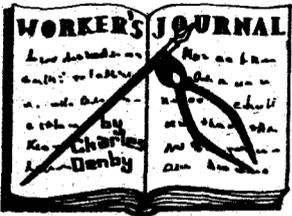


TO OUR READERS

The spectacular Sadat trip to Israel is taking place as our paper goes to press. Nothing so reminds us of Nixon's trip to China as the hoopla and lack of substance of Sadat's trip to Israel. The most cynical aspect is that Premier Begin has given Sadat nothing in the face of Sadat's momentous gamble; and that, despite the initiatives these two rulers took on their own, both displayed their total dependence on U.S. imperialism by tying everything to the Geneva conference, where the play will shift to the two super-powers, U.S. and Russia. We will analyze the events in the next issue.

—The Editorial Board



New labor law will make wildcat strike a crime

by Charles Denby, Editor

In October of this year, the House of Representatives passed the Labor Reform Act of 1977 by a vote of 257 to 163. AFL-CIO and UAW officials had worked hard to pass this law, saying it was a labor victory.

But this "victory" includes a rider (now Section 12) permitting the National Labor Relations Board to seek an injunction against workers involved in wildcat strikes and "stranger picketing," which means workers from one company picketing at another company. Coal miners have been successful in using stranger picketing to spread their strikes. The only union so far to oppose this attack on workers' rights has been the International Typographical Union.

FIGHT OVER NO STRIKE PLEDGE

I remember during World War II when a big fight occurred in the union over the "no strike" pledge. There was a faction saying it was just a war-time issue, and another saying that if we gave up our right to strike, it meant the end of workers protecting each others' jobs, and we would never gain it back.

Many union leaders were for the no strike pledge, especially the Communist Party members, and also Walter Reuther, who was not in the leadership of the UAW at that time.

One morning I was riding a street car to work, and I saw a picture of a lion and tiger that some worker had drawn and hung up with the advertisement on the street car. The caption said that the lion and tiger would meet in the jungle on occasion and have terrible fights. The lion finally suggested to the tiger that they both go and have their teeth pulled, and that this would stop them from tearing each other to pieces.

The tiger agreed, and had his teeth pulled. When they met again, the lion still had his teeth, and killed the tiger. The sign said this is what would happen to us if we gave up the only weapon we had to fight the company. I knew that was the truth, and I was solidly against the "no strike" pledge.

REUTHER AGAINST WILDCATS

But since that day, the labor movement in this country has deteriorated. It did not happen overnight, but has been gradually taking place since the early '50s. I know from my own auto shop experiences that Walter Reuther had hated wildcat strikes and felt something had to be done to control them.

Many times the company would fire a worker for no reason at all, or fire a chief steward or committeeman for speaking up for the worker, and a wildcat strike was the surest and quickest way to get them back. But Reuther was not convinced of that, and would say

(Continued on Page 6)

WOMAN AS REASON

Nearly 20,000 women converged on Houston, Texas for the IWY Conference Nov. 18-21. Since delegates to the government-sponsored-and-funded affair numbered only 2,000, it is clear that the activist observers, who had to pay their own way, felt that just being there could help transform the meeting into an event that would change the face of the United States on the question of women's liberation. They were right. They created a momentum far beyond the "National Plan of Action" devised by the appointed commissioners.

Despite the fact that the well-organized and efficiently-run conference had worked to have all 26 Resolutions of the Plan voted as presented, the disabled, then the minority, and then the older women wrote entirely new ones for themselves that gave far more concreteness to women's rights than the abstract cornerstone of the entire convention: the ERA.

STYLE, SUBSTANCE AND SWEEP

It was the Substitute Resolution on Minority Women that was the highlight of the conference in everything from style to substance to comprehensiveness. Five women presented it. The Black woman who rushed to the mike to offer the substitute yielded to the Asian woman, who spoke and then yielded to the Hispanic woman, who spoke and yielded to the Native American, who spoke and yielded to Coretta King, who completed it. The Native American spoke of their children who are taken away; the Hispanic of the deportation struggles and the question of bi-lingual studies; the Asian woman of sweatshop working conditions; and Coretta

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NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

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DECEMBER, 1977

Editorial article

Carter's smile can't disguise fangs of U.S. imperialism

by Olga Domanski, National Organizer
News and Letters Committees

President Carter's rolling out of the red carpet on Nov. 15, complete with 21-gun salute to greet the neo-fascist Shah of Iran to the White



LNS photo

Eight thousand people demonstrated at the White House protesting the Shah of Iran's visit. Many wore masks to protect themselves from SAVAK, the Iranian secret police.

IWY: where to now?

King of their demand for firm government support for affirmative action. No wonder she ended, not on how much was achieved these past 10 years, but by declaring that "We still have a long way to go."

Because these new substitute resolutions that were passed so overwhelmingly were so concrete, it was clear that it was not what was done there at the conference that was the most important, but what remains to be done afterward. That task was recognized as the one to be done by themselves, not left to those "above". It was the recognition of Self as social being, Women Liberationists in action.

The euphoria created by the massive attendance, the fact that the delegates were so well organized that the feared direct confrontation with the ilk of the KKK did not happen, and the need for and achievement of unity on the question of the ERA, did create altogether too much enthusiasm for the "leaders", so that a person like Rosalynn Carter, who came as "personal emissary" of the President, was never challenged on his backward move refusing federal funds for the poor needing abortion.

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION'S WHIP

The anti-Women Liberationists held their own counter-meeting of some 10,000 men and women, from around Texas and Utah mainly—especially male-dominated in its counter-revolutionary philosophy of unfreedom, as represented by the KKK, Birchers, Conservative Union, as well as the most rightwing members of the Catholic

(Continued on Page 2)

House, matched nothing so much as Mao's rolling out of his red carpet to greet Richard Nixon to China in 1972. In the same vein, Carter's hypocrisy about "human rights" while embracing a tyrant who has no less than 100,000 political prisoners in his jails and torture chambers*, is matched only by Russia's hypocrisy while it throws its dissidents into psychiatric wards.

It was the thousands of anti-Shah demonstrators — enraged Iranian students, masked to prevent identification by the murderous Iranian secret police, SAVAK, together with their American student supporters — who pulled the phoney "human rights" mask from the grinning Carter countenance and revealed that the "special relationship" he was busy reaffirming between the U.S. and oil-rich, strategically-placed Iran was a direct continuation of the same, bloody U.S. imperialism that had overthrown Mossadegh in 1953, and put the Shah in power through a CIA-engineered coup d'etat.

In 1973, during the Nixon administration, out of \$4.7 billion in U.S. foreign military sales, \$2.1 billion went to Iran. Last year the Shah bought more than \$5 billion worth of arms, and now wants 140 more fighter planes to add to the 160 contracted for last year. And, the demonstrating students charged, the Carter administration now intends to build up its force of U.S. "military advisers" in Iran from 30,000 to at least 60,000.

Vietnam and The Second America

The tear-gassed demonstration of Iranian and American students on the Ellipse was the largest Washington, D.C. has seen since the anti-Vietnam War demonstrations, which had shown the very same two-way road the Second America has always taken to establish its opposition to U.S. imperialism. That the U.S. has never forgiven its only defeat in that war is clear from its vindictive treatment of both the Vietnam veterans and Vietnam, itself.

Despite his much-ballyhood and campaign-promised "amnesty" for the youth of this country who refused to take part in the vicious, wholesale slaughter of the Vietnamese people, both North and South, Carter has now signed into law a vengeful bill that explicitly denies any health and education benefits to the 800,000 veterans who have less-than-honorable discharges. Even those whose discharges had supposedly been "upgraded" by accepting his phoney amnesty turn out to have no rights under this bill.

At the same time, despite an earlier U.S. promise of "massive reparations" to Vietnam, Carter has now declared that the destruction was "mutual," and refused to join the 148 other members of the Economic Committee of the UN General Assembly when they approved post-war assistance to that devastated land. The U.S. has refused even the smallest amount of food or medicine at a moment when the natural disasters of both cold weather and drought have doubled the country's normal, serious rice shortage.

But the greatest disaster is U.S.-made — the aftermath of the over-71 million quarts of chemical compound dumped as defoliants on the Vietnamese countryside. A professor of botany at Yale, recently returned from a month-long trip to Vietnam, had reported a 400 percent increase in liver cancer there in the last 10 years from the chemical defoliation, which has both

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* Figures determined by Amnesty International, this year's winner of Nobel Peace Prize.

UAW reneges as Essex strikers gain support

Ed. note — As we go to press, the UAW has announced that they will not pay the \$2700 in fines and legal fees incurred by strikers at Essex Wire for misdemeanors allegedly committed on picket lines. They waited until only a few days before the deadline for payment, after which those charged can be sent to jail, to say that they would not uphold their original agreement to pay. The strikers have only \$800 in their strike fund. The following was received from a woman striker before this latest development.

Elwood, Ind. — We have been on strike for eight months now. The April deadline when they can decertify us is getting closer and closer, but we haven't heard a thing from the UAW since they took the negotiations to Detroit on Oct. 14. They gave us a big promise of International backing but didn't even bring the offer back to us because it was so bad. (See N&L, Oct. Nov., 1977)

WOMAN LEADER BEATEN

On Oct. 12, one of the women leaders was beaten by a man who was waiting for her in her own kitchen. There was no investigation. The next day, Essex came out with a statement that the beating wasn't strike-related and the man who did it must have been sick, and that Essex wouldn't do anything like that. We wonder, if they had nothing to do with it, why they had a pre-

WOMAN AS REASON

(Continued from Page 1)

and Mormon Churches. But the presence of the counter-revolution was felt within the IWY hall, too. What male chauvinist thought that a whistle was needed to try to keep the rightwing women delegates in line to vote against every and all resolutions?

Unfortunately, the majority delegates — mainly white, middle-class, career women, aiming for political jobs and running for electoral office—were so anxious that all behave as "ladies", that they would not entertain a motion to expel the Mississippi delegation, though it included KKKers. Actions like that not only held back the confrontation of ideas, but permitted the delusion that the counter-revolution was not a threat. None bothered to mention that police cars with KKK insignia patrolled the streets surrounding the conference and struck terror among lesbians, nor that the other "rally" referred to the IWY as "International Witches' Year".

On the other hand, it was the threat of the counter-revolution that did mobilize the conference, and brought a leader like Betty Friedan, who had feared touching the lesbian question, to change her mind and urge adoption of the motion not only for "reproductive freedom" (the right to abortion on demand), but also the right of "sexual preference" (lesbianism). Both motions passed overwhelmingly.

When one of the reactionary woman said that the conference was dominated by "lesbian abortionists", one feminist writer, Lucy Komisar, smiled, "Well, they can't be both, can they?" The significance of this incident isn't the "sense of humor" the *New York Times* reporter emphasized, but the seriousness of the activists; the range of ages—literally from 16 to 80; the connection with history's path, not because the Smithsonian Institute let them use the gavel Susan B. Anthony had used in 1896, but because her niece-namesake, 61, was there—and because the young women who had never heard of either one were the ones who were carrying the struggle far beyond what it was at the end of the 19th century.

That is what brings us to the question of the left and the ideological battles that, unfortunately, didn't take place:

WOMAN AS REASON AND REVOLUTIONARY

At the 1975 IWY international conference in Mexico City, many of the delegates were wives of state rulers, parroting the political line of their respective husband-rulers, whether that be Mrs. Sadat or Mrs. Rabin. Unlike them, these middle-class white women were moved by the controversial questions and by the minority and other women to neither stick only to their own 26 Resolutions, nor be so totally elitist as not to hear some of those voices from below. They knew these voices had no intention of remaining silent once the conference was adjourned and legislation tries to take over and stall and stall.

The sad part, then, was that the left itself would try either to limit itself to single issues like ERA or right to abortion or action against deportation; or to think of themselves as "grass roots" rather than recognizing the actual grass roots whose concreteness was the ground for a battle of ideas.

Women's Liberation-News & Letters Committee did raise the question of Woman as Reason. The manner in which Iranian women showed their interest in *Marxism and Freedom*, and Black women their interest in a pamphlet like *Sexism, Politics and Revolution in Mao's China*, saying, "Sexism is everywhere," showed the universality and interconnectedness of rights with revolution.

The counter-revolution, with their slanders against the very subject of the conference, did change the question from any single issue to the totality of revolution. That unfolds an entirely new banner: Woman as Reason and as Revolutionary. Nothing short of it will help uproot this exploitative, sexist, racist society.

pared statement ready?

We have filed an appeal with the National Labor Relations Board. I feel that this time we can force an investigation. There was no investigation before when two of us were shot.

Two of the plant guards came out and threw tear gas grenades at us before Halloween. There were kids out there and it was really bad. It wasn't until Nov. 3 that we got those men picked up and then they were released on \$1,000 bond. The plant guards claim that they have the same rights as official police. They even patrol the neighborhood—armed guards driving around the community protecting scabs.

We held a demonstration at Purdue University when the chairman of United Technologies was speaking there. He put a letter in the Purdue paper saying he wanted to talk about how to become a corporation executive, but all they talked to him about was Essex. We have spoken to NOW women in Indianapolis and they took up a collection and may pass a resolution for us and help with food. We have just heard from the St. Louis chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women who had just become aware of the strike and wanted more information.

STRIKERS GAIN SUPPORT

There are locals all over the country and working people who are writing and calling us offering support. But they have to get approval from their regionals to give this to us. We must have funds to help ourselves. We are trying to arrange so we can have Thanksgiving and Christmas dinner. I think that's important.

I never dreamed that the UAW would let the strike go this far. Sometimes this strike is like a nightmare where every time you reach a door, it closes. But we are going to keep on fighting. We feel like we are standing out here for all the UAW. It's not just us. If they break us, they are going to break a lot more before it is over.

Contributions to the Essex strikers can be sent to Strike Support Committee, Box 179, Elwood, Ind. 46036.

Black feminist conference lacks direction, philosophy

Last month several members of Women's Liberation-News & Letters Committees attended the first nationwide conference of the National Alliance of Black Feminists (NABF) in Chicago. It was for Black women only. About 200 women attended, from as far away as New York, Washington and California, but almost all of them were professional women.

This conference came at a very important moment for Black women. We are facing attacks on affirmative action and the ERA, being subjected to forced sterilizations, and denied the right to abortions. We are asking, what is the involvement of Black women in the women's liberation movement today?

At every WL conference I have attended, Black women have been pushed off into workshops labeled something like "Double Burdens," and discussed as being oppressed. Many of the white women don't see Black women as the Reason that has been in the front of every movement since the fight to be free from slavery.

This is why I had been looking for a Black women's organization ever since I came into the movement. When I read NABF's theme, "Where Feminism is a dimension of Humanism," it made me very excited about what the conference could discuss on the direction and philosophy of the Black women's movement.

WORKING WOMEN IGNORED

I have to say honestly that I am still looking for that kind of discussion. Brenda Daniels Eichelberger, the director of NABF, said: "The professional Black woman and the welfare mother have common problems." But where were the welfare mothers, or working women at the conference? We met only a few miles from Chicago's South Side, where hundreds of thousands of Black women live, and yet their ideas were not represented.

When we first walked into the conference, we saw tables selling Mary Kay cosmetics, rugs, jewelry, and children's encyclopedias. There were only three tables with WL literature, including ourselves. Then when the workshops began, most of the women went to one called "Black Women's Relation to Women." I thought it meant the relationship to the WL movement as a whole. But it turned out that the big question they were discussing was: How can we get women working under us to recognize us as their boss and call us Miss, Mrs., or Ms.!

And in the workshop on economics, they began with a 30-minute presentation on how to buy stocks and bonds. Even though we also heard a union official talk on the J. P. Stevens Strike, it seemed very strange to be mixed up with the stock market.

STATUS IN ROTTEN SOCIETY

I am sorry to say that some of the women at the conference were prepared to be an integral part of this rotten society, as long as they had "status." They do not speak as Black working women. If you are Black, a woman, and a worker, you don't have just burdens, but a greater understanding of what needs to be transformed in this world, and how to do it. This is what I believe Marx meant when he said that the greater, a worker's



women-worldwide

In Buenos Aires, 100 women demonstrated Nov. 21 in a downtown plaza where U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance had come to discuss human rights with Argentine leaders. The women called out for Vance to help them locate family members kidnapped by Argentine police. Those kidnapped now include Laura Ines Dabas de Correa who had been active with the Committee of Relatives of Political Prisoners.

Smith College, the largest private women's college in the U.S., has agreed to pay \$136,000 to 143 female janitors and housekeepers who charged that they had been paid less than male employees with the same jobs.

In Boston, over 100 Chelsea High School students have been attending the trial to determine whether a poem written by 15-year-old Jody Caravaglia, "The City to a Young Girl," should be banned. The 77-word poem expresses the author's anger at being treated as a sex object by men who pass her on the street.

In Texas, one woman died and four suffered severe complications after undergoing cheap abortions in a Mexican border town. Texas cut off state aid for abortions after the HEW's termination of federal funds for abortion in all but life-threatening situations.

In Palermo, Sicily, on Oct. 22, hundreds marched to protest the death of a woman who had been forced to seek an illegal abortion. A bill legalizing abortion restrictions is still under discussion in the Italian Parliament.

A group of women in Rochester, N.Y., succeeded in closing down the film, *Snuff*, which depicts the dismemberment of a young woman. Citing all its racism — "filmed in South America where life is cheap" — they have formed a new group called Rochester Women Against Violence Against Women.

There is no way that we can get to becoming "universal" or whole persons if we are limited to a few Black women who have "made it" or want to "make it." This is so serious that I believe the NABF will not survive if they don't recognize the thinking of working women and welfare women as part of the movement to freedom.

You cannot give a definition of feminism out of Webster's Dictionary as Brenda Eichelberger did, but must realize that it is an idea that is constantly growing and changing with the activities of women for freedom. It is true in Africa and in America.

I think the women at the conference who signed our mailing list to receive N&L, with the article by Steve Biko, understand that. I hope that the conference resolutions will not be the "conclusion" of Black Feminist discussions. We have never needed a direction for our movement as much as we do right now.

—Tommie Hope
Women's Liberation—News & Letters, Detroit

Detroit Area Readers—

Terry Moon, feminist author and activist, will speak on:

SEXISM, POLITICS AND REVOLUTION:
A report on the IWY Houston Conference
Sunday, Dec. 11, 3 p.m., Tindal Rec. Center
10301 W. 7 Mile Road, Detroit
Sponsored by Women's Liberation—N&L, Detroit

●
RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA
National Chairwoman, News & Letters Ctes.
Will Be Interviewed On:
"It's Your Turn," Tuesday, Dec. 13
Channel 56 — 11 P.M.

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Los Angeles, Calif. 90029

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

CHICAGO: PO Box 11865
Chicago, IL 60611

FLINT: Flint, Mich. 48502
PO Box 3384

LONDON: Rising Free Bookshop (Box 35)
182 Upper Street,
London, N1, England

Miners face life-and-death contract issues

Morgantown, W. Va.—When miners here talk about striking for a new contract on Dec. 6, they don't refer to the \$100 a day wages that there's been a lot of publicity about. They talk about restoring the UMW Health and Welfare Fund benefits that pay hospital and medical costs of miners and their families that were cut last July by the operators, and about the right to strike over local grievances.

They all know it was the operators who were responsible for cutting the Welfare Fund medical benefits to hit back at them for the wildcat strikes they were forced to take to defend themselves against the companies' refusal to negotiate local grievances over safety and other matters.

In the mines, a safety grievance often involves serious injury or life-and-death issues. But instead of negotiating these grievances on the local level, mine management insisted on every grievance going into a long procedure that took many months to decide.

The miners, frustrated and angry over these management tactics, went out on wildcat strikes to defend

their safety. But the coal operators could always get court judges who fined the local unions and jailed strike leaders, which only angered the miners even more. Their strikes spread, not only against mine management, but also against the company-controlled judges.

Last July, when the hospital and medical part of the Health and Welfare Fund was down because of skyrocketing inflation in medical care costs and wrong figures used in the 1974 contract negotiations on who would be covered under the Fund, the coal operators, whose trustee on the Fund had the deciding vote, cut the medical benefits of miners and their families. For the first time since 1946, when the Fund was first established, working miners had to pay the first \$250 for hospital and medical care for themselves and their dependents.

It was unnecessary to do this. There was plenty of money in the pension part of the Fund, but the coal operators refused to allow a transfer of funds that would have permitted the payment of hospital and medical benefits. A bitter wildcat strike by over 80,000 coal miners was the reaction to the operator's actions against the miners and their families.

UMW President Arnold Miller persuaded the striking miners to return to work, promising that the December contract negotiations would both restore the Welfare Fund cuts and give the miners the right to strike over local grievances. These are both life-and-death issues to the coal miner and his family, and they'll back Miller on these points until hell freezes over.

It's true that about 50 percent of the coal in the U.S. is produced by strip mines or others who are not unionized, and the coal operators are making a lot of noise about this. What they have forgotten is that coal miners have never allowed scab operations to keep operating when they have been on strike. And if anything, the miners will make sure they won't be running coal this time. The roving pickets will see to that.

(Look for a report in our next issue on the coal miners' insurrection in Rumania where a protest over reduced pension rights exploded into a massive strike for higher wages, more food and better working conditions.)



Auto contract fishhook will snag Canadians

by John Allison

Chrysler Corporation and the Canadian government are working hand in hand to line their pockets with money they are taking out of the hard-earned wages of Chrysler workers. Their latest scheme involves the Paid Absence Allowance (PAA) and Supplemental Unemployment Benefit (SUB) provisions in the UAW contract and the Canadian Unemployment Insurance Compensation law.

Before this year, the Canadian workers' PAA was considered as part of their vacation pay, and didn't figure into any unemployment payment provisions. So employees who were laid off longer than the normal two week vacation pay in July or August and had PAA entitlement were disqualified from unemployment benefits, but were paid the full make up payments under SUB.

But the unemployment law is changing all the time, and the union was advised after the lay offs this year that PAA would not be considered as part of the vacation pay.

The union has advised workers, who had been disqualified for unemployment benefits because of the old PAA ruling, to now apply for benefits under the unemployment act. The joker here is that when employees receive unemployment payments, this will create an overpayment from the SUB fund. And under the provisions of the SUB agreement, the company can deduct \$30 a week from the employee's check until the overpayment is paid off, or a worker can pay it off all at once out of his or her own pocket.

This is enough of a mess, but on top of this, how it is paid off can affect a worker's income taxes. If it is spread out over a period of time, it will reduce the amount of taxes a worker would pay for 1977, because it would apply in part to 1978 income.

It is a technicality, but the contract is full of them, as both American and Canadian workers know. This latest trick by the company and Canadian government shows one of the many fishhooks in the contract the workers will suffer from — as usual.

New machines at Uniroyal

Detroit, Mich.—One of the big topics of conversation at Uniroyal is the way that there are more and more machines, and fewer and fewer employees. We either have very old machines which have to be replaced or overhauled, or new equipment worth millions of dollars. I wouldn't be surprised if there wasn't over \$200,000 worth of investment for each worker.

There are some new radial machines not even being used, and I hear they cost \$250,000 apiece and were supposed to be operated by one worker. The more they put into machinery, the more employees get put out of work.

I'm sure there's plenty of demand for tires, but it costs too much per employee to keep the place going. Otherwise how can they sell radials for such incredibly high prices when they only take a few minutes to make, and still have a drop in profits over previous years?

—Uniroyal worker

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

GM Van Nuys

Van Nuys, Cal.—Did GM Van Nuys workers really win a victory in their recent strike? Or did the office mongers in the union hall win an easy victory for management? Yes, a strike was voted for by the membership of Local 645 in the hopes that runaway speed-up and layoffs and the disastrously unsafe working conditions caused by these could be stopped. But from the moment the strike vote was taken, to the end of the quickly settled strike, no effort was made to involve the members.

One woman worker on the picket line said, "The feeling among workers here on strike is that we have been screwed before ever going out, because the people in the union hall across the street refuse to tell us anything—they just say 'we'll take care of it'."

Now that the strike is over, whatever the settlement was—and reports vary—it is a sure thing that union negotiators who ignored the rank-and-file request for information did not negotiate any genuine victory against the onslaughts of speed-up. We need to have more contact of rank-and-file members in our two locals. Then we would be able to get a real feeling about the issues and the settlement. But these loud claims of "Victory at Van Nuys" should be investigated a little more closely.

—GM South Gate Workers' Committee

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — The international UAW claimed it got "a foot in the door" in 1976 with the Paid Personal Holiday (p.p.h.) plan. We were supposed to have four days in the factory and be paid for a fifth day off. And more jobs would be available in the auto industry.

The last time the UAW got a "foot in the door" was on curbing companies' use of lots of mandatory overtime. But Chrysler still schedules nine-hour days and six-day weeks for most of the year. Many times when a worker at Dodge Truck gets a p.p.h., he or she must work five days or 45 hours that week.

The worst part, though, is the way Chrysler doubles jobs instead of hiring workers. In materials department, for instance, people haven't been brought in for eight jobs that opened by people taking p.p.h.'s. Other stock people must cover them; in one area, two stock people had to cover five jobs. Usually workers transfer from other departments into materials, but in one section they haven't gotten anyone new in over four months.

—Main building worker

Lynch Road

Detroit, Mich.—It's holiday time again, when all the auto companies play lay-off games with the new-hires. I've watched them hire them in anywhere from September through December, and lay them off at intermittent weeks, so that it's almost impossible to get 90 days in.

If you're a new hire, you're still under-employed; you can't even guess at when you'll be working, or on which shift; and needless to say, you can forget about any compensation benefits. Every time you're laid-off for a week, it not only sets you back that week in seniority, but two weeks, because you have to make that week up.

What's more, they tell them that they're being laid-off because they don't need them, but who does their jobs when they're gone? Well, either they hire other new people to play ping-pong with, or we do them. The only thing we can say is that we have our jobs, but they keep the new-hires in a constant state of insecurity, so they can do anything they want with them.

—Lynch Road worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — Whoever becomes the new Local 15 president after the runoff election will face the situation that we still have no local agreement after 15 months. The company doesn't have to agree to a local contract if it knows the International says don't walk out.

Already we hear that the International has been putting a lot of pressure on the new bargaining committee to remove from the table our demand that the 10 workers fired after last year's walkout be reinstated. Now that Rufus Coleman is working for Region 1-A, he has taken the opposite side from when he was president and said he supported the 10 workers. Nobody wants to talk about the fired workers, maybe because they hope the people in the plant will forget about them, like the UAW is trying to ignore and stifle the seven workers still fired out of Trenton Engine.

Will we have a local contract or will we always have to take what the company gives out? Will the International always be on the company's side? What about the 10 fired workers? We will be looking for answers from the new leadership.

—Second shift worker

Injured forced to work at P.O.

Oakland, Cal.—A brother who works in the foreign mail-handling section at the main post office injured his back last June while lifting a mail sack. He saw his doctor, who told him not to go back to work for awhile. One week after the injury, the company told him to report to work, but he refused on doctor's orders.

As a result, the Postal Service has been harassing him since then. They held up his check for six weeks, and it took Congressman Stark's help to get them to give it to him. Then he went back to work in September, and immediately they gave him five days disciplinary time off for an "unsafe work act," as if it was his fault he got hurt.

They only charged him after he came back to work. There was no hearing, and his supervisor who wrote him up, Herb Kong, was on vacation during the accident and had no way of knowing if it could have been this brother's fault.

It seems like they're trying to keep workers off disability by harassing them into going back to work. One woman who hurt her hand had to come back and answer phones. Now she's in pain, and is out with a worse condition than before. Another woman was only allowed to work four hours a day by her doctor. Yet the P.O. forced her to go to school, the other four hours, even though the doctor didn't want her out of bed eight hours in a row.

I've heard they've been doing this to more workers since they changed to the 45-day rule, under which the P.O. pays the first 45 days of disability, and workmen's compensation pays after that. They've also been making workers on disability go to an interview with someone in management before they can collect their check. It seems like the P.O. is determining whether you should be able to work, instead of the doctor. This is regular practice at the Oakland P.O.

The Mail Handlers Union is working on the grievance the brother filed after he got the disciplinary notice. But the grievance has to go through Labor Relations, which I feel is just a tool for management to punish employees, instead of a communication between labor and management. The foremen even have the right to refuse to let you see your steward, so I think the union will only be able to go so far on this case.

I want everyone to know what's happened to this brother, so we can help his case and be better prepared to take on the P.O. next time.

—Oakland Main worker, days

Readers' Views

WOMEN'S LIBERATION: Leaders and Ranks

The five pages of the substitute minority resolution were so powerful as against two weak paragraphs in the IWY "Plan" that it proves again that only when you let people speak for themselves do you come up with anything worthwhile. The disabled women who were the first to demand their own resolution set the tone for the whole conference. The lesbian women, however, were so afraid that theirs would not pass that they refrained from doing anything on their own.

When the sexual preference resolution did pass they were so elated they all ran out of the hall to celebrate. But suddenly something happened and they began saying to each other, "The welfare women's resolution is next, and they need us, what are we doing out here?" They all rushed back en masse. It was an exciting experience to see all this develop.

IWY Participant
Chicago

I went to the founding conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in 1973 where they made it very clear that they wouldn't do a damn thing for women on welfare, for the Harlan County Miners' Wives, nor would they officially endorse the United Farm Workers. The one function they agreed on was to support trade union women. So why haven't they done anything for the Essex women strikers? These women have been in the UAW for 11 years! CLUW can't plead ignorance because we have called the Chicago branch, a story of the Essex strike was carried in the Chicago Tribune months ago, and we even challenged them at a public meeting at the YWCA where they were parading as champions of working women.

That founding conference certainly set the tone for CLUW. Now, in 1977, they have become even more isolated from the working women whose militancy sparked the creation of CLUW in the first place.

Marxist-Humanist
Chicago

PRISONER-PHILOSOPHERS

I read with great interest Charles Denby's column on the letters you have received from prisoners. It should not surprise you that prisoners want freedom any more than that our foreparents held in chattel slavery fought and died for it. We live today in actual slavery in prisons, which under capitalism are used as instruments of class and race oppression. Is it any wonder that U.S. prisoners view any struggle around the world which weakens U.S. imperialism as their own?

The U.S. has the largest prison population in the world — 285,000 — and the prisons are full of Black, Brown, Red and poor white men and women, the majority of whom were unemployed or working poor. You would think that a strong prisoner support movement would exist

in the U.S., but that is far from the case.

Shamefully, the Left movement in this country has not supported the struggle of prisoners for human survival. Even Amnesty International has done nothing for the mass of prisoners in this country, or raised one finger in condemnation against the U.S. prison system. But they are a liberal reform group, and no one should expect it. The defense of class war prisoners is the responsibility of the Left movement for social change. It does not lie upon moral, but solid political grounds.

Imprisoned Citizen
Georgia

Denby's column on the prison letters made me realize that the American penal system is creating greater philosophers than the universities.

Woman worker
New York

BRITAIN'S SERIOUS SITUATIONS

Things are getting serious here. The National Front is growing. It is reported that they intend to switch the attack to the Jewish population. It is also said they are getting finances from Rhodesia and South Africa. They have declared support for the white Rhodesians.

There is another serious matter to examine. The workers in Fairfield shipyard here are looking forward to a large order for ships by Poland. In order to win it, they have accepted the Government limit of a 10 percent wage rise. They show no interest in the position of shipyard workers in Poland, where many on strike were shot down in December 1970. Some are still being persecuted there. Where is the principle of international solidarity when British shipyard workers are calling for all British ships to be built in Britain but accept a wage limit to get a Polish order?

Harry McShane
Glasgow

AN OBJECTION

As an English-speaking Quebecer, sensitive both to American ignorance of Canadian affairs, and to the narrowness of Parti Quebecois nationalism, I was struck with Shainape Shcapwe's clear-headed Oct. column. In discussing the native Inuit protest against the mandatory French-language bill here in Quebec, she grounded herself in freedom, the right of all oppressed peoples, Quebecois and Inuit, to self-determination.

But I object to the Nov. comments of your Bay Area reader, who mentions the Soweto youth protest against Afrikaans in the same breath as the Inuit protest. To even imply a comparison between the French-Canadian people and the racist white minority South Africans is to miss Shcapwe's basic point. To put French on the same level as the obscure language of Afrikaans, as not being "a useful international language," is Anglophone chauvinism.

Woman Reader
Montreal

STRUGGLES IN U.S., MEXICO

It is always great to hear of people fighting back — and two of the best reports I've heard lately are about the undocumented workers, who certainly have plenty to fight back about. First came news that despite the vicious national campaign to deport undocumented farm workers, 200 of those working in the citrus groves near Phoenix, Arizona went on strike to demand better wages and working conditions. Arrests stopped the strike three days later — but it was a first for undocumented workers — and I'm sure it won't be the last.

Then came the news that as soon as the KKK announced it was forming vigilante committees to patrol the U.S.

Mexican border, 3,000 people demonstrated to denounce the terror tactics, and 40 Chicano organizations made plans to send their own patrols to protect the border from the Klan. The Klan never showed up.

Now, thousands of migrant farmworkers have walked out of the vegetable fields in Arizona. It's the largest farmworker strike in the history of the state. The farmworkers' battles in this country are far from over — they may have just begun.

Farmworker Supporter
Michigan

A friend in Mexico wrote to me: "Lagunillo is a very new neighborhood on the outskirts of Cuernavaca and only the poorest of the poor are allowed to live there. The land it is built on technically belongs to the government of the state of Morelos, and they were planning to build another prison on it. But some peasants and poor people from Morelos seized the land and completely on their own have gone a long way toward building their own community. They are building their own school, sewers and water system, and in general building their own well-planned colony on a co-operative basis, without any kind of help from the government. Usually when this sort of thing happens, the government rushes in and shoots a lot of people, especially when it's government land, but it seems these folks have gotten away with it!"

New Reader
Michigan

HELP WANTED

Serious vandalism occurred at Diana Press on Oct. 25. Paint, ink and cleanser was used to damage printing machines, typesetting material, supplies, paste-up files, and galleys. 5000 copies of *A Plain Brown Paper* by Rita Mae Brown were destroyed. Diana Press is selling its remaining inventory through direct mail advertising. For a free brochure send a self-addressed stamped envelope to: Diana Press, c/o Colletta Reid, 4400 Market St., Oakland, California 94608.

Feminist
Detroit

NO HELP WANTED

A lot of people might have been surprised when 2,500 men and women camped out overnight to apply for 58 production jobs at the Western Electric plant in Oklahoma City last month. After all, the government says unemployment there is "only 3.8 percent." What they don't tell you is that real unemployment any place in the U.S. today is twice the official figures, which are made up after no less than 22 categories of "exceptions" are excluded from the number of unemployed. They also don't tell you that in "right-to work" Oklahoma, where only 10 percent of the workers are union, most jobs pay minimum wage — \$2.35 an hour. You can't exactly call that a "living wage," even if it does get you counted as "employed."

Sick of Government Lies
Detroit

I've been a social service worker for one year now, and over the course of that time it's become clear to me that all the department practices are on the side of big industry. There is no such thing as "job development" now. The jobs we send people out on are not much more than slave labor.

I believe the whole welfare issue is being used to blame the crisis on the poor people. The propaganda about welfare is used to appeal to the most reactionary elements. If the social workers ever learn the real basis of the crisis, and the workers and welfare clients finally work together, I think we could

begin to stop some of the political manipulation going on.

Social Worker
Michigan

RENDERING JUSTICE

When Mr. and Mrs. Wei Ching Chang were given a ticket for double-parking in New York's Chinatown, Mrs. Chang protested by biting the police officer's finger. He knocked her down, beat her unconscious, and took her to the fifth precinct, where she was charged, while unconscious, with assaulting the police officer and resisting arrest. Only two years ago, 20,000 Chinatown residents demonstrated against the arrest, stripping and beating of a Mr. Peter Yew who had verbally protested the police handling of another traffic matter. This time the presence of 80 angry community people in the courtroom forced the judge to decide to release Mrs. Chang without bail. Time and time again it is shown that it is only the people who render justice.

Chinatown Service Worker
New York

Recently Tyrone Neal, a Black 14 year old, was stopped by Chicago police and "accidentally" shot in the back of the head while being searched. The policeman who killed Tyrone Neal was not reprimanded because he was Black. Black on Black crimes are not taken seriously. If Tyrone Neal had been white, the police officer would have his head handed to him on a tarnished silver platter.

A few months ago a white boy was shot and killed by a white policeman. The policeman was suspended from his duties and the matter was hushed up by police and the media.

The scales of justice are grossly unbalanced.

Concerned Black
Chicago

AFRICA AND AMERICA

When I got the October issue of *Black Scholar* in the mail, I was struck by the powerful cover drawing "Soweto: Crimes Against Humanity." I thought it meant this issue was on the events in South Africa. But when I opened to the contents page, the only thing I found in the magazine on the subject was a speech Julius Nyerere gave last summer on U.S. policy toward southern Africa. A third of the issue was given over to an article entitled "Message to the Black Community: The Present Administration and its Domestic Achievements and Goals" by someone listed in the contents only as "James E. Carter," and an accompanying article by his only Black cabinet appointee, HUD Secretary Patricia Harris.

It seems as though *Black Scholar* really is being fooled by Andrew Young's posturing on the "new American role in Africa." But then what can you expect from people who are in love with China one issue, and six months later decide that Cuba is the greatest spot on earth, and don't bother to even explain the transfer of allegiance?

Not Fooled
Detroit

The Africa Fund is dedicated to assisting the African liberation movements and providing resources on the struggle for Americans. The *South African Freedom Calendar* for 1978 reproduces 12 works selected from 375 entries in a nationwide anti-apartheid poster competition. It is 12½ by 22 inches, sells for \$4, and proceeds will go for legal defense and humanitarian aid for South African victims. Please tell your readers they can mail checks or money orders to:

The Africa Fund
305 East 46th St.
New York, N.Y. 10017

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TWO WORLDS State-plan fetishism and George Novack's philosophy

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

The Trotskyite silence on the direct Stalinist revision of Marx's *Capital* remains unbroken ever since it was first promulgated by the Stalinist theoreticians in 1943-4. Which doesn't stop Trotskyite theoreticians in the 1970s from arrogantly usurping dual roles. As a Marxist political economist, Ernest Mandel dares to introduce the newest English translation of Marx's greatest work, not just by keeping silent on those revisions, but by actually glorifying their codification as a "genuine rebirth of Marxism." (1) As a Marxist philosopher, George Novack pontificates on dialectics as if that was hardly more than "the logic of motion, not of rest." (2)

That simplism would hardly merit a polemic were it not for the fact that the politics of George Novack's philosophy, as of Mandel's economics, adds up to one more whitewash of the Russian theory and practice of state-capitalism. What unites Mandel and Novack, and their philosophy and economics, is, of course, the fetishism of the plan. Listen to Novack, in the midst of his expose of Lucio Colletti's "return" to Kantianism, explaining the Marxian concept of fetishism: "It (the fetishism of commodities) flows from the anarchic decentralized, unplanned character of the capitalist economy." (p. 1287)

MARX, OF COURSE, said the exact opposite. First, he warned against following "the manner copied by Proudhon from bourgeois economics, which looks upon this matter as though a society with a capitalist mode of production would lose its specific historical and economic characteristics by being taken as a unity. Not at all. We have in that case to deal with the aggregate capitalist." (3) Above all, Marx never wearied of speaking against the "despotic plan of capital," so inherent in the factory production line that he called it "the strictly regulating authority of the social mechanism of the labor process graduated into a complete hierarchy." (4)

On the other hand, listen to how Novack, in 1977, expands his idea of what is needed against what he calls anarchic "unplanned character of capitalist economy": "Whereas the ruling bureaucratic caste and its regime is reactionary, the nationalized and planned economy which is mismanaged, is highly progressive . . ." (p. 1287) And as if that didn't sufficiently hide the class nature of the Russian economy, Novack calls that state-capitalist economy with its forced labor camps "a society of transition from capitalism to socialism!"

WAS THIS REALLY 1977, I thought? Wasn't that exactly what he said way back in 1951, in answer to the document of the state-capitalist tendency (then called Johnson-Forest), entitled *State-Capitalism and World*

- (1) Mandel's phrase appears both in his magnum opus, *Marxist Economic Theory*, and in his Introduction to the Penguin edition of Marx's *Capital*. See also my review of his work in *News & Letters*, May and June-July, 1970, and N&L pamphlet coming off the press in both England and the U.S., *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis*.
(2) George Novack, "Back to Kant? The Retreat of Lucio Colletti," in *Intercontinental Press* (11/14 and 11/21/77) p. 1254; the other pagination refers to these articles.
(3) Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, p. 503, Kerr edition.
(4) *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 1027.

Revolution? Here, in part, is the reply I handed in then: (5)

"Comrades Warde and Wright stand everything on its head. Where Marx says the property relationship is nothing but a legal expression for the production relationship, they make the productive relationship nothing but an expression of the property form or relationship. Where Marx says that outside the production relationship, property is nothing but a juristic illusion, Comrades Warde and Wright say: 'Production relations of the economy transitional to socialism are contained in collectivized property.'" It sounds like what Novack has just written in the latest issue of *Intercontinental Press*. He speaks unchangeably, in face of all the objective and subjective developments these past 16 years. All that has changed is the person singled out for criticism — Lucio Colletti, former CPer, present SPPer, always the bourgeois academic. It is always easier to argue with a Social Democrat rather than a revolutionary Marxist.

Indeed, as I wrote in 1951: "Even where Comrades Warde and Wright state a simple Marxist truth, it somehow gets transformed into its opposite. They state, for instance, that the real contradiction is between productive forces and production relations. Absolutely true. But where Marx includes the revolutionary proletariat as the greatest productive force, the productive forces with them are only the simple material means of production. No wonder that the 'quest for universality' is to them 'an ideological, not a material force.' No wonder

(5) My article, "The Revolt of the Workers and the Plan of the Intellectuals (An answer to Comrades W. Warde and J. G. Wright)" is on microfilm in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection at Wayne State University Labor History Archives, Detroit. Novack wrote then under the name of W. Warde. J. G. Wright, is deceased.

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.

that, though they quote from Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy* so often, they failed to grasp its essence: 'But from the moment that all special development ceases, the need for universality, the tendency towards an integral development of the individual begins to make itself felt' (p. 157)."

THIS IS EXACTLY what Novack cannot see — the proletariat as the creative shaper of history, uprooting capitalism, private and state. As I wrote in 1951: "Comrades Warde and Wright accuse 'Johnson-Forest' of the heinous crime of identifying the capitalist economy with the 'Soviet economy.' They mean the economy of Stalinist Russia, which, since 1943-44, the Stalinist theoreticians themselves have admitted operates according to the law of value." Since that has always, by foe and friend alike, been considered the characteristic law of capitalism, I asked:

"Why the silence on the Stalinist revisions? Comrade Trotsky marked out a clear division between the bureaucracy, which, he said, would not defend state property, on the one hand, and the masses who would defend it, on the other hand . . . Since the death of Trotsky, the Stalinist counter-revolution has come to full theoretical bloom in the revision of Marx's greatest work:

"(1) The Stalinists have affirmed that the law of value was applicable to all societies. Thus they separated what Marx united: the law of value from the law of surplus value which it entailed.

"(2) They ordered that Chapter I of Volume I of *Capital* be omitted from its 'study.' While they have thus vitiated its dialectic structure,

"(3) they have substituted for the law of the decline in the rate of profit as the law of capitalist collapse, the averaging out of the rate of profit as 'the law of capitalism.'

"There is no secret about this wholesale corruption of Marxian political economy . . . What has the Fourth International had to say about all this? Not a word."

THAT WAS WRITTEN June 5, 1951. During the 16 and a half years that have elapsed, not only has the American Trotskyite silence on those Stalinist revisions not been broken, but the European theoretician has, as we showed, glorified the wholesale revision as a "re-birth of Marxism." Both continue tailoring Russian theoreticians in economics and philosophy.

"The theoretical axis of Marx's *Capital*," as was stated in 1951, "is the question of plan — the plan of the capitalist against the freely associated workers. Chapter XIII, in particular, is unmistakable in its dialectical opposition between the despotic plan inherent in capital and the plan of the proletariat in the cooperative labor process. The cooperative form of the labor process unleashed a new productive power. The attempt to control this power within capitalist confines is the basis of the despotic plan of capital. Marx affirms that there can no longer be any doubt about this. The workers' resistance has disclosed that what appeared ideally as plan was in practice the undisputed authority of the capitalist."

As against this, Marx continued to pose the workers' resistance at the point of production, in the cooperative labor process in opposition to the intellectual planners who could not comprehend this new power. We must repeat: future generations will stand in amazement at the equivocal but relentless resistance the Fourth International carries on against this.

Book review—Durruti: The People Armed

by Michael Connolly

Durruti: The People Armed, by Abel Paz, *Free Life Editions*, 41 Union Sq. West, NY, NY 10003. Translated by Nancy Macdonald.

Barcelona, Spain. July 17, 1936. Franco and his fascist officers have set the moment for their coup—36 hours away. The Catalan government of Luis Companys, as well as the central government in Madrid, are informed, but they refuse to distribute arms to the workers. Depending on "loyal officers," they are paralyzed.

But the Barcelona workers, overwhelmingly members of the revolutionary union, CNT, take matters into their own hands. On a sailor's suggestion, 200 guns are confiscated from the holds of ships in the harbor and distributed to transport workers.

A company of Assault Guards is sent to the union hall to recover the weapons. Into this confrontation walks the legendary Anarchist leader, Buenaventura Durruti, who appears everywhere in those critical days.

Addressing the captain of the Guards, he explains: "There are times in life when it is impossible to carry out an order, no matter how highly placed the person who gave the order. It is through disobedience that man becomes civilized. In your case then, civilize yourself by making common cause with the people. Uniforms no longer have any meaning. No other authority exists except revolutionary order, and that requires that guns stay in the hands of the workers." The captain was convinced by Durruti and left, carrying with him a dozen unusable guns, as proof of the steps he had taken.

SPANISH WORKERS' CREATIVITY

This is the world into which the reader is plunged through Abel Paz's powerful biography, *Durruti: The People Armed*—a world of the mass creativity of the

Spanish workers, their self-organization, their challenge not only to Spanish capitalism and its brutality, but to all the Left parties—Socialists, Communists and Catalan nationalists as well. In presenting Durruti to English readers, Nancy Macdonald has done a profound service to the cause of genuine workers' internationalism.

From Durruti's earliest struggles as a machinist in the Asturias miners' strike during World War I; the Spanish workers' uprising of July-August, 1917, which echoed the Russian workers' cry "Long live the Soviets!"; through the shadow battles against the "pistolero" terror Spanish capitalists used to murder worker-leaders in the 1920s; to the epochal Spanish Revolution of 1936 itself—throughout this entire period, there was no separation between the life history of Buenaventura Durruti and the class history of the Spanish proletariat.

This was so not only because he was himself a worker throughout his life, but because, in refusing to accept anything less than a new libertarian society based on workers' control, he was representing very objectively the passion in the proletariat for absolute freedom at the very moment that the state-capitalist age of absolute terror was beginning.

Forced into exile again and again, Durruti had left to him a scant ten months when he returned to Spain for the last time in January, 1936. But they were ten months in the leadership of actual class revolution, against all the forces who would stunt it or destroy it.

The final third of *Durruti: The People Armed* is the account of the days from July 19, 1936, when Barcelona workers rose in arms and blocked fascism in their city, to the final moment Nov. 19 when the "Durruti Column" throws itself into the streetfighting defense of Madrid, and Durruti is shot dead.

One is struck by Durruti's constant insistence that

there be no distinction between politics and economics. Where the Stalinists organized "El Quinto Regimiento", the elite unit of professional military officers, and re-instituted the hated Military Code, Durruti helped organize the CNT militia—worker and peasant volunteers without rank.

WORKER-CONTROLLED COLLECTIVES

Where the Stalinists forced nationalization of the plants, substituting state-control for that of the workers, the Durruti column organized libertarian collectives throughout the Aragon peasantry and worker-controlled collectives in Catalonian industry.

Answering those counter-revolutionists claiming to be Communists, Durruti stated: "To us it means nothing that there is a Soviet Union somewhere, for the sake of whose peace and tranquility the workers of Germany and China were sacrificed to fascist barbarism by Stalin. We want revolution here in Spain, right now, not maybe after the next European war. We are giving Hitler and Mussolini far more worry today with our revolution than the whole Red Army of Russia."

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Editorial article: Carter's smile can't disguise fangs of U.S. imperialism

(Continued from Page 1)

poisoned the water supply and cut rice production drastically. The fishing industry has been crippled. The lumber industry, especially critical during a period of reconstruction, is decimated.

It is a measure of their true humanist philosophy — the absolute opposite of Carter's phoney "human rights" — that the veterans, from the beginning of the anti-war movement, have refused to separate their own interests from solidarity with the Vietnamese people. The very first resolution passed at the war resisters' conference in Toronto earlier this year, before they began to work out their own unified response to Carter's "pardon," was one demanding post-war aid for ravaged Vietnam.

Pax Americana in South America

We need not look at U.S. imperialism's attitudes to its former enemy, however, to see its naked essence. We need only look at its actions towards its "Good Neighbors" — Latin America. Under the guise of a "liberal" stance toward Panama, the Carter Administration has been touting a new Panama Canal Treaty that only spells out how, in the face of Third World revolts, U.S. imperialism can continue to control both the Canal and all of Panama. Not only will all 14 U.S. military bases be maintained up to the year 2000, but on into the next century the U.S. is assured of its rights to keep the Canal "permanently neutral."

Carter apparently believes that his liberal pretense permitted him to get away with daring to invite — on the fourth anniversary of the Chile coup — the hangman of Chile, General Pinochet, to the White House after the signing. Even Nixon did not dare go that far. So far to the right has the Administration moved that all are now acting as though even Watergate had never happened. That ex-CIA director, Richard Helms, could get away with bargaining for a suspended sentence on two meager "misdemeanor counts," with White House approval, for lying under oath that the CIA had not been deeply involved in the overthrow of the democratically-elected Allende government — and then have the gall to call his conviction "a badge of honor" — means only that we will continue to see more of the same, and not only in Chile, but in all of Latin America.

What is also assured is that the new signs of revolt in Colombia, Mexico, Brazil and Bolivia, will not only continue, but grow. The Nov. 9 seizing and occupation of the Labor Ministry in San Salvador by 1500 workers, demanding more pay for farm laborers (who make \$2.40

Workers fight to survive

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

The corporations with their forced overtime, or with their nine-plus hours of production in eight hours with a speeded-up line, are one of the main causes of the unemployment, injury, illness, alcoholism, drugs, crime and marital problems of their work force.

At GM Southgate, we have had deaths and an increase in accidents while working with high line speeds or nine-hour days. A worker was killed when he stayed with a car that went through a bonderizer tunnel. Another died of a heart attack on his break. A third had his leg caught in the assembly line. A fourth just missed getting crushed when the brakes on a hi-lo failed.

The company doesn't give any publicity, and our union doesn't issue any reports. When the line was stopped for the worker killed in the bonderizer tunnel, an extra 30 minutes was added to the line time.

The response of workers, who are fighting for their survival, is many times to go or try to go out on strike. But this often means they end up having to fight the union as well. So some survive by absenteeism and some turn to drugs.

I watched a worker pick up a hammer and smash it into the edge of a door of a car on the line. I asked him why, and he spoke not just of conditions in the plant, but outside also, where he had just been kicked out of his apartment and had to rent another at almost double the money, and where even with his wife working, they cannot qualify to buy a home. So he says it's this whole system that has to go.

At GM, the workers have a direct way of dealing with this forced overtime—they stay off work by the hundreds and the company has to struggle to get production going and shut down for break times.

We have 10 million unemployed, and the companies are using forced overtime. And they are introducing more and more automation to eliminate workers.

Where does it all end? Now we find some of the companies moving to "right to work" states in the South and cheaper labor, and for unrestricted introduction of even more automation. And when workers fight back, as they did recently in a wildcat strike at the Chrysler Trenton Engine plant, they face a trial on contempt charges after the strike has ended.

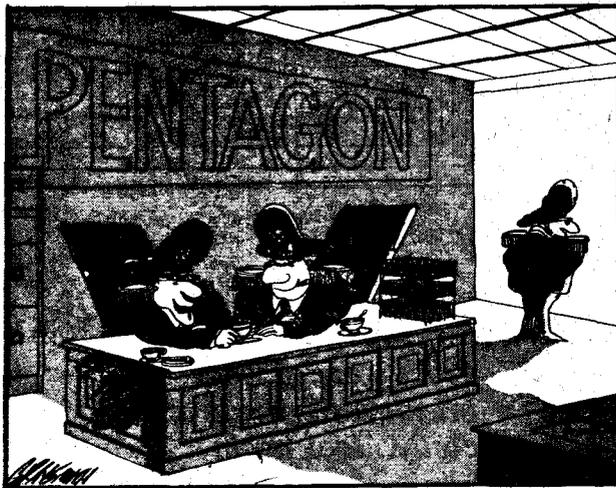
It is going to take more than just local strikes against what is happening in steel, rubber, auto, coal and all other industries throughout this country. In truth, the company, the union bureaucrats, and the government are all together against the labor force. As the working force in this country, we cannot afford these parasites over us. This type of production we are within, capitalism, is in its death stage. But in its death stage it is using up lots of workers, destroying our lives. We have to move to stop it from destroying us.

a day) and support for striking textile workers, ended only when the labor minister signed agreements promising to examine the issues.

South Korean Revolt Growing

The new depths to which Pax Americana was willing to sink to establish its domination everywhere began as soon as World War II ended, and the two super-powers that emerged as victors, Russia and the U.S., proceeded to set up the markers for the next confrontation between themselves for single global power. In South Korea, just before the Korean War began, it was the fascist, Syngman Rhee, that the U.S. installed in power — just as they conspired against the Iranian masses to install the Shah in 1953, and against the Chilean people to enable Pinochet to assassinate Allende and destroy the only democratically-elected Marxist government in Latin America.

The current bribery scandal involving U.S. Congressmen and the present U.S. fascist puppet in Korea, Park Chung Hee, far from revealing, actually hides the real crimes of U.S. imperialism against the Korean people.



"If you can't sell human rights, sell arms."

Despite the fact that dissent is met by immediate jailing, without trial, opposition is growing among both students and workers. Since the beginning of October, rallies have erupted one after another on campuses in Seoul, demanding student autonomy, the release of political prisoners and the discarding of government "emergency decrees." At the same time, strikes, formerly never heard about, have been reported breaking out over the incredibly inhuman working conditions in the textile, toy, food and clothing factories.

Conditions are especially horrible for women workers, who make up over 40 percent of Korea's 12.5 million workers. Wages come to little more than \$2 a day; work weeks are often 80 hours long; abuse from foremen ranges from cursing and shouting to physical slapping and beating. This cheap labor is the basis of the "spectacular economic progress" reported for the last year, which is dependent on cheap exports, mainly for the U.S. market.

That the workers are aware of who the exploiters are is revealed in a statement from a 24 year old woman worker at a nylon factory: "It's very dangerous to speak out or ask for more money. They tell us they have millions of girls who want our jobs so we better be quiet or be gone. The Government has the power to do something, but it never does. I think it's working for someone else."

U.S. Supports Apartheid South Africa

Neither are the masses in South Africa being fooled as to what is fundamentally involved in the struggles against Vorster's apartheid regime. The pretense that the recent mandatory arms embargo imposed by the UN is a serious blow to Vorster is an insult to the Black Africans who were demanding meaningful sanctions against foreign trade and investment, South Africa's economic mainstay that today has outpaced even mining enterprises.

The U.S. has supplanted Britain as South Africa's number one supplier of imported goods, and is second only to Britain in its investments, which now near almost \$2 billion. GM, Ford, Chrysler, Mobil, Exxon, Standard Oil, ITT, GE, Firestone, Goodyear, 3M, IBM and Caterpillar get their fantastically high profits — the rate is among the highest in the world — from the backs of the low-paid Black workers.

The mass revolts that have swept out of Soweto through all of South Africa to challenge the dehumanization of the apartheid system have inspired growing support from freedom fighters here at home who are demanding an end to this U.S. support, without which Vorster could not continue. (See article from Kent State students, p. 7.) It is clear that none — with the exception of a few liberals and intellectuals (see Reader's View on The Black Scholar) have been taken in by the fact that U.S. imperialism's line is now being touted by a Black representative like Andrew Young.

The Terminal State of U.S. Imperialism

All that recent events have proved is that it is not so much that Rome was not born in a day as that it did not die in a day. Neither will moribund U.S. imperialism, which keeps getting more and more degenerate with each new stage it reaches, whether it is an open tyrant like Nixon in command or a so-called "populist" like

Carter — and whether it is Kissinger or Brzezinski in the advisor's seat.

Where Kissinger was arrogant enough to say that the U.S. could not tolerate Euro-communists winning seats of power through the election process, Brzezinski can pretend it doesn't matter — now that it looks as though they won't win in France. Brzezinski's Trilateral Commission was organized in the early '70s as a non-governmental "rich man's club" to oppose the belligerent unilateralism of Nixon-Kissinger, but its hoped for "community of developed nations" (U.S., West Europe and Japan) was actually aimed at fighting off the challenge of the underdeveloped nations, the Third World. That was the very same goal of Kissinger's policies. The only difference is that the U.S. now recognizes that it needs Europe in order to do it.

Underlying it all is the constant maneuvering and jockeying for allies and strategic points, in readiness for the final confrontation between the super powers when they are ready. Thus, all the while the SALT talks go on, and rhetoric on both sides about reducing nuclear weapons is applauded, on both sides new missiles are being planned, and funds approved. Russia has just begun to build a nuclear submarine designed to launch 20 to 24 long-range ballistic missiles, while two days after Carter addressed the General Assembly of the UN Oct. 4 on weapons reduction, the U.S. Defense Dept. approved a new mobile missile system called MX, which could destroy the entire Russian land-based force in half an hour. Meanwhile supersonic fighters and arms are being sold to every U.S. puppet from Latin America to Asia to the Middle East, and the neutron bomb is presented to the world as "clean" because it can mass-kill by radiation while property is left intact.

The Opposition Begins at Home

In each country, the opposition to such dehumanization comes from below in ever new forms. The struggle to make "human rights" concrete and universal can be seen everywhere:

- The depth of the Black revolt that was seen in all its force during the N.Y. blackout this summer, unites Black America with Soweto's elemental outburst.

- The Kent students, in their determination not to allow the massacre of May 4, 1970 to be erased from our history are focusing on the precise event that spelled out, far ahead of Watergate, the beginning of the end of Nixon — the mass youth opposition to U.S. imperialism's invasion of Cambodia. The new struggles of 1977 are already on a higher level as the youth try to unite white and Black in their new battles.

- While government and union bureaucracies alike try to convince U.S. workers that it is the exploited, cheap labor in other lands rather than capital that is responsible for the constantly growing unemployment here, the countless wildcats that go unreported, as well as the massive strikes in the Minnesota iron mines, on the East Coast docks, and in the Appalachian coal mines underscore the profound discontent of American workers with the conditions of their own lives and work.

- The anti-nuclear movement by now is not separated even from the environmentalists, so universal is the revulsion against the threat to our air, our land, our water, our minds and bodies and humanity itself from capitalist, imperialist U.S.A.

The crisis of U.S. imperialism is manifold. The rulers face the underlying revolt at home on the one hand; and on the other, the inter-imperialist struggles that reveal not just one Russian super-power rival, but a third, China, looking in on both of them — and new mini-imperialists based on Middle East oil that have undermined the whole financial structure of the developed countries. The myriad political and economic crises the U.S. faces daily, and the persistent economic stagnation it cannot get out of, will only deepen the undercurrent of revolt at home and abroad.

No one can underestimate a nuclear might that can destroy us all ten times over, or think that it can be used only against the "foreign enemy." But time is running out for Pax Americana.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

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they should go through the grievance procedure which often took months and months.

What these leaders knew well was that there were different factions in the labor movement. If a steward, committeeman or worker opposed to the Reuther faction was fired, most likely they never got their job back, or if they did get it back, they were so beaten down that they were never again active in union politics.

When we were wildcat striking at our plant, our local leaders would encourage us, saying they were militant unionists and we were correct and had to teach the bosses that we were not going to let them use their power to abuse us.

But most union leaders today are as opposed to and afraid of wildcats as the company. When this new law finally goes into effect, it will be a crime to strike.

Today workers at General Motors Fleetwood plant in Detroit have been working without a local contract for more than a year. That was unheard of when we had a union that represented the workers.

But workers have not stopped, and they will not stop. There were hundreds of wildcat strikes this year and there will be more in the years to come.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

New attacks by right on workers, Leftists in Britain and W. Germany

From London we have received the following report:

It is now ten years since the NPD Neo-Nazis reached their electoral peak in West Germany and the National Front was formed in Britain. Today's German Nazis have lost interest in elections. They now take to the mountains at weekends in full battle regalia, training themselves to fight leftists.

In Britain, in the wake of rightist fire-bomb attacks against the left and the London Irish, the NF has launched a youth movement for 12-15 year olds.

The growth of neo-fascism is a symptom of a general shift to the right in the current political scene. The kidnapping of ex-SS officer Hans Schleyer takes place in West Germany in a political climate that is alarming.

The Christian Democratic right are hounding

not only the supporters of the Red Army faction—"passive" or otherwise—but also those in education and the media who dare to oppose the witchhunt. Even ex-chancellor Willy Brandt has been vilified for his warnings about the lurch to the right being a danger to West German democracy.

In Britain, some right-wing social democrats are leaving the Labour Party to join the Conservatives whom they feel offer the greater protection against a "Marxist society." Former education minister Reg Prentice has joined the Tories after 30 years with Labour, and Paul Johnson, a leading Labour Party intellectual, has made a similar move and has hailed the notorious French "New Philosophy" as a welcome backlash against Marxism.

The ex-social democrats have enthusiastically joined hands with rightists, such as the Institute for the Study of Conflict and the National Association for Freedom (NAFF). These groups warn

against the dangers in allowing Marxism to be discussed in colleges and look enviously toward the purges taking place in German institutions.

The NAFF has intervened in the 14-month-old Grunwick strike for union recognition and helped the plant's boss resist the strikers in court.

These new rightists, who enjoy the support of the Conservative Party, blame the unions and the Labour Party left-wing for the ills of British society. However, these labour lieutenants of capital are not the real threat at all, and most of the right-wing ideologues know this.

The real threat comes from the rank and file who are organizing conferences on unemployment and wage restraints, and who have defied the T.U.C. and resumed the mass picket at Grunwick on Oct. 17, in a last ditch effort to give a firm lesson to all tin-pot racist employers and the union hacks who protect them from the rank and file.

—Dave Black

South Africa

The official inquest into the death of Steve Biko—the twenty-first Black man to die in prison in the past 18 months at the hands of the racist South African gestapo—is starting to reveal some of the facts behind his death.

Biko was detained first in Port Elizabeth, and later at the interrogation center at Pretoria. A South African policeman, Warrant Officer Lieb Marx, testified that Biko was kept naked in his cell with heavy leg irons between sessions with his dehumanized torturers.

Maj. Harold Snyman, in charge of a five-man team who tortured Biko, claims that Biko hit his head against a wall in a struggle with his interrogating officers. Shamelessly, the policeman had the gall to state, "I guessed he died as the result of our scuffle. There was that possibility."

The police had first pretended that Biko died as the result of a "hunger strike," but the mass Black demonstrations and world opposition forced an official inquest to bring out some semblance of the truth. Biko was in fact tortured and injured at Port Elizabeth, received no medical attention, and was then driven 750 miles—naked, handcuffed, in chains and leg irons—in the back of a Land Rover to Pretoria, where he died.

Col. Piet Goosen, the police security chief for Port Elizabeth and the man responsible for Biko's death, was questioned by Biko's lawyer, who asked, "Are you above the law?" whereupon this modern Gestapo man, South African style, answered, "We don't work with the law, we work with our own powers."

The whites of South Africa will answer some day for the death of Biko and that day is not as far off as those in power delude themselves it is.

John Vorster's answer to the uproar throughout the world over his regime's murder of Steve Biko was to ban, on Oct. 19, 18 more organizations, including the Black People's Convention; detain 60 more Blacks; and to ban two white-owned but widely Black-read newspapers, the *World* and the

Weekend World.

Though the U.S., Britain, France, West Germany, and Canada wouldn't allow economic sanctions, a weapon that would also endanger their own massive investments in South Africa's racist system, the UN did vote an arms embargo, a largely empty gesture in light of South Africa's stockpiling and self-contained arms industry.

Vorster's reaction, on Nov. 14, was to seize and detain 626 more Blacks, 198 of them school children, in a house-to-house sweep in the Atteridgeville-Fauleville Black township near Pretoria. Underneath it all, Vorster's real concern is the Black youth of South Africa.

The boycott of Bantu education is spreading, down to lower primary schools, with 300,000 students now boycotting schools and exams. In Soweto, the entire school population is on strike, including over 500 teachers who have resigned.

Demonstrations were held during Steve Biko's funeral and the inquest into his death, and there are daily demonstrations and encounters with police who have gunned down over 500 black youth since Soweto erupted in June, 1976. Nevertheless, the youth in the revolutionary movement inside South Africa report in interviews that in this "quiescent" period, they are rethinking everything and trying to work out new forms of revolt.

France

Less than a year ago, a complete national victory for the Communist-Socialist alliance in France was a "foregone conclusion", and reports of capital "fleeing the country" were quite prevalent. Today, the alliance has broken down at the national and local level. The Socialist and Communist office holders are resorting to the back-biting tactics of the petty-bourgeois politicians that they are.

At issue on the national level is the failure to agree on a common election program on such issues as nationalization of private companies, state control or workers' control of industries, and a common attitude on nuclear defense policy.

Since, on the local level, many cities and towns

are controlled by combinations of Socialists and Communists, each is maneuvering to discredit the other to gain votes. In Reims, all of the Socialist city councilmen voted against the budget presented by the Communist Mayor. The mayor won when he formed a new alliance with a splinter group of leftist councilmen. In Nantes, the Communists attacked the Socialist Mayor for being "too timid" in his support of the striking shipyard workers.

Despite appearances to the contrary, neither the Socialists nor the Communists were breaking their necks to take power in France any more than they are in Italy, because along with the assumption of power comes responsibility—and the last role these parties want to play is that of fundamentally changing the conditions of the French working class. Their role has been the guardians and administrators of the French capitalist system, and neither dares to institute workers' control of industry.

U.S. political prisoners

Amnesty International, an international organization that fights for prisoners of conscience throughout the world, is investigating the cases of 18 U.S. prisoners. They include the Wilmington 10, Civil Rights activists framed for arson in North Carolina in 1972, and Gary Tyler, a teen-aged Black whose conviction for murder and death sentence triggered a nationwide movement on his behalf. Most of the 18 are Black, but included are two Native American activists, Richard Mohawk and Paul Skyhorse, imprisoned in California.

Amnesty International should not have to investigate too deeply, as the details of each of these cases has been well publicized by the Movement in this country over the last ten years. Amnesty International has "adopted" most of the 18, which means AI believes they have been jailed unjustly, and is mounting an international effort on their behalf. While AI ought to be applauded in this move, these 18 are only a small fraction of the well-known cases, not to mention all the less-celebrated victims of this country's racist justice.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

From the very moment that the news was out that Steve Biko had been murdered in Pretoria's central prison by South Africa's security police, it became impossible to separate the Soweto revolts from the Black Consciousness Movement.

In the December, 1976 issue of *Africa* magazine, in an article headed "Letter From Soweto," it was mentioned that the militancy of the youth in Soweto was forged by the idea of Black Consciousness, which had instilled in them a sense of identity, and that the "original" idea of Black Consciousness had come from the Black People's Convention, an organization founded by Steve Biko and Kenneth Rachidi, both of whom were in detention.

When asked to show evidence of support for the Black People's Convention, the umbrella organization for some 70 cultural and church groups which formed the Black Consciousness Movement, Steve Biko himself, in an interview with Bernard Zylstra (see excerpts in *News & Letters*, November, 1977), answered: "In one word, Soweto!"

In a very concrete way, Biko recognized in the Soweto revolt that consciousness does not lie outside of history, and that revolution and consciousness are inseparable.

Since the formal protest movement in South Africa was forced underground after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, Black Consciousness literally entered into a "life-and-death struggle with the world of apartheid as

Soweto is confirmation of Black Consciousness

a statement of the humanity of the Black man." It had to overcome defeatism and psychological oppression to re-establish the dignity of a tyrannized people and their recognition of the fact that Black people are the "Atlas" of the crazy-quilt world of apartheid, and that without their labor and cooperation, that heinous world would crumble to dust.

In its practicality, Black Consciousness removes the inhibiting forces of South Africa's capitalist government, which seeks to mystify real social relationships by attempting to impose upon the non-white majority a "false" consciousness of tribe, color, language, race, etc., in order to make its police work less arduous.

However, Black Consciousness is not a "philosophy" imposed from the outside, nor is it a resolution of Black subjugation and alienation in the mind alone, but an expression of opposition that emanates from the reality of the South African situation and is inseparable from the self-activity and the self-thinking of the South African Black masses in their efforts to transform apartheid into human realities. Black Consciousness is, thus, a movement for liberation.

Steve Biko's definition of Black Consciousness is Africa's "recognition of the death of white invincibility," which has an epochal quality, that is, it signals the end of an old era and hails the beginning of a new era. This is expressed in terms of race, but it is in keeping with the fact that exploitation and human abuse in Africa has always been couched in racial terms.

For Biko, "the death of white invincibility . . .

forces Black people to ask the question: Who am I? Who are we? . . . and the fundamental answer we give to this is, people are people! . . . So, Black Consciousness says, forget about color." But Biko retreats from this position because the reality of racial relations within the South African situation does not permit such "universality." Blacks must speak and act for themselves as Blacks, and not via the aegis of white liberals.

What is interesting and new about Biko's ideas is that he always centers the possibility for change within the subject of the oppressed, and not simply within the South African economy or in the hierarchy of the system. This distinguishes him sharply from people like Andrew Young, and opinion-manufacturers in this country who would put an end to racial persecution in South Africa by applying a tourniquet to the economy. In any case, this is always applied in a half-hearted manner, like the present wrist-slapping six-month arms embargo by the United Nations (which does not include nuclear materials).

Andrew Young et al love to call attention to the "irrationalities" that exist in South Africa, such as the failure to develop an internal market for South African goods among the 21 million non-whites. They hope that correcting this "irrationality" in the marketplace will correct the "irrationality" in race relations, once South African businessmen realize that their self-interest is in jeopardy. This sheer "vulgar materialism" is the hallmark of both the bourgeoisie and the so-called "left" ideologists.