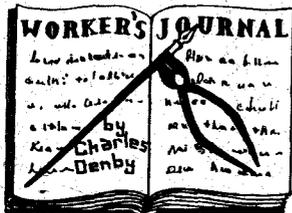


## ON THE INSIDE

The dialectic of today's crises and revolts  
by Raya Dunayevskaya ..... p. 5  
Editorial: Iran demands,  
'Down with the Shah' ..... p. 4  
Anti-Somoza protest at UN ..... p. 7



## Working and welfare not far removed

by Charles Denby, Editor

The Government and the news media have tried so much to brainwash us that it is hard to convince some people what is wrong or right about a question. I was in a discussion where a worker said he was very glad to hear that a single woman living on welfare in Alabama must report to the court the father of every one of her children or be cut off welfare.

This worker said he was glad because he paid some \$67 out of his check every week for their support. He was thinking that every penny of his taxes went to support. But someone told him that only a small percentage of his money went to welfare, and the rest went to the Government for war materials, building up the defense industry, and giveaway programs for big business and the rich. Rich people do not have to pay as many taxes, yet they holler louder about welfare than anyone else.

### FALSE ISSUE

Several of us told this worker that his mind was misguided by publicity. We all agreed that all the talk about "welfare cheats" was phony—if these were put off, they still would holler about your taxes going to support welfare people.

Another worker said, do you realize that there are some men on welfare, but all the fuss is about women and children. How about the men in Government that take most of your tax dollars and use it for their own personal interests?

Now there is no way you can tell me the reason people on welfare do not work is because they do not want to. The newspapers report nearly six percent unemployed in what they call an improved job picture, and that is not counting those who have never had a job. No one will make me believe that all of those unemployed do not want to work, when hundreds of people continually line up just in hope of getting applications for plant work.

As we said to this worker, what the Government is doing is trying to divide up people's thinking, pitting the Blacks against the whites, and those that work against those that are unemployed.

This horrible inflation of big Government has gotten a lot of people mad. Carter keeps talking about wage guidelines and inflation is over ten percent. The Government is charging \$7.50 more for food stamps to buy the same amount of food as last year. But President Carter's gas deregulation program will hand out to the big oil companies so much extra income, it will make welfare costs seem small.

### GAS SHUTOFFS

People on welfare picketed the gas company office here in Detroit before the energy bill was passed, to demonstrate how incredible utility bills would become for workers and people on fixed incomes under the plan. Some people are still paying gas bills now from last year, and the gas company has cut off some for getting behind and has not turned the gas on again.

Everyone knows that this kind of thing will never happen to Government, state or city officials, who get

(Continued on Page 7)

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# NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

VOL. 23—NO. 9

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NOVEMBER, 1978

## New strikes cross U.S.—workers fight inflation, automation, runaway shops

by Michael Connolly

The latest surprise in the wave of unexpected strikes across the country throughout September and October was the rebuke delivered both to Volkswagen management and to the UAW bureaucracy by nearly 2,000 workers—many of them Vietnam veterans — at VW's brand-new Pennsylvania assembly plant Oct. 9. Voting down the contract recommended by Solidarity House, and ignoring the fact that they had no strike authorization, they walked out and began mass picketing, forcing their bosses to set up temporary headquarters 40 miles away. Clearly, the "quiet autumn in labor-management relations" predicted by Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall in July, has instead turned out to be a resurgence of the new stage of labor revolt begun by the coal miners' strike last spring.

In the Pacific Northwest, pulp and paper workers continued a long and bitter strike in the face of an industry "mutual aid" pact. Teamsters struck California supermarkets. Railroad workers on the Norfolk and Western suddenly expanded their struggle nationwide by picketing all U.S. railroads, and for four days shut down factories and mines, until finally obeying a back-to-work court order. And public employees—teachers, sanitationmen and firemen—walked out in more than a dozen major cities, in many cases refusing to return to work even after the jailing of local union leaders.

### INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

There is no doubt that the new strikes are being forced both by worsening conditions of production and by the soaring inflation rate, which has now reached 11 percent, returning to the double-digit days of Nixon's administration. Even official statistics concede that manufacturing workers today are making 15 percent less in real wages than a decade ago. Nor has the inflation meant an end to unemployment, as the more than six million jobless can testify.

Worse is in store. In the coming months American workers will be facing:

- President Carter's not-so-secret strategy for the imposition of a "voluntary" wage freeze, limiting raises to no more than seven percent a year—a plan he has been sounding out union officials on for months.

- The devastating effects on family budgets of the newly-enacted natural gas deregulation plan, which will send today's crippling heating bills out of sight. Welfare rights groups have already demonstrated against the plan, appealing to unions to join them.

- Massive increases in Social Security taxes set for Jan. 1, which will in no way be "offset" by the supposed tax-cut bill just passed by Congress. Virtually the only beneficiaries of that right-wing masterpiece will be those making \$50,000 a year or more.

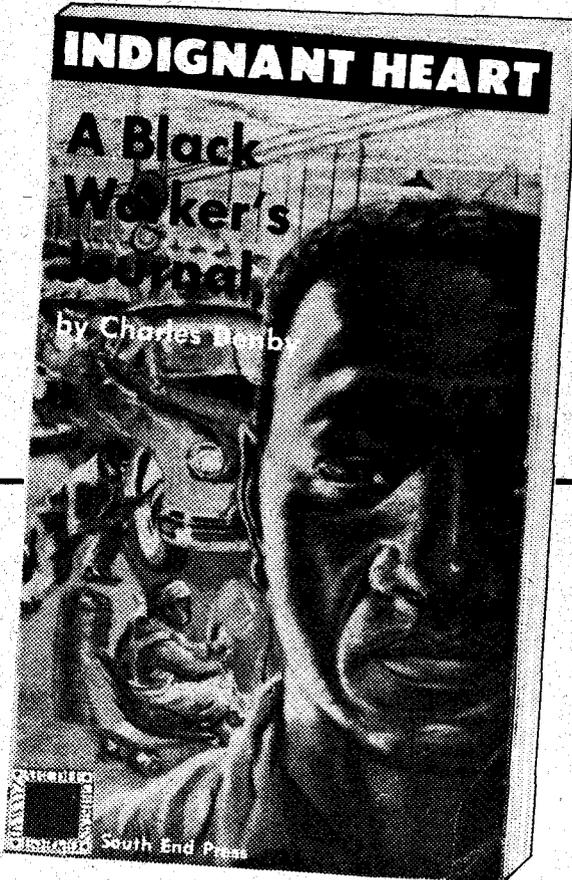
It is precisely under these conditions that big business has launched the most virulent anti-union campaign since before World War II, using the twin weapons of automation and the runaway shop. "In the past two years, the AFL-CIO has lost half a million dues-payers. During the same period, job-holders increased by six million," reports labor writer A. H. Raskin. It is true that millions are being spent on the attacks against labor. The number of decertification elections jumped from 217 a decade ago to 813 last year.

So serious is the situation that AFL-CIO president George Meany, the UAW's Doug Fraser, and now Machinists' president Winpingsinger have felt compelled to speak out against Carter and the Democratic Congress, even threatening to return to the policies of the early years of the CIO. This would mean programs radically changing the course of the nation. That they have no intention of doing any such thing does not change the fact that all the union officials are under intense pressure from their rank-and-file, for whom business' anti-union campaign is a matter of everyday life—and death—on the job.

### AUTOMATION AS CLASS WEAPON

The New York newspaper strike, now in its third month, has revealed exactly the relationship of automation to that campaign, as the newspaper owners try to finish off on the pressmen what they have succeeded in doing against the typographers—the destruction of the entire craft through the introduction of the automated composing room. What the striking pressmen are

(Continued on Page 8)



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## WOMAN AS REASON

On Oct. 7, the U.S. legislature voted to give the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) an additional 39 months to be ratified. After seven years the amendment is three states short of ratification while right-wingers are trying to get several states to rescind their ratifications. Such actions were stopped on Oct. 4 when the Senate rejected an amendment giving states the right of reversal during the extra three years.

National Organization for Women (NOW) president Eleanor Smeal, Betty Friedan, and Teddy Kennedy are busy slapping each other on the backs and saying that the Women's Liberation Movement has reached "political maturity." But to them, "political maturity" means learning how to lobby and politick inside the Democratic and Republican parties. For revolutionary feminists it means that we ask, three more years of what?

Smeal proclaims that NOW is "part of a new and great alliance, an alliance between the civil rights, labor and women's movement." Yet in both the labor and civil rights movements the division between the leaders and the masses widens every day. To these leaders, this "great alliance" only means helping to water down the Humphrey-Hawkins bill and get Democrats elected to the legislature.

What all "leaders" like Smeal and Friedan have missed is the new that emerged in the Women's Liberation Movement in 1977-78. Some of these new forces can be seen in the 100,000 women and men who marched in Washington, D.C. on July 9. That march in support of ERA was not separated from the urgency women felt to confront the counter-revolution on all fronts.

This urgency was also evident in the demonstration against a debate at University of Illinois — Chicago Circle between Phyllis Schlafly and Betty Friedan on Oct. 13. We were protesting not only what Schlafly represents but the fact that the debate was happening.

In the debate itself it was Schlafly, not Friedan, who quoted Gloria Steinem speaking at the July 9 rally saying that if women don't get the ERA we will become the revolutionaries the Right claims we are. Schlafly went on to call the 100,000 July 9 demonstrators "lesbians, abortionists, and federal employees." Friedan termed this statement a "slur," thus accepting Schlafly's designations as an insult, and shouted that ERA had nothing to do with abortion. A need for a "constitutional underpinning" — not the revolutionary women's movement — was Friedan's solution to the lack of enforcement of



## WRITE ON!

*Women of Crisis*, by Robert Coles and Jane Hallows. In this book the Coles tell the story of four women: a Black migrant worker, a Harlan County woman now living in a Northern city, a Chicana, and an Eskimo. Bourgeois sociology at its worst, the stories all sound surprisingly the same and lead nowhere. The Coles have pulled "together the words of others and our own observations" in such a way that it is difficult to know who is talking.

The false separation the authors make between the women whose story they tell and the Women's Movement is most blatant in the last chapter, "Class and Sex." We are given the proverbial relationship between the rich "liberated" woman and her maid and have to ask why, in the authors' minds, is the Women's Movement represented, not by the thoughts and activities of the maid, but by the behavior of her employer.

*The Emancipation of Women: The Rise and Decline of the Women's Movement in German Social Democracy 1863-1933*, by Werner Thonnessen. (London: Pluto Press, 1973).

This work is worth reading for its many valuable facts. Especially interesting is the discussion of the sexism within the German Social Democracy (SPD) itself, and the radical vision of many Party women, as opposed to the class betrayal of the SPD leaders. Unfortunately, Thonnessen deals only sketchily with the 1919 German Revolution, led by Rosa Luxemburg, wrongly isolating his study of the course of German women's freedom from an analysis of this historic divide in German history.

*Apostles Into Terrorists: Women and the Revolutionary Movement in the Russia of Alexander II*, by Vera Brodido. (New York: Viking, 1977).

You might want to know more about Mrs. Subotina, who attended a session of the First International, or her three daughters who were also activists in the revolutionary movement during the period taken up in this book, roughly from the 1860s to the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. But you won't learn anything except a few "facts" in this superficial treatment.

Broido, who sees feminism as a "narrow partisan role," introduces the Subotinas, as well as women of the stature of Vera Zasulich and Vera Figner, by using such sexist terms as "plain," "pretty," and "puritanical," with hardly a mention of their ideas. Fortunately, serious works on Russian revolutionary women are, in print, and will be taken up here in the future.

## ERA: three more years of what?

numerous laws "guaranteeing" women's rights.

While leaders, both bourgeois and leftist, would narrow women's liberation to the single issue of ERA, it is clear that the real opposition today is not between pro-ERA and anti-ERA, but the struggle between Women as Reason and Revolutionaries and the emerging right-wing defenders of this rotten system. Our own leaders who try to narrow our movement from one for new human relationships to one for single issue legalisms are only diverting us from the task at hand — totally uprooting sexist, racist capitalism.

—Terry Moon

## A note on Pope John Paul II

(Raya Dunayevskaya is away from the Center working on her new book-in-progress, *Rosa Luxemburg, Today's Women's Liberation Movement and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. We have just received the following note from her, which we wanted to share with our readers.—WL-N&L Committee, Editor.)

With the election of Pope John Paul II, the Vatican has again plunged deeply into its professional anti-Communism, this time aimed not just at Russia but more specifically and directly against the Latin American liberation movement.

It is there where there is an ongoing Catholic-Marxist dialogue—and I do mean Marxist and not just state-capitalists calling themselves that. It's in Latin America where oppression by the totalitarian, militarist, reactionary, capitalist regimes has made life so nearly impossible for the masses, that a great schism has been produced within the church and some of the clergymen have been led to side with the liberationist movement. What more "brilliant" move on the part of the Vatican than the choice of Cardinal Wojtyla as Pope, a man as adept as the totalitarian Communists in the country in which he lives in using libertarian, sometimes even "Marxist" language, to cover up capitalist exploitation.

He has made only one utterance thus far, but already has declared that the "social" programs he will encourage will not be political. While this may assure counter-revolutionaries like Somoza not to worry about any movement from Catholicism, the Russian rulers will know how not to take this kind of remark seriously when it comes to dealing with genuine revolutionary dissidents. As for the Women's Liberation Movement in Italy, which has fought so hard and won some battles on the questions of divorce and abortion, they can expect nothing but the continuation of the same reactionary moves as they have always had from the Vatican.

The rulers of the world must really feel super-confident about the supposed move to conservatism to have elected this Pope as against the end of the '50s and early '60s when the mass movement was so powerful that Pope John had to introduce some reforms, in relationship to both anti-Semitism and attitude to labor conditions. What the new Pope had better do instead of relying just on his own "erudition", as well as his experience with totalitarian Communism, is to remember the 100,000 women who marched in Rome in 1976. He can be sure of confrontations with mass movements like that in the future.

Raya Dunayevskaya

Oct. 16, 1978

## Feminists seek new direction

New York, N.Y. — A Forum on the Future of the Women's Movement drew 1,200-1,500 women Sept. 16 to hear a variety of well-known feminists give their views on where the women's movement has come to and where it should go.

Although most of the speakers were writers and "media stars," they almost all called for revolution in the face of the intransigence of sexism and the failure of the past 10 years' small reforms and cultural changes. The audience, almost all white but large in light of the \$5 admission fee, obviously felt the need for theoretical direction for the movement, cheering loudly for the most radical statements.

Gloria Steinem of MS. magazine spoke eloquently of women's oppression by both church and state, specifically the right-wing backlash which is trying to take back control of women's reproduction. She characterized the feminist movement as "anti-private property" by challenging the possession of women and children.

Kate Millett urged women not to "lose sight of world revolution," warning that the liberal reforms won so far will not liberate us. "It is time we remember that revolution was our original idea." Ti-Grace Atkinson suggested we need to draw from all the knowledge available to work out our direction, and said she is reading Marx and Engels.

After a protest by the Coalition of Grass Roots Women that no poor women had been invited to speak, a few minutes were given to the group to speak on the crisis in welfare and the protests against the UN women's conference scheduled for Iran. To me, the discussion at the conference shows that women activists are looking for a new way of thinking.



## women-worldwide

Arab women have formed a movement in Paris for the liberation of Dalila Zeghar, a young Algerian woman kidnapped by her brother and returned to Algeria after she had fled to Europe and then to Montreal with her husband (whom she had chosen). The Arab women say that "Dalila is the image of millions of Arab women, shut away and silenced." Canadian feminists have also formed committees for Dalila's liberation.

One thousand women marched in downtown Akron, Ohio, on Sept. 10, to protest the city's extremely restrictive anti-abortion ordinance during Federal District court hearings to determine its constitutionality and whether it could set a precedent for other cities.

Ella Ellison, a Black woman who was implicated in a robbery she did not commit, by two men who later recanted their testimony, has been freed—on bail—after four years in prison. Support will still be needed if the Boston District Attorney decides to re-try her. Contact the Ella Ellison Support Committee, 1 Warwick St., Roxbury, Mass. 02120.

In Cologne, W. Germany, a woman calling herself "Red Zora" has been robbing pornography shops, leaving notes protesting the oppression of women and the "use of our bodies to make profits." Shop owners have offered a reward for her capture.

## Panel on effects of Bakke

New York, N.Y.—Recently a panel discussion was called together by NOW-NY at New York University, in which speakers from the National Black Lawyers Assoc., National Conference of Puerto Rican Women, Minority Women Issue Committee of NOW-NY, and the National Committee to Overturn Bakke Decision, took up the question of what the Bakke decision means for minorities and women.

Most speakers felt that the only immediate way to overcome the threat to affirmative action and quotas was to fight the harder for these programs and not to take the ground of their opponents, thereby giving credence to so-called reverse discrimination.

A Black woman worker from the Brooklyn Navy Yard spoke of her experiences training as a welder, applying for the job in the yards, where the personnel interviewer, after all attempts to dissuade her, accepted her application and hired her. Out of 2,000 workers there, about 25 are women. The sexism she met on the job began with "this is no place for a lady" to "well you look more like a man anyway." Anything but what she is, a woman who needs a job.

I raised the question that I too was for upgrading but that would not affect the thousands of Spanish-speaking, Black and poor white women workers, who find themselves working in New York City sweatshops (yes, there still are sweatshops) making watch bands, or toys, or plastic holders, many under deplorable conditions and all receiving low wages. I hope the Left groups there were listening to what was said.

—Angela Terrano, N.Y.

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# Medicine for sake of production, not health

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

A worker was telling me how he called doctor after expensive doctor to see if someone would try to find the cause of his wife's dizzy spells before finally he was able to get her in a hospital for some tests. It made me think that there isn't really a health care system in this country. We have a disease care system because that is what makes great profits.

And this is crucial for working people, because most occupational diseases are not curable, but they could be prevented. When you read about industrial disasters or watch factory explosions on TV, it's easy to pretend that they are isolated incidents. The next time you get into your car, think about the workers who made your car and the disease and injuries they are suffering every day, and not only in industrial disasters.

Think about the coke-oven workers in steel mills who die horribly from cancer and emphysema; foundry workers who get silicosis casting steel into engine blocks and other parts; auto assembly workers who lose their hearing, die from heart attacks, suffer from lead poisoning and lose their lives and limbs putting cars together.

**Danger is built into big business operations in this country. Safety isn't first, or second, third, or even fourth. It is last in big business. In general, the philosophy is to operate as cheaply as possible and put the burden on the workers to protect themselves.**

There are some immediate steps that could improve our chances of living to collect our pensions. One would be a "right to know" law requiring companies to tell workers what chemicals they're exposed to and the dangers from them. But it is not just a question of laws, though it would certainly help to pass a law that would jail all those corporate managers found guilty and responsible for workers' deaths and injuries.

**But if industry is ever to be made really safe, it will have to be run by the workers themselves. Health and safety are not alone technical problems, they're economic and political.**

Why do employers fight even the mild reform of the Occupational Safety and Health agency (OSHA) so fiercely? It's not the fines or the cost it would take to improve these conditions. It's the control of absolute power they fear most giving up—the power to set the

standards of production and thus the health and safety conditions of the plant or mine.

Because that power is not in the hands of workers, more than 115,000 will die this year from job related causes. Until workers control their working conditions and health care in this country, workers and their families will continue to be treated by "disease care" and continue to suffer and die.

## Uniroyal wants longer week

Detroit, Mich. — One of the newest problems that Uniroyal is making for production workers here is the new attendance policy which they are trying to impose. First they started scheduling regular production for Saturday. They come by and ask you on Wednesday or Thursday if you want to work Saturday, and you are expected to explain yourself yes or no, otherwise you get written up. There has never been anything like this.

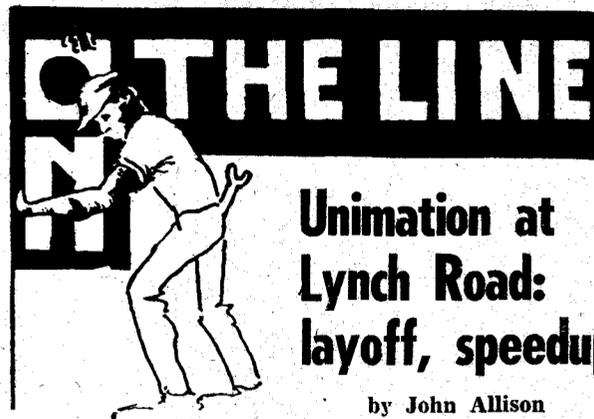
Then they are posting notices about Sunday. They've been talking about a new "Continental system" which nobody knows what it is, but might be a sort of "floating week." The union has talked against it, but hasn't done anything to stop this new policy.

The absenteeism policy is also much worse. Now you get written up after two instead of three "unexcused" absences (without a doctor's note), and it counts double if you are absent on Monday or Friday.

The United Rubber Workers had its convention in Toronto last week, but since it was all during the week, nobody on production could go, and hardly anyone knows what went on there. The only news we got was from the newspaper.

One paper reported that President Bommarito said that he was "against" wage and price controls, but at the same time we could "live with it." How can he speak for the rest of us, and how can he be for something and against it at the same time? If the union is any good at all, they'll stop talking this nonsense and do something about what's going on here at home, like this new scheduling and attendance policy.

—Uniroyal worker



## Unimation at Lynch Road: layoff, speedup

by John Allison

When the auto workers in Detroit read that Chrysler was sinking \$60 million into modernizing its Lynch Road Plymouth assembly plant, they knew three things right away: that workers were going to be thrown out of work; that those left working would be speeded up even more; and the company would get a lot more than \$60 million back out of the investment.

It's the opening gun of Unimation, and the hardest hit job category is that of the welders this time around. What the Unimate welder does is clamp on to the body and tack weld it to form the unibody construction that Chrysler Corp. products are noted for. But it's not just the welders that will be hit by this Unimation. Right off the bat you know that inspectors will be laid off (how is an inspector going to tell a machine to "improve" its welds?). And then there are supply and cleanup workers.

**Just how many will eventually be laid off nobody knows right now because it's still in the stage where bugs have to be worked out of the system, but some reports are coming out that at least 600 workers will be or have already been affected by the Unimation.**

Right now Chrysler is putting on a big push for its small cars—the Omni and Horizon. Both are four cylinder autos, and these cars have engines in them that came from Japan and Germany—and were for the previous Colt and Simca cars. There is a great big pot full of these engines and other parts in Chrysler's inventory, and all the company is doing is putting on a different shell and name on the old Colt and Simca.

And with the new Unimation system that is now being launched at the Lynch Road assembly plant, these small cars will be spit out like tacks. And just as these cars are being spit out, so will Chrysler spit out the workers it no longer has use for because Unimation is taking away the jobs.

Unimation can take away the jobs, but it can't solve the problems of Chrysler any more than Automation did. It's not just Chrysler. It's all of the auto companies. They keep putting more and more money into machines to speed up the workers and think this is the way to keep the goose alive that lays the golden eggs of profit.

But that goose is the workers—and only the workers. The more workers that are laid off, the less golden eggs for the auto companies. And this is one problem they can't get out of so long as you have this capitalist system. And let there be no question about one thing—workers know this better than anyone else, and especially the workers at the Lynch Road plant.

## Detroiters force Nazis out

Detroit, Mich.—The third Nazi headquarters closed on Sept. 28 when, faced with a temporary restraining order, the Nazis returned the key and painted over the skulls and Jewish tombstones on the storefront they had rented from League for the Handicapped-Goodwill.

Almost daily picketing by local residents and organizations like the Michigan Avenue Community Organization (MACO) and the Labor-Community Interfaith Council, forced League-Goodwill to obtain the court order two weeks after the Nazis had opened.

Meanwhile, three East Side neighborhood groups, NEAR, DEAR, and AWARE organized a forum on "Racism and Nazism: Lessons for the East Side" which, a few days later, drew 40 people to Immanuel Lutheran Church. A spokesman for one neighborhood group said: "This meeting, though small, is a part of history. The East Side has a tradition of racism and fascism, going back to the 1930s when Father Coughlin lived and preached hate here. But we are developing the other tradition, opposing racism and fascism, by coming here."

## FROM THE AUTO STOPS

### Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich. — At the September Dearborn Stamping Plant union meeting, one woman spoke from the floor who had not only been hurt on a job, but has been put back on that job several times, even when she requested a medical evaluation of it.

The evaluations were always done when she wasn't around. I know that she isn't the only one who's been hurt as a result of doing a job that's too dangerous.

After she spoke, other women asked why they are put on heavy jobs, and one asked, "Whatever happened to the classification of 'work suitable for small structure of light weight,' for women as well as for men who have trouble?" President Willie Gines retorted that the whole first floor is classified work suitable for light weights, and that women should never complain about their jobs because they are paid the same as the men.

Gines is wrong. It's not his job to tell anyone what they should or should not complain about, or what jobs they should do, or how to do them — we get enough of that from management. His job is to fight for us when we have grievances. It doesn't matter who gets paid as much as who — the fact that people, men and women, are getting hurt on these jobs is evidence that they are not safe and that these classifications should be changed.

—DSP worker

### Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — The hazardous conditions in the final line body pick-up area haven't changed since changeover. Before then, two workers were hit in the head when truck boxes fell off the crane rigs. Light line workers have written grievances about their unsafe crane, but after it let a box go recently, crashing into a chassis on the medium line close to two repairmen, the union safetyman only said nothing can be done about it.

The body pick-up crews for Departments 9170 and 9171 are down to two people for each crew, from five a couple of years ago. Instead of pushing for a strike to reverse this kind of plant-wide speed-up, Local 140 President Charles Williams told the Oct. 8 general membership meeting that progress is being made on hundreds of grievances in procedure. But inside the plant, no one can see which work standards are easier now.

In fact, foremen regularly discipline workers even though the standards aren't permanent yet. A worker on the medium line motor drop was given five days off without pay for dropping the wrong engines, although he has to attach props and drop the engines — what used to be the job of two people. A woman on the final line was

singled out for a one-day lay-off for not keeping up, even though she also does what used to be two complete jobs.

We are wondering who, if not the union reps in office now, will address themselves to these problems.

—Main building worker

### GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — The foremen in Body are none too happy these days because every job in the drill and stud section has a grievance against it. As a result, auto bodies are going down the line with lots of unfinished work on them. The amount of work left on the autos is so great, the pick-up man must be assisted at all times by another emergency operator (EO) and many times two or three extra EOs.

One of the favorite ploys by management is to get the pick-up EO angry with other workers in the section. If management is successful the work gets done, workers are divided as they blame each other for a problem caused by production demands, and the foreman comes away with clean hands looking like the "good guy." But the foreman in D&S section was taken aback when he ran over to the committeeman screaming, "Look at this man (the pick-up EO) working his ass off—you better get these people to do their jobs!"

The pick-up man overheard and shouted back, "That's not the reason why I've got too much — the line's going too fast, these people are overworked, and you know it!"

—South Gate worker

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — We took another strike vote at Fleetwood, with 85 or 90 percent in favor, but the International knocked it down immediately. Instead the International is supposed to come into the plant this week to settle the jobs themselves.

They sneaked in last week, stood around and said, "This guy ain't doing nothing, that guy ain't doing nothing." They come back this week to finish "equalizing" the jobs, but they won't reduce the work loaded onto almost all the jobs.

We hear that in return for GM's not opposing the UAW, the union said it would take a "constructive attitude toward increased productivity." We will be paying for any gains the union might make in the South, because that means GM is going to push production even further than they have already. And if there was ever any doubt, the company will have the union behind them — the UAW has taken so much power away from the locals, they feel they can make it stick.

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# EDITORIAL Millions in Iran demand: 'Down with the Shah!'

The Shah of Iran's declaration of martial law on Sept. 8, far from halting the massive opposition to his military dictatorship, has instead given birth to a more widespread revolt which now has a base within the Iranian working class.

• Dozens of wildcat strikes have shut down government ministries, hospitals, and halted mail service.

• Hundreds of thousands of teachers, water and power company workers, mailmen, railway workers and others have gone on strike to back up demands for higher wages, food allowances and cheap housing.

• The new activities have not limited themselves to strikes against private companies and higher wages. Their unifying thread has been, "Down with the Shah!"

Even before the declaration of martial law, there were strikes of 2,000 auto workers in Tabriz and 1,700 textile workers in Behshahr. In ending their strike the auto workers had declared that the auto workers union imposed by the government was dissolved and that they would soon hold elections to choose their own representatives.

Together with labor are other sectors of the Iranian population. In recent days women have appeared in the front line of the opposition movement. In Zanjan, hundreds of women participated in an independent demonstration which led to the closing of all businesses as the whole city gave its support.

Students at the universities within Iran have been a crucial force. On a world scale it has been the Iranian students who have been carrying on a campaign against the Shah, including demonstrations against distorted press coverage of the events in Iran, which portrays the demonstrators as "religious zealots."

### RELIGION NOT KEY TO MOVEMENT

In a country where no political parties but the government's own have been allowed, where the press has been censored, where workers could only have state-run unions, where thousands have been put in jail and uncounted numbers have been tortured, it has only been in the Islamic mosques where some semblance of political discussion could occur. But the greater truth is that so

dissatisfied have the masses become with their conditions of life and labor that they have broken out in massive demonstrations for ten months, demonstrations whose call has not been religious slogans, but "Down with the Shah!"

If the Moslem clergy have attempted to take the lead, it is because the spontaneous, explosive, mass unrest has forced them to do so.

Before martial law came the horror of the incineration of some 700 in the theater fire in Abadan on Aug. 18. While the full truth of that atrocity may never be known, in Abadan itself the population put a sign atop the theater calling it Pahlavi's Kabab House (Pahlavi is the Shah's last name.) Government troops pulled it down, but that name has now spread throughout the country.

In the weeks after the fire, opposition mounted. On Sept. 7, millions demonstrated throughout Iran. Early the next morning martial law was declared. And with it more oppression.

The Shah's iron fist is the homefront face of his hope, through oil riches, to become an empire builder. An empire built on black gold and a staggering \$36 billion in arms bought in the last 20 years — half from the U.S. But he is a true internationalist when it comes to arms — submarines from West Germany, tanks from Britain, frigates from Holland.

### SHAH'S DREAMS OF EMPIRE

It is these arms, part of the Shah's dream of being regional policeman, which now hang over the heads of the Iranian people, as does the geo-political confrontation of the superpowers. Iran as oil, as geography on Russia's flank, as a regional policeman for the Middle East, is a central element in U.S. global policies. President Carter interrupted his Sadat-Begin Camp David Summit to telephone his support to the Shah in the midst of these massive anti-Shah demonstrations.

And so prominent is China's anti-Russian geopolitics that Hua Kuo-feng dared to visit the Shah precisely when Iran was moving toward Civil War. Russia,

too, has not failed to aid the Shah, including a new blast furnace, metallurgical plants and a trans-Iranian trunk gas pipeline.

With such pulls of super and not-so-super powers, the self-determination of the Iranian people is being trampled on from without as well as within. Thus the U.S. press not only presents a distorted picture of the present situation, both with regard to the revolutionary activity of the Iranian people and the controlling role of U.S. imperialism. But as well it completely forgets to report on the brief 1952-53 attempt at independence from the U.S. and its client Shah, when Mossadegh removed the Shah and nationalized the oil fields. The U.S. response was the re-establishment of the Shah in power through a CIA-directed coup d'etat.

The struggle of the Iranian people is a deep multifaceted opposition which is rich in revolutionary history and rich in a revolutionary potential now taking concrete form. We in the United States have a special responsibility to support the Iranian people in their opposition to the Shah by demanding the end of U.S. imperialism's decades-long role in the affairs of Iran.

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### PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

The article on the Camp David Summit in the October N&L was so total that I couldn't help but think about all the forces who will uproot the Begin and the Sadats, as well as the Assads and Arafats. We have already been in contact with Israeli feminists, who see Begin very clearly in his true stripes, since he is most right-wing on women's rights. In an area like the Middle East, with its heavy remnants of feudal attitudes to women, the dimension of WL can cut across national boundaries with great revolutionary force, and I think American feminists are less likely to go for the Left's tailending Arab state-powers, which are all so reactionary on women.

Marxist-Humanist  
Detroit

I'm writing soon after the ratification of the Camp David peace accord by the Israeli Knesset. The opposition to the plan came from the extreme hawks of the government coalition parties, a few Labour-Party members and the pro-Moscow Communist Party. The doves of the Labour-Mapam alignment, liberal and leftwing groups supported the agreement, with reservations. Their slogan is: better an inadequate peace than a successful war.

The agreement didn't come without growing pressure in the country for a more lenient line, which found expression in the last few months in the spontaneous, non-partisan "Peace Now" movement who succeeded in mobilizing 70,000 to 100,000 people at a mass demonstration in Tel Aviv for the Saturday before Begin's departure for the Camp David talks. It was the largest demonstration of its kind in the history of Israel. Heavy U.S. pressure at Camp David was also most probably instrumental in Begin's change of heart.

I would like to stress the view of Israeli doves that any opening for peace in the region is of revolutionary significance, notwithstanding who is behind it.

Nahum Sneh  
Israel

Reports are just beginning to leak out of Saudi Arabia of a riot in Mecca Sept. 17 by Blacks against a Saudi police "crackdown" against illegal immigrants. Evidently at least several hundred people were injured, and several people may have been killed.

Almost one-quarter of the Saudi population is composed of immigrant workers who live in tents in the desert while they construct luxury apartments for the new oil rich. In other oil kingdoms the "immigrants" actually outnumber the "natives."

In addition to the "immigrants," Saudi Arabia also has a Black minority of African origin called the Takarunis, who have been there for decades. These Blacks were reportedly the ones most involved in the rioting against the Saudi police. The riot began when police started harassing them during a mass nationwide identity check during which 100,000 people were arrested.

Observer  
New York

Recently I met a young Israeli man who was visiting New York. He is currently serving in the Israeli army as all people from 18 to 22 years of age must do. During one of Israel's attacks on southern Lebanon, where hundreds of Palestinian villagers were slaughtered, he was serving as a front line medic. He knew for sure that the PLO had already cleared out of that area and that there were only innocent civilians left there. He was sickened by the conditions of the survivors whom he had to treat, but also thought to himself, "I am turning these young children into terrorists against Israel." Later on he and some of the other medics discussed what they had taken part in and began questioning their values.

It was this coming to terms with reality which reminded me of the young men sent to Vietnam who, once they were there, realized that they were opposing the wrong people. They too had to unravel what the great ideologues had woven for them all their life.

Supporter of "Peace Now"  
New York

### LAST MONTH'S STRIKES

I liked the articles you have been having on the sanitation workers' strikes. They are all over the country. In New York, the repair shops are computerized, and they figure a truck should be repaired only for three years, and not at all if in serious need of repair. But now they can't buy new trucks because of the fiscal crisis, so with few trucks workers are forced to work 12 hours or more a day.

Anti-overtime  
New York

A railroad worker was interviewed while the railroads were on strike. He was asked what he thought about the Summit at Camp David. His reply was "Carter spent all those days on the Middle East at Camp David and before the Summit he didn't have time for us; no sooner is he through with Camp David and he gives us 48 hours to get back to work."

What this railroad worker recognized is that what is most important to the government is not the quality of workers' lives (sic "human rights") but the expansion of capital.

Black intellectual  
Los Angeles

### VIETNAM VETS

In a recent news report the Veterans' Administration admitted that fully 20 percent of all Vietnam veterans had made "unsuccessful" readjustments to civilian life. In Louisiana, they made up 30 percent of the prison population. These horrible figures do not tell the story in full. I know a man who seems to have "Vietnam" stamped into his consciousness the way survivors of Nazi concentration camps have a tattoo on their arms. He has been absent from work 70 days in a single year. Six years after his return he will talk for hours about shooting anything that moved

# Reader

from a helicopter over the jungle as if it happened yesterday.

How many more men and women and children carry "Vietnam" with them, preventing their full human development?

Reader  
Detroit

### WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I used to always read Readers' Views, then the Women's Liberation page, and then the rest of the paper. When I got the Aug.-Sept. issue of N&L, I decided to try to follow how the paper is put together and I read "Two Worlds" by Raya first. I think I see this question of Essence and Notion that she studied in Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*. The lead and the editorial were politics, economics and revolt — all together. And in Tommie Hope's review of "For Colored Girls . . .", the conclusion where she talks about the "new minds" of hospital workers and domestic workers is very much like "Reclaim the Night." Consciousness is a force for freedom. This is what Notion is all about to me — it moves people.

WL activist  
Chicago

I saw a debate on TV between pro-ERA and stop-ERA people. The stop-ERA woman spoke on how minorities were no longer discriminated against. The pro-ERA woman refused to address herself to this because she said she wanted to speak only of the ERA. I think it is the same as with the Dubois book that was reviewed in the Aug.-Sept. N&L, where Dubois wants to separate the Abolitionist movement from the feminist movement. But what we saw was very different in the ERA march in Washington where a Black woman spoke on racism and a Latina spoke in Spanish.

Office worker  
Los Angeles

# TWO WORLDS The dialectic of today's crises and revolts

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

We print below, brief excerpts from the Introduction and Part IV of Raya Dunayevskaya's Perspectives Report, given to the Convention of News and Letters Committees in Sept. 2. The entire Report has been reproduced as a Post-Convention Bulletin, and is available from N&L for 10c plus 25c postage. See full ad, page 6.

## INTRODUCTION: Whether the "China card" is in the U.S.'s Hands, or China's Own, It is a False Alternative

First and foremost among the new contradictions that burst forth (during these couple of months between the June 17 Draft Perspectives and the final working out of Perspectives we need to achieve today) was the August 12 signing of the Sino-Japanese Treaty. The Foreign Minister of Japan, Sunao Sonada, followed this up by informing the world that China had informed him that it (China) would formally abrogate the 1950 friendship pact with Russia.

As if anyone could possibly doubt that the Treaty was not just between China and Japan, Hua Kuo-feng appeared at once to Russia's imperial sphere of influence, East Europe, specifically Roumania and Yugoslavia, and then to Russia's antagonistic neighbor, Iran.

What far outweighs this gesture of nose-thumbing as the global dimension of Big Power politicking with the U.S. The latter was, at one and the same time, encouraging Japan to conclude that deal with China, and using China as its card in trying to get from Russia the kind of SALT treaty the U.S. wants.

While the population Goliath, China, on the one hand, and the industrial giant, Japan, on the other, are by no means just U.S. surrogates, (similar to Cuba or East Germany executing Russia's interests in Ethiopia), it is still very clear that Russia is not the only one seeking "hegemony". The state-capitalist age is bi-polar—Russia and the United States—and is titanically nuclear,

with each fighting for single world mastery. Which doesn't mean that we are already on the precipice, and that others won't try to position themselves in a way to make geopolitics sound "ideological". . . .

**THE SHOCKER IS NOT** just that state-capitalism calling itself "Communist" indulges in capitalist-imperialist geopoliticking with our lives, exactly as "private" capitalism does. The shocker is not even that "Communist" Russia and "Communist" China consider each other "Enemy No. 1," since that shocker happened as far back as 1960 when the Sino-Soviet conflict came into the open. The new shocker is that not only is "ideology" used to cover up the jockeying for strategic geopolitical positions with the murderer of Lumumba—Mobutu—and the most barbaric of Latin American counter-revolutionaries—Pinochet of Chile—but that Hua Kuo-feng chose to meet the Shah at the very moment when a veritable civil war is in progress in Iran . . .

The Western capitalists are dreaming that China would have to buy, in the next ten years, no less than between \$20-\$30 billion of plant capital. Since Peking has said that it only has \$3 billion in foreign currency reserves, it would have to go in for heavy borrowing. For them, "ideology" has nothing to do with it; they are looking forward to the massive interest, i.e., profits galore. China, on the other hand, is interested in industrialization, hot-house style, with no great concern for the conditions of labor of its workers—exactly as Stalin when he launched the First Five Year Plan, and further intensified it to the breaking point for both workers and peasants with his demand that the Five Year Plan be finished in four years.

As we put it in the Draft Perspectives: "The greatest tragedy of all in this era is that Mao had, in fact, accepted state-capitalism as the next world economic order! Shocking as that sounds when expressed straightforwardly, Mao had it in the back of his mind as early as 1957." In a word, once a revolutionary does not ground himself/herself on new revolutionary beginnings from below, such as the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, and

make that new beginning the determinant for a new end, with the goal being **FREEDOM**—retrogression is inescapable.

## IV. The Praxis of Philosophy

A new alternative to state-capitalism calling itself Communism—whether in Russian, Chinese, or East European form—has appeared in the very place where the whole movement from practice was born back on

(Continued on Page 6)

## WHO WE ARE

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

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

# Views

I was really disgusted with this big "victory" over the ERA extension and the elation of the so-called feminist leaders. I think their reaction shows how isolated they are from reality. They act as if everything will stand still except the ERA. But just look at the growth of the right wing in the last 10 years and the rollbacks in our rights. Three more years is for the right wing as well as the Women's Liberation Movement.

Women's Liberationist  
Chicago

## LATIN AMERICAN STRUGGLES

Entire villages of Nicaraguan peasants have been completely wiped out and their land subsequently expropriated by the big-shot generals of the Somoza regime. According to the Red Cross, out of 1.5 million people there are 10,000 dead, 10,000 missing and 7,000 wounded.

All of these massacres and brutalities are being carried out daily by mercenary forces that Somoza calls the National Guard of Nicaragua, armed, trained and equipped by North American imperialism which has been its accomplice during the 4 years of the Somoza dynasty.

We are calling on organizations and individuals who defend the self-determination of the people to demand an end to all kinds of economic and military aid to Somoza, and to support activity for the national liberation of Nicaragua.

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

The noted Mexican writer and philosopher Octavio Paz spoke in New York recently. While he discussed historic differences between U.S. and Mexican society and culture, he by no means limited himself to history or to culture.

He ended by evoking the total crisis of a world faced with the choice of either "capitalism or pseudo-socialist totalitarianism," and said that Mexican

intellectuals were asking "if it is necessary to begin all over again." Paz criticized American civilization as torn between "republic and empire" and castigated the Third World's military dictatorships when he said that "in the so-called Third World, Caligula reigns," all of which certainly made an audience filled with dignitaries, literati, and diplomats fidgety. However, he left all of it a bit abstract by never referring explicitly to the fact that he was speaking on the tenth anniversary of the massacre of Mexican students by the government.

Student  
New York

## A VISIT TO CHINA

A Chinese woman who has just visited mainland China told me that China is in a state of the greatest confusion since the Cultural Revolution. She said the main fear is that war with Russia is imminent and everything is geared to that. On the other hand, there are those who say that China is trying to provoke war, using the people of Chinese descent who live in Vietnam as the political football. Some feel these people will be a "fifth column" for Russia if allowed inside China, others claim they grew up under U.S. influence in South Vietnam and are "capitalist-oriented." There has been a recall of overseas Chinese to come back, especially if they have technical skills in the sciences.

Recently there was a humorously-written article in the paper here about the Chinese government now permitting women to wear skirts in the summer time. That may not sound very revolutionary, but all the women in this country who had to fight to wear pants on their jobs can no doubt understand what a struggle the Chinese women must have had to wage for the right not to wear pants and be considered an appendage to a machine, to assert, "I am a woman."

Women's Liberationist  
Berkeley, California

## SUPERMAX THREAT

The Control Unit at Marion Federal Prison in Illinois is a legalized torture chamber for prison "troublemakers." But the prison bureaucracy is not content with only one Control Unit. Five Rocky Mountain states are working on the final plans for a regional Control Unit, SUPERMAX, to be built in Colorado. Even more ominous is Sen. DeConcini's SB-3227 which, if passed, would authorize Control Unit programs in all federal prisons. This bill is entitled, a la Newspeak, "The Therapeutic Communities Act." We must not only shut down the Marion Control Unit, but make certain that Control Units do not proliferate.

Michael Scrivener  
Michigan

## SOWETO'S MEANING

There is still a lot of discussion on Soweto among people I know, but much of the Left looks at Soweto and says that it is like all revolts, nothing more. What is always implied, but only through whispering, by the Left, is that Soweto is on a lower theoretical level than Italy, or Russia, "where there is already communism." You see this attitude even on the part of Black intellectuals in the U.S., when they say we're no longer a colonial world, Soweto is just a matter of "catching up."

Reader  
New York

## THE BRITISH SCENE

We are here in Glasgow, in the wars over racism. The Glasgow District Council has to decide on whether the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and the International Marxist Youth will be allowed to speak in public halls. On top of this, the magistrates have banned a meeting to be held on Ireland where I am to speak. The meeting will now be held outside in the open air. The recommendation to impose a ban on Socialists and Communists followed a ban being placed on the National Front. It was carried when the

Tories and the Scottish Nationalists joined forces.

I have been annoyed at the lack of interest shown by the parties and groups in this situation. The Anti-Nazi League has not moved as yet. The SWP think that a picket at the City Chambers next week is enough. The whole thing, with the "tit-for-tat" banning after the National Front, recalls the underestimation of the Nazis in Germany before they took power.

Harry McShane  
Glasgow, Scotland

## THE CASE OF RON PETITE

Ron Petite is a Minnesota Chippewa who was active in the American Indian Movement (AIM) during its early years, and took part in the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973. After Wounded Knee, Ron built a construction business, starting from scratch. The FBI talked to his bank, and his loans were cancelled; he lost his business. So he moved to South Dakota, where he became ill. To raise money to travel, Ron sold a gun owned by his wife to a store owner, who was put up to this frame-up by the FBI. They say it was Ron's gun. Shortly after this, Ron went into a hospital and found out that his illness was leukemia, and he had to go to University of Minnesota hospital for special treatment.

Soon the FBI came to his house in Minneapolis. The FBI broke into his home, showing no papers, and arrested him. They even denied him his medicine for leukemia. And they want to kill him by forcing him to go back to South Dakota for trial where there are no medical facilities for his condition. The whole case is a frame-up to railroad Ron Petite to jail on the charge of illegally possessing a weapon.

This case is surely one of the rawest examples of FBI lawlessness. In effect they are trying to murder an Indian man, who is already fatally ill, on a phony charge. If you can help please contact us at:

Ron Petite Defense Fund  
412 Produce Bank Building  
100 North Seventh St.  
Minneapolis, Minn. 55402

## Prisoners reveal repressive life at Pontiac

Chicago, Ill.—Members of News and Letters joined over 150 people—Black and white, young and old, community residents and prisoners' relatives—on Sept. 17 to participate in a demonstration outside Pontiac State Prison, in Pontiac, Ill. to protest the continuing lockup of all prisoners since the July 22 insurrection there. The following is a discussion of prison conditions with several members of the Illinois Prisoners Organization, one of whom was in the Pontiac Prison during the rebellion:

AT the time of the rebellion, there were over 2,100 prisoners in Pontiac, a prison designed to hold 600-700 people. Almost 45 percent of the prisoners were idle.

Along with these conditions was the integration of Gov. Thompson's Class "X" bill into the Department of Corrections' regulations. Now for the most minor infraction—playing a radio too loud, or for "unauthorized movement" from one place in the prison to another without permission—an ordinary prison guard can take 30, 60, 90 days or maybe a year out of your life.

IN Pontiac before this happened, 2,000-3,000 prisoners would sign their names collectively to grieve some issue like sanitation or medication. The state claim is to accumulate capital for industrialization, without taking into account clothing for prisoners. They started

selling blankets, shirts, pants, underwear from the commissary—meaning the state can no longer take care of you.

I WAS down in Pontiac on Oct. 5 and one of the main things that the brothers are talking about is an agreement made with the judge. Charles Rowe, head of the Department of Corrections, said that after the shakedown comes down, they'll start gradually easing up off the lockup. Now they are going through the shakedown period where they're harassing the brothers. They're going in the cells and taking books. They're taking the backs off of their TVs, taking the few clothes they do have.

You have to realize that when you're in a little cell like that, little things mean a whole lot to you. For someone who can be up there for five or six years and then all of a sudden somebody comes in and destroys your little world, it means a lot.

They are using bribery tactics, trying to get a blood to tell on another blood. The brothers down there are pretty strong and they are holding.

IT didn't begin in prison. It began out here with us. You begin to wonder why there are so many Blacks and Third World people locked up in those prisons. If we are a minority in the United States, why is it that we have to be a majority locked up?

## BLACK-RED VIEW 'Revolution in the Third World'

by John Alan

Gerard Chaliand, the French leftist writer, who has for many years been an active supporter of anti-colonial revolutions, has, in his most recent book, *Revolution in the Third World*, taken a hard look at why Third World revolutions have failed over the last two decades.

This is a timely book because the questions he seeks to answer are the very ones that the inevitable new round of Third World revolutions will have to answer in order to escape the bind of aborted revolution. Chaliand does offer his own answers, but they are largely in the realm of "objective analysis," of appearances that never get to the essence of why the Third World revolutions have failed so miserably.

However, this is a worthwhile book to read. Chaliand spares no sacred idols of the Third World revolutions; he tears them down to reveal their feet of clay. Nationalism is shown not to be a unifying force for liberation in the under-developed world, in either its "left" or "right" form. Class antagonisms are not resolved within the confines of the national revolution. The new leaders who have come to power proceed immediately to suppress the masses in the interest of the new state bureaucracy and the native bourgeoisie.

Chaliand revealed that many middle class leaders of these movements are completely lacking in ideas about the kind of society they want after the revolution. And, if they do have any ideas, they are all focused on modernizing in a technological way. To advance the technology of the new nation, the leaders resort to a pseudo form of "socialism," from the top down.

These pseudo-socialist plans are to nationalize certain selected properties, and even to divide the land among some segments of the peasantry. But the prime aim is to accumulate capital for industrialization, without fundamentally changing social relationships, without

raising the living standards of the masses, or allowing them any democratic rights. What is inevitably created in this process is a demanding "administrative bureaucracy."

But Chaliand fails to go beyond this to the social forces that have made this "inevitable," nor does he recognize the social forces that can undo this "inevitable!"

First, we must recognize that the intellectual bureaucrats who control and administrate production in the under-developed world are the clones of the intellectual bureaucrats who perform the same functions in the United States, Western Europe, Russia and China. As capitalism goes through the throes of its many crises it is forced to plan production in ever greater detail, until there is basically no difference between private capitalism and the state capitalism of the self-proclaimed "socialist" countries.

The alternative to the "triumph" of the administrative bureaucracy is the mass movement of the workers and peasants in the Third World countries and the corresponding development of their ideas of human liberation. Chaliand is blind to this movement as the alternative. Throughout his book he asserts that the masses are NOT the creative force of revolution, in reason or in action, but they are something that has to be mobilized, trained, prepared and inspired by the petty bourgeois intellectuals—the very same elements he implies are the counter-revolution within the Third World revolution!

Against grasping what is new in the mass movement, Chaliand reimposes the vanguard party, which he said was the cause of the failure of Third World revolutions. Chaliand, despite his own warnings, has come full circle—a situation which does become inevitable when there is no total philosophy of revolution.

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## TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

June 17, 1953: East Berlin. It is called *The Alternative—A Contribution to the Critique of Socialism as it Actually Exists*, by Rudolf Bahro. He has just landed in jail for having dared to write a serious study which concludes: "We have the kind of state machine Marx and Engels sought to smash by proletarian revolution, and which was not to be allowed to re-emerge in any form or any pretext."

Nor does Bahro stop there. He also proclaims that not only should the political hierarchy be abolished, but so must "the despotism of the factory . . . Work norms and piece wages should be abolished."

Bahro will have nothing to do with those who think that the Communist bureaucracy's exploitative nature is one only of "degeneration", or a question of "a problem of poor realization." Trotskyites, take note: Bahro writes, "I strongly believe that it is high time for revolutionary Marxists to abandon all theories of 'deformation' . . . We do not want to re-establish old norms, but to create new ones. We are no longer forced to rely on inner-party constellations."

THE NEW BEGINNINGS Bahro is talking about, indeed proving, is to show that the revolutionary alternative didn't just arise today or with him, but "continues to exist unswervingly in Czechoslovakia." It is for no doubt very cogent reasons—he has already lost his freedom, has been jailed—that Bahro seems to prefer to start with Czechoslovakia, 1968, rather than with his own homeland, 1953, which began the entire movement from practice.

It is true that Bahro seems to relate to Eurocommunism, but it is not at all because of what the Eurocommunists are in fact—class collaborationists—but because of Eurocommunism's impact: "The Soviet Union would lose its Western periphery."

Nor could China's previous West European forays, or Hua's latest trips into East Europe, transform Ceausescu of Roumania or Tito of Yugoslavia (not to mention the Shah of Iran) into revolutionaries who can display what Bahro rightly calls for: "Promethean solidarity."

That needed solidarity can come only from what Marx called "new passions and new forces" for the reconstruction of society on totally new, truly human beginnings . . .

THE VERY FACT THAT this year a revolutionary alternative, as against Mao's false alternative, emerged from East Germany where the movement from practice signalled the birth of a new revolutionary age as well as our very being as an independent tendency that rooted the concept of philosophy and revolution in that movement from practice that was itself a form of theory, needs to make us come face-to-face with our unique and historical contribution which we have tended to underestimate . . .

What was new that we braved was to disclose how Marx's discovery of a whole continent of thought—Historical Materialism, and what he called "a new Humanism" which united the ideal and the real—didn't just "take off from", but remained rooted in, Hegel.

Just as the fact that Hegel wasn't "conscious" that he laid any such ground for a very different, totally revolutionary generation didn't stop Marx's development, so we stressed the truth that has come out in our age by adding three little words to Hegel's Absolute Negativity: "as new beginning" . . .

No past generation could have done it—nor could the present generation who had not worked out the Absolute "as new beginning" for this age.

Creating theory, a philosophy of revolution, is as hard labor as anything manual. The writing of *Philosophy and Revolution* . . . manifested the subjective as inseparable from the objective. To execute this next year's task—the book on Rosa Luxemburg, *Today's Women's Liberation Movement*, and *Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*—we have to understand Chapter 1 of P&R, not merely as a chapter in a book, but as the historic link with Marx and Lenin, that "makes" the totally new—objectively as well as subjectively—concrete . . .

### PERSPECTIVES 1978-1979

#### THE DIALECTIC OF TODAY'S CRISES AND TODAY'S REVOLTS

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Introduction: Whether the "China card" is in the U.S.'s Hands, or China's Own, it is a False Alternative

- I. The Decrepit U.S. Economy and the Mass Struggles at Home—Labor, Black and Latino, Women and Youth
- II. Revolution and Counter-Revolution: Latin America (Nicaragua especially), Portugal, and Whither Angola and Namibia
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## NY Anti-Somoza protest

New York, N.Y. — Many New Yorkers are aware of what is going on now in Nicaragua and are cooperating with the struggle of the Sandinista Front for National Liberation (FSLN) and the Nicaraguan people fighting Somoza. Many are giving their support to the Sandinista cause by attending rallies in front of the Nicaraguan embassy and the United Nations. On Sept. 25, over 500 demonstrated in front of the UN.

On Sept. 27, a rally was called in front of the UN while Somoza's Foreign Minister addressed the General Assembly. After three hours of demonstrating, the rally dissolved. Some of us heard that the Foreign Minister would actually speak that evening, and we managed to get around 12 tickets into the General Assembly meeting.

When the Foreign Minister said, "The FSLN is a minority grouping and Nicaragua is a democratic country," we could not contain our anger, and we started shouting "Down with Somoza, Free Nicaragua," and were heard all over the General Assembly.

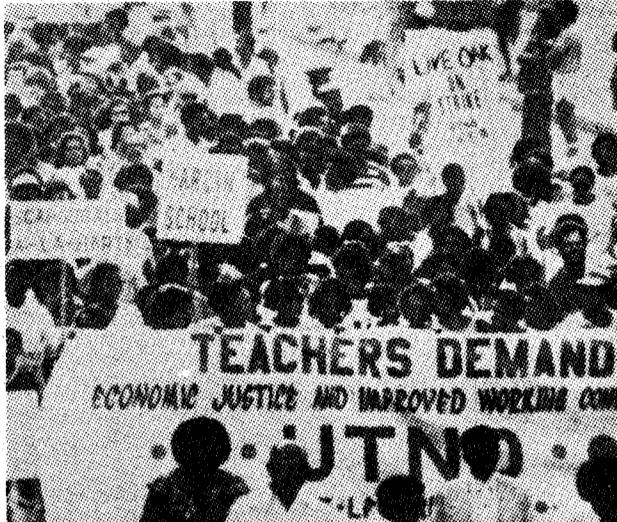
A group of UN guards immediately began to take us out of the room by force. We were all treated badly by them, and we began shouting "Down with Somoza" as we were carried out. Five were arrested. We were in custody over two hours. During this time they demanded we identify ourselves. They filed a report on us, photographed us over four times, and warned us that if Somoza wanted, he could ask the UN for our records and do harm to our families in Nicaragua.

We have to continue these types of activities because the people of Nicaragua need our help. Just as the Somozas have extended their economic empire from Nicaragua throughout all of Central America reaching even the United States, the struggle against him has to be international. Why not put an end to his empire right now, rather than later and suffer the consequences?

There is nothing more inspiring than a great example to learn from, like the struggle of the Nicaraguan people today. The Nicaraguans, and especially the youth of Matagalpa took their city on Aug. 27 and held it for a week.

Ever since 1934 the Somozas have killed thousands of Nicaraguans to keep themselves in power. They have made Nicaragua into their own farm, and now the country is bidding for revenge. We Nicaraguans will not give up until we see that Somoza has been tried by a people's court.

—Latin American Student, New York



Mass march by New Orleans teachers during their Sept. strike was one of the largest ever in Louisiana's "right-to-work" preserve. Picketing teachers, Black and white, were joined by high school and junior high students.

### Saldra en noviembre

#### La Lucha Latina Por la Libertad y la Filosofía Marxista-Humanista de Liberación

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## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

their money from our taxes. One worker said he had gone to the welfare office with a blind person. First you have to stay there all day. When you are called in, you have to state your case, and beg just to get enough money to pay for a coat so a child can go to school.

At this point, the worker who had criticized welfare recipients said he understood that the newspapers and publicity campaigns were what had him thinking like he had been.

I saw on TV the story of this crippled girl in California on welfare who had built up a business making calls from her home. When the welfare people learned of it, they called her down. She told them how she did it, by calling just a few people at first. It was so successful that she continued it from her wheelchair.

They told her she would have to pay the money back, amounting to \$10,000. She then went home and committed suicide. Then they discovered that a law had just been passed where she would not have to pay anything, but she had to take her own life before they made the law known.

People on welfare are not on it because they want to be. As a woman from California wrote in News & Letters in 1974, "Life on welfare is one big headache." She said she had never been on it before, and had no desire to be on it. She moved to California because her doctor told her it would be better for her child's health, and she was forced to get on welfare then.

I disagree with the word welfare. It is really supplementary aid. Most people on welfare aren't sitting around depending on people to give them something. Many of them have paid taxes for years. If many could find a decent job, they would not be there. Being on it is not a privilege, it is just one big headache.

## Youth in Revolt

Over 2,000 students in Guatemala City came out to protest the doubling of public transport fares on Oct. 2. After police opened fire, killing one and wounding over 50, thousands more took to the streets and burned 50 buses. Street fighting spread to Guatemala's second largest city, Quezaltenango, where over 500 high school students confronted the police on Oct. 6 to prevent them from taking down barricades.

The relocation of the nuclear-powered ship, the Mutsu, sparked a massive protest in Sasebo, Japan on Oct. 11 by 10,000 people, many of whom were participants in the protests against the opening of Tokyo International Airport. After leaks in the ship's nuclear reactor were discovered in 1974, protests by fishermen of Mutsu, the ship's original home port, forced the government to look for another home port.

Outrage in the Black community of Toronto, Ontario, Canada over the killing of unarmed Buddy Evans by police has led to the formation of the Committee for Due Process, and to an Oct. 1 rally to end police harassment and racist attacks. Evans, a 25-year-old Black man, was closely surrounded by at least seven policemen in a disco on Aug. 9 when one policeman, John Clarke, shot him down.

Two other police shootings in August lend urgency to the committee's demand for an independent investigation, not one by the Police Complaint Bureau. Send donations and letters to: Committee for Due Process, c/o Contrast Publications Limited, 28 Lennox St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M6G 1J4

## Hostos ousts student-activists

New York, N.Y. — Since the start of the semester, the Hostos administration has moved against the students in new ways. When students returned from summer vacation, many were not allowed to enroll for the fall semester because they did not complete courses taken last spring. Many of these students took incompletes or no credits because they were active in the fight to save Hostos and renovate the "500" building.

In addition, dozens of others allowed to register are being placed on a six-month probation, also for failing to complete their credit loads. There is also talk that students on probation will be expelled for good if arrested in any more protests at Hostos.

Then last week President Santiago sent around a memorandum in effect recommending that Hostos become a vocational college. We have to fight this, because it will make Hostos little more than a vocational high school with the old racist tracking system.

We are going to have to fight these attacks even more this year because, with a promise from the city to renovate "500," the administration thinks the struggle is over, and that they can do anything to us they like. It is important we defend our brothers and sisters being harassed, and not let Santiago make Hostos into anything he wants.

—Puerto Rican student, Hostos College

## Exile tells of Haitian misery

New York, N.Y.—The U.S. sends many Haitian exiles back to Haiti now. The majority of the refugees come from the mountains or from the urban unemployed. They travel by sailboat and many of them die.

The American government puts a lot of them in jail in Florida. Sometimes they hire them out of the jail to cut cane, 12 hours a day, without pay. That's a kind of slavery. Other times Immigration asks them to pay \$1,000 to get working papers.

The poverty in Haiti would be unbelievable to Americans. In some places people eat once a week. It's like India or Biafra the way people die of starvation. Under Jean-Claude Duvalier's "economic revolution" more people die than before. Duvalierism has a new law against "communism," but it's really the same old one. If you have a picture of Marx, or if you talk about anything like that, they arrest you.

The American government gives the Duvalier regime economic, military, and even moral support. Congress just voted to give more aid than ever before, \$500,000. The only difference since Jean-Claudism is that they try to make people believe that liberalization is taking place.

The State Department just sent a human rights delegation down there. Andrew Young was with them. Carter told Jean-Claude to get a new image. All the dictators in Latin America must follow Carter's rules now, talk about elections, and so on. But Jean-Claude Duvalier is still President for Life.

Fanon's critique of the national bourgeoisie is exactly the same thing as in Haiti. Fanon was never in Haiti, but we had the experience he describes after our revolution in 1804. When the Black bourgeoisie took all the power for themselves there was no big change. The country's got a Black bourgeois government today but nothing has changed.

—Haitian exile

## Stop the Briggs Initiative

San Francisco, Cal.—The Briggs Initiative, or Proposition 6, says that any schoolworker—teacher, administrator, bus driver—can be fired for being a homosexual or openly advocating homosexuality. This could apply even to straight teachers who defend gay rights.

What Proposition 6 amounts to is a general witch-hunt against any schoolworker the school board wants to get rid of. Radical or progressive teachers, union activists, or those who just get labelled "queer", would be in danger of losing their jobs in a repressive atmosphere in the educational system. Proposition 6 isn't simply an attack on gay teachers, it's an attack on free speech and free activity of all workers.

Proposition 7 is the "other" Briggs initiative, which springs from the same reactionary ideology. It would expand the death penalty to 15 crimes, including killing a cop, and make death mandatory in many cases. The Right in this country is trying to legalize the kind of repression Nixon only dreamed of, by disguising these measures as "moral" or "safety" issues.

Only people acting for themselves to overthrow this repressive society will make our lives freer and safer. Working people shouldn't be fooled by these measures, since those like Briggs won't stop at either teachers or gays.

VOTE NO ON 6 & 7!

## Arrests at Redford H. S.

Detroit, Mich. — On Oct. 12 before school began, Redford H.S. students were standing around the campus and some were standing across the street in a public park. The school police stopped and stared at them for a while, left and returned ten minutes later driving at high speed. They skidded toward the students and jumped out of the car and pulled out their guns. Another patrol car arrived with two more men. Within seconds the city policemen arrived. Then immediately the students were told to "spread," and they were searched and handcuffed for no reason. One student was pulled by a policeman and slapped. The police arrested the students, loading about seven or eight in one car to take them to the youth home. They were charged with disturbing the peace and fined \$50.

The next day two students were sitting on a car in front of the school. The policemen walked toward them; so they walked to a crowd of other students waiting for the bus. The policemen went into the crowd of about 30 students who were watching and snatched the student who had been sitting on the car and said, "Boy, do you think you look cool with that black leather glove on?" They told him to put his glove in his pocket and "Don't let me see it on you again." One policeman looked at the crowd and said "All of you get on the bus. We will kick some ass!"

Someone in the crowd said "I wouldn't let them push me around like that." That's when one policeman walked over to a young lady in the crowd and said "I will push you around." Then he raised up his hand and hit her in the mouth with his walkie-talkie.

I believe that something should be done about these "gangbusters" who go around hitting innocent students. We should protest and get things changed.

—Redford H.S. student

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

**All sides in Lebanon's civil war try to bury social revolution**

So fragile and temporary is each new truce in Lebanon and so clearly a stage for digging out and burying the dead, obtaining fresh supplies of ammunition, regrouping military forces and preparing for the next stage of the struggle, that the unanimous vote in the UN for a new truce found both Russia and the United States voting for it.

Just how temporary the latest truce is, was shown during the holding period when the neo-fascist Christian right-wing emerged from their foxholes. They were permitted only to roam in their own enclave and not cross the bridge into Arab territory. They were fired upon by the Syrians and driven back.

The world press is able to arouse growing sympathy for the Christian Right, first by showing wanton destruction — no less than 1,300 are dead and countless injured in the Syrian shelling of the

city — and then by skipping over their destruction of the Left and using the religious designation — Christian — rather than the political one — neo-fascist — for them. Thereby the press shies away from what is at the root — that the social revolution was destroyed by the Christian Right, and that they are the ones who at first agreed to Syria as "peacemaker."

The 1975-76 civil war in Lebanon had created too many hopes for a genuine solution — a social revolution — to have those hopes — and lives — dashed by the Christian Right, by Syria and by the PLO. The PLO so concentrated on Israel as enemy number one — with their anti-Semitic resolution introduced to the UN — that they, too, had welcomed the Syrian PLA army.

Once the Syrian so-called PLA contained the PLO, the Christian Right showed its resistance to Syria, for by then its main aim was to become

masters of Lebanon, even if it meant dismembering Lebanon. That is precisely what they are doing right now, trying to divide Lebanon into a Christian Right-dominant Lebanon, and a subordinate Moslem one.

Syria, whether or not it is dreaming of "Greater Syria" of which Lebanon was part, does not wish Lebanon divided. And, while it will not tolerate a genuine social revolution, it also will not risk war with Israel, or lose the hefty financial support of Saudi Arabia, nor the military support of the U.S., much less Russian help. These irreconcilable contradictions hardly bode well for Lebanon, which remains victim of the global conflicts between the super-powers.

Short of a social revolution, which is opposed by Syria, the Arab world, the PLO, Russia and the U.S., there is no way that this or any other truce can lead to a peaceful settlement.

**Zimbabwe**

The ceaseless noise of negotiations over the future of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) can no longer conceal what the Black freedom fighters learned a long time ago — that they, not government leaders, are the determining factor. They have little trust in Ian Smith's transitional plan, which guarantees the 260,000 whites (out of a population of 6.7 million) continued control of police, army, civil service and half the land for the next 10 years.

Yet what is keeping the floundering Smith government afloat is a lifeline with South Africa kept intact with the collusion of Western powers. In spite of UN-voted economic sanctions (led by Britain) against Rhodesia, oil consumption in Zimbabwe doubled. The British government quietly approved the refilling of oil tanks in South Africa by Shell and British Petroleum, knowing full well that the French company, Total — which owned the tanks — was passing the oil on to Smith.

At the same time, the Carter Administration led the way in stopping any UN approval for economic sanctions against the belly of the monster, South Africa itself.

Now a collection of 27 U.S. senators has forced the granting of a visa to Smith for a speaking tour in the U.S. That cause had up to now been reserved for neo-fascist white supremacist groups.

The widespread rebirth of racist groups like the Nazis and the KKK in the U.S. has given the Senators, many of whom have their political roots in southern-style white supremacy, the gall to show such affinity for Smith just when his government is in its death throes.

Whether or not Smith's regime will be toppled in a matter of months as the guerrillas claim, getting rid of the likes of him will be a breath of fresh air and an important link in the liberation of all of southern Africa.

**China**

China's new rulers have gone in a big way for western things. In the first half of 1978, China imported \$211.1 million from the U.S., a 240 percent increase over the same period last year.

Also in the works is inviting in U.S. and Japanese companies to set up private capitalist production so they can exploit China's cheap labor and natural resources. Chinese leaders rationalize these plans by saying "There has never been a class conflict without a material base, nor a revolution unconnected with economic interests. Denying material advantages is therefore equivalent to denying class struggle and its revolution."

Such double talk probably makes it easier for China itself to justify getting into the exploitation act by joining the U.S. in projects in Hong Kong.

**Russia**

Ten years ago a Russian miner named Valadimir Klebanov began a four-and-a-half year imprisonment in Dnepropetrovsk mental hospital, where he was beaten and told by night orderlies that it was a hospital where you only left "feet first."

In 1977 Klebanov again spent time in psychiatric hospitals in Moscow and Donetsk for being the leader of the new Association of Free Trades Unions of Workers in the Soviet Union. In February, 1978, Klebanov was arrested again and is now in prison.

In an interview just smuggled out, Klebanov said, "Since 1958 I had actively spoken out against gross violations of the labor code (not implementing the six-hour working day and the six-day working week). I demanded correct wage payments, and proper compensation for miners who suffered injuries through the fault of management."

**Ireland**

The following excerpts are from a letter from Eiblin Ni Sheidhir in Dublin:

It is now ten years since the civil rights marches which began the present phase of the struggle against the colonial military occupation of the six northeastern counties of Ireland and consequent neo-colonial control of the rest of the country by Britain. There is now an on-going political debate within the Republican movement, and an increasingly socialist orientation, especially among the younger front-line activists who see clearly the relevance of James Connolly's ideas and his linking of the national struggle with socialist revolution.

In addition to the hundreds now being held in prison for months "on remand" (i.e., without trial), 380 Irish Republicans, convicted by special non-jury courts, and mostly with the sole evidence being statements obtained under torture and brutality condemned by Amnesty International and European Court of Human Rights, have been denied the political status granted as a right to those convicted up to March, 1976. The British government is trying to break these prisoners in H Block, Long Kesh . . . For two years these men have lived only in a blanket as they refuse to wear prison uniforms; in cells with dirt, flies, maggots; with frequent beatings, with cell and body searches.

I received a statement last month smuggled out of jail on a tiny piece of tissue from the spokesman for H Blocks 3, 4 and 5. Describing the attempts to stop all visits, he goes on to say: "they attempt to stop the real facts of what is now happening behind the closed doors of the H Blocks reaching the outside world . . . But let us assure you that our courage, revolutionary resolve and determination are as strong as ever."

**New U. S. strikes: workers fight inflation, automation, runaway shops**

(Continued from Page 1)

fighting is the owners' demand that they reduce by one-third the number of workers on each press, making impossible a job where health is already endangered by mists of ink and paper dust.

Those labor "leaders" who find in this automation a "neutral" science, belonging neither to the workers nor to the capitalists, would do well to read what Karl Marx had to say over 100 years ago: "Machinery not only acts as a competitor who gets the better of the workman, and is constantly on the point of making him superfluous. It is also a power inimical to him, and as such capital proclaims it from the rooftops and as such makes use of it. It is the most powerful weapon for repressing strikes . . . It would be possible to write quite a history of the inventions, made since 1830, for the sole purpose of supplying capital with weapons against the revolts of the working class." (Capital, p. 475, Kerr edition.)

In auto, steel and coal as well as in the printing industry, those words are as contemporary as the \$60 million in new unimation machinery installed this year in one Chrysler plant in Detroit alone. (See "On the Line," p. 3.)

Whether in union or non-union shops, the key for capitalists is still productivity. And it is exactly on this point that Meany, Fraser and the rest are being tested, not only by big business, but by the workers as well. Fraser's Sept. 11 "face-to-face" session with GM's president Murphy produced the highly-publicized promise from GM of "neutrality" on UAW attempts to organize GM plants in the South. Leaving aside the fact that every GM worker knows the company's similar promise in 1975 to have been worthless, the greater truth is the unpublished commitment Fraser made in exchange — that "the union would take a constructive attitude

toward increased productivity." That this pledge meant nothing less than an invitation to take more out of the backs of the workers is clear from speed-up reports already received from GM plants.

**'BAD ATTITUDES' OF WORKERS**

Three weeks later, representatives of business, government and the labor bureaucracy engaged in a two-day national conference on "the U.S. productivity slowdown". Terming the decline a national crisis, the conferees examined its causes—including the fall-off in capital investment, and the influx of "inexperienced women and teenagers(!)" into the labor force — and found that the problem was one of "bad attitudes", against which a national drive is evidently about to be launched.

It is true that workers have a new "attitude" that is giving the companies fits. It is not a psychological question. It is a question of what you want in life—a class question. And it is on the verge of exploding each and every day over capitalism's most fundamental "difference of opinion"—whether the machine will dominate the worker, or whether human beings will gain control of their own lives, including life at work. It is exactly this sort of "bad attitude" that the capitalists hoped to escape when they closed their plants and joined the runaway shop exodus to the South.

And it is, in part, the failure to organize what has become such an economically powerful preserve for the scab sweatshop that has rank-and-file union members furious at the union bureaucracy. In the South today the unionized percentage of the workers is lower than at any time since the early days of the CIO—fully 40 years ago. Since 1972, GM has built nine new plants in the South; only one of them is unionized today.

What the unions proved through their still-born and

long-forgotten Operation Dixie, is that it is impossible to organize the South as long as the question of racism is placed on some "backburner", to be resolved after the union is in. And in today's industrial South, with its huge textile, garment and electronics industries, such a drive means organizing women especially. Here too, the policy is to limit everything to the question of union recognition, as though the mass civil rights movements which have swept the South in the last two decades could be ignored.

Even in the one area where the unions are winning members nationally—public employees—no sooner is the organizing drive over and contract time arrives, than it becomes clear that the thinking of the union bureaucrats and the workers they "organized" are worlds apart. A full week after the VW workers began their wildcat, Doug Fraser was still telling reporters that its cause was "lack of communication. As soon as we have a chance to tell the workers our side of the story, I think they will listen to the contract we put together."

Against this hopeless class-collaborationism stands the new activity of workers, South and North, both inside established unions and finding their own new forms of organization. In Ohio, Latino tomato harvest workers this summer were not even waiting for the United Farm Workers, surely the best the AFL-CIO has to offer, before beginning their strike against such food industry giants as Campbell and Libby.

What the coal miners set in motion with their 110 day strike carries with it such new energy and such profound disrespect for all who stand in its way, that the next year's upcoming contracts in auto, trucking, garment, construction and chemical are sure to be scenes of the most serious class battles. Those battles have already begun.