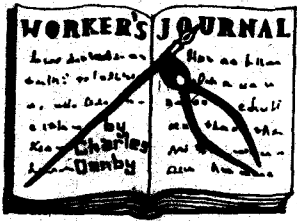


## ON THE INSIDE

IRAN: UNFOLDMENT OF, AND  
CONTRADICTIONS IN,  
REVOLUTION—

by Raya Dunayevskaya ..... p. 6-7



## UAW retirees march for pension hikes

by Charles Denby, Editor

When I got to Detroit's Cobo Hall April 17 to attend the UAW collective bargaining convention there were already well over 1,000 retired workers there with picket signs. They had been marching around since 7:30 a.m. and chanting all kinds of militant slogans and singing old union songs. Even though we knew those old days had passed, it felt good just to be there and be part of such a mass demonstration. It has been so long since I saw that many workers at a protest that it seemed like 50,000 to me. Many of these workers had come from as far away as Indianapolis and Chicago to make their voices heard.

Inside, we had to sit for hours listening to reports and motions, and you could feel the crowd getting restless to hear what the union was going to do for the retirees in the coming contract. When Fraser finally took the floor that was the first point he took up. He said what is involved is a "principle" that was established when they negotiated the first pension plan with Ford in 1949: that workers are entitled to a pension that will permit them to retire with dignity and security. Today the retirees have no way to protect themselves from the ravages of inflation. They have already lost their security but have no intention of losing their dignity.

### RETIREEES SQUEEZED HARDEST

I get \$291 a month from my pension — after 30 years with the company. That and my Social Security are all my wife and I have to live on — and many workers I know are getting even less than I am. This winter my gas bill was \$125 one month, my electric bill \$45, phone \$14. Rent was \$85 and groceries took all the rest. Some of the younger workers I know keep asking us how we manage to live. I wonder myself. And now the government is saying that Social Security is in danger of running dry, at the same time that it pays retired Presidents like Ford and Nixon more each year than any worker will make in a lifetime.

Fraser said the union has not yet decided on how to protect retirees from rising living costs, but that they are working on four different possibilities, including some way to tie pensions to fluctuations in the consumer price index. He promised that inflation protection for retirees will be the union's top priority. Carter's "anti-inflation plan" has self-destructed, Fraser said, and the union would not tolerate employers using the "seven percent voluntary wage guideline" to combat contract demands.

Most of the older workers I talked to said that Fraser "sounded" good, but nobody disagreed with the worker who added, "How many times have we all heard militant talks from union leaders that never came to

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## Nationwide anti-nuclear demonstrations mark new protest stage

Thousands around the world took to the streets in anti-nuclear protests in the wake of the Harrisburg, Pa. near-disaster. Below are reports from News and Letters Committee members who participated in the demonstrations across the U.S.—Ed.

Midland, Mich.—Steady rain and cool temperatures couldn't dampen the spirit of the 5,000 anti-nuke demonstrators who assembled here on April 21, in Michigan's largest anti-nuclear power protest to date. Marching two-and-a-half miles to a point close to the construction site of the Dow Chemical-Consumers Power nuclear plant, the line of protesters, including many high school age students, extended for more than a mile.

Before the rally, a UAW local from a Chevrolet plant in Flint had ordered 5,000 copies of a special anti-nuclear issue of the Flint Voice, and UAW locals from both Lansing and Flint formally endorsed the Midland rally. Construction, telephone, and Dow Chemical workers were also protesting and spoke against the unjustifi-

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# NEWS & LETTERS

*'Human Power is its own end'*

VOL. 24—NO. 4

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Union Shop

MAY, 1979

## New strikes are U.S. workers' answer to raging inflation, Carter 7% wage plans

by Michael Connolly

The national economic figures released for the first quarter of 1979, suddenly showing virtually no growth in the U.S. economy at all, coupled with a raging inflation rate conservatively placed at 14 percent, were termed a "real shocker" by economists both in and out of the Carter administration. From all sides came predictions of a 1979 recession of increased severity, just as new strikes were begun or threatened in a dozen different sectors of the economy.

Again and again, throughout the month of April, President Carter's policies were being bounced from crisis to crisis, whether on his seven percent wage guidelines, or his campaign for "energy independence". His much-ballyhooed energy policy speech actually had to be postponed twice; the first time as OPEC announced oil price increases of nine percent, with an open surcharge tacked on. No sooner was it re-scheduled than Carter was confronted both by the Teamsters strike and by the mass demonstrations in the wake of the near-disaster at Harrisburg. (See Editorial article and demonstration reports, pp. 4-5.)

### STRIKES FIGHT WAGE GUIDELINES

As the Teamsters, and then the rubber workers' contracts expired, what became clear was that Carter had launched a new practice of open intrusion into every major new labor negotiation, with a self-appointed role "more management than management" that would teach the workers a lesson. That he was on a collision course with the new stage of labor revolt evident across America since the miners' strike one year ago, was shown by the still-unresolved situations in both trucking and rubber, where rank-and-file workers have put tremendous pressure on IBT Pres. Fitzsimmons and URW Pres. Bommarito. Over 1,000

Teamsters in Detroit booed attempts by leaders to explain the master freight contract and cheered calls for its rejection. Steel-haulers repeatedly refused union leaders' demands for a return to work, and spread their strike through the whole Midwest. "We can't settle for what we got last time," one driver told N&L. "There is no way you can live on anything near seven percent today, and we won't. You risk your life driving steel every day, and you expect to live like a human being. Tell that to Carter."

Literally hundreds of other strikes—from school bus drivers and tugboat workers in New York to lettuce farmworkers in California and United Airlines workers nation-wide, as well as many others unreported in the daily press—were carrying similar messages.

When President Carter finally did deliver his energy policy address on April 5, it was to announce an oil deregulation plan that would add a minimum of \$200 a year directly to the cost of gasoline and home heating oil. Indirectly, it will raise the prices of virtually everything. So enamored were some of the economic commentators with deregulation that they rushed to praise Carter for making "hard choices", while "mass confusion" reigned among his expert advisers on the meaning of recent economic signals and what to do about them.

### LUXURY ITEMS: BEEF, GASOLINE

The only ones who are not confused are the workers. They know exactly what inflation—including oil monopoly-manipulated inflation — is doing to them. Where the government admits to a current near-record 14 percent inflation rate "overall", the rate for "essential components" is agreed to be 20 percent. Even this does not tell the whole story. In the last year, the cost

(Continued on Page 9)



—News & Letters photo  
"Human power is its own end"—the motto of News & Letters—comes from Karl Marx's *Capital* and was the focus point of News and Letters Committee members who marched nationwide. It is seen here carried on a banner at the 5,000-strong protest at Midland, Michigan.

## Hundreds join rallies for reproductive rights



Men and women march through the streets of New York City for abortion rights and against sterilization abuse.

New York, N. Y.—An international day of demonstrations for reproductive rights brought 5,000 women and men into the streets here March 31. While we were marching from the UN, past St. Patrick's Cathedral where anti-abortionists had gathered, to a rally in Union Square, other women all over the world were also demanding freedom of choice for abortion and protesting against forced sterilization. Rallies were scheduled for 19 cities in the U.S. and four in Canada; in Colombia, Brazil and Peru; England, France, West Germany, Austria, Italy, Belgium and Spain; Australia, New Zealand and Israel.

The New York march was impressive in its variety: young and old, from colleges and women's organizations all over the city and suburbs; anti-nuke activists with a sign, "Reproductive rights also means radiation-free

## Interview with Iranian women

(Following are excerpts from an interview with two Iranian women in the U.S. about today's women's movement in Iran. For an analysis of the Iranian Revolution, see excerpts from Raya Dunayevskaya's *Political-Philosophic Letter, "Iran: Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in, Revolution,"* p. 6—Ed.)

**Maryam:** If I were in Iran today, I would be with the women and the movement. I could believe they were so brave as to say, "Down with Khomeini," because I know they were the same women who were in the past demonstrations. They have lost their families for Khomeini. Now they have demonstrated to gain their freedom, and they cannot now go back to the chador and the way things have been for the past 400 years. They have to get their freedom.

When you wear the chador, it means you cannot work. It means you cannot walk with a man. It means you have to be in the kitchen. It means you have to be a slave. It means women can't be useful for society and they have to be the property of their family. The men would call a woman "my house," or they would call her the name of their oldest son, or they would call her "weak."

Khomeini said women would have to put back the chador and go back into the kitchen and not work. It's like they are being put in another jail after they fought for freedom from the Shah.

The women now know that the things Islam says women have to do—like put back on the chador—is something that puts them back to many years ago. So the women are standing up again.

What the women did was very great, but if they don't continue, then it will not be an important first step. It will be lost. If they sit back and stay in their houses and say, we don't have to wear the chador now, then it will not be a good job. I believe that if we can explain to women what is real Marxism, they will believe in it earlier than the men, because Marxism is being free and human.

Before March 8, I was not thinking about the situation as being very good for women. Then the demonstrations happened, and now I am very glad because of what the women have done. I know that in the future the women will get what they want. Today they are not the same women that I saw two years ago in Iran. The Revolution changed them. You can imagine how much the women have learned. Those demonstrations show everything.

**Sima:** I don't believe in the chador because it makes the women inactive. You know the woman is always pushed away from everything. They had no right to talk and to fight for their rights. Maybe some of that is because they wore the chador. Now they have this opportunity to talk, to go to school, to see. It has caused a change.

It is so great now that women know their rights, and that they fight for their rights. Half or more of the Iranian population are women. And if they are killing the activity of the women, then we cannot have an active nation.

air"; medical students and doctors; gay men in support of reproductive freedom; religious groups; Latina groups; and people opposed to the planned closing of city hospitals.

The women who had been fired from Park Med abortion clinic for union organizing, (see N&L, March, 1979), also marched, as well as a new group called New York Socialist Feminists. Nicaraguan women who had changed their own demonstration came and joined this one. Some of the demands of the rally focused on defeat of the Hyde Amendment (which killed federal funding of abortion), and the end of sterilization abuse.

This was the largest abortion demonstration since we won the "right" to abortion six years ago. Coming soon after the outpouring of support for the Iranian women, it indicates the women's movement is reaching for the universality of its own ideas and issues on an international scale.

—Anne Molly Jackson

Chicago, Ill. — Over 100 women, children and men celebrated the International Day of Action for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse on March 31 by picketing the local "Right-to-Life" office. It was a good feeling for many of us to picket their headquarters and chant, "Pro-choice is pro-life" and "Freedom is too great to lose, support women's right to choose."

We also shouted, "Hyde is a murderer, free abortion now!" While there are three known deaths that can be traced directly to the Hyde Amendment, which makes it impossible for women on welfare to have safe abortions, undoubtedly many more have died from back-alley abortions that we don't know of.

Our leaflet stated: "The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare estimates that without Medicaid funds for abortion, 125-250 women will continue to die each year from illegal or self-induced abortions, and up to 25,000 will suffer serious medical complications requiring hospitalization."

It was this very kind of carnage that women wanted to end when we took to the streets for the right to control our own bodies 10 years ago and forced the Supreme Court to "grant" us that right in 1973. The need to win both abortion rights and the fight to end sterilization abuse are seen in the fact that while there is no Medicaid money for abortion, federal funds pay 90 percent for sterilizations!

After picketing the anti-choice group, we went to State Street and Van Buren and passed out our leaflets to shoppers. Many were very receptive and glad to see us there. A waitress in the window of a restaurant gave us the clenched fist sign and cheered us on as we marched by.

—Marxist-Humanist participant



## women-worldwide

Ting Ling, the Chinese feminist, author of "Thoughts on the Eighth of March," who was purged in 1957 during the 100 Flowers Movement, was rehabilitated just after International Women's Day. It is still not known where she is or what happened to her during her years as a "non-person."

A celebration of International Women's Day in Chile, organized by the Union of Housemaids, became at once a protest against the dictatorship in spite of a heavy police guard. Thousands sang the songs of Victor Jara, who was murdered by the junta, and stood as one shouting "Freedom!" when the Committee for the Disappeared was mentioned. (Information from *Off Our Backs*)

Native American activist Tina Trudell, her mother and three of her children were burned to death in a suspected arson attack on their home on the Duck Valley Paiute-Shosone Reservation where she had been active in the struggle for water rights over the Wild Horse Reservoir. She was the wife of John Trudell, chairman of the American Indian Movement.

(LNS)

In Northern Ireland, pressure from feminists and international support committees has freed 20-year-old Noreen Winchester, convicted of "murdering" her father who had raped her and her younger sisters over a period of years since their mother's death. The judge had openly stated that she had willingly participated in incest.

(New Women's Times)

## WOMAN AS REASON

### Michele Wallace distorts Black mass freedom struggles

*Black Macho and The Myth of the Superwoman*, by Michele Wallace (New York: Dial Press, 1978).

Ms. Wallace's book is divided into two essays, "Black Macho" and "The Myth of the Superwoman." I strongly felt it was crucial and essential to begin with the second essay, "The Myth of the Superwoman," not because it is on Black women, but to show how Ms. Wallace, with her low-key ideology of the Women's Liberation Movement, is not anything that will help us.

Throughout this section, Ms. Wallace's mythological rhetoric demeans and exploits every woman who was active in the Black and women's movements, from slavery, through the Civil Rights Movement, to today. During the Civil Rights Movement and the beginning of the Women's Liberation Movement, she was a teenager, shielded from what was happening in the real world by her middle-class parents who tried to forget their Blackness.

Therefore Ms. Wallace, by not being an activist and not having actually participated in the movement, arrives at her analyses by being a well-read person. (She never interviewed or quoted any movement participants.) But what she reads is not very enlightening to the reader. She writes, "I believe that the Black woman thinks of her history and condition as a wound that makes her different and therefore special and therefore exempt from human responsibility . . . her solution is simply not to participate." This is absurd.

To Ms. Wallace, the great revolutionary women of slavery, such as Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman, are defined through all their struggles to free both men and women from their captivity in slavery as "women whom no man in his right mind would want."

She speaks of Mrs. Rosa Parks and of Fannie Lou Hamer as the "Amazons" who made their last convincing appearances during the Civil Rights Movement. Mrs. Parks certainly did not have the image of being an Amazon Queen of the movement. She was a worker, a seamstress, who was very tired from standing on her feet all day and wanted to rest on the bus, and refused to give up her seat to a white man. She was arrested.

I would like to express how a Black male worker, who participated in the Civil Rights Movement and talked to Mrs. Parks back then, put it in his book, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*. Charles Denby says, "I've talked with Mrs. Parks many times, and she has told me she didn't even know the plans for a bus boycott were going on." At the time she was teaching a sewing class, and one of her students told her about a mass meeting. "That was the first time that Mrs. Parks learned that a bus boycott had been carried out because she had been jailed. She went to the meeting with her student, and became an active member in the boycott until it ended in victory."

Ms. Wallace certainly does not have an affinity with Angela Davis, even though both were middle-class. She derisively describes Angela Davis' fight to free the Soledad Brothers as, "She did it for her man . . ."

This was one of the best things Ms. Davis did. She became famous helping free Black prisoners from the dehumanized institution which they had to endure because of this racist world we live in. What is wrong with Angela Davis wasn't that she followed George Jackson, but that she accepted the leadership of the Communist Party, instead of the Black masses.

Ms. Wallace begins her book on the "Black Macho," and is very repetitive. She takes up the '60s and demeans the whole movement to the lowest level of who is sleeping with whom. It is true that many times in SNCC, Black women were not given a major leadership role and were limited to "women's work." But it wasn't just because their men were going out with white women. This is absolutely preposterous.

The women raised the question of the man/woman relationship, and it had nothing to do with sex between anyone. It was the whole question of mental and manual labor that was the issue. Why should we women do all the work and you men do all the thinking? Ms. Wallace is herself ignorant of the creativity of the Black mass movement, not only the women's movement.

Hers is not the ground for any Black Women's Liberation to take. The book is the confusing, very frustrating, simple-minded ideology of an intellectual with no historical sense.

—Tommie Hope

Did you miss . . .

"The Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation"

by Raya Dunayevskaya

in *News & Letters*, Jan.-Feb., 1979?

Single copies available—subscriptions only \$1/yr

See subscription coupon, p. 9.

# Carter's homemade crisis another loss for us

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

Carter has taken the controls off of oil and now the pump prices will soar even higher. Of course he has had to tie the lifting of controls with an "excess profit" which both Democrats and Republicans won't pass. Another win for oil companies. Another loss for workers.

Carter says the removal of controls will allow oil companies to drill for more oil. What for? They send 40 to 50 trucks full of gasoline to Mexico every day because they've run out of places to store their excess locally. They've even approached people with 300 to 500 gallon storage tanks and let them have the gas at 10 cents a gallon to have it out of sight for their "home-made" crisis.

All of this for the sake of more profits. With the overall falling rate of profits, the only way the big oil companies can stay alive is to gobble up the smaller businesses and increase automation at the expense of the working people. This causes more and more unemployment and make-shift government jobs.

The rising gas prices and already sky-high food prices and taxes are squeezing the workers more and more every day. Perhaps we should follow what the Polish workers did when they refused to work when their Communist rulers announced a 20 percent increase in food prices in 1970. Their strike brought about a reduction in food prices.

In my plant workers are beginning to say we have to stay home and refuse to work. One worker said, "If everybody stayed home for one month, gas would drop 10 cents a gallon and food prices would be back to where a worker could feed his family three meals a day. And retirees could afford something better than dog food."

This dissatisfaction and distrust of the government and of the big oil companies extends as well to the union leadership. Some workers were talking about the recent Teamsters' strike and wanting to know why the car makers were hauling cars from inside our plant, and why some material was coming in the plant.

None trust the union. Right off they figured Fitzsimmons and GM had made a deal. I don't know if this is true, but the attitude of workers — their distrust of all — is important.

The only way workers will ever solve their problems is through their own actions. This will involve changing the type of thinking that the system imposes upon us all. This is the only way this old way of producing capital for the capitalists will ever be uprooted completely and replaced with a system producing for people, not for profit.

## Still no contract at Uniroyal

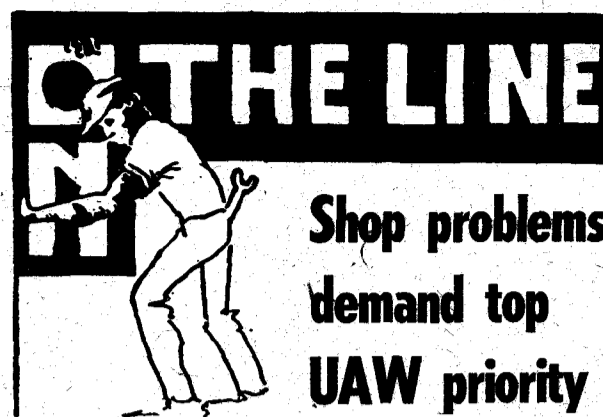
Detroit, Mich.—Our master contract expired here at Uniroyal on April 20 at midnight, and even though the vote to authorize a strike came out 2-to-1 in favor of a strike, we are still working on a day-to-day basis.

This is the first time I know of where a master contract was refused and we still didn't go out on strike. Negotiations are still dragging on right now with no news of what's going on, but plenty of rumors about different deadlines and different agreements.

What is strange about this contract is the almost complete secrecy about everything that's going on. None of us have any real idea of what is being negotiated or what's in the proposed contract, except that the dispute right now has something to do with President Carter and his gang meddling in it with their wage guidelines. Even our committeemen don't know what's going on. But if it's wage guidelines, then the Teamsters didn't follow them and neither should we.

Everyone is on edge, but with all the fooling around, more and more people are expecting a strike. There was rumor of a deadline last night, which didn't happen, and another one is rumored for tonight. If there is a strike, it probably wouldn't start until next week. Meanwhile we are waiting, day by day.

—Uniroyal worker



by John Allison

The UAW, in convention at Detroit's Cobo Hall, received all power from the rank-and-file delegates to strike any one or all of the auto companies to gain economic justice for auto workers.

UAW President Doug Fraser sounded the battle cry for the auto workers against President Carter and his wage guidelines. I'm not saying that Carter is a friend of labor, what I am saying is that the real enemy is GM, Ford, Chrysler and AMC.

The number one demand this year is a cost of living provision for retirees, the second demand is a wage increase for in-plant workers, and there are others. But the fact is that working conditions, safety and production problems must be solved first—or the young workers will not live long enough to get retirement benefits.

Retirees as well as workers in the shop know very well that it will take a lot more than a simple statement by Fraser for the government to "stay the hell away" from the negotiating table. The government is going to be looking at every move Fraser makes, and he knows it better than anyone else.

As for the workers, their mood can be seen from the recent strike at Chrysler's headquarters in Highland Park. Workers know their classification and what it pays, but management took the position that an engineer can go all the way down to do a janitor's job as long as there is no engineering work to be done. A janitor, of course, can't go up to do an engineer's job.

The result of all this was that engineers were being shifted around to other jobs, and lower skilled workers were being bumped down and laid off. This situation was so bad that all the workers were united—the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. Even the local union, Local 212, sanctioned the strike . . . a wildcat strike to begin with.

The result was that the company backed off, and the strike was settled in favor of the workers. This is the place where the action is, in the shop, and it's this kind of unity the UAW has to be able to get from the workers by what it will fight for, and not only when workers react against the oppression by the company.

## Life in my machine shop

### It runs better without bosses

Galveston, Tex.—The metal shop where I have been working in Galveston was bought by a new owner about a month ago. The new owner has a very different approach than the old one, though he is just as ignorant concerning the nature of the work. He decided that, among other things, we are going to mass produce winches and anchors.

My workmate and I embarked on our new careers by completing our first anchor. As the work proceeded, the owner periodically appeared to ask how the job was going and to find out how many hours it took to complete. It took us 11 hours, except for the painting.

At four o'clock his product was ready and he emerged to announce that henceforth we would reduce the labor time by cutting the components together instead of separately, and as he strolled away said: "You can go ahead and start on the next one." We laughed at this ridiculous presumption and instead began putting up our tools.

The same situation prevails in the machine shop. For labor the boss charges his customers \$21 an hour while the top machinist's pay is \$8.50. There are four bosses in the office and altogether the company employs nine workers. Their profits are many times the amount of wages paid, yet they constantly and ineptly look for ways to cut "labor costs."

On the way home I said to one of the older machinists: "You know, I've often thought that workers could run a business without 'management,' and better." His answer was a very short: "Sure!" I am sure, too, that the concept of freely associated labor would become a reality were it not for the constant supervision and interference of "management" at the point of production.

—Machinist, Texas

## FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

### Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich.—We have now heard that the Main Building will stay open through May. Many workers were shocked, though, when management announced April that 450 would be laid off in Main Building with the lines slowed down by only five trucks an hour.

When hundreds of Truck plant workers were laid off in August, management slowed the Main Building to a crawl. But since then, the lines have gotten faster again. Still, we're stuck to the job standards they gave in August which require harder work and fewer workers.

As long as we don't have any say in controlling the line speeds, the elections this month for stewards and committee won't mean a thing. Neither will the local and international contract bargaining.

—Main building worker

### GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — The nationwide Teamsters strike has stopped the transportation of auto parts to the factories and finished cars to the railroads. As a result, plants everywhere were being closed down, but here the shifts continued to work full and half days because independent, scab truckers, were brought in.

Just what kind of picket line, if any, the striking Teamsters have been limited to by Fitzsimmons' "selective striking" strategy is not clear, but some auto workers have approached our local UAW officers and wanted to know why they allowed the company to sneak scab trucks through the gates. Other workers, some from Trim and Ford, said if there's any problem with scabs coming through Teamster picket lines, we should go out and block them to make sure no trucks come through the gates!

The Teamsters strike meant a respite from the grinding overtime we are doing — bringing scab trucks and maintaining such overtime as well as hurting contact negotiations for Teamsters. Auto workers here have own solidarity with other workers in other ways too, as the gate drive for the striking farm workers. (See Leaders' Views, p. 8—Ed.)

—South Gate worker

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—I heard that a worker in the body shop had to walk off the job the other night just to get the relief he had coming to him. He was the odd man out, with no regular relief man, so the foreman would send someone over to relieve him whenever he felt like it. Three or four times no one came at all before lunch, and this worker had both reliefs at the end of the shift.

One night at 8:30 when the same thing was about to happen again, he just walked away and didn't come back till after lunch. His foreman called him and the committeeman in and chewed him out for walking off, but I notice he hasn't missed a relief since. I'm sure the committeeman told him to listen to his foreman, but the union still hasn't solved the problem by making sure the worker has a regular relief man.

—Dept. 21 worker, second shift

### Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich.—Most of us have heard reports about the UAW Convention held last week in Detroit, where a lot of rank-and-file workers brought up how retirees should be given more money and benefits (See Worker's Journal, p. 1).

This is not just because we feel sorry for the retirees, but because we see every day what it means to have to earn a living, which is so much less than what the bosses make, for 30 years of your life, or more, only to end up with a piddling limited income.

As it is now in the plant, I don't see many people around who are old enough to be close to retirement. And when you hear of a retirement dinner, there aren't more than a few people on the list to be honored. Many people are forced to take an early medical retirement because on production, the work load of the older workers never gets any lighter. Ford Motor Co. doesn't give consideration for years of service, or wear and tear on the body. All that matters is that you're on the payroll like everybody else.

—Rouge worker

## N&L Committees participant-reports

# Nationwide anti-nuclear demonstrations mark new protest stage

(Continued from Page 1)

able risks associated with nuclear power, and the capitalists' industry in general.

A woman speaker focused on the unity between feminism and anti-nuclear activity, since the two movements challenge attempts to dominate and destroy both other human beings and the natural environment. A Black woman spoke about poor people's energy needs, and how a woman in California was shot by two policemen when she refused entry to the man who had come to shut off her power.

A Native American talked of uranium mines on Indian reservations, where 50 percent of the radioactive ore is mined, and its direct link to high cancer increases in the Indian population. Other speakers linked the danger of nuclear power to the growing threat of nuclear war.

A speaker from News & Letters Committees placed the anti-nuke struggle in the context of worldwide movements for a totally new society. We as anti-nuke activists are part of the "new passions and new forces" of our age, who have to listen also to the Reason of rank-and-file labor and the Black dimension.

Participants here promised to extend the anti-nuclear struggle toward a nationwide rally in Washington, D.C. May 6, and then to civil disobedience at the Fermi 2 reactor in Monroe, Mich. on June 2.

**New York, N.Y.** — Over 2,000 New Yorkers spontaneously took to the streets, March 30, to protest the Harrisburg disaster, displaying a striking sense of a new political re-awakening.

The Shad Alliance had planned an anti-nuclear conference for that weekend, but a few hours before their planned Friday night keynote address, they decided to call a rally in Washington Square Park instead. When it began around 7 p.m. there were about 150 people, mostly radicals and anti-nuke activists, but as the march wound its way up to Times Square the crowd grew to 2,000 within a few hours.

The marchers' fighting mood took the demonstration six miles up Manhattan's west side, from Greenwich Village to Columbia University whose engineering department stood poised to activate an experimental nuclear reactor, Triga II, right on the edge of Harlem. Shortly after the rally, Columbia's President McGill announced he would "ask" the engineering department to reconsider its decision to activate Triga.

On April 6, over 3,000 demonstrators gathered at the headquarters of Consolidated Edison, which operates two reactors at Indian Point, 25 miles from New York City, then marched on the office of Governor Hugh Carey.

This march was also very spirited, despite icy winds. Much of the spontaneity of the March 30 action, how-



1,500 marched in N.Y. March 30 nuclear protest.

ever, was missing, due to the heavy intervention of the vanguardist Left, who, equipped with bullhorns, dominated the rally in an attempt to "give direction."

The very thing that is making this issue of nuclear power so important — masses coming out in opposition to the nukes, and opening doors to ever-new subjects being drawn into it — is precisely what is drawing the radicals to it to take it over, convinced as they are that the fodder for a "new anti-war movement" is being supplied.

The thousands of students and workers, old and young, were talking among themselves about basic questions like the direction of life in this country after Harrisburg, and spoke of being ready to involve themselves in new mass struggles. Is the Left ready for them?

**Chicago, Ill.** — In downtown Chicago on April 14, over 1,000 people marched and rallied against nuclear power. There are seven nuclear reactors within 50 miles of Chicago and the movie "The China Syndrome" was based on an actual accident at the Dresden plant just outside the city.

It was exciting to see people on the street join in the demonstration, including an over-the-road trucker I talked to who was just passing through. Though the slogans were limited to opposing nuclear power in favor of solar energy, talking to individual protestors revealed their interest went beyond the slogans, and many wanted more information about the Czechoslovakian dissidents who took their lives in their hands when they exposed a nuclear accident in their country.

**San Francisco, Cal.** — In the wake of the nuclear disaster near Harrisburg, 25,000 people from all over

Northern California turned out for a previously-scheduled rally on April 7, to protest the building of the Diablo Canyon nuclear plant halfway towards Los Angeles.

Along with the problems of cost-overruns, nuclear waste, plant-worker safety, and "human error" in fail safe systems, Diablo Canyon sits right near an active earthquake fault. The Rancho Seco nuclear plant near Sacramento is also under attack because it is identical to the Three Mile Island facility.

Many people expressed concerns that the real issue isn't solar power over nuclear power, but the effect of capitalism has on people's lives when it controls a means of energy and production. The point was brought up that the government wants to build solar-collecting satellites that would beam back vast amounts of microwave energy to a selected spot on earth, disregarding the possibility of the beam straying over a city or the fringe effects of that much concentrated energy.

The Marxist-Humanist ideas of human power and thought being the answer to capitalism's fragmentation of people were well received by many.

**San Onofre, Cal.** — Over 1,500 people rallied here on April 21, in protest against the San Onofre nuclear power plant. This plant, located just 25 miles north of San Diego, releases radioactive wastes into the air every 24 hours. The presence of this plant not only poses the threat of a disaster like Harrisburg, but can mean disease and slow death for the residents of the area right now.

There were people from all backgrounds: men, women, children; white, Black, Latino, Asian; professionals and workers; but most were young, and many had been involved in the ecology movement.

Some, including many of those not a part of any Left group, were connecting nuclear power and nuclear armaments with corporate interests and imperialism, recognizing whose interests the government watches after.

Perhaps what is most important about San Onofre are some of the activities of the construction workers who are preparing the site for an additional nuclear reactor. After the Harrisburg disaster, they wanted to know from the power company what procedures had been prepared for their evacuation in the event of a nuclear accident.

Several hundred showed up at a meeting to discuss this problem, despite threats by the company that they would be fired. Some of the workers went to the local TV station to tell of the problem, and the harassment they were facing by the company for wanting to discuss it.

The question of health and safety can really become key. If the anti-nuke leaders would take that up, instead of seeing the nuclear power construction workers as the enemy, they would get a very different response from these workers, and workers in all other industries would respond as well.

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## Internationalism highlights German anti-nuclear march



140,000 people converged on Hannover, West Germany March 31 from all across that country to protest the planned Gorleben nuclear waste disposal site. This largest demonstration in post-war German history included old as well as young, workers and people from rural areas as well as students. As they marched through the streets they chanted, "We all live in Pennsylvania" and "Yesterday—Hiroshima, Today—Harrisburg, Tomorrow—Gorleben." Banners hung from buildings pro-

claimed: "Women against atomic power. We want life." One demonstrator wrote, after a minute's silence for the deaths and dangers of atomic power the world over:

But we are not only silent.

We will also act.

We are the sand in the machine of the rulers,  
And these machines, these miserable machines,  
We will bring to a standstill.

—Burckhard Kretschmann

# Editorial Article **The alternative to nuclear madness is social revolution**

by Olga Domanski, National Organizer,  
News and Letters Committees

The outpouring of protest in the wake of the near-disaster at Harrisburg presents the anti-nuclear movement with the possibility of a whole new stage—the forging of real links with rank and file workers without which the movement cannot develop its revolutionary potential.

Harrisburg has made it impossible for anyone to go on pretending that what Karl Marx wrote 135 years ago—"To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie"—is abstract philosophy. It can now be seen by everyone as the concrete truth of capitalist society. The threat to the very existence of humanity comes not alone from nuclear war, but from the daily questions of life and death generated every day in every industry.

## A NEW DIMENSION OF PROTEST

Thousands of ordinary people, many of whom had never participated in a demonstration before, have made known their determination that the nuclear madness must end. San Francisco saw the largest anti-nuclear rally ever held in the U.S., 20-30,000-strong protesting a proposed \$1.4 billion nuclear plant at Diablo Canyon less than three miles from an active earthquake fault. Groton, Conn., witnessed 4,000 demonstrating at the General Dynamics plant against the launching of the first Trident nuclear sub, a weapon which deploys 408 themonuclear warheads, each with a destructive force of five Hiroshima bombs. In West Germany, over 100,000 filled the streets chanting: "We are all Pennsylvanians!"—transforming J. F. Kennedy's demagogic "Ich bin ein Berliner" into a genuine dimension of international solidarity.

But the greatest protest—because it demonstrated the ground from which the "nuclear madness" stems—was the disclosure by workers at the Three Mile Island (TMI) plant that they had been forced to work 10-hour shifts for 40 days straight prior to the accident, without a single day off! Saying that they were telling reporters about their conditions because they did not trust the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), the workers revealed that safety procedures were consistently violated and workers punished with suspension for complaining about unsafe conditions. One worker summed it up: "Risk this, risk that, do anything, but keep the electricity flowing." Every worker knows that as the "logic" of capitalism.

Indeed, the protesters at Groton, Conn. learned that health and safety is the greatest concern of the General Dynamic workers—50 percent of whom are reported to have "lung abnormalities" and are exposed to asbestos as well as low-level radiation. Other workers are asking why there are no protests about the thousands of coal miners who have been killed extracting that energy

source. The truth is that there is no capitalist industry whose workers do not face daily conditions of death and injury from toxic fumes, carcinogens, accidents or radiation—whether that be in the coal mines, in the textile plants, in the auto shops, or in the "factories in the fields".

Nor is there an industry that has not been allowed to foul the land, the seas and the air we breathe. It is not only the Hooker Chemicals and Plastics Corporation which was allowed to dump its toxic wastes into the Love Canal of Niagara Falls for 20 years. There are over 40 million tons of toxic substances produced each year, nationally, which are dumped no one knows where.

## CAPITALISM'S DRIVE TO DESTRUCTION

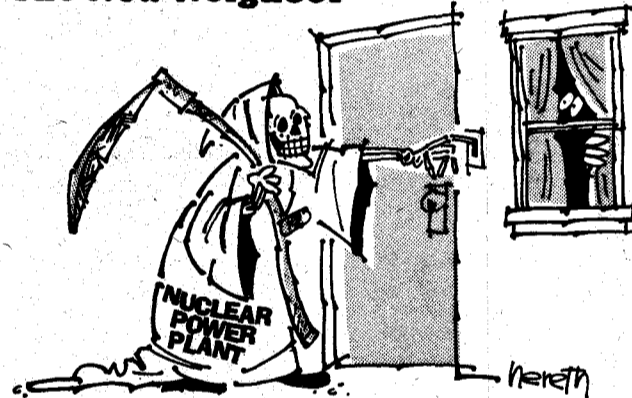
The "nuclear madness" we face is but the most catastrophic extension of capitalism's drive to destruction. There is no other word to describe Carter's insistence, in the wake of TMI, on continuing to speed up the licensing of still more nuclear plants—despite the proof that neither the industry, the government, nor science knows what they are doing.

- There is not a single step in the process that is safe in their hands—from the mining of the uranium to the disposal of the nuclear wastes that remain radioactive for 500,000 years, and that no one knows what to do with.

- There is not a single scientist who can say that any level of radioactive exposure is safe.

- There is not a single one of the malfunctions that combined to produce the TMI disaster that has not already happened at one of the other 71 nuclear plants operating in the U.S. Nor is there a single plant that has not had repeated accidents. An examination by the Associated Press of the NRC's files for 1978, alone, disclosed no less than 2,835 incidents of what the NRC calls "reportable occurrences"—that is, incidents that

## The New Neighbor



either violated commission rules or threatened public safety.

The Russian minister of power and electrification has now also been forced to admit what everyone already knew—that there have been "several accidents" at Russian nuclear sites, including fires, an explosion, and radiation leaks. They, too, have every intention of pressing even more development. "No system is fool-proof," is Kosygin's anti-human verdict.

## WE NEED A TOTAL UPROOTING

Only now, 20 years after the government assured Utah citizens that they had nothing to fear from the Nevada bomb tests, is the true toll in cancer deaths and the callous government cover-up—"We must not let anything interfere with this series of tests—nothing"—being exposed.

For years, ordinary mortals were assured by the "nuclear priesthood" that nuclear reactors were not bombs and could not blow up. It was for good reason, as TMI proved, that nobody believed the scientists. The links are stronger than ever between the anti-nuclear and anti-war forces. New links have also been forged with the women's movement, the Native Americans (who have felt the most brutally the ravages of uranium mining and processing on their lands), and above all, rank and file workers.

The national March on Washington, D.C. on May 6 can mark a powerful new alliance of all of these forces and bring us to the threshold of a whole new stage IF it sees that the total disregard for human life that this barbarous system represents cannot be ended short of its total uprooting. Until then the demand to shut down the nuclear industry's life-threatening plants is only a stop-gap measure. The only "safe energy source" that is a real alternative to the anti-human motive force of capitalism—whether in its private form as in the U.S. or its state-capitalist form as in Russia and China—is what Marx called "human power which is its own end."

No-one understood better than Einstein that you cannot have "one basis for life and another for science". It took capitalism from 1905 all the way to 1943 and World War II before his great discovery of the theory of relativity was finally developed. What could have produced a great energy source for humanity was deformed, instead, into the most destructive bomb the world had ever seen. "Everything has changed," he said, at that moment, "but our mode of thinking. We drift toward unparalleled catastrophe."

What Harrisburg has made clear is that the main enemy—wherever you live—is in your own country. No foreign enemies or nuclear wars are needed to destroy us. The daily reality of the capitalist system is enough. Time is running out. It is up to us to make sure it is running out for capitalism and not for humanity.

## TWO WORLDS

(Editor's Note: The world's heightened concern over the nuclear madness of U.S. capitalism focuses attention on that of the other powers, Russia and China, as well. We reprint below brief excerpts from two articles by Raya Dunayevskaya written when Russian and Chinese bombs exploded over the world.)

### If This Isn't Madness, What Is it?

On October 30 the 50 megaton bomb was exploded. If this isn't madness what is it? . . .

No doubt none of the Russian leaders, least of all Khrushchev, will rush to quote Dr. Pauling who says that a 50 megaton nuclear blast would cause 40,000 babies to be born with physical defects in the next few generations, produce bone cancer and leukemia among persons now alive, and pollute the atmosphere for 6,000 years. Nevertheless the Russian masses will learn the truth. On what scale will they now weigh the 22nd Russian Communist Party program promising utopia in 1980?

The United States' U-2 spy flight put an end to "the spirit of Camp David" while the Congo crisis and the Cuban invasion produced a double-barrelled attack on the UN and the open challenge to the U.S. and its Monroe Doctrine. But all remained short of war even in Laos.

The "comradely relations" in the Communist orbit, on the other hand, have been anything but peaceful. Their co-existence has erupted into open disagreement at Khrushchev's initiative. It is obvious that Chou didn't have foreknowledge of the attack on tiny Albania which is, in fact, an attack on her mighty protector, China. If not only the "revisionists" (Yugoslavia), and the "anti-party" group in Russia, but also the "deviationists" (Albania) and "dogmatists" (China) must be attacked, isn't it clear that the explosion of the bomb is not only to terrorize the outside world, but that part right inside the Communist orbit?

So sure does Khrushchev feel of his home ground that he publishes Chou's criticism. It means also: "You

## Russia and China share global nuclear insanity

haven't heard the last of this yet. Wait till I sum up. Until I do, just listen to those nuclear blasts." . . .

If it isn't madness, it is only because we live in the kind of world where the madmen in power are the ones who decide what is rational. . . .

An African from Southern Rhodesia I heard recently, speaking on the image the U.S. is creating of itself in Asia through Mississippi jungle justice against Freedom Riders, said: "You Americans see Communists behind every bush, and when we fight for our freedom, you ask us what we think about the space race with Russia. To us Africans that space race is really for the outer reaches of space—way out. We want freedom right here and right now on this earth."

News & Letters,  
Nov. 1961

### Mao's Bomb and Khrushchev's Fall

In the short space of 18 hours the world scene has changed so radically that it's very nearly beyond recognition. Or is it? China has exploded its first atomic bomb and, like all other destructive agents from United States imperialism to Russian state-capitalism, from McMillan's Great Britain (now Labor) to De Gaulle France, the claim has been that this flirtation with nuclear holocaust has all been "in the interests of peace." At the same time China's atomic explosion followed so closely upon the heels of Khrushchev's fall from the seat of power that the Sino-Soviet conflict has overshadowed all other probable causes for the sudden shift in power from Khrushchev's exercise of total power to the new "collective leadership" of Leonid I. Brezhnev, as First Secretary of the Communist Party, and Alexei Kosygin as Premier . . .

What neither the Western experts nor the Communist totalitarians are talking about is the one thing that is truly new in the situation leading up to Khrushchev's removal from power—his sudden decision to try for a new rapprochement with West Germany . . .

The Chinese Communist Party immediately charged

Khrushchev with a "sell-out" of East Germany to the West. We must keep this in mind when we read the official announcement from Peking on its atomic explosion allegedly because "The United States is now putting nuclear weapons into the hands of the West German revanchists through the so-called multilateral nuclear force and thereby threatens the security of the German Democratic Republic and the other East European Socialist countries." It is to be doubted that East Europe will feel safe under Peking's "atomic umbrella," but Mao is not one to miss an opportunity to create distrust in Russia's readiness to protect "the socialist countries." . . .

Whatever induced Khrushchev to . . . attempt a new type of relationship with West Germany, it couldn't have been very popular either in Russia or in East Germany or in Poland. Indeed, no policy so quickly unites not only Communists in Europe but Europe as a whole as fear of a rearmed West Germany.

The new power struggle in Russia is, at the same time, a new stage for the struggle for world power, beginning with dominance over the Communist world. While it by no means excludes a rapprochement with China, this is quite unlikely at the moment. The point is that, again, all roads lead to Berlin. . . .

The irony of this is that the European Communist parties so value the little independence they have gained by the Sino-Soviet rift not being settled that they are now questioning the method of Khrushchev's removal. Such a skeptical attitude is hardly what Brezhnev counted on as a response to his first major public speech on Oct. 19, in which he promised that the party is striving for the unity of "the Socialist countries on a fully equal footing." What the attitude, and the promise, do reveal is that the rise of the new ruling clique is only the beginning, not the end, of the divisive forces at work.

News & Letters,  
Oct. 1964



# IRAN : UNFOLDMENT OF, AND CONTRADICTION

*Editor's Note: Space limitations prevent us from printing Raya Dunayevskaya's Political-Philosophic Letter on Iran in full and have forced us to eliminate, as well, all footnotes, despite their importance. Copies of the full letter, complete with those footnotes, are available for \$1, which includes postage and handling, from NEWS & LETTERS, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48211.*

## I. A Whole Host of Specters Haunting Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution"

Dear Friends,

A whole host of specters are haunting Khomeini's "Islamic Republic" before ever it is officially established. There is the specter of a full social revolution in the very unfoldment of the Iranian Revolution which, after all, witnessed a series of the greatest, most powerful and sustained mass mobilizations for months on end before the three days of insurrection. Clearly, February 9-12 had not only driven the Shah and his stooge, Bakhtiar, from the throne, but the manner in which the workers ended their general strike to return to work without returning their guns, as the Ayatollah had commanded, showed that only Chapter 1 of the Revolution had ended. It put a special emphasis to the complaints of his appointed Prime Minister, Bazargan, about lack of production. As the Deputy Prime Minister, Entezan, put it: "Despite the Ayatollah's commands, none of the major industries in the country are functioning because the workers spend all their time holding political meetings."

As if Workers' Councils, Neighborhood Committees, anjumeni, many new forms of spontaneous organization, and youth dominant in all, did not take on the apparition of a dual government, there came, with the celebration of International Women's Day, a mass outpouring of women, bearing the banner, "We made the revolution for freedom, and got unfreedom," which may very well have opened Chapter 2 of the Iranian Revolution . . .

For five straight days the women continued their marches, and not only against Khomeini, but against Prime Minister Bazargan, and on March 10 held a 3-hour sit-in at the Ministry of Justice. Nor did they tolerate the mass media's autocratic choice of what they would photograph, who they would give voice to, whom they would focus on. Instead of letting their protests go unrecorded, the women marched upon the mass media, thus exposing the fact that the censorship there is now almost as total as it was during the Shah's dictatorship.

Nor was the Ayatollah calmed by the fact that the Women's Liberationists produced a schism in the Fedayeen (and to a lesser extent also in the Moujahideen). For, while a good part condemned the actions of the women<sup>2</sup>, others formed a human chain on both sides of the march to protect them from further harassment. That certainly was a great advance over the beginnings of the Portuguese Revolution in 1975<sup>3</sup> where the Left males attacked women's demonstrations with impunity. 1979 in Iran showed, at one and the same time, that male revolutionaries would not permit attacks on women revolutionaries, and women were striking out on their own as a way of deepening the content of revolution . . .

Under these circumstances of ever new forces of revolution, for male revolutionaries to disregard how total the revolution must be if it is to uproot the exploitative, racist, sexist society, and once again try to subordinate women's struggles as a "mere part of the whole" (as if the whole can be without its parts), is to play into the hands of the reactionaries, be that the "secular" Bazargan government, or the Ayatollah Kho-

meini who is trying to "institutionalize" his Islamic "revolution," that is to say, confine it to where he can steal the fruit of the revolution—freedom—and leave the masses who made it at the bottom as in any and all class societies.

The schisms within the ruling class are not as irreconcilable as between labor and capital. Nor are they only a question of secular vs. theocratic rule. The fact that Khomeini nevertheless tried to keep some distance away from the planned March 5 celebration of the 12th anniversary of the Mossadegh, who was the first to nationalize the oil industry and shake up the Shah's throne, throws a glaring light on what he intends to do with his so-called Islamic Revolution. Bazargan, who did sit on the platform, was not recognized as any voice of the 1951-53 revolt and thus was in no position to serve as any bridge between the dissident bourgeois liberal factions. Instead, the person who spoke first was Mossadegh's grandson, Hedayat Matine-Daftari, who criticized Bazargan's attack on the extension of democratic rights.

More significant was the voice of the Ayatollah Teleghani who had broken with the Islamic Revolutionary Committee in late February, approved, instead, elected, not appointed, workers' committees, thus making sure that the revolution does not stop at its very first step, the overthrow of the Shah.

There is no point in underestimating the power of the Ayatollah Khomeini, who many are now treating as an Imam even if he has not exorcised those specters haunting his revolution. That counter-revolution is right within the Revolution. He knew how to hit at the women, mobilizing a few thousand to march with their chadors against the women who were protesting a great deal more than dress.<sup>4</sup> What the Women's Liberationists learned here was that not all women are sisters. It is, after all, a slander to make it appear as if it were a mere question of women against men. "Sexual politics" is anything but that; the male chauvinism exposed, and that included of the Ayatollah Khomeini, was the limitations of the freedom of humanity, the abrogation of the civil rights—political, social, economic, intellectual, class.

In the latter case—the most worrisome for the Ayatollah—it was the way the workers, in this case the printers, united with the Youth on what seemed most abstract—works on philosophy of revolution, on politics, strategy, on internationalism, to satisfy their thirst for knowledge of all to do with revolution. Thus, in the very midst of revolution when the general strike was at its height, the printers decided to work double shifts so that they could satisfy that thirst. As one eyewitness report describes it: "Books are flowing at the people as fast as soldiers' bullets . . . they read everything about revolution. All Marxian books that have been translated into Persian are being reprinted and spread hand to hand and house to house: Capital, Paris Commune, Communist Manifesto, What Is To Be Done?, State and Revolution, Imperialism, Wretched of the Earth, Black Skin, White Masks, Dying Colonialism."<sup>5</sup> A further account reported a new translation of Marx's 1844 Essay on Alienated Labor and innumerable leaflets.

How idiotic indeed is the bourgeois press that keeps repeating old official (SAVAK?) figures that Marxists number but 2 percent of the population!<sup>6</sup>

## II. The Main Enemy Is Always At Home

The workers in revolution need no "vanguard parties" to tell them that the main enemy is at home, that the conflict between labor and capital is irreconcilable, and that native capital has such overwhelming tie-ins with imperialism that, if its life is threatened, the capitalists will certainly ask for imperialism to come to their aid in bringing on the full counter-revolution. But under no circumstances does that mean any slackening of the workers' own self-activity, self-organization, self-development, thus deepening the revolution. Thus, no sooner had Bazargan tried to reassert his full authority by a takeover of the oil industry than some of the workers' leaders at once resigned from the workers' committees in protest. Listen to Mohammad Javad Khatemi's appeal<sup>7</sup> "To All Oil Workers and Those Who Fight for Freedom":

After 90 days of our heroic strike, during which we have cut off all supplies of oil — the livelihood of the reactionary regime and of its imperialist backers—and by the bloody struggle of the people we have succeeded in overthrowing the Shah . . .

As a representative of the oil workers—the heart of our industry—and as one of the initiators of the strikes in the oil fields . . . I am resigning because I can see that reactionary elements working under the banner of Islam are consciously suppressing the people's freedom and rights . . .

It was you workers who fought and suffered from sackings, imprisonment and the burnings of our homes

and still we did not give up because we all felt a responsibility to the whole of the people of Iran. Myself and other representatives who were responsible for leading your struggle know better than anybody that it was you yourselves that made the victory—not anybody else . . .

We do not accept any dictatorship and will always support those who fight for freedom . . . We must remember and understand the nature of imperialism which still has everything in its hands. We must remember what happened in Portugal, Argentina and especially Chile. Until imperialism is completely smashed such things can happen again.

This type of worker opposition, if it will once again develop a mass base, is the way to stop the attempted counter-revolution, provided that we, as revolutionaries, in turn, do not forget that to speak only of anti-imperialism as if imperialism alone was responsible for the counter-revolution in Chile, in Argentina, or anywhere else for that matter, is a deviation. It is a deviation very welcome to and indeed calculated by the indigenous capitalists. That is to say, native rulers will say anything, anything at all, so long as thereby the class struggle at home can be subordinated to fighting everything "foreign" as Enemy No. 1. What World War II showed us was that, outside of Hitler himself, none were more adept at playing the nationalist game than Peron, and, contrary to Hitler<sup>8</sup>, he succeeded in so fooling the Left with his "anti-imperialism" that many hailed him as a "revolutionary" . . .

Or look at the Trotskyists this very moment in Iran who, while correctly fighting U.S. imperialism, are so blinded by their position that Russia is still a "workers' state" rather than the other nuclearly-armed power reaching for single world domination, that they only lay the ground for "The Vanguard Party"—Tudeh—who are even louder in their declamation against U.S. imperialism, as if it weren't Stalin's Russia that had occupied Iran at the end of World War II as U.S. imperialism and Great Britain helped keep Iran in tow during World War II.

Or look at how Khomeini is using the slogan of anti-imperialism to usher in his bourgeois Islamic republic, to keep Kurdistan within Iran rather than granting the Kurds, and the many other minorities hungering for self-determination, their freedom . . .

As for the Iranian masses, they surely have no need of statistics<sup>9</sup> to attest to their miserable conditions of labor and life. It is the urban poor, 70 percent of whose miserable wages — where they have them — go for rent, who were after all the ones to explode on February 11 in Tabriz. What I am pointing to is that the Iranian Revolution started before the days of insurrection . . .

Of course U.S. imperialism is the most gigantic, militaristic, nuclearly-armed Titan in the world. Of course we, as American revolutionaries, must work to see that it never reestablishes itself in Iran or anywhere else. And, of course, we must point to the fact that the rush to the present Middle East treaty was induced precisely by the fear of the consequences of the Iranian Revolution.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, we must not permit the indigenous Iranian counter-revolution to hide under the slogan of anti-imperialism, as some in the Left are trying to do by branding not only U.S. imperialism but Kate Millett and, indeed, the whole women's revolutionary movement as if they are "agents of imperialism."<sup>11</sup> Nothing could assure the victory of the counter-revolution more than that kind of "anti-imperialism."

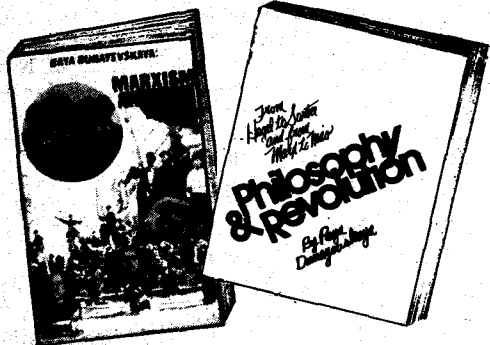
Let us, instead, turn to the genuine indigenous roots of a most unique revolution, the very one that is now being so bandied about as if the only point involved in it, great though that was for that year, was the Constitution of 1906. The Revolution lasted from 1906 to 1911. We turn to this period not only for nationalism but internationalism, and not only for the past but the present.

## III. Two Iranian Revolutions, 1906-11, and Today's

One look at the 1906 Revolution<sup>12</sup> will reveal its two greatest features that today's Islamic celebrants keep quiet about. One is its inspiration in the Russian Revolution of 1905. Indeed, it was at the height, November-December 1905, that the first general strike broke out in Teheran. While today Iran means oil, in 1905 it was Baku, Russia, that meant oil, and because thousands of Iranian oil workers were in Russia and were inspired by the Russian workers fighting Tsarism, they learned also about a very new form of organization — Soviets. This, then, was what became the form of spontaneous organizations in Iran as well.

The uniqueness in Iran was that what had started

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# REVOLUTION

by **Raya Dunayevskaya**

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



**Jobless Iranian workers demonstrate in Teheran as thousands more protest climbing unemployment and defy fire of Islamic troops. (See "Our Life and Times," p. 12.)**

to stop with mere exposure of the betrayal. Rather, with Capital in hand as well as the political thesis of the need to "Turn the Imperialist War into Civil War," Lenin delved into Hegel's Science of Logic. Of all the revolutionary Marxists—Luxemburg, Trotsky, and many, many others—Lenin alone decided that first of all he must reorganize his own method of thinking and doing.

In a word, before the April Thesis was and could have been written, there came, first, Lenin's **Philosophic Notebooks** (precisely, his Abstract of Hegel's 'Science of Logic'). Then he worked out his theory of **Imperialism**<sup>16</sup>—his confrontation with the new state of economy—monopoly capitalism on the way to state-monopoly-capitalism, not outside of its relationship to the proletariat but as related to the transformation into opposite of a section of the proletariat that did gain from capitalism's extension into imperialism. Thirdly, and above all, came a real live revolution—the Irish Easter Rebellion, 1916—which gave a new dimension to the "National Question" as self-determination, as "the bacillus" of proletarian revolution.

Finally the determinant emerges for that proletarian revolution—**State and Revolution** (originally called "Marxism and the State")—and only after that could Lenin "rearm" the Party. Far from that producing any sort of debate about dictatorship of the proletariat, or dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, what resulted—and where we should begin—is "All Power to the Soviets," that is to say, all power in the hands of the masses, their forms of organization, their control of production and the state, their smashing of the bourgeois state, and by working out a new relationship of theory to practice, and the movement from practice to theory, the establishment of new human relations. We have, after all, 62 additional years of experience, have seen Russia and China also become transformed into their opposite, with both vying for U.S. imperialism's alliance! Surely we cannot behave as if nothing had happened in all those decades of maturation, aborted revolutions as well as revolutions transformed into opposite.

There is no way to extend and deepen the revolution if Bazargan is allowed to reduce to a consultative role the function of the committees organized by the workers to run the plants and offices. The fact that the Prime Minister feels impelled to take to the air waves to declaim against what he calls "the dangerous logic of soviets" further exposes his capitalistic fear of the elemental passion for freedom released by the ongoing revolution. Ayatollah Khomeini's stopping the revolutionary tribunals against the Shah's most powerful and vicious henchmen in the SAVAK and in the government has focused on just how rapidly he is turning the clock back, and by no means only in the expense of the women's freedom. Those acts of retrogression are not only dangerous logic. They are acts of outright counter-revolution. Let us extend our solidarity to the embattled revolutionaries—the new generation of revolutionary students as well as workers; Women's Liberationists as well as national minorities fighting for self-determination. Let us extend the activities here to stop the interfering hand of U.S. imperialism hungering for oil and the strategic location for its nuclear global aim.

The struggle continues.

**Raya Dunayevskaya**  
Detroit, Michigan  
March 25, 1979

## WHO WE ARE

**News & Letters** was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery, Ala. Bus Boycott segregation — activities which signaled new movements from practice, which were themselves forms 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.

out, indigenously enough, as a secret organization, became Anjumeni, a very nearly dual government — local units organized independently of the Shah and the Majlis by popular elections, defending their independence on the ground that there was too much bureaucratic corruption in the government. By 1907, these anjumeni were by no means limited to Teheran but functioned also in Tabriz, Enzeli, and not only in the towns, but spread to rural areas . . .

It is true—and this uniqueness exists unto today and must under no circumstances be disregarded—that the religious leaders sided with the revolution, or at least its first stages. As against Russia where, though Father Gapon had triggered the opening of the Revolution when his march to the Tsar's Palace was transformed into Bloody Sunday in January, 1905, by the Cossacks firing into the march, the Greek Orthodox Church sided with the Tsar, the religious leaders in Iran went with the Iranian masses both in opposing Russian domination and demanding the Shah grant a Constitution and allow them to establish a Majli (Parliament).

But even here we must see the negative features. For the first chapter, the one so celebrated now, the December 1906 Constitution, limited the Shah's power and produced a Majli. There then followed many spontaneous organizations that worked independently of it. Once the Majli convened, the religious leaders began moving away from any class struggle. By October 1907, the Amendments the Majli passed restored many powers to the Shah, especially the supreme command of the armed forces so that one could hardly call him just a figurehead . . .

Now, it is the difference between the December 1906 Constitution and the October 1907 Amendments which point not just to the duality in the Sh'ite leadership in various periods within an ongoing revolution. It points as well to today: the March 30 plebiscite staring us in the face. Khomeini-Bazargan must not succeed just because they will have won so fake an "election." Yet we cannot entertain any illusions. It will be much, much harder for revolutionaries to function. The imminent counter-revolution is being institutionalized . . .

## IV. Where To Now?

Each revolution discloses something new and unique and challenging. The new in the Iranian Revolution reveals both new strength and new weakness. Surely the sustained mass mobilizations in so despotic a land, armed to the teeth and primed by Nixon since 1972 to take over the U.S. policeman's beat for the whole Middle East, was nothing short of a miracle, especially when you consider that the Shah extended that Great Illusion to believe he would be pivotal to the final confronta-

tion between the two nuclear Titans: the U.S. and Russia. Moreover, they were so spontaneous that even the Left that always likes to take credit for vanguardism had to admit that not only were they not organized by any party, but they seemed to be organized by "nobody".

Yet it would be wrong to think either that it was only spontaneity that was at work, or that "nobody" organized it. Were it so, Khomeini, for whom one million poured out to welcome back, could not proceed so brazenly and so rapidly to try to saddle the Revolution with what he calls "Islamic Republic" and "Islamic moral code," which we already saw at work not only against the women but against the life style of a whole new generation of revolutionary youth who are the very heart of this revolution.

Nor should we entertain any illusion about the "superiority" of the secular middle-class intellectuals who think that because they see Khomeini as "symbol, not philosopher of revolution", that some "greater intellectual" than he will win in the end. There is but one grain of truth in that pretention, and it concerns, not intellectuals, but theory. There is no doubt that the great weakness of the movement now, and not only in Iran, is the lack of theory, a theory stemming from a philosophy of total liberation such as was and is Marx's Humanism, his whole new continent of thought from the moment he broke from bourgeois society in 1843 until his death, 1883, that is to say, from his Humanist Essays through Capital and the Paris Commune to his Ethnological Notebooks.

It took nothing short of the First World War and the collapse of the established Marxist (Second) International before Lenin recognized that, without philosophy, without the dialectics of liberation in thought as well as in fact, a Marxism reduced to economics was inadequate. In any case, what is most relevant for today, and not only for Iran, is to do away with elitism and such quick slogans as the need for an "April Thesis" to "rearm the party," as if that meant Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution with its built-in underestimation of the revolutionary role of the peasantry.<sup>15</sup>

Trotsky's illusion that the April Thesis meant Lenin's "acceptance" of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution notwithstanding, the real relevance of an "April Thesis" for the transition period now in Iran is not the forced identity with that theory that Trotsky built up. Rather, the plain facts of how it came to be is what we hope will help the Iranian comrades work out on the basis of the indigenous and the new, the revolutionary national and international forces of revolution, their path to social revolution, their move from "February" not only to April but to "October."

It was the shock of the simultaneity of the outbreak of World War I and the collapse of the Second International that compelled Lenin to return to Marx's origins in the Hegelian dialectic and see that, without it, Marxism was reduced to vulgar materialism. He refused

# Readers' Views

## CHINA-VIETNAM

The Chinese invasion of Vietnam sent shudders down the spine and brought sadness to the eyes—at least for someone like myself who had first tasted revolutionary politics as a member of the 1960s anti-Vietnam War movement. Why must Vietnam once again suffer invasion and destruction—a small country which had to fight the French, the Japanese, the American and now the Chinese imperialists. Hopefully, the events will force some on the Left to reorganize their thought—and not just jump from support of China to calling Vietnam “vanguard of the world revolution.” Rather it is a time to re-examine rival philosophies of revolution: Maoism vs. Marxist-Humanism.

The Chinese invasion of Vietnam is not a break with Maoism but merely Maoist China's coming of age in a state-capitalist world. Its true opposite lies not in Hanoi or Havana or Trotskyist tail-ending, but in the new beginnings trying to unfold in the Iranian revolution and in the mass discontent and restlessness after Mao's death in China.

Kevin Barry  
New York

\* \* \*

I was pleased and excited to see the “ad” for Marxist-Humanist material on China in the March issue, much of which I didn't know existed. It is very startling to see that it was at the very beginning of the Sino-Soviet Conflict in 1960 that Raya Dunayevskaya posed the question “Can there be war between Russia and China?” News & Letters readers were surely not taken by surprise by China's attack on Vietnam, as so many others were. As the crisis becomes deeper Marx's, *Capital* and Today's Global Crisis becomes more important to understand. Without Marx's philosophy of revolution you end up either touting Mao to the skies, or saying “Up with Khomeini.”

Student  
New York

## DOLLAR GAS

The workers in our plant didn't think much of Carter's claims to have brought peace to the Middle East. They kept asking how many are they going to let die for \$1 a gallon gasoline?

Auto Worker  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

I watch the tankers heading to Mexico with U.S. gas, look at people while I wait in line for my 90¢ a gallon gas, and wonder: When will we all realize it will only get worse as long as we allow this capitalist system of profits to exploit us?

Housewife  
Los Angeles

## INDIANS AND ENERGY

I was disappointed that Peter Mallory's article in the April issue did not discuss the Native Americans' resistance to exploitation by the energy companies. When you consider how small a minority Indians are in America, and how divided and fragmented their movement has become, it is amazing how much their struggles have set back the march of the energy companies. Two examples:

In Alaska, 90 percent of the land is still in dispute as to whose it is and the government is rushing to set up phoney “autonomous corporations” and rush to a cash settlement. The Northern Cheyenne have recently used the govern-

ment's own Clean Air Act to win a stay in the stripmining of their reservation.

It is not just a question of the destruction of Indian culture and life. All who oppose capitalism — workers (especially oil, chemical and atomic workers, and miners), anti-nuke youth, and Indians who may well be all of the above—need each other's contributions to create new ideas and forms of revolution. I wish Peter Mallory would take up “Native Americans and Energy” in a future column.

Susan Van Gelder  
Detroit

## U.S. JUSTICE

I don't know much of what Judge Bruce Wright stands for or doesn't stand for, but I do know that the attacks on him for releasing, without bail, a Black man accused of stabbing a police officer, come from just plain racism. I thought a man was innocent until proven guilty in this country, but it's not so if you're a black man. After Judge Wright released him, they discovered the cop was slashed with a broken bottle, when they earlier said the man arrested had stabbed him with a pen knife! White police are killing Black youth by the dozen every year, and they are freed. People in this city are not going to take that kind of thing any longer.

Black Stockman  
New York

\* \* \*

Currently there is a court proceeding in Houston that could be significant though I doubt it is getting wide coverage, since it is hardly prominent even here. A Mexican Marxist, Hector Marroquin, who is charged with a 1974 murder and terrorist activities in Mexico, has requested political asylum in the U.S. He contends (and seems to have proved it, from newspaper accounts) that he was in the U.S. at the time of the murder. Witnesses have testified to extensive political repression and torture of prisoners in Mexico, and he contends, with good reason, that this will be his fate if he is refused asylum. Today, April 12, a ruling was handed down and he will not be granted asylum. The meaning is clear. The U.S. will not be a refuge for Mexican revolutionaries.

Concerned  
Texas

## ECONOMIC REALITY

Last month you forgot to mention that the \$65 a month my friend gets for food from welfare is for her and also her two growing children. The food lasts her a week or so, and then she's on her own until the next month. A neighbor here gets \$10 a month for herself and her baby—that's it. There are people starving right in this country and you can bet something's going to happen.

Reader  
New York City

\* \* \*

Last fall Congress rewrote the CETA program so that no one can keep a CETA job for more than one and a half years. In their zeal to reduce the costs of domestic programs, Congress also mandated that the average wage for CETA jobs be slashed to \$7200; in many cities and counties, it is to be even lower. The Carter administration has just figured out that one and a half years ends, for a huge number of CETA workers, on Sept. 30—just six weeks before the election. I'm betting that the “limited number” of people who can be granted a stay of execution will be reinterpreted to

mean a “large number for a limited time”—about 7 weeks!

Abused  
Chicago

\* \* \*

Marx was 17 years dead when the Labour Party was founded. Callaghan, like those before him, have seen to it that it is not an anti-capitalist party. Workers are regarded as voting animals. Cabinet rule is more useful to capitalism than even the monarchy, the House of Lords and the Privy Council.

Yet, as Engels said, socialism is innate with the working class. The five percent wage limit put forth by Callaghan has been blown to smithereens by the workers. The demand for a shorter working week is not in the settlements. Too often it is seen only as being related to the issue of unemployment. It is not seen as connected by Marx to freedom and human emancipation.

Harry McShane  
Glasgow, Scotland

## FARMWORKERS STRUGGLES

The 5,000 lettuce workers of the Imperial Valley in California, members of the UFW, have been on strike since January to win better wages and improve their working conditions. The average farmworker earns only \$6,000 per year, which is \$700 below the government's poverty level for a family of five.

The growers have instituted a campaign of lies to discredit the farmworkers' demands, and have resorted to scab labor to bring in the winter harvest. The growers have recruited undocumented workers, who are poorly fed, housed and paid, to break the strike.

Currently there is a boycott against scab lettuce, and because one of the 11 struck growers, Sun Harvest, is a subsidiary of United Brands, which sells Chiquita bananas, the UFW is in addition calling for a boycott of Chiquita-brand bananas. Active boycott support will help show the growers the support the farmworkers have.

UFW Supporter  
Los Angeles

## THE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT

The anti-nuclear issue is not a new one here in Sweden. It was a major factor in the 1976 elections. Most of the youth who are political want to be part of this movement. I want to examine what connection can be made between Marxist theory and the ecology movement. After 30 years of advocating nuclear power, the Social-Democratic Party now says it is against it. They are doing this because the anger after Harrisburg is so great.

Anti-nuke Activist  
Sweden

\* \* \*

The nuclear power issue is important to me as a high school student because nuclear power represents a threat to my life and future. For the past year I have been working against nuclear power by educating myself about the issues involved and trying to educate the public.

As a result of Harrisburg, more people my age are becoming involved in the fight against nuclear madness. Now it is important to establish contact with local anti-nuke groups and form contacts with other student groups. We can stop the nukes by acting now before it's too late to act!

High School Activist  
New York

Farm workers who struck the Ohio tomato fields last summer have vowed to take their campaign to the cities if their struggle for improved wages and working conditions is not settled by the end of this summer. The farm workers are demanding that the giant tomato processors, Campbell's and Libby's, who contract directly with the tomato growers, make up the difference in wage and benefits increases from what the growers now pay. The strikers are also demanding that the processors pay for a retraining program for farm workers thrown out of work by mechanized harvesters.

Right now, the farm workers and the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) are asking their supporters to actively support the boycott against all Campbell's and Libby's, and its parent-company, Nestle's, products. For a complete boycott list and for information on forming a boycott committee in your locality, call or write FLOC, 714½ St. Clair, Toledo, Ohio, (419) 243-3456.

Farmworker Supporter  
Detroit

\* \* \*

The change of attitude among workers in the South Gate Plant was very evident at the recent gate drive held in support of farm workers. Over \$1400 was raised and this was a one-day, mid-week gate drive before payday. We have never gone above \$1,000 before, even when the drive was held after pay day.

GM Worker  
South Gate, Cal.

## ALBERT EINSTEIN

The centennial of Albert Einstein's birth has seen special mention of this great genius in the press, radio, TV, and schools—they even issued a special stamp in his honor. The one thing they all conveniently made sure not to mention was that he was a committed and outspoken socialist—and one who did not equate “a planned economy” with a new society, but was concerned, above all, with how the rights of the individual would be constantly protected. He would have loved News & Letters.

Supporter  
Philadelphia

A lot of young people from Sweden and Denmark came down for a huge anti-nuclear rally here in Hannover. But the police made it very difficult for French supporters to cross the border and join us. The police are very repressive against the movement, which calls into question the whole Social-Democratic leadership and political structure. Recently there have been many trade unionists and workers taking part in the demonstrations and rallies that are going on all over the country. I'm very excited about the movement I see growing now in the U.S.

Student  
West Germany

\* \* \*

Practically every blind person I know is talking about how that official from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission described his inability to solve the situation at Three Mile Island. He said, “We were like a couple of blind men staggering around in the dark trying to make decisions.” We've gotten used to sighted people talking about us not being able to walk or “falling into ditches.” That's bad enough. But the idea that the lack of a mere physical sense would have anything to do with the ability to think shows how little they think of anybody in the society.

Blind Artist  
Detroit



# New strikes are U.S. workers' answer to raging inflation, Carter wage plan

(Continued from Page 1)

of all food has shot up 23 percent, meat 45 percent, and hamburger an incredible 110 percent! For millions of workers and unemployed, beef has now become a rare, luxury item in the week's menu.

As for oil products—even before Carter's deregulation plan—unleaded gasoline has reached \$1.00 a gallon in several U.S. cities already, with the rest sure to quickly follow. And home heating bills this winter soared to \$300 a month for many workers in the Northeast.

It is no wonder that even the most entrenched labor bureaucrats are now rushing to denounce the seven percent wage guidelines, and their curator, Albert Kahn. The UAW's Doug Fraser shouted at that union's bargaining convention his demand that Carter "stay the hell away" from upcoming auto negotiations—but only after more than 1,000 furious retirees had picketed the convention, demanding cost-of-living raises in their pension checks. What the retirees are feeling—even more than those still at work—is the fantastic drop in real wages of 15 percent for U.S. manufacturing workers since 1967, a plunge that has actually accelerated since the start of the recession in 1974.

Under such conditions, it is obviously difficult for Carter's spokesmen to sell his policies on wages. Thus, Kahn blurted out his view that the latest figures on corporate profits were a "catastrophe," since they showed that far from the fourth quarter 1978 profits increases of 26 percent being a fluke, they were precisely what continued in the first quarter of 1979. Nothing like it had been seen since the Korean War profiteering of 1950. For some of the corporate giants, even those fat increases were exceeded. B. F. Goodrich refused its workers a 10 percent hike, while upping its profits 68 percent. And Occidental Petroleum, first of the oil leaders to report, skyrocketed 174 percent! Despite such stark realities, Carter is still playing political games both with domestic oil decontrol and with his wage controls, incredibly trying to convince all that workers' wage demands are the cause of inflation.

## INFLATION'S ROOTS IN VIETNAM

While Carter is certainly not blameless for the mess in which the economy finds itself 27 months after he took office, the greater truth is that the current runaway inflation, without any real growth, and with fully six million unemployed, has its roots in the Vietnam War. It is high time that we came to grips with the fact that that war not only destroyed Vietnam, but the U.S. economy as well. It has never recovered.

From the massive war production at the height of the Vietnam War, through the billions lavished on nuclear "delivery systems", to the latest planning for neutron bomb deployment and the resurrection of the draft, the military cancer continues to expand, while every human service and program is being cut back.

Nevertheless, the fact is that war production is not production at all. Nothing is built; no capital is accumulated, only destruction is the result. That it is simply added to the burden workers have to bear as inflation and taxation, is still not only not grasped by many bourgeois economists, but by many who consider themselves Marxists as well.

## 'The Deerhunter': a racist, macho, anti-worker movie

"The Deer Hunter", winner of the Academy Award this year as "Best Picture", is frightening because it dulls the senses through stunning photography and one shock scene after another. It is a story of five steel workers in a Ukrainian community in a steeltown in Pennsylvania, three of whom decided to go to Vietnam to fight.

From the opening scene of a big truck barreling down this small, hilly town; to the shots in the steel mill of workers in metallic hoods and protective covering with molten steel flowing and hot fire piercing the screen; to the Russian wedding scenes; to beautiful mountain scenes; to the lightning quick transfer to a Vietnam landscape with a Viet Cong soldier grenading South Vietnamese women and children; to the very last—the characters appear to have no relationship to people and events around them. Only in the torture scene is the relationship made clear that you are supposed to hate the torturers, that is, the Vietnamese.

Photography is used as practically the only method of telling the tale. You knew they were steel workers from the shots in the steel mill. They speak not one word of the heat and dirt and danger of the mill. When one main character says (of the town), as he and his best friend are lying naked in a darkened street after the wedding (with the steel mill as the background), that he "loves this place," you wonder why?



Over 3,000 lettuce farmworkers, on strike since January, march with supporters through the streets of Salinas, Cal.

This, despite the fact that Marx put it clearly enough as he neared the conclusion of his greatest work, *Capital*: "The only part of the so-called national wealth that actually enters into the collective possessions of modern peoples is—their national debt." (Kerr edition, p. 827.) In the U.S. today, that debt has reached an astronomical \$800 billion.

So blinding to some has been capitalism's ability to contain economic crises as recessions, rather than plunging back to levels of the Great Depression, that even this perverted military destruction-machine is seen as a stabilizing force. The British "unorthodox" Trotskyist, Tony Cliff, for example, sees in this "permanent arms economy" the explanation of state-capitalism's survival since World War II.

The exact opposite is the case. So ridden is today's world with inflation, recession, low growth rates, and, above all, with the falling rate of profit, that the economy is literally never out of trouble, while at one and the same time, the globe is never free one single day from wars and the threats of wars. So permanent have the crises become that our 1976 prediction is far more evident today: "There will be no next boom."\*

## TURMOIL—IN EUROPE AND IN USA

In the past month, the resurgence of economic turmoil, especially double-digit inflation, has forced the fall of governments in Britain, Italy and Canada. And in France, where Giscard remains in power, more than one million are jobless, and steelworkers demonstrations penetrated even into the center of Paris.

For Carter, all eyes are already on 1980—how to "manage" the economy to win re-election. A hint of how bankrupt that effort will be was provided this

\* For the full analysis of both capitalist economics and "Marxists" like Ernest Mandel as they face our post-war world in crisis, see *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis*, by Raya Dunayevskaya. Included is her seminal analysis of all three volumes of *Marx's Capital*. Available from News & Letters, \$2.

month by the leaked White House program to win the Black vote: 1) make a few prominent Black appointments to Federal jobs; and 2) give several million in new government contracts to Black-owned businesses.

This, while Black family income compared to whites has dropped to its lowest level since 1959, and while Black unemployment is nearly three times the rate in the white population. Very quietly, the Administration's economists have now set the "realizable" goal of "full employment" at 5.1 percent, and, at the same time, concluded that even this figure—nearly five million jobless—is "not a currently attainable target!"

Such policies make it certain that the Black mass revolt, which has ever been the touchstone of American history, remains ready to explode. What is also now a very real possibility, is that they will be joined by rank-and-file labor, Black and white, whose wages and conditions of labor are intolerable. One year after the great miners' strike, the same daily threat of death prevails in the mines. And for workers in many industries, today's reality can be described as "Lethal at work, scrape by at home". At Detroit's Uniroyal plant this month, tire builders, disappointed on hearing that their strike was postponed, were saying, "Let's walk out anyway. At least it would get us out of this hellhole."

With such attitudes all over the country, the Carter administration is nervously looking ahead to upcoming contracts in the garment, electrical, chemical and auto industries. Confrontations are assured between the administration and its corporate allies, and those determined neither to be starved out, nor blown to bits. Their struggle is one to create a human world of reason, instead of the nightmare madness in which mass unemployment and nuclear terror are considered as normal and even necessary.

## AS OTHERS SEE US

### Filosofia y Revolucion

*Filosofia y Revolucion: de Hegel a Sartre y de Marx a Mao, de Raya Dunayevskaya. (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1977).*

*Filosofia y Revolucion* shows the importance of the dialectical method of Hegel and emphasizes the notion of negativity . . . The author makes a critical and rigorous exposition of the meaning of the Hegelian dialectic and the decisive influence it exerted on the thought of Marx and Lenin . . .

Dunayevskaya sees, in all the works of Marx, a continuity of humanistic and dialectical principles, through which she opposes the division between a young Marx and a mature ("scientific") Marx, which permits her to argue with the French philosopher, Louis Althusser. With an extensive store of information, the author shows us the changes in Lenin and the gradual bureaucratizing degeneration of the Soviet State. The actual practice of those so-called Communist countries causes Dunayevskaya to see in them a "state-capitalism" that doesn't correspond to the liberating, humanist and critical aims of Marxism.

The dialectical perspective that links theory and praxis permits the author to analyze critically such important phenomena as Maoism and the proletarian cultural revolution, Sartrean existentialism and its relation with Marxism, the struggle for independence of the African countries. The history of the most recent years shows the growing desire to regain the actual aspirations of the oppressed, be they of the East or of the West.

For instance, the rebellions of 1956 in Hungary, of 1968 in Czechoslovakia and Paris, the Black movement in the USA, the struggles for women's liberation, the movements of workers' control and workers' councils. For Dunayevskaya, Marxism is the revolutionary philosophy that takes up practice and guides it, but never reduces or obscures it—Marxist-Humanism that opposes the petrification of theory and praxis.

Jan. 22, 1979

Vigilio Torres  
Uno Mas Uno, Mexico City

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## AS OTHERS SEE US

**British activist views 'American Black Thought'**

Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought*, by Lou Turner and John Alan, *News & Letters*, \$1. Review from NEPAM, the journal of the N. E. London Polytechnic Students' Union, January 1979.

The impending fall of the Smith regime in Zimbabwe and the continuing struggle against racialism, both the institutionalized racialism of capitalism and the more overt and violent racialism of the National Front, in this country make this pamphlet by two Black American Marxist-Humanists most timely.

In four parts, the first part of the pamphlet deals with the recent revolt of Black youth in South Africa, with which the township of Soweto and the name of the late Steve Biko are closely associated. Of Biko, the authors write: "What is powerful and new about Biko's ideas is that he always centers the possibility for change within the subject of the oppressed, and not simply within the South African economy or within the hierarchy of the system." Socialists who continue to see "the masses" as objects for whom things must be done i.e. theory and leadership provided from on high rather than as subject able and willing to liberate themselves please take note! . . .

The third part deals with the thought of the much neglected Frantz Fanon and shows that he was not only

a Black revolutionary of the Third World but also a revolutionary on a world scale. Unlike many of today's revolutionaries, Fanon, as the authors point out, did not dwell in a myth ridden past. He realized that the poetry of revolution comes not from the past but from the future and that revolution can only begin when it rids itself of all its superstitions concerning the past. Let the dead bury the dead, and let the living dead, the dwarfs disguised in the clothes of giants, lay down and die.

Basing himself on the dialectic of lordship and bondage worked out by Hegel, he shows how those in bondage develop a false-consciousness and come to see themselves as appendages of their masters. The masters too delude themselves and see their slaves not as independent beings but as extensions of themselves. Only when humanity struggles to be neither master nor slave will it be free.

The final part deals with the development of American Black thought from the civil rights struggle of the early '60s, through the various strands of the Black power movement to the present . . . Capitalism is a system which has outlived its time and racialism is a symptom of its death agony. This pamphlet will be another nail in its coffin.

—Terry Liddle

**Author replies to N&L review**

While I appreciate *News & Letters* giving space to *A Radical Life*, (see N&L March 1979), still some errors in the text require correction:

1) "The unionization of the textile workers followed the Palmer raids." No. The Lusk Committee and Palmer raids took place in 1919 and 1920. The Passaic strike broke out in 1926.

2) I was "an organizer for the Communist Party" in the textile strikes. No so. In Passaic I worked for the United Front Committee of Textile Workers. In Gastonia I was an organizer for the National Textile Workers Union.

3) The Passaic mills "employed 1,500 people." Very inexact. The strike at its height included 16,000 people; employed in mills in the area were about 20,000.

4) It surprises me that Terry should resort to that old Stalinist lie that Albert and I resigned "after" we were expelled. Many people were dropping out in those days; automatically the Party expelled them after they resigned or left.

Errors of Omission:

1) My participation in the Left Wing and early underground.

2) My part in the early organization of Detroit auto workers in 1927-28 when I was, for a time, editor of the factory newspapers and worked in an auto plant.

3) Three chapters of my book deal with the Gastonia trials — a travesty of justice if ever there was one. Completely ignored by Terry.

4) In the 1930s, I co-edited the *Class Struggle*, organ of the Communist League of Struggle, contributing analytical articles, at the same time helping to organize the knit goods trade in which I worked.

As for my final chapter, the publishers cut my manuscript in half, leaving no space for all my views. To conclude from that, that I "dropped out in the 1930s" seems just rather funny, especially since Terry saw me last fall taking part in the anti-Nazi demonstration. Not at all funny is the narrow sectarian attitude of all these little Marxist groups. No one of them has the only truth, the whole truth. Not one of them is strong enough to prevail alone. Let us work together in united fronts, leading to joint theoretical discussions. The time may be short: as we are going now we shall all be defeated and the workers with us.

—Vera Buch Weishord

**TERRY MOON ANSWERS:**

It saddens me to see Comrade Vera use such a slanderous expression, in regard to my review of her book, as "old Stalinist lie." We Marxist-Humanists do not use such descriptions when we disagree with each other. What I was reporting was a fact that pointed to the serious apolitization involved. When one already knows the degenerate class nature of Stalinism, it is not enough to merely "drop out" without making an open political statement. To do so after the formal expulsion cannot have the same effect.



Azanian youth in Mammamelodi protest the execution of Solomon Mahlangu, a Black nationalist guerrilla, on April 6 by the murderous apartheid South African regime.

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**Abortion illegal in Ghana**

Chicago, Ill.—The International Day of Action for Abortion and Against Sterilization Abuse, and the recent series in the Chicago Sun Times about all the abortion mills, made me see there are a number of themes that are similar to what is happening in Ghana—particularly the quacks.

In Ghana, abortion is not legal and has bred a whole number of quacks who operate on the women, using very crude methods. Most of the doctors working in the government hospital saw abortion as a very quick way of making money, and they had some shops outside the hospitals where they did the abortions.

Sterilization of instruments was virtually nil. Women would have it done and hope the fetus would abort. They would wait three weeks, and many times the fetus would still be there, so they would have to come back.

Several times that I know of, a family would be home having the evening meal and a car would arrive from the city. You would hear the people crying, and see the girl, dead. When she was pregnant, nobody heard about it. When she had the abortion, nobody knew about it. It was only when she died that the people from her community, who were living in the city, contributed some money and brought her to the village to be buried.

—Ghanaian

**No joy in fast food work**

Chicago, Ill.—The television portrayal of fast food restaurants full of dozens of singing and dancing young people overflowing with joy at the chance to serve you, is the kind of opposite that Madison Avenue is adept at.

A management publication, *Nation's Restaurant News*, which did a survey of those young people in real life had this to say: "Unless food-service executives move quickly to develop an effective working relationship . . . the industry will soon face a labor-management debacle of crisis proportions."

The young workers had endless comments about the low pay, long hours, and inhuman, aggressive managers who violate youth labor laws. Frequent union organizing attempts have been frustrated by government labor boards which require that all the franchises owned by a single owner have to be included in the organizing unit even though they are nowhere near each other.



by Jim Mills

**BULLETIN**—As we go to press, May 1, hundreds of youth have demonstrated outside the Capitol against reinstating military registration after the 1980 elections. Other protests are scheduled nationwide.

At a recent mass protest against nuclear energy, a spontaneously-organized Student Coalition Against the Draft from Western Michigan University circulated petitions opposing the impending resurrection of the military draft and its consequences — war. Aside from the technological identity between nuclear energy and the arms race, the two are related by the forces opposing both, namely youth who neither created this state-capitalist system nor want its myriad unfreedoms.

Thus, along with the recent mass protest against the Trident submarine launching in Groton, Conn., and a less well-known protest at the Sterling Heights, Mich. factory which makes the Lance missile, carrier of the neutron bomb, resistance grows against militarization.

In January, the Armed Services Committee of Congress introduced bills, elements of which include Selective Service registration to begin by Oct. 1 of this year, and open access for the Selective Service to government records, including state and local, for the purpose of re-registering youths on a master list. Provisional state directors already have been re-appointed in all 50 states.

To drive home the urgency, military planners used last fall's Operation Nifty Nugget '78, a simulated European war with Russia, as evidence that even an emergency call-up couldn't replenish the dead — over 1,000 per day — quickly enough in a ground war, despite the newest automated means of carnage already in the field. Nineteen young men were killed in those war "games."

Yet so deep now is youth's opposition to militarism and war, that the current all-volunteer army must spend millions in deceptive recruitment drives and invite women to enlist (in the name of "equality"). Almost half (42 percent) of the enlistees drop out.

But it is that other massive and growing army — the unemployed, especially Black youth — that poses a

## Youth in Revolt

Following a mass uprising April 14 in Monrovia, Liberia against a government increase in rice prices, University of Liberia students went on strike calling for Liberian President Tolbert's resignation. An illegal march by 2,000 people on the State Houses attracted more followers when confronted by state forces. In the ensuing uprising, businesses owned by the wealthy Tolbert family were burned along with foreign-owned businesses. Bands of youths also sacked virtually every store in the city.

Students opposing Columbia University's financial links with apartheid South Africa marked a partial victory when the University announced March 23 the liquidation of stock in three bank corporations loaning money to South Africa. It is a possible first step toward total divestment from all corporations with links to apartheid. The national divestiture movement has already forced ten universities and colleges to divest totally.

The University of Michigan is not among them. At a Board of Regents meeting there on April 19, four hundred students, all wearing gags, demonstrated in court-ordered silence against \$80 million in University investment ties with South Africa, as well as against racist campus policies. This latest protest there ended as they exited the meeting shouting "U of M, USA, Out of South Africa, Right Away!"

Only the police would save 60 neo-facist National Front members from 5,000 angry protesters on April 23 in Southall, England, where many Asians live, just outside London. Forty people were hurt and over 300 arrested, many of whom were Black or Asian youths who assaulted the police and the election campaign rally for the National Front, which is against entry and for deportation of non-white immigrants in England.

Bobby Nathaniel Green, on behalf of the eleventh and twelfth grade Black, poor white and Native American students, filed a class action suit recently in North Carolina against minimum competency testing, used by school systems to screen high school diploma recipients. The suit argues that the tests deny equal protection and due process under the U.S. Constitution and the state uses them to cover up its failure to provide the students their right to free public education. Ten Black high school students in Florida also recently filed a similar suit against that state's competency program. The majority of the nation's school board members favor minimum competency testing.

## Is the draft coming back? Resistance swells

critical threat to U.S. state-capitalism and its ever-deepening crises. This army includes the Vietnam vets whose mass desertions and other forms of opposition within the military helped bring an end to that war — and to Nixon, too. One Pentagon man recently commented on the rash of discipline problems which are expected to enter the military with draftees.

It is surely against these youths that the late Senate Bill 1 and its legislative offspring were directed, intending to impose severe penalties on all forms of organization and expression inside the military.

But the fact that self-organization of resistance is so strong and internalized is reflected in a recent poll that reported 62 percent of 16 to 24-year-olds oppose renewal of registration and the draft. It shows in the

indignation of a Vietnam vet, participating in a recent mass anti-nuke rally, that his combat experience could place him among the first to go under one of many draft schemes.

As China invaded Vietnam, the same shudders of war were felt in every country. But from the anti-invasion expressions by Chinese youth, to the East and West German youth demanding the release of Marxist "system-critic" Rudolf Bahro from East German prison, to the Black youth in this country whose revolt against racism made them the first to declare, "Hell, no! We won't go!", it remains for us to transform the perspective of state capitalism — "a war for every generation," as one anti-nuke protester put it — into revolution in every land.

## Feminist-activists discuss freedom ideas

*We have received the following letters from two young women revolutionaries, Bonnie Mullaney of the Queens College Marxist-Humanists and Rickie Rae of the Wayne State University News & Letters Youth Committee. They discuss their involvement in freedom struggles on and off campus, as well as their ideas about the need for a philosophy of revolution.—Ed.*

Detroit, Mich.—A class which I am taking at Wayne State University, given by Raya Dunayevskaya on her book, *Philosophy and Revolution*, is very difficult, but after only the first one the message is very clear—all struggles have to have a unifying thought to give them direction. The question is what is that unifying thought?

To be concrete, we at Wayne State—including the Wayne State News & Letters Youth Committee—held a rally on March 15 to show our support for the Iranian women who are continuing to fight for their freedom. The rally started with women speaking about Iran and the problems in common we face here in the U.S.

All of a sudden, there "appeared" a group of about 10 to 15 supposedly "revolutionary" Iranian men who started yelling "Down with U.S. Imperialism" (as if we were for U.S. imperialism!) in an attempt to break up our rally. There were men there who supported the rally and tried to keep the disrupters away from us. Finally, one of our women shouted, "We're for freedom. What the hell are you for?" That shut them up for a second, and then they marched away. They couldn't answer that question because they aren't for freedom for everyone—man, woman and child.

—Rickie Rae

New York, N.Y. — On International Abortion Rights Day, March 31, women all over the world rallied to demand the right to control their own bodies and minds. In New York, 5,000 demonstrators—from various women's groups on college campuses, to a group of socialist-feminists, to anti-nuke protesters—marched to show that they will never allow anybody to take that right away permanently (see article, p. 2).

Some women had signs linking the right of women to control their own bodies to the right of every human being to protect her or his own life against nuclear poisons by banning all nuclear plants and weapons. The Women's Liberation Movement and the anti-nuke movement are integrally connected, because both demand that people control their own lives.

At Columbia University, students took over the building which houses the Triga reactor, on April 5. They concerned themselves not only with the threat of nuclear disaster in New York, but also attempted to relate this to Columbia's investments in South Africa and to the Local 1199 striking workers on campus who supported the students' occupation. Women students have been in the forefront of the struggle—chairing meetings, speaking to crowds of anti-nuke protesters, and confronting the University's president.

Similarly, at a recent anti-nuke conference in New York, the only workshop which seriously discussed such questions as how to relate this struggle to other freedom struggles and how to further develop and communicate ideas, was conducted by a group of high school and even junior high school students—and it was female students who were raising most of the questions.

This new generation of revolutionaries is very different from that of the 1960s. They are seeking a philosophy which will aid in their own self-development, as well as guide them in their quest for freedom.

Both the Women's Liberation Movement and the anti-nuke movement must not only take each other's demands for self-determination seriously, but they cannot overlook the necessity to take seriously the demand by minorities to control their own lives, as well as the demand by workers to control their conditions at the point of production.

—Bonnie Mullaney

## '1199' strikers barricade office



Columbia strikers chanting in controller's office.

New York, N.Y. — Thirty-five clerical workers at Columbia University, members of Local 1199 of the Hospital and Health Care Workers Union, shut down the school's multi-million dollar computer system March 22, demanding a contract after working without one since Dec. 31. They barricaded themselves inside the payroll office and refused to leave.

Earlier in the day, all 450 workers in the local—payroll, computer, library and cafeteria workers—had stopped work when they heard reports that a dining hall worker had been fired.

Students first noticed something was happening in the afternoon, when we came across many empty police vans outside the campus. It turned out that 100 police were hiding on campus, waiting until nightfall, when they stormed the payroll office, wearing riot helmets and wielding batons, and arrested all 35 workers. In response, the union called a strike.

The strike lasted two weeks, and ended when the university presented an offer agreeing to several of the workers' demands, as support for 1199 was growing on the campus. One hundred fifty students held demonstrations and a sit-in, linking the 1199 strike with the divestiture and anti-nuclear movements.

—Columbia student

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

# British workers continue to fight Callaghan's pay hike limit

We have received the following report from a correspondent in Britain:

Over the last few months, we have had industrial action on a very much wider scale. In industry after industry, workers have refused to accept the five percent limit on pay rises demanded by Prime Minister James Callaghan. (See Our Life and Times, March, 1979 N&L). Although the level of struggle has subsided over the last few weeks, there are still one-day stoppages, local strikes and overtime bans.

Forty thousand teachers in Scotland came out on one-day strike on March 22. In the civil service there have been two one-day strikes. The second of these, April 2, involved half a million people, brought Customs and Excise and Inland Revenue to a halt, and closed many of the law courts. The Prime Minister's residence at 10 Downing St. was picketed, and at the Tower of London, the famous "Beefeaters" went on guard in civilian clothes . . .

as a civil service union picket line!

In the Post Office, where I work, we have been offered 12 percent but this is tied to an efficiency agreement, introduction of work study, and introduction of part-time labour. Most postal workers are dead against having part-time workers in the industry. The Post Office is chronically short of staff, even in this period of high unemployment, because of the low wages and unsocial hours. The proposal to bring in part-timers is seen as a ploy by management to solve their labour problem on the cheap, instead of paying a decent wage.

However, simply to exclude part-timers would mean denying mothers of young children the possibility of getting a job, so I'm arguing that we should demand that the Post Office provide nursery facilities, which would enable these people to work as full-timers.

Unofficial one-day strikes and overtime bans

are taking place in many post offices, especially in London. My own branch has just voted for a one day ban in overtime.

The hospital workers have now gone back to normal working. What they have gained is a rise of nine percent, plus one pound a week. This is a significant gain over Callaghan's desired five percent limit, but falls far short of their full demand of 60 pounds for 35 hours. These people have been among the most grossly underpaid in the country.

Militant unionism is spreading from its traditional strongholds in mining, transport and manufacturing, and is being taken up by the long-suffering workers in public services and small sweatshop industries, and by white-collar groups like the civil servants, who thought of themselves until recently as middle-class.

—Dick Abernethy

## Iran

New demonstrations by thousands of unemployed workers have erupted in Iran in recent weeks. No one can estimate how deep the crisis is—anywhere from 1.4 million (18-42 percent) are unemployed—but protests have criss-crossed the major cities in recent weeks.

- Over 2,000 unemployed construction workers marched April 8 in Teheran on the local government, shouting "Promises are not bread!" They continued the marches daily, on the Ministries of Justice and of Labor.

- Over 400 workers marched on an Italian construction company that laid them off after the Iranian government stopped paying for a dam-building project.

- Unemployed and striking workers in Sanandaj and Tabriz have held demonstrations. In Isfahan, where the jobless rate is estimated to be 80 percent, unemployed demonstrators were fired on by Islamic troops, who called the unrest the work of "counter-revolutionary elements." One student was killed.

In Sari, workers at a carpet factory demanded to be allowed to return to their jobs. The factory, like many shops in Iran, was shut down by its owners who fled when the Shah was overthrown.

## France

The recent massive demonstrations by, and in support of, laid-off steel workers in Lorraine represent the biggest opposition to emerge in France since May, 1968. France's deep economic crisis and government attacks on French workers have also meant a new adventurous foreign policy that has big world designs for this little country. Valery Giscard d'Estaing's foreign policy, described by one commentator as "more Gaullist than de Gaulle", fancies France as an independent pole of world power. It has resulted in France's military interference throughout Africa and its former colonial empire.

More than 2,500 troops are just now being pulled out of Chad, with the role of keeping Chad "pro-west" being turned over to Nigerian troops.

French troops have also played a crucial role in bolstering the corrupt Mobutu regime in Zaire as well as "policing" Lebanon for the U.N.

The latest development in a policy that capitulates to anything in the name of French interests, was Giscard's less than enthusiastic response to Carter's engineered Middle East accord between Egypt and Israel. After a statement by the Common Market welcoming the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, the French government issued its own statement saying France is the most pro-Arab of European governments. There are also reports that France has unofficially contacted the PLO to try to work out a basis for recognizing them.

## Uganda

The murderous dictator of Uganda, Idi Amin, was deposed on April 12. For years he slaughtered anyone who opposed him, an estimated 800,000 people. Contrasted to the spectacle of the people dancing in the streets at Amin's overthrow, was the release of 4,000 prisoners revealing execution and torture cells filled with decomposed bodies.

Although Amin's overthrow came at the hands of Tanzanian troops, the undermining of the hated regime began from within by Ugandans at the beginning of this year. It was then that major sabotage for the first time knocked out electricity around Kampala and Jinja, Uganda's second largest city; fuel storage for Kampala was destroyed, and major sections of Uganda's railway link to Kenya blown up.

An organization calling itself Save Uganda Movement took responsibility for the actions and, unlike previous exile groups, had broad support among the Ugandan people.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has not voiced any official protest at Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, breaking one of its cardinal rules against violating national boundaries.

The provisional government of Uusufu Lule has so far been recognized by Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and Britain. Also, Kenya, which did little or nothing to help in the overthrow of Amin and actually intercepted arms shipments intended for the rebels, has finally recognized the new regime.

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

anything?" Another said, "They're all politicians—they promise you everything and give you nothing."

### CARTER'S TOKENISM

Someone else began to talk about President Carter's latest promise to appoint several leading Blacks to some high government positions. Supposedly Carter recognizes that Blacks voted overwhelmingly for him in the last election and has finally decided it is time to reward them. Nobody could understand how Carter could expect that appointing a few Blacks to some leading position at this late date would convince Blacks to vote for him in the next election, when he has been cutting back on social programs that affect Blacks the most. How could he believe Blacks will be fooled that giving minorities a token presence in this agency or that, means they will be "influencing policy"?

What Black people are concerned about is the fact that the minorities are carrying the heaviest part of the inflation that is killing us all. That unemployment for Black America is two-and-a-half times higher than white unemployment. That after a quarter of a century of

programs by the Federal government to "solve the unemployment problem" the rate for Black youths has increased from 16.5 percent, to over 35 percent today.

"The truth is," said one of the workers, "that the government never has and never will care about common and working people. They think they can tell us any kind of lies and we will believe them. Just look at what they did to those people in Utah when they kept insisting the radiation from their test bombs would not hurt them. Those people have been dying from cancer ever since. It wasn't that the government didn't know. They knew and deliberately lied so they could keep on testing those bombs. How can they think that anyone believes anything they say by now?"

Working people do not believe their union leaders, their government officials, lawyers, doctors or scientists. They are not waiting on anybody to get us out of the mess the world is in. If this world is to be made over, we will have to do it ourselves. There is nobody today who does not feel the need for something totally different than what we have. It cannot be anything short of a whole new society.

Indignant Heart:

A Black  
Worker's  
Journal

by  
Charles  
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