stalin's death just when very many, from those in East Germany to the Vorkuta slave laborers within Russia itself, were planning revolt and were under the illusion that "the West" would help revolutionaries since it, too, opposed Russia.

And it is a fact that all the East European Revolts—from East Germany, June 17, 1953; through

Hungary, 1956; Czechoslovakia, 1968; to Poland, 1970, and again this year—not only occurred on their own strength but were always betrayed by "the West" as well as "the East". By "the East" we do mean China as well as Russia, since it was Mao who boasted of the fact that he had urged Khrushchev to send in the tanks to Hungary to crush that revolution.

What made it particularly painful to hear Ford's "slip of the tongue" in the year 1976, was that this is the 20th anniversary of that greatest of all East European revolts. In November, 1956, when the spontaneous revolt broke out, and was crushed by Russian-Chinese state-capitalists who dare call themselves "Communists", Marxism and Freedom was going to press and stated: "The revolutionary forces

now unloosed cannot be overcome by sheer force. They have been driven underground, but they have not disappeared, nor was the impact exhausted within the national boundaries of Hungary."

In this, the 20th anniversary of that elemental revolt, the "in memoriam" is not only a salute to the courage and bravery of the martyrs who have fallen, but to stress that they have not fallen in vain. By raising a banner of total liberation, they have also created a new form of struggle and thought for us to follow, from the establishment of Workers' Councils and decentralization of workers' rule, to bringing onto the historic stage Marx's Humanism as the philosophy of liberation for our day. They have thus lit the path not only for East Europe but for the whole world's revolutionaries.

**China**

Outside of the Canadian press (Ross Munro, *Toronto Globe and Mail*, 9/29/76) the Schlesinger trip to China rated little coverage the week Mao died, although it was clear that he alone would be witness to events and nuclear installations that no other Westerner had seen, in a historically crucial week. For one thing, that invitation to Schlesinger had been tendered by none other than Mao himself the moment Ford fired Schlesinger for being cool to detente with Russia.

For another, the coincidence of his finally appearing in China the day before Mao died meant that, though no foreigners were invited to the Mao funeral, Schlesinger was permitted to remain and would see a great many more material things than grief for Mao.

In fact, Schlesinger was given a 23-day grand tour of nuclear installations, military exercises, visited Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Tibet, Kweilin, Shanghai and Peking, where he met and talked with the new Chairman, Hua Kuo-feng. While this was an allegedly "non-substantive" discussion, there was no doubt, as Schlesinger's aides put it, that "opportunities for parallel action between the United States and China" were discussed.

There was even less doubt that "the parallel action" discussed was directed against Russia. After all, ex-Defense Secretary Schlesinger's being a hawk on relations with Russia was exactly what produced the invitations. It is what governed his decision to go. The special treatment he got there, although he now holds no government position, is of the essence.

As for liberals who think there is a difference between the reactionary who heads the government,

Ford, and the one who aspires to the presidency, Carter, let them explain the speed with which Schlesinger, upon his return, hurried to Georgia to brief Carter for his debate with Ford.

While we may have our doubts about the Canadian reporter's view as to how "well versed in the Chinese defensive strategy of people's wars" Schlesinger is, we do not doubt at all that what concerned Schlesinger and Hua Kuo-feng is getting some U.S. heavy military hardware to bring China up to "competitive strength" with Russia.

**Canada**

Oct. 14 was a National Day of Protest in Canada organized by the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) against wage controls. Tens of thousands of workers stayed off their jobs to demonstrate their opposition to the government's year-old wage-control program.

Postal deliveries, public transportation and major industries were slowed and sometimes even stopped by the nationwide general strike. The following expresses the feelings of one Canadian:

"No one in Canada except the Liberal Members of Parliament admit to supporting the controls. Trudeau got elected last time opposing them, and no one seems to be benefitting from them. Unemployment rises, businesses delay expansion, only the government goes on expanding programs and personnel.

"Canada tail-ends the U.S., not only from choice but because our economy is not viable in its present form except as a client economy. Where dependence is not on the U.S. it is on export of raw materials and grains to Japan and Europe.

"The federal government is controlled by Que-

bec and Ontario. The Maritimes and the West have no say whatsoever in how the government is run.

"Organized labor showed their opposition to controls but they will not bring down the Liberals, who do not face mid-term elections like the U.S. The CLC represents a labor elite that makes the AFL look democratic."

**Philippines**

Five thousand students, workers, nuns and priests demonstrated on Oct. 10 in Manila against martial law and the referendum on its continuance, scheduled by President Marcos for Oct. 16. Many demonstrators were beaten and arrested.

No permission was asked in September, 1972 when Marcos made himself this country's dictator and has ever since moved against any opposition to his rule.

Despite martial law there have been strikes and protests among the Philippine masses, Moslem guerrillas in the south, students and urban squatters. The demonstrations in this poor country are taking place just when the International Monetary Fund is there deciding the fate of much of the Third World. While even former U.S. Secretary of Defense and present International Monetary Fund head Robert McNamara is warning of dire consequences in world hunger and starvation unless the U.S. increases its miniscule contribution, U.S. Treasury Secretary William Simon is there refusing such increases.

The message the demonstrators in Manila are sending the international community during the I.M.F. meetings is exactly what the U.S. and its special envoy Simon want to squelch, with their keen interest in underwriting dictators like Marcos with military aid.

**Pax Americana's imperial sweep now claims the ocean sea beds**

(Continued from Page 1)

ago to confront the U.S. at this UN session—has been ignored almost as totally by Latin Americans themselves as by Kissinger.

It is true that the Panamanian government had quietly agreed to "tone down" the UN debate on the Canal during the U.S. Presidential election campaign. The greater truth, however, is that General Torrijos' government, faced with over a month of anti-inflation, anti-government street demonstrations by students and workers in Panama City, is now virtually paralyzed.

Where Torrijos made speeches calling for U.S. concessions on the Canal, and had the full support of the Latin American masses on that issue, the demonstrators he has now labeled "ultra-leftist" are demanding not only "U.S. out of Panama", but social revolution at home, against the "repression of the bourgeois government." So international has been the character of their struggle for the national liberation of Panama, that the current protests not only began with the Chilean junta, but have included protest meetings on South Africa. At least one of the student groups has called the U.S., Russia and China all "imperialist".

**DOUBLE-TALK ON AFRICA**

With dramatics born of arrogance and deceit, Kissinger announced, "I have just been to Africa at President Ford's request to see what we could do to help the peoples of that continent achieve their aspirations to freedom and justice . . . The United States wants no special position or sphere of influence. We respect African unity." What he did not bother to tell the UN about were the mass demonstrations against his visit by Black teenage youth in Pretoria, Azania (South Africa) as he was meeting with that most vile racist John Vorster, or the fact that thousands of Blacks danced in the streets of Salisbury, capital of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) upon hearing early reports that the Kissinger plan for Rhodesia had been rejected.

The truth is that the freedom fighters of Namibia, Zimbabwe, and especially those inside South Africa itself, have no illusions whatsoever about either the true purpose of Kissinger's visit, or the extent of his interest in their "freedom and justice." They know that whatever "pressure" he is applying to Rhodesia is for the purpose of bolstering that most racist of all countries, South Africa.

While no less than 13 of the items on the proposed UN agenda for this session concerned the freedom struggles in Southern Africa, hardly a single serious word on the subject was spoken by delegates from Third World countries in the first ten days of the debate, as all awaited Kissinger's "first hand report." Nor did that deference end with the speech, and its imperial view of not only Southern Africa, but the entire globe. Now the excuse for silence is the upcoming Kissinger-organized and British-sponsored conference which is to "settle" the fate of Zimbabwe.

**CHINA CAPITULATES**

Where last year, the question was whether an arms embargo should be placed on South Africa, or whether actual expulsion from the UN was the best course for Third World delegates to pursue, this year even the subject of the arms embargo was delayed until late in October. Then it was just a case of "going through the motions" until vetoed by the U.S., France and Britain. Among those who saw the situation in Southern Africa as "excellent" and called for patience with Kissinger was Chinese Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua.

Such capitulation is all the more shocking, coming as it does at the precise moment when the movement in South Africa, far from being either disoriented by the Secretary's new African Safari, or crushed by the brutal murders, beatings, and jailings inflicted by Vorster's storm troopers, has instead found new allies and new ways of fighting.

On Oct. 11 in a Black township outside Port Elizabeth, 10,000 cheered as 30 Black and white rugby players

made a mockery of the government's supposed "liberalization" of apartheid in sports by playing on the same team and challenging Vorster's police to arrest them. The same day, Black high school students outside Cape-town marched from one liquor store to another, smashing thousands of dollars of cheap liquor and warning adults that heavy drinking was encouraged by the government as a means of weakening and dividing the Black population. When attacked by police, they tried to march to a colored township for help.

**COMBINE THOUGHT AND ACTION**

Nor were the new forms of struggle confined to activity alone. It is reported that in Soweto and other Black townships, youth are reading such banned books as Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* and the *Autobiography of Malcolm X* (See *Black-Red View*, p. 7). The ideas they are discussing stand in absolute opposition to the lies and global greed of Kissinger.

Whether one looks at the events in South Africa or Panama, or focuses on the movement to end the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines, and the counter-revolutionary bloodbath in Thailand, or whether such far-distant cities as Bogota, Columbia and Cairo, Egypt are the points of reference, the ceaseless ferment by the Third World masses can not be denied. It is all the more incredible, then, that the Third World and its real issues are hardly represented in the current UN session.

Never has the gap been greater between the narrow nationalism of the thin elite which imagines that it can scheme and "politick" its way to a "fair share" of the world's wealth, and the masses in revolt, who, from the Black townships of South Africa to the barrios of Latin America, are raising the cry for a complete transformation of all conditions, all relations. They, and they alone represent the national liberation that becomes so universal that it inspires the entire world, and, when conscious of its own philosophy, can truly create a new society.