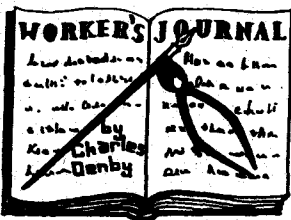


## ON THE INSIDE

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## Workers' ideas: weapon against automation

by Charles Denby, Editor

I have just finished a new, expanded edition of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, that is just coming off the press. It deals with the struggle of the Civil Rights Movement from the '50s until today. Many of those who have read the manuscript have said this book sure is new, and should be a good seller.

I also deal with the struggles within the labor movement, from their inception until today, and especially Blacks in the labor movement. I deal with rank-and-file workers and how they think their own thoughts, which was just the opposite of the labor leaders. I am hoping that every reader will order a copy from *News & Letters'* pre-publication offer of \$4 a copy for a soft-cover edition.

### FORMS OF REVOLT

There is not space or time for me to describe how it is true that many workers think their own thoughts. One must not look at workers as if they need your pity. What is needed is for you to understand their type of revolt, their type of organization, and their philosophy. These are not separated in their minds, and they should not be in yours.

Automation was introduced in the shops in the '50s and had developed to an even higher point by 1970. At one UAW convention, the union proposed a dues increase and practically every worker was against it. All the labor bureaucrats were for it, but the only way a delegate could get workers to support him was to say that he was against the dues increase.

An older worker in our plant said to a man who was running for convention delegate, and was begging for support: "I will vote for you if you promise me that you are going to the convention to vote against a dues increase. Because when we first organized this union, our dues were one dollar, and I had one machine to run. Then it went up to two dollars, and I had to run two machines. Now they are proposing to raise it to five dollars, and man, it is impossible for me to run five machines at the same time."

This union bureaucrat promised him that he would not vote for the increase, but he did. The worker was asking what kind of labor should workers do, why should there be this division between manual and mental work, why can't doing and thinking be united. In other words, he and other workers are talking about what intellectuals call philosophy.

### AGAINST AUTOMATION

During the long miners' strike in 1949-50 against Automation, what was called the continuous miner, a miner said: "There is a time for praying, and we do that on Sundays; there is a time for acting, and we took matters in our own hands during the Depression, building up our own union. What I want to know is, how and when will the working people, all of the working  
(Continued on Page 6)

## Thousands join growing divestiture movement

New York, N.Y. — Over 1,000 students attended a conference on divestment and anti-apartheid work at New York University, Nov. 17-19, in the largest meeting to date of the growing movement to end university investment in corporations doing business with South Africa.

Called by the Northeast Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, young people in divestiture campaigns at colleges, from Wayne State University in Detroit to Harvard University, came together with dozens of exiled freedom fighters from South Africa.

Many said this was their first political activity of any sort, and most came looking for a needed opportunity to exchange ideas and experiences, as well as work out a national perspective for the movement. Unfortunately, that was never allowed to develop.

The scenario at the plenary session could have been a dress rehearsal for how to kill a vibrant and growing movement. The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) on one side wanted to narrow the movement's demands to "Divest Now" while raising no demands supporting the ongoing African revolutions, "in order not to turn off

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# NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

VOL. 23—NO. 10

27 Printed in 100 Percent  
Union Shop

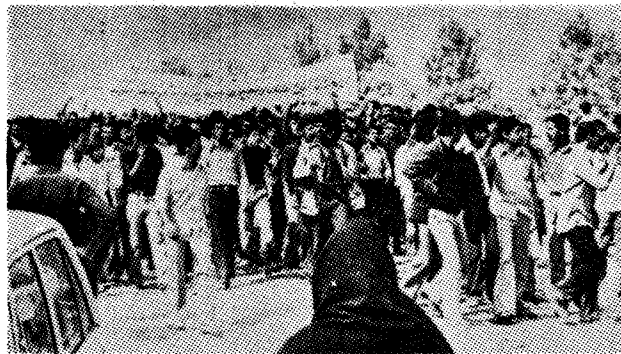
DECEMBER, 1978

## Workers, peasants, women, youth

# Iranian masses fight military rule, demand removal of Shah, U.S. imperialism

by Olga Domanski, National Organizer,  
News and Letters Committees

The growing revolt of the Iranian people — which had increased in intensity for a full year to become a true civil war against the tyranny of both the Shah and American imperialism — was finally met on Nov. 6 with the clamping of complete military rule on 38 million Iranians, who had already been under martial law since Sept. 8, the "Bloody Friday" when over a thousand peaceful demonstrators were slaughtered in



—Eva Cockcroft/LNS photo

Thousands of anti-Shah demonstrators leave Behesht Zahra cemetery protesting the massacre of up to 9,000 unarmed people.

the streets of Tehran.

Just as President Carter had interrupted his Camp David summit on Sept. 10 to telephone his support to the Shah for that bloodbath, so he at once voiced his strong support for the decision to impose a military government, and agreed to rush tear gas, police clubs and other "crowd-control" equipment the Shah neglected to include in the more than \$20 billion in weapons he has ordered from the U.S. since 1972.

Incredibly, Carter is draping his support for the neo-fascist Shah — whose jails hold 100,000 political prisoners and whose secret police, SAVAK, is infamous throughout the world for the most horrifying tortures of those prisoners—in the name of "democracy," as if the civil war that is raging in Iran is all directed by "Moslem fanatics" against the Shah's attempts at "modernization."

The truth is that the opposition to the Shah embraces the entire Iranian people — workers, peasants, women and students — who are the motive force and the reason of this liberation struggle, at the same time that there is a complex coalition of such diverse groups as radical students and conservative merchants, bourgeois politicians and reactionary clergy (mullahs) — all demanding, "Down with the Shah!"

### THE DIALECTIC OF REVOLT

When millions of Iranians poured out, in all the major cities, on Sept. 4, for the first legal demonstration allowed in 25 years, it became the largest Iran had ever seen. The throngs were showered with flowers and given bread and milk by those who watched the swelling march. They appealed to the soldiers standing by not to fire and placed flowers in the gun barrels. Not a shot was fired.

On Sept. 7, an even greater march and demonstration took place. But on Friday, Sept. 8, when thousands of youth began to gather for still another protest, they first learned that martial law had been declared when the troops fired into Jaleh Square, killing many of the students. Enraged, more and more people poured into the streets as troops continued to fire on them. And on Sept. 14, despite the Shah's martial law, no less than 80,000 marched in the funeral of those killed on "Bloody Friday."

Indeed, it was after martial law was declared that the revolt both widened and deepened.

It was the power of the workers that created the real crisis for the Shah. In a country where strikes are illegal and there are no organized unions, there was an upsurge in strikes even before the Sept. 4 demonstration. They became massive after the crackdown. Workers in the sugar mills, paper mills, construction firms, water department, bus line, Central Bank, and Medical School of the National University all walked out demanding better pay, better working conditions, longer vacations, health insurance, housing assistance, pensions, retirement benefits, and profit-sharing.  
(Continued on Page 8)

Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted

Special Section Next Issue

By Raya Dunayevskaya

## RELATIONSHIP OF PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION TO WOMEN'S LIBERATION

## Karen Silkwood's legacy is today's struggles

Detroit, Mich.—A Forum on "The Legacy of Karen Silkwood" was sponsored at Wayne State University here on Nov. 13, as part of nationwide activities marking the anniversary of Silkwood's death in 1974. Each speaker on the forum panel—from the Michigan Coalition to End Government Spying, a former NOW officer, United Steelworkers, and Women's Liberation-News & Letters—focused on how Karen Silkwood's struggle is being continued today.

Although women's groups were publicizing the truth of Karen Silkwood's life and work from the moment it was known after her death, it is only since the involvement of today's anti-nuclear movement, and the questions it has raised and publicized, that a renewed and deeper interest in Karen Silkwood has emerged.

Suzanne Casey, the panelist from Women's Liberation-N&L, spoke on the relationship of Karen Silkwood's life, as a young woman worker and union ac-

tivist, to Women's Liberation today.

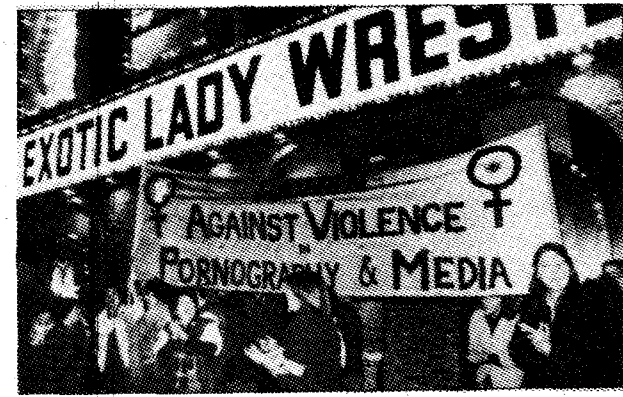
Karen Silkwood went to work at Kerr-McGee's plutonium plant in Cimarron, Okla., and within a few months she was out on strike with other workers there over wages, safety, and better training. In 1974, she was elected a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers local steering committee, and other workers came to respect her persistence in fighting Kerr-McGee's flagrant violations of safety in the plant.

Despite these and other horrors of plant conditions and persecution by Kerr-McGee agents, Silkwood persisted in making the truth of conditions at the plant public. She was driving with a folder of evidence to meet with a New York Times reporter on Nov. 13, 1974, when her car was forced off the road and she was killed in the crash.

At the forum talk, the other panelists also discussed how Silkwood's struggle continues today as part of the daily struggle of all workers for human conditions in the workplace. And it is also a struggle against government collusion with capitalist corporations to suppress the truth of those struggles, a point brought out by the panelist from MCEGS who spoke on the legal battles that have been initiated since Silkwood's death.

The remembrance of Karen Silkwood in 1978 is a rededication to continue her work until the truth of her case is known and has been paid for. And the legacy of Silkwood is the total struggle against this capitalist system today, which holds profits so dearly and human life so cheaply.

—Member, Women's Liberation-N&L



Over 2,500 women took over the streets in San Francisco's North Beach area for several hours Saturday night, Nov. 18. They covered the walls of porno shops and sex shows with stickers that read "this exploits women." Women Against Violence and Pornography in the Media organized the march as an integral part of a weekend conference on Feminist Perspectives on Pornography. Writer Andrea Dworkin said, "Tonight we will take back the night as our sisters have in cities all over the world. In every single sense we cannot walk alone. By walking together we have safety, dignity and freedom."



## WRITE ON!

*Loom & Spindle or Life Among the Early Mill Girls*, by Harriet H. Robinson (Hawaii: Press Pacifica, 1976).

Mrs. Robinson looks back on 12 years of labor in the Lowell, Mass. cotton mills, from age 10 in 1836, dwelling chiefly on the women workers' intellectual flowering in the Lowell Offering, a literary magazine they wrote and edited themselves. But she barely mentions the massive self-organizing and revolt against worsening working conditions, culminating in the strikes of 1845 by the Lowell Female Labor Reform League Association, and their newspaper, The Voice of Industry.

*Spare Rib*, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London, EC1, England.

Published by British feminists, this is one of the best women's magazines for news of activities of working women and feminists in England, Ireland, and Europe, and has some U.S. news which does not separate the struggle against sexism from that against racism. The September issue featured women working in cashew processing plants in the slums of Brazil who are seriously burned by caustic juices from the nuts and who are also being automated out of even these horrible jobs. A fairly new feature is a monthly "Forum" for "discussion of issues raised within the Women's Liberation Movement."

*Women and Equality: Changing Patterns in American Culture*, by William H. Chafe (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

This book attempts to analyze the historical development of the Women's Liberation Movement in comparison and contrast with the developing Black movement. Unfortunately, it narrows the historical women's movement to suffragist leaders "too far in advance of their audience". Any interesting facts are bogged down in sociological academic jargon and a sterile "under the microscope" approach to what were, and are today, life-and-death struggles for freedom (not just equality) by real flesh-and-blood people.

## Letter from Genora Dollinger

Following are excerpts from a letter from Genora Dollinger, a leader of the Women's Emergency Brigade, criticizing statements made by Emil Mazey, UAW secretary-treasurer, that women's role in the 1937 Flint strike was overrated in the film "With Babies and Banners".

If it is true that you made statements to this effect I am at a loss to understand it . . . Many historical documents have been uncovered by young women working to ascertain the contributions of the women in the building of the UAW . . . We women of 1937 . . . owe a debt of gratitude to these young researchers for rescuing this beautiful and important story from oblivion at the hands of careless male historians. . . .

At the Anniversary meeting, over half the audience . . . was wearing red paper armbands in honor of the Women's Emergency Brigade of 1937! My only regret—and that of several of the original Flint sitdowners—is that I didn't publicly . . . explain why the demonstration of protest was organized . . . to obtain the recognition we deserved.

One of the reasons I refrained from trying to explain was because I was ashamed to let the press pick up the sad story of forty-one (41) male participants (including chorus and orchestra) appearing on a UAW Anniversary program . . . while excluding completely any spokesperson from the ranks of women, past or present! . . . but the younger women of today do not intend to see them so slighted, nor relegated to a mere footnote in history.

## Waitresses demand dignity

Detroit, Mich. — Waitresses at Detroit Metro Airport filed a federal sex discrimination complaint against the Host restaurant concession early in November because they were forced to wear short, uncomfortable, revealing costumes that expose them to obscene comments and physical harassment. The waitresses were promised new uniforms over a year ago, but have yet to receive them.

A waitress, in describing the sexist hiring and work conditions at Host, said there are no costumes larger than a size 12. The women can't get a larger costume than the one they are given when first hired. They are on their feet constantly but are expected to wear two-inch heels. Several women have slipped and fallen on wet floors because of the shoes, and one waitress eventually had to have foot surgery.

But the worst thing, the women say, is the kind of sexist abuse, verbal and physical, that the costumes expose them to. Some women have even been followed home by restaurant patrons when the shift ended at 2 a.m. One waitress said she wanted it known that they are not opposed to serving the public, but that they demand to be able to work in dignity and safety.

The waitresses have been supported in their action by women and men co-workers, their union (Hotel and Restaurant Employees), women's groups, and local women in the media. The waitresses are confident they will get the new uniforms very soon — but if not, they and their supporters are determined to step up the protest.

## WOMAN AS REASON

(Below are excerpts from a talk given by Tommie Hope, Black feminist activist and writer, at the Detroit Wayne State University film showing of "With Babies and Banners", sponsored by the WSU News & Letters Youth Committee.—Ed.)

"With Babies and Banners"—the story of how the Women's Emergency Brigade made the success of the 1937 Flint sit-down strike possible—is one of the finest films I know. But at every showing I went to, the film became reduced to discussion of what happened in 1936-37, without relating that history to what we are facing today. This is the opposite of the truth shown in the film itself.

It begins with the women from the Brigade getting ready to go to the 40th anniversary celebration sponsored by the UAW in Flint. And it ends with them having to demonstrate against UAW President Leonard Woodcock for the right to have a speaker from the Brigade. I was one of the people from Women's Liberation-News & Letters, and Flint NOW and CLUW, who demanded that Genora Dollinger be allowed to speak. The UAW leaders were mad at the demonstration. They found out that women were just as independent in 1977 as they were in 1937. . . .

A woman worker at Ford Rouge told me how she had been hurt and then put back on the same job with no evaluation of the dangerous work involved. She told her story at a union meeting, and several women supported her. The union president answered that women should not complain because they are paid the same as men. The point isn't who gets paid as much—it's the fact that people are getting hurt on the job, and the union is supposed to be fighting for you, not degrading you. . . .

When are the unions and the Women's Liberation

## Working women, then and now

organizations going to take the conditions of working women seriously? I work in a small non-union shop. There were no women in production at all before I was hired along with five other women. They put us on a different time schedule than the men. We don't get the same pay or benefits—not even the holiday pay. This is the reality for millions of women workers in shops the unions are not interested in representing. . . .

Not everybody has the same idea of what women's freedom means, especially those who try to tell us how Russia or Cuba have all the answers. A film was shown here at WSU about women in Cuba. Before the Revolution, they were wives and mothers. Now they left home and went into the garment factories or the cane fields. Women were working from 2 a.m. to 7 p.m. the next day, stopping only one hour for lunch and rest, to prove they could cut as much cane as a man.

The film showed the "national heroine" who was honored because she cut the most cane. But you know from experience that in any shop there are only a few workers who will work until they drop, and don't care what effect this has on other workers. Nowhere in the film did you see women thinking for themselves about whether the production was developing their lives and minds. . . .

What I have found, through working and thinking in Women's Liberation, is that you can't separate our movement from the total struggle of all the forces of revolution—workers, the Black struggle, the youth. It is Women's Liberation itself, if you really follow it through to its own basis in regaining our minds and bodies, that demands this total view.

—Tommie Hope



## women-worldwide

In Hawaii, the marine who had raped a woman jigger after running into her with his car was convicted of five of the seven charges against him after protests by women's groups forced the grand jury to reverse the judge who had denied that it was rape because the woman "had not resisted." The judge has since been reassigned to small claims court.

Sally Motlana, the president of South Africa's 29,000-member Black National Housewives League was among five women detained by security police in Johannesburg on Oct. 24, for trying to involve white women in the struggle of Blacks in South Africa.

In Atlanta, Ga., a group of 150 Black women, called Sojourner South, protested Senator Sam Nunn's having lobbied for last month's visit to the U.S. by Ian Smith, saying that it had "given a new lease on tyranny in Rhodesia."

An English rock group called "The Battered Wives" changed their name to stop the constant protests at concerts by feminists who also want them to change their logo—a man's clenched fist with the lipstick imprint of a woman's mouth. The organization Women Against Violence Against Women has begun an international boycott of all Warner Communications record labels to protest just this type of exploitation of women.

Julie Evening Lilly, a Native American woman who was forced to take her daughter from Virginia back to California when a racist judge ruled that her ex-husband, who is white, had a right to custody over a "non-Christian" Indian mother, is now threatened with losing legal custody. She faces extradition on "kidnapping" charges.

# Workers in U.S., China face common enemy

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

The daily press reported on an article in People's Daily in China by one of their reporters who had recently visited the U.S. and had looked at American factories. The reporter had written, "There was not one idle person, or any other idle chatting. Americans recognize that work is work and play is play."

He compared this to what he called the slow-paced Chinese workshops where workers have been spotted asleep. He continued with how the diligent labor of American workers was what allowed American productivity to rise to its high level.

All of this was written for the benefit of Chinese workers, who were in this way being pitted against the American workers. It reminded me of speeches I have heard politicians and labor bureaucrats make about how we Americans don't work like European workers, or that we would soon lose out to cheaper labor in Hong Kong.

## Trim dept. vs. Uniroyal speedup

Detroit, Mich.—On Nov. 3 we were sent home because of a shut-down in Dept. 221, the trimming department on the third floor. We were told that it was a disciplinary lay-off, and the company was saying that the people there didn't want to work. Almost everyone got at least three days off and others were threatened with seven days off which is "second warning."

Actually what's happened up there is that they have developed a new kind of mold which has a different kind of vent hole, and the tires aren't quite as hard to trim. So finally just when the work is almost at a tolerable level, the company has tried to cut down on the number of employees and speed up the rest.

Over 100 people have been discharged since summer, but all the union leadership did at the last meeting was to vote themselves a raise in union expense accounts.

Then it was brought up that three delegates to the Toronto convention had been paid by both the union and the company for that time period (called "double-dipping"). Pete Swider got up and said that he was one of them and that he had already started to straighten it out. The others were Louis Poole, the Vice-President, who didn't want to own up at first, and Robbins.

What shocked me, though, was to hear that Louis Poole got up and called the younger workers "young punks" who "don't want to work." That's exactly what the company says!

—Uniroyal worker

One worker in the plant where I work had said after reading this article, "There must be something wrong with how we work if governments in other countries want their workers to work like we do."

The problem is certainly with how we must work. Our labor is such that we end up exhausted by it, and what we produce, which is certainly a great deal, ends up in someone else's pocket. We end up with our wages buying little more than necessities.

The chairman of GM, Thomas Murphy, who had just returned from a visit to China and Japan, held a press conference at a GM assembly plant in Los Angeles about Carter's new anti-inflation program. Most of his talk was about how labor costs were too high and how the productivity of American workers was only increasing at a low rate.

In China, when they print articles about American workers, it is about our high productivity. In America, when the head of GM talks about American workers, it is about our low productivity. What is the truth?

Productivity is just another way of talking about workers working harder and harder. Both the head of GM and leaders in China are interested in having "their" workers do that. That is the real unity of bosses the world over.

But our real unity as American workers is with the workers in China, who just like ourselves, do all the labor but receive less and less of what they produce.

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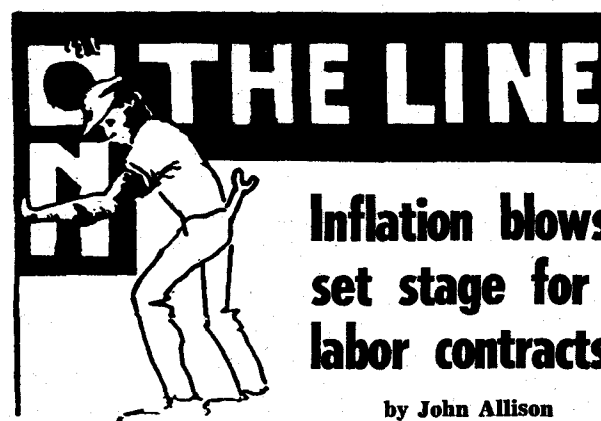
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Flint, Mich. 48502

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



## Inflation blows set stage for labor contracts

by John Allison

Labor's cry of "Wolf" is no longer a fairy tale. Older workers remember Eisenhower's recession following World War II when they lost cars, homes and other possessions, and younger workers remember the Nixon-Ford recession of '74-'75 when the same thing happened.

Workers are now being told by Carter and the Democrats that the watch word is recession and depression in '79. It seems beyond a shadow of a doubt that the government is hell bent on helping management crush labor in the coming year when millions of workers will be involved in contract negotiations.

The picture is becoming clear in auto. Chrysler will slow down production at Dodge before Christmas, and layoffs will start in the car producing plants after the new year. GM and Ford will help create as much confusion as possible.

Meanwhile, many credit unions squeezed by the interest rate climb have cut off loans to workers for three months. Banks and credit unions have already started to repossess cars of low seniority workers who fail to make payments. It is clear that workers will get no helping hand from these financial institutions for the holiday season, and after the new year they'll be paying 15 percent interest on borrowed money. Who can afford that kind of interest?

Keep one thing in mind: '79 is new contract time—and workers have had their fill of inflation eating up their paychecks. The union leaders will have a hard time selling the workers a bill of goods on the new contracts—especially when they see Carter and his ad men working to guarantee management's high profits at the expense of the working class.

Retirees are being hit especially hard by the inflation because of their fixed retirement income. This is the year negotiations for retirees are open, and both young and old workers will be watching this area to see what happens, because nothing has been said about retiree benefits at all by the union or company.

Unless the working class rises up to be heard, '79 will be a sad year for workers and their families.

## UAW will swallow Dist. 65

New York, N.Y. — District 65, Distributive Workers of America, is negotiating an affiliation with the UAW. According to president David Livingston, the initiative comes from UAW President Douglas Fraser, as the concretization of Fraser's statement several months ago on "reforging the links with the movements of the '60s."

Livingston continued that Fraser's analysis is that the right wing is getting very strong and organized in this country, and his answer is to seek to diversify the UAW from covering only auto and aerospace workers, and to include service fields, trucking, etc.

Couldn't it be that rather than fighting membership losses to Automation and Unimation, and being unwilling to organize the South, the UAW is looking to eat up smaller unions like District 65 to get a foot in the only sector of industry that is still increasing employment — the service fields?

There is nothing in this affiliation for 65 members, and our union will have to pay some \$13 a head on 40,000 members every month to the International. What it does do is coincide with the growing bureaucratization of our union and stressing quantity over quality.

—Steward, District 65

## Jobs few and wages low

New York, N.Y.—You come to the unemployment office on 54th Street feeling depressed because it's the last place you want to be. Then the real misery starts. You stand in lines and wait. You want to leave already, but you've paid the carfare so you wait and hope. Finally someone calls you. No, nothing today. Come back next week.

You come back in two days because when you're unemployed there is no next week, there's only today. They may tell you, "I have something for \$2.65 per hour. Are you interested?" You think, "That's using up all my time and energy and still I won't be able to pay my bills. But if I refuse it, they'll remember next time and not offer anything."

You say that you can't pay your bills with that money. They say, "It's up to you." I think this is what they mean by a free country. You take it knowing you're in for some exploitation.

—Unemployed

## FROM THE AUTO STOPS

### GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — A few weeks ago on the Motor Line, several day shift workers were forced to go to the dispensary because a new fluid was brought in by management for wiping up the floors. It had previously been used for outside work, but when brought in for use inside the plant, the fumes filled the air, burning the lungs of workers throughout the department.

Even the company nurse who always takes GM interests to heart when a worker is injured or ill, was heard to say over the phone to Motor Line supervision that the fumes coming from the exposed workers were even burning her lungs!

Turner, the safety man, was very secretive about the incident and finally refused to give out any details. One worker was almost bodily thrown out of the office for asking. The attitude of Turner was, "With me in charge what are you worried about?"

HEW Secretary Califano admitted that millions of workers were dying from asbestos poisoning through exposure 20 and 30 years ago, particularly in the shipyards during World War II. Are workers here going to find out on the eve of their retirement that they're dying from the fumes and dust breathed now?

—South Gate worker

### Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — While Local 140 President Charles Williams came out on top in the repeat run-off election for local president Nov. 14, many workers still are getting harassed daily. For instance, one Dept. 9170 worker was on his way to medical, when his foreman called here claiming the worker wasn't really sick and asked to have him sent back to work, which he was.

Another Dept. 9170 worker, on orders from General Foreman Al Johnson, was given 30 days off — for coming into work late one day. He had been in a car accident, but his chief steward, Solenburger, only bargained it down to ten days off without pay. Months before, the worker was given ten days off for lateness, although he had an excuse then, too. Then, he grieved the discipline but only won five days of back pay — and his record was never cleared. Despite the fact that Johnson openly threatened to have him fired for merely going to medical one day, the union can't seem to end this harassment.

Seeing incidents like these, along with the widespread speed-up since changeover, make you ask what's in store for our contract talks which were stressed in the election campaigns.

—Dodge Truck worker

### Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich. — Many of the women who came out for the Local 600 Women's Committee meeting were just plain disgusted with the way the leadership actually refused to discuss the problems that the women are having in the plants. President Ernest Lofton and the women officers had stated that this committee's purpose was to make the union stronger, and had suggested projects like fund-raising for retarded children.

Women immediately began asking questions like, "What can we do when we are put on jobs that are too heavy for us?" and "We know that some women are put on rough jobs just so they can be fired, or made to quit." Every time a question like this was raised, Lofton kept saying that they should be taken to the Units. He said there used to be set limits on what women were allowed to do, but that women don't want that anymore.

I'd be all for working for retarded children, but for the union to be making suggestions like this right when women are demanding safe and fair working conditions looks like a ploy to keep the women quiet.

—Rouge worker

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — The UAW International has set the date of a strike deadline for agreeing on a Supplemental Agreement for Local 15. Nov. 27 is the date they announced. It is not the first strike deadline we have had under the current contract with GM that was signed in 1976, but the last time the International canceled it.

Whether we do walk out or not, workers have been talking about how it is two-and-a-half years too late. Fleetwood management has had all that time, and all that production, without being forced to settle every job.

The International delayed after our most recent vote to authorize a strike last month while it came in and investigated the jobs. Now we are once again near the holiday season, but nobody expects to be out that long.

—Second shift worker



# EDITORIAL Workers hit hardest by economic crisis

The last part of October, 1978, brought a horrifying remembrance to Wall Street of October, 1929, when the stock market crashed to launch the Great Depression. Within a two and a half week period, from Oct. 15 to Oct. 31, the Dow Jones average plummeted 105 points—a drop never before recorded in such a short time on Wall Street . . . not even during the Depression.

President Carter's reaction to the nation's deepening economic crisis was his "inflation fighting" address on Oct. 24, when he asked for voluntary compliance for his guidelines calling for a wage increase limit of seven percent and a price rise limit of one-half percent below business' "average" price increase during 1976-77.

## RECORDS—UP AND DOWN

This announcement did nothing to halt the downward plunge of both the stock market and the decline of the value of the U.S. dollar abroad. When, on Nov. 1, the Federal Reserve Board ordered an increase of a full percent on the interest on the money supply, the stock market skyrocketed a record 35.54 points in one day. Never before have there been such wild fluctuations in the stock market except during periods of profound economic trouble.

It is clear that the U.S. economy is in a deep and serious crisis. Inflation is now at an acknowledged 10 percent annual rate in the overall consumer price index, but is galloping at a 15 percent rate in the most important areas that affect workers and their families: housing, food, energy, transportation and medical care.

What this means in simple terms is that workers would have to get at least a 15 percent increase in their wages to just keep even with their basic costs of living—and President Carter is ordering a seven percent limit. There is nothing vague about this seven percent limit on wages. But the "limit" on price increases is so full of loopholes and confusion that the economic experts of a national TV network worked a full day trying to figure out how the price guideline applied to business—and could not come up with an answer.

As every worker knows, management is very eager

to cooperate in limiting wage increases. It is easy to do, as President Nixon's so-called wage-price freeze demonstrated in 1970. Wages were frozen because management controlled and very happily kept wages at the same level. But where it came to prices, business had a field day because there was no effective mechanism to keep prices in check.

The same situation exists today—with management ready and eager to "enforce" the wage guideline, and also ready and eager to increase prices that the Administration cannot possibly restrain—and certainly not with the 100 additional staff people hired to monitor price increases. It would take a bureaucracy of thousands to keep track of price increases to assure they remained within the President's "guidelines." This is certainly known by a management that already has the experience of the Nixon "price freeze" under its belt and has learned how to get around even a mandatory freeze, let alone a voluntary one.

Not only is the working class faced with the "voluntary" wage freeze, it is also confronting the orchestrated demand of government and business for increased productivity. Every worker knows that increased productivity means a work speed-up, a speed-up on top of work conditions that are already inhuman and beyond the endurance of production workers.

In the meantime, Alfred Kahn, the man chosen by President Carter to head his anti-inflation program, stated that unless Carter's voluntary wage and price program works, the only alternatives are a "mandatory wage-price freeze—or a depression." And immediately after Carter announced his voluntary plan, virtually every economist—as well as business and labor leaders—stated the voluntary program would not work.

The move increasing the interest rate on the money supply already guarantees a decline in construction—as well as in other credit buying. This virtually guarantees at least a recession, if not worse, in the year ahead, as well as an increase in unemployment, which already officially lists over six million out of work, to over seven

million unemployed. These are Administration figures, which are far below what the actual rate of unemployment is and will be in the coming recession.

## WORKERS SHOW WAY TO ANSWERS

Whereas the Administration and business are determined to make the workers and their families pay for the economic crisis, the workers are displaying a fighting mood never before experienced.

Virtually every major contract brought to the workers during 1978 for ratification, beginning with the miners at the first of the year, has been rejected. These rejections not only show the great divide between the workers and their so-called union leaders, they also reveal the growing realization on the part of the workers that they are the only ones who can provide the answers to the problems they face. This will be confirmed with contract negotiations coming up in 1979—which include the Teamsters, auto workers, communication workers, textile workers and many others who will be heard from as never before.

## News & Letters

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## STRIKES, SAFETY AND PROFITS

I find it remarkable that you could come up with the lead article last month on new U.S. strikes and Carter's wage policy before Carter made his "anti-inflation" speech. This is why N&L is so valuable. I am afraid that we are really in for worse times ahead on the job, because when Carter talked about cutting government regulation, he was really talking about OSHA rules which, as weak as they are, do give us a little bit more safety.

Construction worker  
Detroit

In its first issue after the New York newspaper strike ended, the New York Times reported what management had been saying about the strikers: that they were "louts" and "drunkards" and that they had the kind of mentality "that would let it all go down the drain," meaning, of course, the owner's profits. The pressman work in deafening rooms of two-story presses and are exposed to dangerous mists of ink and paper dust. In an editorial in the same issue the Times summed up its own mentality well: "The deeper answer about our duty must turn, unashamedly, on profit."

Reader  
New York

I work in an electronics factory which shares the building with three other companies. The company next door to us uses a solution smelling like acrylic paint. On one day a week not only do we smell the fumes but it's actually like a fog in my work area. I have complained to my bosses and they just say, "Yes, that's horrible" but that's as far as it goes. Not only that, but the whole second floor is made up of unfinished plywood and wooden beams and yet not a single fire extinguisher is in the building. Maybe the reason the bosses are unconcerned about this is because they are on the first floor near the exits.

Electronic Technician  
Chicago

I thought your readers would be interested in some more details about the farmworkers strike in Ohio that was mentioned in the Nov. N&L. A friend of

mine down there says it was at least 50 percent effective, in spite of a lot of grower violence. A cross was burned at the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) headquarters and the strikers were sprayed with pesticides. In a lot of cases, striking families had electricity and water to their cabins cut off by the employers. The racism against all Hispanics was so bad that even Latino government outreach workers were office-bound because of fear they would be in danger. The struggle against Libby and Campbell's, who really control the growers, is continuing.

Activist  
Chicago

## THE ELECTIONS AND AFTER

Everyone is happy that Proposition 6, the Briggs initiative against homosexual schoolworkers, lost. But the other Briggs initiative, Proposition 7 for a broader death penalty law, passed by 75%. The death penalty is racism in disguise, since mostly minorities get sent to the gas chamber. It's like Proposition 13 last June, people say they're against taxes or against crime, but what they really mean is they want to cut services to poor and minorities, and now they want to cut their throats.

Lab Worker  
Berkeley, Calif.

## ON IRAN

I have just received the Nov. N&L, and I am very pleased with the material on Iran. It is a scandal that Foreign Secretary Owen declared support for the Shah. The papers here report today that the oil workers are endangering exports from Iran. This is the best news yet.

Reader  
Britain

The N&L editorial on Iran last issue was much to the point. The courage of the demonstrators (including those in the U.S., as in LA and D.C.) is thrilling. It is proof again that human ingenuity, courage and solidarity can overcome the most incredible military hardware backed by the most technocratic states.

Supporter  
Connecticut

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION

H.E.W. Secretary Califano's recent statements in favor of Medicare and Medicaid financing of psychosurgery illustrate well the repressive, sick "morality" of this man. Eager to take money away from poor women who want an abortion, he is only too happy to use taxpayers' dollars for a "final solution" for the living—unalterable brain surgery to control unwanted behavior.

Revolutionary Feminist  
Detroit

I went to hear Marcia Freedman, an Israeli feminist, speak at Northwestern University. She was supposed to speak on Israeli WL, but instead tried to develop an idea. Her idea was that Judaism and feminism are opposites. She talked about the "overthrow of patriarchy" and how the following patriarchy—like the Jewish religion—was and are oppressive to women. She concluded that before Palestine was either Jewish or Arab it was ruled by women and therefore women have a first claim to it.

To me, the real opposition is not between Judaism and feminism, but within each category. Revolutionary Judaism, is the mass movement for "peace now" in Israel and opposition to anti-semitism everywhere. Revolutionary feminism is not patriarchy but new human relations.

Polish Jew  
Chicago

## THE EFFECTS OF BAKKE

This year the City University of New York (CUNY) has finally achieved one of its aims — to put into effect a program which would drastically eliminate minority and poor white students. By slashing financial aid in half this year, many students are forced to quit college or place themselves at the mercy of the banks (in which it is virtually impossible for a student to get a loan).

I think that we have just begun to

# Read

feel the effects of the Bakke decision on higher education. Our class rooms are more crowded than last year, as the city has continuously laid off more teachers each year. I don't suspect we'll be taking it sitting back.

In the long run neither the city nor the U.S. government has saved itself anything, because all of us will be joining the already enormous ranks of unemployed youth. And we end up opposing this racist, sexist, exploitative system which cannot provide enough jobs, because it is becoming increasingly dominated by more machines, computers and now even robots.

Angered CUNY Student  
New York

## GRAY PANTHERS

I have heard it said that the Black Revolt is what started the women thinking towards a realistic vision of their plight. I am undertaking now the responsibility of starting a bunch of Gray Panthers among the women of Ann Arbor, but I am going to try for male and female, young and old, for real radicalism. Any help from your deep minds appreciated.

Not-so-old woman  
Ann Arbor, Mich.

## DEATH OF DIALLO TELLI

The Paris-based magazine Jeune Afrique has just reported in detail the horrifying news of the way in which African nationalist leader Diallo Telli died in Guinea in early 1977, after being tortured and starved at the orders of that country's leader, Sekou Toure. Diallo Telli had been an important figure in the African independence movement and had served as Guinea's Ambassador to the UN during the early independence years when Guinea inspired the whole world by refusing to join De Gaulle's "French Union." Then, for eight years Telli served as President of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

Guinea had changed into a brutal per-

# TWO WORLDS Iran's revolutionary past—and present

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

(The following letter was sent to me by Raya Dunayevskaya, who is away from the office, working on her new book-in-progress, *Rosa Luxemburg, Today's Women's Liberation Movement, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. It so totally complements the *Lead* we had assigned for this issue, on the civil war raging in Iran, that I print it in full, below.—Charles Denby, Editor)

November 13, 1978

Dear CD:

I'm sure there will be coverage of the civil war in Iran in the next issue of *N&L*, but I thought I'd like to discuss with you some of the past revolutionary developments there so that today's context can be seen in its totality, that is to say, not only as anti-Shah and anti-imperialism but fully revolutionary. For that, we need to return to November, 1917, because it was the ramifications of the Russian Revolution which spread throughout the world and included Iran.

The first thing the early workers' state did was to abrogate the Tsarist imperial treaties, which for Iran meant the end of the old Anglo-Russian division where Iran in the north was Russia's "sphere of influence," and in the southern oil fields it was England's. It is now Iran that stands for oil, but as far back as the turn of the century no less than 200,000 Iranians, many from the province of Gilan, were working in Russia's Caucasian oil fields. The 1905 Russo-Japanese war shook up the whole East and Middle-East, since it was the first time an Asian power won over the Tsar. And just as, within Russia, it produced a revolution, so it led to the establishment of the first Marxist group also in Iran. In any case, by 1917, the revolutionary impact on the Iranian masses, again in the province of Gilan, led to a revolutionary upsurge which, by 1920, actually established a Socialist Republic in Gilan.

Since it was a coalition of Marxists and nationalists which established the Republic, they no sooner de-

clared for land reform and the liberation of women from the veil than there was a breakup of that coalition. By the time the Republic also tried to liberate Iran, it was bloodily put down. And who do you suppose did that in 1921? It was the father of the present Shah, an army officer named Riza Khan, who soon thereafter crowned himself the Shah.

**BRITISH IMPERIALISM PERMITTED** his rule to continue up to World War II. By then, with U.S. imperialism's connivance, he was forced into exile because "the West" was suspicious of his dealings with the Nazis and wanted to keep the shipping lanes open for military aid to their new ally, Russia. That doesn't mean that they put down the so-called Pahlavi "dynasty". No, they enthroned Riza Khan's son, then only 21. Once again, there was the Anglo-Russian occupation of Iran and the young Shah learned he was but a vassal of U.S. imperialism. Stalin's Russia, however, was not the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky, and had its own illusions about remaining in Iran, demanding, in fact, some oil concessions. At the end of WW II, U.S. imperialism quickly put an end to that illusion and Stalin also learned that U.S. imperialism was the global power.

We know that U.S. imperialism was likewise not without illusions. It dreamed that its military might was sufficient to keep a new revolutionary upsurge from reappearing. The exact opposite was the case. This time, the National Front, strengthened by proletarian and peasant revolts, succeeded, by 1951, in putting Mossadegh in power. With it came the nationalization of the oil industry. By the time these events had developed sufficiently to put fear in the heart of the Shah and make him flee, U.S. imperialism had produced a global Cold War, which brought Eisenhower to the White House, Dulles to the State Department and McCarthyism to the U.S. Within a week of the Shah's fleeing, the CIA engineered a military coup and brought the Shah back to power. The repression started at once; it was not long thereafter that the SAVAK outdid the CIA in brutality.

**WE KNOW THAT THE 1960s** were a revolutionary

decade throughout the world. But the bourgeois press in this country so played up the Shah's so-called "White Revolution"—a mild land reform—that what did not stand out glaringly was that this came after the Shah massacred a genuinely popular uprising in Tehran itself in 1963. Along with these developments came the billions from oil, the corruption in the palace and in the military, the gobbling up of those billions in arms, and the Shah's new Grand Illusion that he was truly

(Continued on Page 7)

## WHO WE ARE

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

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

## Views

sonal dictatorship by the time Telli returned in the early 1970's after having been replaced as the leader of the OAU. Telli was harassed and finally arrested suddenly on a charge of conspiracy. The entire national group to which Telli belonged, the Peuls, who comprise about 40% of the population, were dubbed "traitors". The horrible death of Diallo Telli at the hands of the once revolutionary Sekou Toure and the public silence of all African heads of state during the period since the former OAU leader disappeared is shocking. *Jeune Afrique* wrote bitterly that it was a "tragedy for all of Africa" that no one spoke out to try to save Telli's life.

Jack MacBride  
New York

### LATINO STRUGGLES

The historic violations of the rights of the Nicaraguan people has always been accompanied by brutal repression with which the government seeks to subjugate its people. A new trick of the dictator is to hide his participation in paramilitary gangs. These forces, directed by military officers and pro-Somoza politicians, are able to do what the National Guard, on the surface, cannot do. The escalation of terror that is imposed by these dark forces has already claimed innumerable lives.

Each crime and violation of the people's rights raises social agitation to new levels. The public's fear has been transformed into the decision to fight for the right to freedom and justice.

Association for Human Rights  
in Nicaragua of N.Y. and N.J. &  
Comite de Centro Americanos Unidos

In the latest and worst attack on the Chicanos Unidos organization, El Paso judge Sam Callan last month sentenced activist Ramon Arroyo to two to three years in prison for "probation violations". Not satisfied with viciously beating Ramon the night of the arrest, the cops told contradictory lies for hours on the witness stand. The stories were so

ridiculous that even the judge had to say that "if this were a jury trial you (Ramon) would walk away. But I cannot put myself in the position of telling the community the police are liars."

The feeling in the Chicano community is that Ramon is being prosecuted for his beliefs and activities in the struggle for Chicano rights and self-determination. We need help to fight the sentence and the El Paso establishment. For more information on how to assist us, please write:

La Causa Legal Defense  
P.O. Box 17111  
El Paso, Texas 79917

### EUROPE—EAST AND WEST

People in Czechoslovakia are trying to understand the phenomenon called Eurocommunism, but even simply factual information is hard to get. It is unbelievable to what degree one can be cut off from the outside world. Some information does trickle through, mostly by radio, but it cannot compensate for the written text. Ever since the views of the French or Italian Communists began to differ from those of the Czech CP, their press, which was, up to 1970, an important source of information, has been more and more severely censored. Some people have resorted to going to the libraries of foreign embassies where newspapers and journals may be displayed. That is the same reason some have learned Polish, since the Poles (by comparison to the Czechs) are liberal in translating Western literature, both fiction and non-fiction.

Correspondent  
East Europe

I have just returned from West Germany, and I want to tell you that I was surprised at the vitality of the opposition there. They had a huge demonstration in Dortmund of 40,000 against lock-outs and unemployment, demanding a 35 hour week. There is also a lot of organizing against *Berufsverbot* (black-

listing). Some victims of *Berufsverbot* have recently gone on a hunger strike, and the law is hated by most students. Everywhere in Germany you see the Women's Liberation groups and the *WL* magazines *Emma* and *Courage*. *Courage* has just had a big court case against the mass-circulation *Stern*, for using Playboy-type pictures of a naked Black woman in chains on the cover. There is also the activity of the Iranian students against the Shah. Germany is really quite a politically exciting place now.

Correspondent  
West Africa

### THINKING ABOUT AFRICA

Nov. 12 was a celebration for the 25th anniversary of the American Committee on Africa. Given the history of ACOA, the program was a let-down. The main address was by Congresswoman Cardis Collins, who said only what a disappointment it was that in spite of Andy Young, the Carter Administration has done nothing to help the freedom struggles in Southern Africa. Dennis Brutus read a few of his poems on the South African struggle, and Vinie Burrows read two speeches given by Winnie Mandela, which were very political and moving.

However, the only real political talk was given by Dick Gregory, the comedian, who said the only way to keep the U.S. government and the multi-national corporations from exploiting Africa was to have a revolution here. He advised the African nations to be wary of Black Americans who immigrate to Africa to help them, because they are really running away from the fight that is taking place here in the U.S.

Black Marxist-Humanists  
New York

Recently we went to the Second Annual Steve Biko Memorial. The meeting consisted of showing the movie "Rising Tide," an arts performance and a speech by a leader of an anti-imperialist organization. The speaker mentioned only one thing about Biko: that he was a good organizer. The rest of the talk

was on the awful conditions in South Africa and awful conditions here in the U.S. I agree with that, but his conclusion was to ask people to call their Chicago alderman about a bill on divestiture and to support liberation movements by giving money to his organization. I wanted to talk about Biko's philosophy, but there was no discussion period.

What it said to me was to what lengths people will go to separate philosophy and organization. But it was Biko's philosophy, his organization of thought that made Biko what he was, and created the basis for the activity of Soweto.

Angry  
Chicago

### BLIND WORKERS ORGANIZE

Over 400 blind people, members of the National Federation of the Blind (NFB), came to Chicago from all over the country to picket the annual meeting of the National Accrediting Council for Agencies serving the Blind (N.A.C.). N.A.C.-accredited agencies fight us when we try to get rehabilitation programs to teach us skills that let us be fully independent.

Blind workers at the N.A.C.-accredited Chicago Lighthouse for the Blind are trying to get their union recognized as their bargaining agent. Many workers were fired after their failure to organize the Lighthouse two years ago. Also, the Cincinnati Association for the Blind has refused to bargain with the union although the workers there voted it in overwhelmingly.

The NFB is our organization—we are the blind speaking for ourselves. We brought ourselves to Chicago and no sighted people led us on our picket line. A high point came when some of us got into N.A.C.'s press conference, and N.A.C. admitted that they oppose blind workers in sheltered shops trying to get minimum wage protection! We have hurt N.A.C., but we won't stop until we have abolished it.

NFB member  
Detroit

## Revolutionary unrest growing in Colombia

Barranquilla, Colombia—This is the fourth largest city in Colombia, with over one million people. It's an industrial city—with aluminum, petrochemicals, textiles and cement industries, and a large marine terminal. But it's also the "forgotten city."

### A voice from Brazil

Recife, Brazil—In Brazil we have been living for many years in a very repressive situation. People are arrested for almost anything. If they don't agree with the government they are called communist, subversive. They can be tortured, killed, made to disappear. I had friends who were tortured. I have a cousin that was arrested and put in a dark room for weeks, only because her name was in the address book of a girl who was considered communist.

People are scared in Brazil. When I was in the University this was the attitude at first, but a group of people in my class decided to study Marxism and we made a study group. The books were kept covered with different papers and hidden in the bottom of the drawer.

Later on in the university, we had a little more freedom when we realized that we had strength if the whole class joined in a common interest. So we were able to drive out some professors, demand better teachers, and insist on discussing things in class.

After graduation (they graduated us six months early), I tried to work as a journalist. One of the first days I was sent to cover the suicide of a worker who had jumped off the 22nd floor of a building. He had a family with five children, earning \$85 per month. I asked his boss where he lived and he said that it was in the slums in a place that was hard to reach. This was the reason he gave for doing nothing to notify the family.

As I am writing this I am scared of someone reading it and saying I am a communist. People can't say what they think in Brazil, they can't write about what is happening. In a country of 110 million people, the majority of the population live in very bad conditions earning a mere \$50 per month.

—Shoshana

While politicians pocket all the money, the parks are overgrown, sanitation is sporadic, neighborhood blackouts are frequent, and water service provides just a trickle. The buses are falling apart, taxis are 1950s vintage, and the closest beach is a mudhole.

Inflation is around 30 percent. Bus fares have gone from one peso last year to 1.50, two pesos at night, and 2.50 on holidays. Buses were burned in the capital, Bogota, over the last increase. Unemployment is 50-60 percent. With no unemployment insurance or welfare, you literally starve or steal. Starvation is not uncommon.

The Universidad del Atlantico, the only public university here, is under constant threat of closing. Only the few who know someone or are very lucky can get a job to pay their way through college. One friend lost two years waiting for professors who never showed up for classes — because they were not being paid.

The military police have their headquarters only a block away. Every time students protest over miserable learning conditions or government repression, they're there in force. They shot another student in the back several weeks ago at the Universidad Nacional in Bogota. Torturings and disappearances continue.

Everybody is political here. Nobody votes, either for the bourgeois parties or the Communist Party, which everyone recognizes as bourgeois. But the organized left is not up to the challenge. "Don't Vote! Boycott the Elections!", painted on walls, is not sufficient when already no one is voting. People call the left groups "tirador de piedras" — rock-throwers — to express their lack of seriousness.

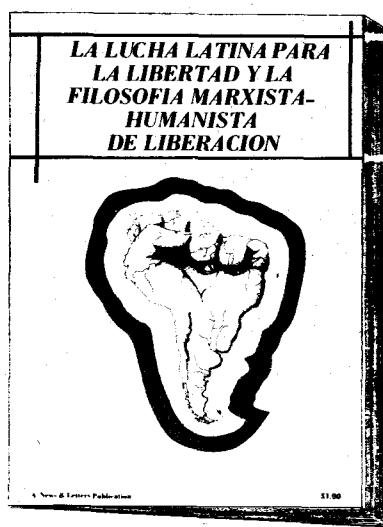
But there isn't any fear of Marxism or revolution. Barranquilla has five or six bookstores, and Bogota has that many in only one three-block area, and even the ones that are not explicitly "radical" have quite a bit of Marxist, socialist, and social criticism works prominently displayed. The feeling seems to be that sooner or later revolution of some sort is inevitable.

### Ahora . . . en español La Lucha Latina Para la Libertad y la Filosofia Marxista-Humanista de Liberacion

- Las Revoluciones Latinoamericanas Incompletas, un analisis por Raya Dunayevskaya
- La lucha para la libertad y las fuerzas revolucionarias los latinos, los obreros, los negros, las mujeres y la juventud

Precio: \$1 (porte 30c)

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## BLACK-RED VIEW *Class, race struggle inseparable*

by John Alan

Recently, when Lou Turner (co-author of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought) and I were invited to speak at various campuses in California, we were asked by Black students whether we thought the class struggle was more important than the race struggle in this period of Black liberation. There was no doubt that the askers were of the opinion that the class struggle was more fundamental. This is not an isolated opinion.

In the last few years, a number of Black intellectuals have concluded that there is a declining significance of race in American Black thought, which stands in total opposition to the thinking of many of the Black militants of a decade ago. And, on the surface, this is true.

This sudden discovery of the class struggle as the real struggle of Black people in the U.S. stems partially from the realization by a whole new generation of Black workers, youth, and certain Black intellectuals, that the legacy of the Black revolts of the 1960s has been greater unemployment and greater pauperization of the masses of Black people. The gains of those revolts have gone primarily to benefit the Black middle class, which is now remaining aloof from the economic problems and racism most Black people face daily.

In the face of these objective conditions, it is quite natural that class should loom large in the foreground of the thinking of Black youth. But, it would be wrong to think in terms of an abstract class struggle. The class struggle has existed in the U.S. from its very inception, and at the same time, it has always had the added dimension of race. This racial dimension has at times confused the class issues that were involved, and at the same time, has sharpened the class struggle to the point where it begins to philosophically question the very organization of capitalist society, as shown during the Black revolt in Detroit in 1967.

Karl Marx was probably the first person who fully understood the class/race nature of the class struggle in the U.S., contrary to the opinion of some Black leaders and intellectuals. In 1860, Marx wrote to Engels that he thought that the movement of slaves against the

institution of slavery was one of the greatest movements of that time. He later developed how it was this movement of slaves which had the potential for the predominance of free labor on the North American continent. He was also aware of the racial prejudice of white labor and warned, "Labor in the white skin cannot emancipate itself where in the Black it is branded."

It was only after the Civil War that a real trade union movement came into being and with it the struggle for the eight hour day. At that juncture of American history, the early unions were forced to deal with the class/race issues for, with very few exceptions, labor unions permitted blind racial prejudice to fragment the labor movement, setting its effectiveness back for generations. This problem still exists and will exist as long as the exploitive system of capitalism remains in power.

This question of class vs. race was raised specifically around the discussion of Frantz Fanon's disagreement with Jean-Paul Sartre's idea that the great universal was the class struggle to achieve socialism, and that the Black and Third World struggles were only a passing particular. Fanon's disagreement was poetic and emphatic. He rejected any concept of an abstract class struggle that left out the concept of race, because the very concrete issue of race has been introduced into class by colonialism.

Here in the U.S., race is still a very concrete issue; it appears in the midst of every class struggle and must be dealt with continually. Its pulse can be taken in some of the most "liberal" states where we are witnessing the revival of hate groups like the Klan and the Nazis. These are far from being isolated lunatic fringes of reaction, because their emergence is within the political situation which is gradually destroying the civil rights gains of the massive Black revolutionary movements of the 1960s.

The class struggle certainly is the form to overthrow capitalism. But to ignore the race struggle, which is basically aimed at the same objective, is to doom the successful establishing of a totally new human society, with new, truly human relationships for all races.

## Save Latin American Center!

Los Angeles, Cal. — The Latin American Studies Center at Cal. State University, LA, is now on the list of entities to be considered for abolition in order to compensate for a reduction in the school budget. If abolished, the Center, with its bilingual staff, museum, audio visual resources, library, and seminar room would be closed.

The Center not only administers coursework for students interested in Latin America, but serves as a vital source of information for the university and the community. Over 200 publications, thousands of slides, and many records and audio and video tapes are available.

Outstanding cultural events such as concerts by the Parras, the Folkloristas, Inti-Illimani and Quilapayun have been brought to the U.S. The Center has actively sought participation of community organizations in planning activities, as with the most recent conferences on Central America and Mexico and the Southwest.

Please send letters of support for the Center's survival to Dean Donald O. Dewey, CSULA, Los Angeles, CA, 90032; also a copy to Dr. Louis DeArmond, Director, Latin American Studies, CSULA.

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

people, have enough confidence in their own ability to make a better world, that they will not let others do their thinking for them."

It is this type of talking and doing, or what you may call theory and practice among workers, that started a whole new stage of thought in America—Marxist-Humanist thought. At that time, everyone from scientists to Ford executives who coined the word Automation, to business magazines, began to blame the word Automation for bringing back Depression jitters. But the labor leaders assisted by bowing before it as progress, and painting a rosy future of what it should be, instead of speaking of what it is.

### TWO ATTITUDES

The division between the rank-and-file workers and the labor leaders is seen nowhere so clearly as in the different attitudes each has towards Automation, and now Unimation. Where the labor leaders speak of the future and the promise it holds for vast improvements in living conditions and leisure time, the auto workers deal with it as it affects their daily lives.

The todayness of Karl Marx is truly overwhelming. His description of Automation some 115 years ago fits more precisely the reality than any present-day writer. In opposition to the liberals of his day, who saw increased production as leading to the "happy life of abundance," Marx described the concrete strife of workers and the machine when it is capitalistically-controlled.

He said an organized system of machines, to which motion is communicated by transmitting machinery from the Automaton, is the most developed form of production by machinery. Even the lightening of labor becomes a sort of torture, since the machine does not free the laborer from work, but deprives the work of all interest.

By means of its conversions into an Automaton, the instrument of labor confronts the laborer during the labor process in the shape of capital, of dead labor, that dominates, and pumps dry, living labor power. The separation of the intellectual powers of production from manual labor, and the conversion of those powers into the might of capital over labor, is finally completed by modern industry erected on the foundation of machinery.

The maturity of our age is that the totality of the crisis compels us to have a philosophy of revolution with a totality of outlook on this society.

### Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

by Charles Denby  
Editor, News & Letters



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# Michigan-wide anti-nuclear protest at Midland

Midland, Mich.—Three hundred demonstrators from all over Michigan—with hand-painted signs saying “Nuclear power: not safe, not cheap, not wanted” and “Stop nuclear power and nuclear war”—converged here Nov. 18 at the construction site of the Consumers Power nuclear plant to demand a permanent halt to the con-

struction and operation of nuclear power plants in Michigan.

Singing and chanting “No Nukes,” we marched from the local school to the plant gates — the gates of the massive Dow Chemical Corporation factory complex for whom the plant is being built. Some of the protestors I talked with recalled the demonstrations against Dow during the Vietnam war, when that company made napalm. One man carried a sign that said: “First Hiroshima Nagasaki, Then Napalm Vietnam, What Now Dow?”

Representatives of the Great Lakes Energy Alliance



—News & Letters photo

Anti-nuclear marchers at Dow Chemical's gate.

and the Huron Alliance spoke about the dangers of both nuclear power and nuclear weapons, and the need for community control of energy production and use. We cheered all mention of anti-nuke protests the world over, from Germany to Spain, France to Japan, and sang anti-nuke versions of “We Shall Overcome” and “This Land is Your Land.”

A Midland woman who works at Dow, one of the few Dow employees at the demonstration, said to me: “I

## Hostos funds—for tracking?

New York, N.Y. — The City University finally allocated funds for the renovation of the “500” building at Hostos Community College in the South Bronx. But now the administration says it is responsible for this victory, not the students and community residents who occupied 500 for three months last spring. (See May & June, 1978, News & Letters).

The administration is only acting under pressure in applauding the renovation. In President Santiago's plan to turn Hostos into a vocational training college, liberal arts courses (80 percent of the curriculum) will be replaced by “career” programs like mechanics and “psychology for supervisors.”

It reduces schooling to the most basic capitalist relation — the division of mental from manual labor. Poor and minority students of Hostos are to be tracked into courses like mechanics and secretarial skills, without being able to study their own history as Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, or examine the great revolutionary ideas their struggles for freedom have produced.

The greatest thing about the occupation of 500 last spring was that students, faculty, and community supporters took over the building, held their own classes in it, and did the cleaning, security, organizing, planning, etc. on their own.

They showed what a new society could be like — doing and thinking joined in self-activity, and that's precisely what the administration is attacking by reducing the school to a vocational college.

—Hostos student

## Divestiture movement grows

(Continued from Page 1)

how that form of revolt is in total opposition to single strategies, or activism void of theoretic preparation for revolution, we will continue to repeat the same mistakes that doomed the highpoint of 1968 to a stillbirth.

—Peter Wermuth

Chicago, Ill.—A weekend conference, Oct. 20-22, on “University and Corporate Involvement in South Africa,” held at Northwestern University, attracted more than 400 people from more than 15 midwestern colleges, and from as far away as Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Student groups described efforts to get university trustees to divest, including the inauguration of Yale's new president where students successfully demanded a right to be on the speakers' platform. Several students emphasized a new development—the efforts by the U.S. Justice Department and state attorneys to legally prohibit divestiture by universities.

The conference endorsed a national week of actions in March around South Africa, the Nov. 21 actions against the KKK in Tupelo, Miss., and the formation of an ongoing Midwest Steering Committee.

Efforts to link the liberation struggles in South Africa to those in the U.S. were, unfortunately, discouraged; the Wilmington Ten, the Bakke case, and Tupelo were merely mentioned.

The organizers were so intent on building a divestiture movement “on the scale of the anti-Vietnam war movement” that they actually prevented serious discussion on the philosophy emerging from the Black Consciousness movement. Individuals who came were clearly interested in this philosophy.

—Anti-apartheid activist

## Students fight Bakke effects

New York, N.Y. — The effects of the Bakke decision are being felt in law schools, but there is also resistance to the attempt to curtail minority admissions.

Rutgers Law School had one of the best affirmative action programs, with 25 percent of the seats in its entering classes reserved for minority students. But pressures came to bear after Bakke. When word got out that the faculty might change the program, students jammed their meeting and warned they would consider it “a declaration of war.” The faculty voted instead to have 30 percent of the seats for minorities and “disadvantaged whites.”

Meanwhile, at Brooklyn Law School, where students have been trying for three years to get an effective affirmative action program, the school has chosen this time to expel a Puerto Rican woman instead of putting her on probation. Lydia Padilla has responded with a federal law suit, and a trial is in progress. As one student who supports her said, “Bakke has absolved the administrators of law schools of the feeling that they should do anything for minorities.”

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heard that the military is developing a solar laser beam. If they do, then the government might spend some money on solar power — but look how whatever they do is done first for destruction.”

What excited me most about the Midland protest was both the high-spirited energy of the crowd — from so many different Michigan communities — and the diversity of ideas expressed. Many people I talked with wanted to discuss not only nuclear power, but, as inter-related, the American government's aid to the Shah of Iran, or U.S. involvement in apartheid South Africa. I did miss, however, the deepened dimension that Black participation in the all-white rally could have brought.

When we left, we taped a leaflet to the plant gate that ends: “We pledge to build a more loving and responsible world for ourselves, our children, and future generations of all living things on this planet.”

—Marxist-Humanist participant

## TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

a global power.

What they all try to forget is that the 1970s are not the 1950s, either in Iran or in the U.S. The CIA does not have any such power as it wielded in 1953 in the Iran coup—which, unfortunately, does not mean that they do not have intentions of repeating another counter-revolution in Iran.

The very fact that martial law had to be declared not only in Tehran, but 11 other cities, including Isfahan, also brings up the question of the religious movement. The Shah tries to cover the unyielding revolt of the masses as if it is nothing more than a “mob” urged on by those who wish to turn the clock back. While there is no doubt that some of the Moslem clergy are reactionaries, it is not true that they are setting the direction, that they comprise what the Shah, with his penchant for contradictions, calls “Islamic Marxists.” What is true is that when a revolution is genuinely popular, it involves the nation as a whole. And in that confrontation some unsavory characters may be present.

It is the mass movement however that decides the direction, raises the flag of liberation, and shouts, “Down with the Shah” as but one of the many demands for the end of this tyranny, propped by American imperialism. For that matter, some of the most radical women students have started to wear the veil, not because they are rolling the clock backward, but because under the veil can be hidden arms.

FROM THE IMPERIALIST, most reactionary point of view—and that is headed by U.S. imperialism—let us not forget that it is not just the Shah that is being protected against the mass revolt, but the global interests of the imperialists. And it is not at all excluded that, if the Shah and his military regime cannot totally destroy this movement, the Shah would be removed. Everything from a “constitutional monarchy” to a full military regime, is possible.

What makes it not just possible, but probable, is the fact that the other global power, Russia, is not ready to initiate WW III over Iran. And the supposedly more revolutionary regime, China, though it considers Russia as Enemy Number One, finds more in common with Russia in the sense that, as state capitalists, they are just like the “private” capitalists in their total opposition to one thing and one thing only—and that is an outright proletarian revolutionary regime.

This is the international tragedy—that the Left, even that part of it which does see that Russia and China have separate national interests that outweigh everything else, does not see that it is not only as nations that they do not come to the aid of the revolutionary movement in Iran. Rather, it is that they are opposed to revolution—genuine mass revolutions in their own countries and elsewhere. It is this which unites them against spontaneous revolt: though each, as nation, considers the other, as nation, “Enemy Number One,” both are equally opposed to revolution, nationally and internationally.

At this point, however, both of these nations are simply standing aside. American imperialism will do no such thing. Whereas it cannot achieve what it achieved in the Cold War, it has no intention whatever of letting the revolutionaries win. It cannot be underestimated that it put the present Shah on the throne; it killed the national revolution in 1953; it prefers the Shah, whom it has armed to the teeth, above even Saudi Arabia as “the guarantor of the Gulf and the Indian Oceans.”

It is not only that Iran's oil (and that is second only to Saudi Arabia's), is crucial to Western imperialism, but that Iran is the passageway for all of the Middle East's oil to the U.S., Europe and Japan. Indeed, its geographic location makes it every bit as crucial to the whole global conflict as its oil—for it is the passageway to the Indian Ocean as well as the Red Sea, the crossroads to the Middle East and also to Africa. Not only, therefore, must we solidarize with the Iranian masses against U.S. imperialism, but we must focus on the fact that U.S. imperialism heads the global counter-revolution. The best way to end that role is to intensify the revolutionary activities right here.

Yours,  
Raya

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

# Rhodesian genocidal massacres fail to crush freedom fighters

Rhodesian military planes conducted terrorist attacks on Oct. 19 and 20 across the borders of Zambia and Mozambique against 12 Zimbabwean camps, including a refugee camp at Chikumbi. They killed, according to their own claims, no less than 1,500 people. This was the largest raid since the white racist government of Ian Smith killed over 1,200 people in similar massacres in November.

Joshua Nkomo, the leader of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), claimed that the military terrorists killed 226 and wounded 629 residents of the refugee camp. He claimed the Rhodesians used napalm and wiped out everything in the camp. He made it clear such genocide would not be tolerated.

The U.S. State Department, aside from its usual "deploring", did nothing and said it would have to "wait until the dust settled" before issuing any other statements.

Four hundred students in the Zambian capital at Lusaka marched to the U.S. and British embassies, holding them responsible for the bombings and shouting "Yankees go home."

The guerrilla forces demonstrated their ability to strike anywhere within Zimbabwe by carrying out a rocket attack on Nov. 12 within the city of Salisbury with impunity. The 300 white farmers who still control large farms of 1,000 to 35,000 acres are becoming nervous about the presence of the large guerrilla forces in Zambia waiting to put an end to the Smith regime. The whites are fleeing. Fear will spur on that exodus.

The situation grows worse every day as the Smith government breaks promise after promise. Smith is so desperate that he has taken to drafting Blacks into the Rhodesian army and hopes to drive them into battle at the point of a gun, if necessary. Last month alone, over 1,490 whites out of a population of 260,000 whites chose to leave the country, rather than face the obvious conclusion that Smith will lose the war in the end. More than 14,000 people have been killed during the past six years of struggle.

The war in Zimbabwe so far has been conducted by guerrilla forces of ZAPU and ZANU, conducting raids against small settlements and the estates of the whites. There is no way that Ian Smith can win this type of warfare. There are thousands of such targets and his white-led army is in no position to "protect" all of them. Nkomo will avoid open pitched battles in which the superior military equipment of the Rhodesian army

can be brought to bear.

The Blacks within Zimbabwe are divided along class lines. The educated Black elite is politically to the right—the professional class looking forward to the day when their white counterparts depart and they will occupy their place in society. Most of that type of "leader" are from the older generation. Not only do their ideas clash with the younger generation, but their class interests are as far apart from them as they are from their white rulers.

Nkomo does have some support from British and U.S. governments because he is the mildest of Ian Smith's opponents and they hope he will control the revolutionary Left. Russia also supports him because he has a mass base.



Zimbabwe liberation supporters in front of the White House protest Ian Smith's U.S. tour.

Robert Mugabe, the leader of ZANU, who has his bases in Angola, has led most of the successful guerrilla attacks from bases in Mozambique and has the most mass support among the revolutionary youth.

Sithole and Chirau, who share Smith's leadership, have the least popular support, command no military influence, and will be swept aside for being hardly more than Ian Smith's "boys", although they were once more serious nationalists. The U.S. and British governments have paid

lip service to the idea of independence but have actually supported Smith. The recent visit of Ian Smith to the U.S. was under the sponsorship of a group of reactionary U.S. senators, led by Sen. Hayakawa, who is remembered for his fight against the San Francisco anti-Vietnam war youth.

The mass struggle in Zimbabwe against, first, British imperialism, and now, the most reactionary neo-fascist regime of Ian Smith, is at the stage where the whole white minority exploitative regime knows that its days are numbered. And we in the USA should know to demand that its death-throes not kill thousands more.

## Nicaragua

Opposition to the U.S.-installed and backed Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua culminated this year when a new general strike erupted after the Aug. 22 seizure of the National Palace by the Sandinista guerrillas. In the civil war that followed, Somoza crushed, for the time being, the armed rebellion as over 3,000 Nicaraguans were gunned down—many of them teenagers trying to keep the National Guard out of their towns.

Even before the open civil war, Carter had sent a letter of encouragement to Somoza for his progress on "human rights" just when he was murdering unarmed high school students. At the height of the civil war and world press reaction to his hypocrisy, Carter decided that more important than keeping Somoza was keeping control, as the U.S. missile cruiser, *Richard K. Turner*, suddenly appeared off the Pacific coast of Nicaragua.

After witnessing the depth and persistence of the opposition to Somoza, Carter initiated his newest imperialistic intervention in the affairs of Nicaragua. First, it was an OAS team of foreign ministers which launched its "investigation" of the murders with a cocktail party in Managua. Then envoys from Guatemala and the Dominican Republic, whose governments are also headed by U.S. puppets, joined Carter in a "regional mediation effort."

The present U.S. balancing act between Somoza and the "broad opposition front" is aimed above all at the Nicaraguan masses who have promised renewed opposition to Somoza on all levels, and who have witnessed a lifetime of U.S. "mediation." What Carter fears most is their self-activity which is outside the realm of U.S. control and is a possible new breakthrough in cutting the ties of U.S. domination throughout Latin America.

# Iranian masses demand removal of Shah, U.S. imperialism

(Continued from Page 1)

By early October, nearly every factory, service industry and government ministry in the country had either been on strike or was planning to strike. And the demands became increasingly political, including freedom for political prisoners, the lifting of martial law, an end to censorship, and the outlawing of SAVAK "thought control" offices from the factories, schools and offices.

## WORKERS' DEMANDS GROW

Every school in Iran was shut down by the strike of 400,000 teachers, who demanded — in addition to all the above demands — the right to form their own union and publish newspapers, and a thoroughgoing change in the whole educational system. Newspaper journalists and printers demanded an end to censorship, won it (temporarily), and promptly published demands of other striking workers. Postal workers, steel, copper, iron ore, textile, railroad and airline workers were all out in October, as street demonstrations also reached new heights. Cities with populations of no more than 100,000 saw repeated protests of over 70,000.

But it was the nation-wide sitdown strike of 37,000 oilworkers on Oct. 31 that truly paralyzed Iran. And it was especially against the Iranian workers that the military government was instituted, as millions of barrels of crude oil and billions of cubic meters of natural gas were immediately cut off from foreign markets and Iran began losing \$60 million a day.

## WOMEN, PEASANTS, YOUTH

Ever newer sections of the population had been drawn into the struggle.

Tens of thousands of women — wearing their black veils and walking in separate contingents — not only marched with their own banners, but led the fraternization with the troops of Tehran. Mass participation of the peasantry was also striking, many coming into the cities to take part, and others organizing their own marches to register grievances at the governors' offices.

Even the Shah's 700,000-man army could not be trusted. Most of the conscripts, 18 to 20 years old, are drafted from the peasantry and the poorest urban families; and there were constant reports of young soldiers refusing to fire, or actually joining the demonstrators. The students were in the forefront of the battles.

One of the largest was that at Tehran University on Oct. 25, where two different contingents marched together—one under green banners as the symbol of Islam, and the other, larger one, under red banners proclaiming: "For a revolutionary democratic republic of Iran under the leadership of the working class."

In a desperate and futile attempt to blunt some of the strike-wave, the Shah had earlier ordered across-the-board wage increases ranging from 25 to over 100 percent for a million workers. On Oct. 25, as a supposed "birthday" gift, he promised the release of 1,126 political prisoners. Not only was the list condemned as "token" as well as fraudulent, but those who were released immediately went to the newspapers, which printed the harrowing stories of tortures they had suffered, which Iranians had never before read about.

Nothing the Shah had attempted seemed able to abate the raging storm, not even the dismissal of some of the most corrupt of his cronies — from the former Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveida to the former head of the SAVAK, Nematollah Nassiri — designed to "appease" the masses at the same moment he imposed the military government. Most important of all, the oil workers refused to go back to work, even after troops had fired on them and killed or wounded scores the first day of their strike.

## A LONG HISTORY OF REVOLT

The Iranian people have a long history of struggle against all kinds of oppression — from their revolution of 1906-09 to wrest a constitution from the Qajar dynasty, through the struggles of the Azerbaijani and Kurdish national minorities for independent republics in western Iran, to the mass movement that began with a massive strike in 1946 against the British oil monopolies and ended in 1951 by putting Mossadegh in power and nationalizing the entire oil industry. It was Mossadegh the CIA ousted in 1953, when they reimposed the Shah on the Iranian people.

It was surely no accident that the U.S. Ambassador to Iran from 1973 to 1976 was none other than Richard Helms, sent there after he had been removed as Director of the CIA following Watergate. It had been Nixon who stopped in Iran on his way home from Russia in May of 1972 to assure the Shah that he had been assigned

the key role in the Middle East for Western imperialism.

Though Nixon fell, Helms didn't. Indeed, while Ambassador, he fulfilled his role as friend and mentor to the Shah so well, that Carter is now left worrying that the Shah knows more than he does.

In U.S. global strategy no country is more important in the Middle East than oil-rich and strategically-located Iran. It represents both a bulwark against Russia to its north and a crucial safeguard for oil shipments out of the Persian Gulf, through which pass no less than two-thirds of the entire world's oil supplies. American imperialism has no intention of letting their Shah be ousted by a revolution.

## PERMANENT STATE OF CRISIS

But the political and economic demands that the workers made inseparable reveal that the crisis in Iran is permanent. The influx of great oil revenues has produced a small group of very rich Iranians and has served only to widen the tremendous gulf between rich and poor. The agrarian reform the Shah was supposed to have instituted in the 1960s has so devastated the country's agriculture that a land which had, at least, always been able to feed itself, now must import almost all of its food from abroad. All the Shah's so-called "white revolution" accomplished was an exodus of peasants into the cities, where they have joined a growing army of unemployed.

The complexities of the global relations between the super-powers (see Raya Dunayevskaya's *Two Worlds*, page 5) have only added to the miseries of the Iranian people and make certain one thing alone — that the revolt will continue, whether underground or in the streets.

As we go to press, the two-week-old military government has still not been able to get full production going in the oil fields; not a day passes without a new demonstration erupting in another part of Iran; and the Kurdish people have joined in the demand for the Shah to go. Our solidarity with the Iranian revolution begins with our strongest opposition to American imperialism's long-entrenched, CIA-manipulated, bloody responsibility for the neo-fascist regime in Iran — and with making the American revolution right here at home.