

# Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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## Workers' revolt boiling as economy enters deep-freeze

by Andy Phillips

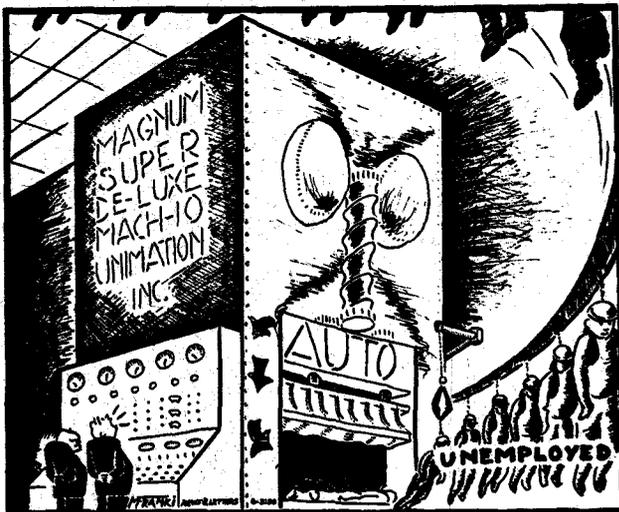
When nearly 850,000 workers in the U.S. lose their jobs in one month, as happened in April this year, no one can deny the threatening collapse of the American economic structure. The skyrocketing unemployment, which leaped from 6.2 percent to 7 percent, is the most critical evidence of the depth of the economic crisis rending the social and economic fabric of the country. And that is only the so-called "average." For Blacks unemployment is no less than 30 percent.

Other clear indicators include the wildly fluctuating interest rates, which zoomed to 20 percent, a rate reserved in the past for only racketeering loan sharks; a 20 percent inflation rate slashing away at real income; a measly six-tenths percent rise in the gross national product, or 500 percent below the "normal" healthy growth rate of three percent; plummeting sales at such retail giants as J. C. Penny, Sears and K-Mart of 50 percent, 30 percent and 20 percent, respectively; as well as the largest balance of trade deficit in U.S. history—a whopping \$13 billion.

### MASSIVE ECONOMIC CRISIS

So massive are the U.S. economic dislocations that even such a bourgeois publication as *Time* magazine titled its April 21 cover article "Is Capitalism Working?" The answer is clear. Workers, of course, did not have to read *Time* magazine to get the information. Their lives told them, and by the millions they are being thrown onto the swelling scrapheap of capitalist society.

"You can't believe the size of the new machines the company is putting into the shops for the new model cars," a GM Fleetwood worker in Detroit told *News & Letters*. "They are two stories high, higher than telephone poles, and the size of a house. We now have about 600 workers on two shifts in Department 3 where the uniminated units are being installed, and the projection is for those to be cut to 87 workers by 1982."



"Fantastic machine, Filburt. No hands! But now if we could just get it to eject the right product..."

This is over a 600 percent cut in the work force in the department, and more of the same is coming in auto and other corporations in the U.S. as well as throughout the world.

While the auto industry is feeling the most grinding crunch of the laws of capitalist production, it is hardly alone. The same forces are at work in steel, rubber, coal, textiles, housing, agriculture and their directly related industries. Auto, of course, is of vital importance to the nation's economy. The livelihood of one out of seven workers in the U.S., or 14 percent of the work force and one fourth of the country's population, is directly or indirectly tied to the auto industry.

These indicators register the deep-freeze of the U.S. economy. The deep-freeze of the economy, however, raises the revolt temperature of the workers in the country.

### THE MIAMI EXPLOSION

The most accurate indicator of the state of the American economy is revealed in the explosive human reactions in Miami, which focused sharply on the racist as well as economic dilemmas to expose the underlying revolutionary ferment boiling beneath the nation's sur-

face (see "Worker's Journal" and "Black-Red View," this page).

In auto itself, the number of unemployed workers is reaching the 300,000 mark, or one-fourth of the entire auto work force. This figure was reached at the height of the 1974-75 recession, and is already here at the beginning stages of the current "recession."

It is true that the sudden 1973 OPEC oil price rise and others since then significantly contributed to the auto crisis; it is hardly the only influence. The fact is that long before gas reached \$1 a gallon, the imports were making steady, though slower, gains in the American market. The reason is simple, though economically profound. The imports were well made and much less expensive.

They cost less to sell because they cost less to produce. Japanese labor is paid about half that of U.S. workers, but equally important is the amount of capital investment and therefore increased productivity, in the Japanese auto industry. Of special note is the recent report of one Nissan plant (Datsun) so fully uniminated that only 67 workers on each of two shifts are producing 1,600 autos a day!

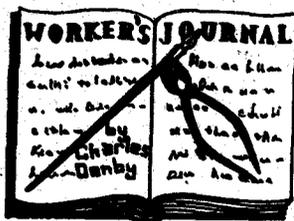
It is true that not all of the Japanese auto industry is uniminated to the same extent as that one Nissan plant. But more importantly, that Nissan plant mirrors the future of the auto industry worldwide. While billions of dollars were required to unimate that plant, it was done. It is producing autos, and will continue to produce autos, at a fraction of the cost of companies using equipment now rendered obsolete by this plant.

### INVESTMENT CAPITAL DILEMMA

The crisis does not result from not knowing that more and more investment capital is demanded by capitalism to keep functioning. At this disintegrating stage of capitalist development, the crisis stems from the inability of the system to generate the huge sums of investment capital required to keep providing profits, that is, extracting ever more unpaid hours of labor.

This lack of investment capital is not something new. The declining rates of investment capital became apparent following the 1974-75 recession, and it was precisely this that precluded a boom recovery period afterward. That is why unemployment in the U.S. never fell below the six percent mark in succeeding years, and why we are on the threshold of a much more serious

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**Fires of Miami  
expose truth  
of racism, USA**

by Charles Denby, Editor

Author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*

What was surprising to everyone this past month was the outbreak in Miami, Fla. This is the Presidential election year and there are some people who think the President and the leaders of the government of Florida, especially those in Miami, would have done everything in their power to avoid it. But when anyone's mind and thoughts are filled and blinded with prejudice they just cannot see.

Most of us can remember when Nixon and Wallace were running for president and both would use the racist slogan "law and order." That was in the early 1970s; but today the politicians are trying to act as if they can just ignore Blacks entirely, like the "invisible man."

It is 1980 and it is as bad today as it was in the '60s and before. They said five or six police were involved in the killing of Arthur McDuffie. As I said, this is 1980. So how can a person accept that there are no Blacks in Florida qualified to sit on a jury, and not one judge that wouldn't instruct a jury on what are the facts after two of the policemen who took part in the crime admitted they were all lying?

Black people have been waiting for years and years to see justice done. They want to know that there is some kind of justice being done here and now. The President has now ordered U.S. Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti to Miami to oversee the federal investigation, to restore peace and to see if they can bring the four policemen to court on violation of McDuffie's civil rights. Everyone already knows that his rights were violated.

Now we hear that President Carter is going to Miami to see what is left for him in votes among Black people.

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## BLACK-RED VIEW *Rage in Miami*

by John Alan

The spontaneous revolt of Black people of all ages, which began Saturday, May 17 in Miami, Fla., brought the real human crisis in American capitalism — racism and unemployment — to the attention of the nation and of the world.

Racism and unemployment are the daily life experience of tens of thousands of Black youth, and increasingly now of Black adults. In Miami, Black youth unemployment has reached the intolerable official rate of 23 percent, in a social situation that is dominated by racist police brutality and the deliberate indifference of the criminal justice system—an indifference that has developed to the point where it is tantamount to collaboration with the perpetrators of obvious brutality.

Every conceivable crime is allowed to a white police officer, from sexual assaults to murder, as long as the victim is Black. There was no greater display of this attitude of the Miami police department toward the Black community than the fascist demonstration they held after the rebellion protesting the Black community's demand that amnesty be granted to Blacks jailed during the three days of revolt.

The most blatant recent examples of "justice" in Dade County have been:

- Nathaniel Lafleur—a teacher—and his son, brutally beaten at home by police; called "a mistake—no laws violated."

- Randy Heath, a youth, out walking with his sister, shot to death by a white police officer—a National Revolver champion. Declared, "an accident—a negligent but not a criminal act."

- A white Highway Patrol trooper sexually molested an 11-year-old Black girl; he received 3 years probation—the child is still under medical care.

- Arthur McDuffie, Black insurance salesman, supposedly speeding on his motorcycle. Six white policemen had to "subdue him" by beating him to death, crushing his head as though it were an eggshell, and tried to cover up his death to make it look like an accident. Two policemen were given immunity for testifying against the other four. The jury of six white men in Tampa found the four police "not guilty!"

This verdict of "not guilty" was the final straw and Miami's Black community erupted into the streets in rage to protest. A middle-aged Black woman summed it all up when she said: "Black people in this community, today, feel that we are a non-entity, we feel that we're a non-people. Non-entity, you know what that means? If you are not a human being, then you are an animal!"

The residents of the Liberty City-Brownsville area of Miami were directing their blows against the capitalist system of racial injustice and economic deprivation,

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## ESSAY ARTICLE

**Women's liberation in search of a theory: the summary of a decade**

by Olga Domanski

National Organizer, News and Letters Committees

Aug. 26, 1980 will mark a full decade of Women's Liberation as a new mass freedom movement. It was Aug. 26, 1970 that 50,000 women marched down Fifth Avenue in New York to celebrate the 50th anniversary of suffrage in the U.S. and stunned the world by transforming the first "Women's Strike for Equality" into the largest women's march in U.S. history. In the ten years since then, the movement has moved across every continent and touched every facet of life, forcing even the UN to declare in 1975 an International Women's Year—and then rename it International Women's Decade.

We have seen massive marches for the right to abortion not only in West Germany but in Catholic Italy; speak-outs on rape everywhere from the U.S. to India; feminist publications appearing everywhere from Africa and Peru to the underground in Russia.

In the U.S., from the very beginning of the decade, minority women organized their own groups: Chicana feminists and North American Indian Women in 1970; Puerto Rican women in 1972; the National Black Feminists in 1973. A new dimension in class struggles burst forth all over the land: from textile workers to telephone operators and from office workers to welfare mothers, the unorganized began organizing themselves and the organized began forming women's caucuses within their unions. The questions they demanded be answered were not only equal wages but sexual harassment by company or union officials or fellow workers alike. There was nothing—from attitude to the family to sexual preference; from art to health care; from affirmative action to language—that the Women's Liberation Movement did not raise.

But what most distinguished the WLM of the '70s from the New Left of the 1960s—out of which it was born, and which it was challenging to end the separation of "thinkers" and "doers"—was that none had to be convinced that activity alone will not do it, that theory is needed. The search can be seen in the veritable explosion of both activist papers and academic studies, in theoretical journals like *Quest* and *Signs*, and in the more than 15,000 courses in Women's Studies established by 1978. Nowhere was the thirst for ideas more evident than in the outpourings to all the varied conferences that continuously astounded the "organizers"—whether that be CLUW in 1974 or the Socialist-Feminists in 1975, the IWY Conference in Houston in 1977 or the Second Sex Conference in New York this past year.

Yet, at the end of so magnificent a decade, the WLM faces a counter-revolution—from within and from without—so strong that in the U.S. not only does the 1973 Supreme Court victory on abortion stand in danger, but we cannot even guarantee ratification of the ERA in a northern industrial state like Illinois—while in Portugal and Iran, where women's demonstrations challenged the incompleteness of those revolutions, the whole revolution now stands in mortal danger.

Never was there a more urgent need to finally find a theory that can match all the new beginnings in practice. Never was it more clear that the question which demands to be answered at this point is not even so much what theory as what is theory. It demands a second look at today's Women's Liberation theorists with those eyes.

**THE SECOND SEX, THIRTY YEARS LATER**

The three day conference last September at NYU, called to discuss the significance of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, 30 years later, was organized around 22 papers, 30 workshops and five general sessions. The 1,000 women who participated were all seriously trying to work out a feminist theory. Yet none questioned why a conference on the threshold of the 1980s should be "inspired" by Simone de Beauvoir's Existentialist philosophy which in 1949 was but a transition point from the old to the new, as she opened wide a heretofore undared discussion of sexuality. It was that topic that inspired today's WLM, not de Beauvoir's conception of woman as "Other". And it is that

topic, sexuality, that is still in need of a relation to revolution. We will surely never find it in the Sartrean Existentialism that de Beauvoir followed so faithfully.

In the 814 pages of *The Second Sex*, never once do we see woman as active, thinking subject. Woman is always the object that terrible things are done to—and primarily because she supposedly allows it to be that way. Indeed, she tells us that the slaves were always conscious of their oppression, the proletariat has always been in revolt, but woman? "No desire for revolution dwells within her."

Because "creativity" means to her only works of art or of literature, not new human relations, she can insist that "as long as woman has to struggle to become a human being, she cannot become a creator", when the truth is the exact opposite. There is such a total absence of appreciation for any mass movement that it extends even to the leaders of those movements. Thus, Rosa Luxemburg, the great leader of the 1919 German Revolution, merely battled "beside Liebknecht" and supposedly demonstrates "that it is not the inferiority of women that has caused their historical insignificance; it is rather their historical insignificance that has doomed them to inferiority." None of the revolutions count for anything.

All the great women of history whose names are sprinkled on page after page are, we are told, "isolated individuals" as we are asked: "for one Flora Tristan or Louise Michel, how many timid housewives begged their husbands not to take chances?" But it is not only the true history of the great Paris Commune of 1871 that de Beauvoir ignores—the 3,000 women of the Committee for the Defence of Paris, working women for the most part, who not only took their places on the barricades but who organized their office to remain open around the clock during even the most critical days of battle. More important, it is the true history of her own age she does not see.

The first edition of *The Second Sex* came out in 1949 just when, in industrial America, the miners in their great Automation strikes were challenging nothing less than what sort of work human beings should do; a whole new Third World was being born; and on the level of the WLM itself, the women who had been drawn into the factories in WWII were challenging the attempts to shove them back to the kitchens again. Everywhere the movement from practice was raising the most highly philosophic questions—but none of this penetrated de Beauvoir's thinking, despite the fact that of all the women theorists the WLM has embraced, she is the only one who is a philosopher.

Nothing better proves that it is not any philosophy that is needed but one that will enable you to catch in theory what masses in motion have been doing and thinking in practice, create new categories, and thus help move the revolution forward. Nothing better demonstrates that it is not the historic epoch you are born into, but your relationship to that movement from practice as well as to the movement from theory that determines what voices you hear, what facts you find, and even what words mean.

How else can you explain that de Beauvoir could conclude her voluminous epic with the magnificent statement of discovery Marx had made in his *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*: "The direct, natural, necessary relationship of man to man is the relationship of man to woman . . ." and so twist its meaning that she "restates" it to be an affirmation of her philosophy that "it is for man to establish the reign of liberty!"

From beginning to end for the Existentialist de Beauvoir, woman remains Other, the *Second Sex*.<sup>2</sup> How, then, could none of this come out for examination, let alone critique, even "Thirty Years Later", at a conference of women theorists?

And what of the historians at that conference? Have they done any better than the philosophers?

**GERDA LERNER, ACADEMIC HISTORIAN**

Gerda Lerner has written no less than four books specifically on the history of American women and is considered a "pioneer" in the field. How could she be allowed to get away with the vulgar anti-intellectualism she displayed there, continuing to fight Freud and Marx alike, not on the ground of their ideas, much less their historic period and relation to objectivity, but merely

1 In *The Women Incendiaries* (Braziller, 1966; Gallimard, 1963), Edith Thomas has documented the magnificent history of the women of the Commune in such moving detail that one feels exactly what Marx described in *The Civil War in France* as: "Working, thinking, fighting, bleeding Paris . . . radiant in the enthusiasm of its historic initiative!"

2 And how do we explain that women theorists like Margery Collins and Christine Pierce can write so devastating a critique of the male chauvinism of Jean-Paul Sartre as their "Holes and Slime: Sexism in Sartre's Psychoanalysis" (included in *Women and Philosophy*, Putnam, 1976) without a single word of criticism of de Beauvoir, who shared the same philosophy?

on the grounds that they are men?

It is her latest book, *The Majority Finds its Past: Placing Women in History*, a collection of 12 essays written over the past decade, that most clearly reveals her false thesis of "history," in the very manner in which she changed the title of her 1977 documentary from "Women in the Making of a Nation" to "The Fe-

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Over 1,000 women rallied in the evening, May 3, in a Detroit park, for Michigan's first "Take Back the Night" demonstration. Speakers called for an end to all forms of sexual harassment and oppression of women, and men supporters joined the women for a two-mile march. Chants calling for freedom rang through the streets, and several waitresses came outside to show their support.

**women-  
worldwide**

Working Women, a national association of office workers, has released a report on automation in clerical jobs which predicts that the use of 10 million mini-computers in the U.S. by the end of this year will eliminate jobs done by file clerks, bookkeepers, secretaries, typists and bank tellers, 90 percent of whom are women. Use of computers will lower wages and raise production quotas for those who are left, as well as require them to work with equipment proven to pose specific health hazards. The association stressed the abysmal wages of clerical workers and urged women to organize to protect their jobs.

A wave of demonstrations in Kabul during the week of April 22 was begun by Afghan high school women as young as 14. Several hundred were arrested when 600 girls and teachers marched to the Ministry of Interior Affairs where they shouted slogans such as "Bloody Russians get out of Afghanistan!" As demonstrations spread, students stoned and taunted troops and militia and were stopped after five days by soldiers firing into crowds and killing almost 100 unarmed youth.

On May 10, over 50,000 women and men marched in Chicago to demand ratification of the ERA in Illinois. Women came from nearly every state, even Alaska, and from labor unions such as the ILGWU and Steelworkers for the ERA, to demand passage of the ERA and an end to the anti-woman, anti-labor politics of born-again-Christian legislators of both major political parties.

In Bolivia, over 2,000 women participated in the first Congress of Bolivian indigenous rural women, held in La Paz, Jan. 10, and organized by the Farm Workers Union. The women formed a National Confederation of Rural Women to oppose the Banzer regime's extermination of the Indian population, and to work out the problems of women working in the fields and having to return home to "traditional" women's work and husbands who expect them to be servile and submissive.

(from Courage, W. Berlin)

Women at the first American conference of farm-worker women held in Phoenix, Ariz., on April 18, also formed a network of groups to deal with the problems of forced sterilizations, the effects of pesticide on their children who accompany them to the fields, and the continuing exclusion of women from active union participation and leadership by their husbands and current male union leaders.

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## Plant conversion planned for GM, not for workers

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

In 1962, the South Gate General Motors plant where I worked ran 32 jobs an hour and employed approximately 5,000 people on two shifts. In March of 1980, just before the plant closed, we were running 56 jobs an hour, consisting of large Chevrolets and Cadillacs, with one shift of approximately 1,700 people.

Between 1962 and 1980 automation had replaced thousands of people, increased the line speed, upped the price and reduced the quality. Our plant may reopen in a year or so to produce one of the smaller cars. But will we as workers be back when it opens?

Or is our fate that which was reported by a Fleetwood auto worker who wrote in the May issue of N&L about the gigantic automated robots three rooms wide and two stories high which were being installed? This new technology is going to leave only 87 workers in his department within the next two years.

## Chix strikers ask support

Slough, Britain — Chix is a small factory making bubblegum and sweet cigarettes. Over the entrance, a cheerful notice advertising for staff says "You're not just a number at Chix." This statement would certainly be disputed by the 96 workers, most of whom are Asian women, on strike there since Oct. 10, 1979. After organizing themselves into the General and Municipal Workers' Union, they came out demanding recognition from management. Chix has recruited scabs at higher wages to break the strike, and the police have always been on hand to shepherd the scabs into the factory.

After a hard winter on the picket line, the Chix strikers are still full of determination and enthusiasm. And they are getting the sort of support from other workers that they need to win. On April 30, about 300 people took part in a mass picket at the Chix factory. Workers at South London Sugar Refinery have cut off supplies of glucose to the company, while a quarter of a million sweet wrappers destined for Chix are stuck in Hemel Hempstead because printshop workers there refuse to handle them.

A striker, speaking in Punjabi with a woman acting as translator from the Southall Black Sisters group (who are actively supporting the strike), said:

"Inside we faced many problems. We got a lot of abuse and harassment from foremen and supervisors, who are all white. We have received a lot of welcome support from other workers — including steelworkers from as far away as Manchester. Production in the factory is down 50 percent and we have forced management to negotiate with the union. We'd like to see supplies to the factory cut off completely — especially the electricity. We will only go back when we win."

Please mail all donations and messages of support to: Brother Anwar, 271 Goodmans Park, Slough, Berkshire, England.

—Dick Abernethy

The Chairman of the Board of GM, Mr. Murphy, was quoted in the Los Angeles Times as saying that a multi-million dollar conversion is now going on in the South Gate plant to produce a small, fuel-efficient car in 1981. I spoke to a couple of maintenance workers who are now working on the plant conversion and they said that the body shop of that plant will be so automated as to need practically no workers.

Mr. Murphy failed to mention how many workers will have jobs in this converted plant. He also did not mention how many Californians, or anyone else, will be able to buy GM's, Ford's, Chrysler's or anyone else's cars if they are unemployed.

The U.S. auto makers have done nothing to correct the impression that the assembly line workers are responsible for the poor quality cars. However, the carefully hidden truth is that paragraph eight of the contract between the UAW and the company which states: "The company has sole and exclusive responsibility" for "the location of the plant, the schedule of production, the methods, process and means of manufacturing." It is not the workers who control production and therefore quality, but the company with its speed-ups and its introduction of more and more machinery.

Far from this changing when new robots are introduced into the factory, it will intensify the problem. Workers, those few who are left, will have even less control over production, over the quality of their life in the shop and the quality of what they produce. And meanwhile thousands of us will never return to these auto factories.

## Glydons picket continues

Los Angeles, Cal. — As the strike at the Glydons garment factory here enters its fourth month, the company is still refusing to negotiate with the 150 workers demanding union recognition and higher wages.

The strike began in December after Glydons refused to recognize a 149-10 vote of the predominantly Latina workers (who work piece rate and average \$2.90 per hour) to join the ILGWU. Glydons has hired scabs to replace the strikers, and has issued threats against the many undocumented workers at the plant to report them to immigration.

But the workers continue to walk the picket lines. Twice the strikers have held days of solidarity at the plant, where up to 100 workers from other garment shops came to express opposition to Glydons.

The company has responded by announcing that no one can picket within 1,000 feet of the plant gate, an edict the LA police have enforced. But the pickets and demonstrations continue.

The workers are in desperate need of funds and support. Contributions can be sent to the Glydons Organizing Committee, 400 W. 9th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90015.

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

But Blacks know what his game is all about. They are not listening to Black leaders either. They know all the talk does not change one thing in their lives. And the President won't be able to do any better with all the unemployed Black workers.

Black people are products of a long line of cold, calculated de-humanization and still we managed to survive this system. Now even this survival is being threatened. They say Black people have been in this country since 1619, a year before the Mayflower. So after 350 years, what will President Carter sell to Blacks in Miami and Tampa, Fla. and also in Wrightsville, Ga. — all of which have seen revolts?

I have wondered what is happening in the minds of our elected officials. I noticed that our Mayor is saying what happened in Miami will not happen here in Detroit. Maybe it will not. But he has racist policemen on the force here. I remember the same thing being said by former Mayor Cavanaugh in 1967. Although Blacks put him in office, he kept yelling it could not happen here — but it did, and now it's history.

There were many people who were disgusted then about some of the brutal ways that some whites were murdered, but they never showed that Blacks were also protecting whites. I still remember very clearly the same thing happening in the 1943 rebellion in Detroit. Myself and several other Blacks went to the aid of two white women being beaten by some young Blacks, and stopped the youth by telling them that those women did not know a riot was going on. One of the young Blacks said, "I'm not sorry because white men have been beating Black women for years and nothing has been done about it."

It is this that many whites do not understand. When Blacks have something against whites it is because of how whites have been against them for years for no reason other than their color. It will always continue under this system. What is needed is to destroy this one from top to bottom and build a new society based on the human interests of all.

## Pay loss after transit strike

In the following story, a New York transit worker discusses conditions after the April transit strike.—Ed.

New York, N.Y. — This Taylor Law must be unconstitutional. They're going to fine us two day's pay for each day we were on strike, and they're starting to take \$75 out of each paycheck. Since we already lost the pay for when we were out, that means we now lose a total of three day's pay for each day we were on strike. I've worked in other countries, and if you strike you can lose that day's pay, but this is unbelievable. The worker's No. 1 right is the right to strike.

Right now, the Transit Workers Union President John Lawe is the man most hated by the workers. Now one "opposition" leader, George MacDonald, took a job as a Union Vice-President. These two guys, Lawe and MacDonald, both white, are like Archie Bunkers. They're terribly afraid that the Blacks and Puerto Ricans will take over the Union. Even before this, MacDonald once admitted openly that he'd rather keep John Lawe than have Arnold Cherry, a leader of an opposition caucus. Cherry is Black.

The strike was ended by a phony vote at the Executive Board. We had lots of new guys on the Board and they weren't used to the type of trickery that was used. Then came the vote on the contract. The mail ballot is a trick. You can cheat. We want to have a mass meeting to decide. Then we would never have gone back to work like this.

So far we still can't get John Lawe out. We have to stop going to the Courts. We have to watch also all these new guys we elected, like Arthur Goldberg from 207 St., and make sure they don't become corrupted too.

— White worker, 207 St.

## FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — There are three of the new robots now working in the body shop doing spot welding. It's unfortunate, but they are working. At this point, the union is at a complete standstill. They do just what management wants. The company is stockpiled 90 days ahead, so the union settles jobs right away. There are a few 78s (grievances) floating around the plant, but there are none pertaining to production. If it has anything to do with production — forget it! There is nothing done.

Although we've worked on the average for about 6½ hours a day, so far, there is an overload on jobs. And working on the line is forcing older workers out of work. Nine hundred workers are now eligible for retirement. (Workers who have 25 years or who are over 55 years old, are eligible). And in the past few weeks, 25 workers a week have requested retirement. It is very hard on workers who have been off the line for 15-20 years, to return on the line. I've seen older workers with sweat pouring off of them as if they were in a shower! Some workers are also requesting transfers to the Oklahoma plant.

But the workers who are unemployed don't have it any easier. The ones laid off last year will be running out of compensation soon — SUB benefits. So what can happen next?

—Fleetwood worker

### Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — On Thursday morning (May 22) we walked out. There wasn't any water in the fountains. The toilets weren't flushing. They shut down the line at nine o'clock that morning, letting everybody go to the KDX building to use the bathroom. They told us then that they were fixing it, that the water pressure was building up, and that after lunch, it'll be back to normal. But it didn't work that way. At 9:30, the committeeman came by telling everybody "Go Home!" Everybody started walking off the line.

When we came back from the walkout on Friday, the foremen didn't say anything to us. But there still wasn't any water in there. People were talking about walking out again. They didn't get the water pressure back until Friday evening, about time to go home. They had to put some portable toilets in there since the bathrooms were unsanitary. And the water fountains still weren't working good.

Management is doing what they want to do. They took all our money in the contract, and treat us like dogs. They're also taking out the TRA benefit money on our paychecks, \$30 a paycheck. I have to pay back \$1,200. They take it out of our vacation pay, our cost of living pay, every check.

—Medium line worker

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London, N1, England

# Readers' Views

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION: STRUGGLES—AND IDEAS—CONTINUE

The ERA demonstration here was so impressive — so many and from all over the country — that I sat down for a while just to watch the delegations walking past. When a group from Anchorage, Alaska, strode by, I found myself weeping because while it was so great that over 50,000 women rode buses, some for several days and nights to march for the passage of the ERA, I kept thinking, what will happen to all of them when it passes and nothing changes?

What illusions to think, especially in the economic-political crisis we are in, that the ERA will solve anything. And now, after all that, it looks like it still won't pass anyway. What I am wondering is if some of the women were declaring by coming to this march that they refuse to let the right wing go any further — like the ERA is the line they won't allow the right wing to cross. I'd like to know what other N&L readers think.

Feminist  
Chicago

The battles of Rosa Luxemburg's time are still being fought out all over the world — including W. Germany, where the German Federation of Unions (DGB) ordered its members not to celebrate International Women's Day 1980. The DGB's rationale was that International Women's Day, proclaimed by the Second International Congress of Socialist Women in 1910 in response to the New York Triangle Shirtwaist strike, is a party-political celebration — and thus irreconcilable with the DGB's principle of the unity of labor!

The attempted ban was massively disobeyed by rank-and-file union women, for it would further isolate the foreign women workers, who are largely ignored by the German unions. As Rosa Luxemburg

said at the first International Congress of Socialist Women in 1907: "The days of the International, when Marx himself was the actual center of the international movement of the proletariat, are past and gone . . . Only when we have the good fortune to achieve a center of moral authority . . . will we have a viable and energetic center for the socialist movement. You will create this moral center for the International out of yourselves . . . Never believe that the rejection of this ideal means you have lost something; never say 'It was too good to be true.'"

The struggle continues.

David Wolff  
Chicago

## 'DEATH OF A PRINCESS'

The scene that struck me most in "Death of a Princess" on TV was the alternative the Arab woman school principal offered to the misery, degradation and enslavement of her countrywomen. This "New Theory of Islam" she spoke about is a theme echoed in most Middle Eastern countries.

However, the limitations of such a philosophy — which is at best an amalgam of western technology and vulgar communism while keeping intact the inherent sexism of religion — has been well exposed in the first country to follow such a lead, Iran. It is true that it can help overthrow a tyranny, but the "new Islam" will not replace the system with a viable alternative, one which puts an end to the chronic sexism of the Middle Eastern countries.

Iranian woman  
in the U.S.A.

I was really angered by the pompous American academic on the panel following "Death of a Princess," who said that it was as much an example of the Saudi system as a good film on lynching would be of the American system of justice. I immediately thought of "To Kill A Mockingbird," and how right he was, in his unintentional, sarcastic remark.

And how can anyone feel superior to the brutality of the Saudis in beheading the princess and her lover, when the American system of justice has just condoned six Miami policemen's bludgeoning a Black man to death with flashlights? Both the U.S. and Saudi Arabia have a long way to go to become civilized.

Appalled  
Missouri

## YOUTH IDEAS FOR FREEDOM

I recently learned that the song "The Wall" by Pink Floyd — which speaks to the stifling alienation in the schools, as well as to the lack of true education — has been banned by the South African government because the Black and mixed race students, who are boycotting the schools, are singing the song as they march to protest the viciously racist society as seen in the segregated school policies.

I found this particularly interesting in light of the fact that in every school room that I enter these days, I either hear the song or see its title written on the chalkboard. I wonder if the universality of the theme of this song can be

related to the Black unemployed army — especially Black youth — in Miami? Their anger and frustration is against the same monster that has bred such a deformed educational system. As the racial turbulence of the past revisits the world today, nobody knows where the next Miami may break out, but we do know that so long as this society remains there will be continual revolt against racism.

Substitute teacher  
New York

My main worry right now is the very real possibility that we are on the brink of World War III. Although I was only eight years old during the Cuban missile crisis, it is still one of my strongest memories. I haven't felt anything quite like that till now. With Russia on one side of Iran, the U.S. on the other, and imminent civil war within, events seem to be gearing up toward a direct confrontation between the super powers.

People here seem to be preparing mentally for war. The attitude among some of the people I work with is appalling. There is a real frustration toward the U.S.'s diminished status in the world, and toward an economic condition that can no longer assure an increasing standard of living for white Americans. In all this, the inability of the Left to get across their alternatives is a devastating weakness.

Worker-student  
Chicago

## REVOLUTIONARY JOURNALISM: FOR MARX, FOR TODAY

I see a lot of importance in what Eugene Walker developed in his article "Karl Marx, the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, and the 1850 Address on Permanent Revolution." It's essential to break down permanent revolution for this situation today. In Los Angeles, you have a labor movement that could leap forward, if it connected with the unorganized, the undocumented workers. But the capitalists and the union bureaucrats continue to ignore them. Going lower and deeper into the unorganized could be a form for moving the whole labor movement forward.

Eugene Ford  
Los Angeles

I wanted to say how much I appreciated Eugene Walker's article on Marx's revolutionary journalism (May N&L), which really did give us a "measure for our day of a practical-critical-theoretical organ of revolution." Although I have been in the movement for quite a few years, much in the article was completely new to me, and sent me to the library to read some of Marx's work in that period for myself.

One thing I discovered was a letter Marx wrote even before the first issue of Neue Rheinische Zeitung appeared. The letter was to an Italian newspaper, L'Alba, on something that you would think was "formal," or "technical" — an agreement to exchange newspapers. Instead, Marx's idea of an "exchange" turns out to be the most beautiful statement of internationalism: "We shall defend the cause of Italian independence, we shall wage a life-and-death struggle against Austrian despotism in Italy just as in Germany and Poland. We extend a fraternal hand to the Italian people and

want to show it that the German nation repudiates in every way the oppression of your country by the same men who in our country too have always combated liberty."

Michael Connolly  
Detroit

## IN THATCHER'S BRITAIN

I'm on the dole again. Not that I'm the only one; it seems that the whole of the North East and Scotland is being closed down. This even includes military projects like the tank that was to be built by Vickers Armstrong on Tyneside. Everything from here to the north is to be beyond the pale. While it is certain that there is an element of punishment in this (for voting Labour), the idea that it can be reversed by Labour government seems off beam.

Ex-shipyard worker  
Newcastle, England

## LETTERS FROM PRISON

Your publication is somewhat difficult for me to really understand, mainly because I'm just beginning to develop on a political level. But what I can really relate to is when you speak on matters relating to Detroit that I'm in tune with, like Mayor Young, or the auto plants. What I really enjoyed last issue was the article by John Alan on the Black Agenda conference. Not for the rebuff by all the Presidential candidates to all Black people, but to the so-called Black leaders who have been advocating support of those candidates . . .

Prisoner  
Marquette, Michigan

The book *Indignant Heart* by Charles Denby has just been sent to me by a friend. It has been well over a year that I have been reading your paper, which I find interesting and informative. In fact I now have placed the study of "classical" Marxism into my curriculum. You are doing a fine job, and I pass your paper to other prisoners who are in need of the truth! In struggle,

Prisoner  
Pennsylvania

## FIGHTING 'THREADS OF FEAR'

Did you hear about the recent jailing of Russian Jewish dissident Igor Guberman, who has been worrying the Kremlin with underground satiric verse like the following: "What keeps my country tirelessly moving/ Is not the plan for one more industrial gear/ But a small office, ordinary, gloomy/ Where they manipulate the threads of fear."

This kind of writing, so characteristic of the freedom struggles throughout Russia and East Europe, is what we have been discussing with everyone as we sell our new bi-lingual Polish-English pamphlet "Today's Polish Fight for Freedom." The subtitle, "Philosophy, satire, revolution" is what really attracts interest. Here in Chicago, we went to the Polish Independence Day parade May 3 and sold 102 copies!

Marxist-Humanists  
Chicago

Ed. Note: Copies of *Today's Polish Fight for Freedom* are still available from N&L for \$1.50, postage included.

## A NOTE ON OUR NEW LOGO

Regular readers of News & Letters will have noticed that we are trying out a new logo on page 1 of this month's issue. With it, we continue a period of discussion and experimentation on the makeup of our paper—the voice of Marxist-Humanism. We invite not only your comments, but drawings and sketches of your own ideas as well.

## News & Letters

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## TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

The following are excerpts from the recent *Political-Philosophic Letter* by Raya Dunayevskaya, "The Carter/Brzezinski-ordered Imperialist Intrusion into Iran— and What About Khomeini/Bani-Sadr's 'Holy War' against the Left?" The full letter is available from *News & Letters*; see ad, p.8—Ed.

BY NO ACCIDENT whatever a real live mad Colonel, the Apocalypse Now type — Green Beret Colonel Beckwith, trained in the decade-long U.S. imperialist war in Vietnam — was chosen to command the "Blue Light" elite corps to descend upon Iran in the dark of the night of April 24 . . . Here was a gory mission that had gone through 30 rehearsals, stretched over a period of nearly six months, involving six C-130 Hercules transport planes, which had proven their technological proficiency in the decade-long bloody Vietnam War, with eight equally proficient Sikorsky RH-53 helicopters, all manned by a volunteer, gung ho military outfit, armed not only with weapons but canisters filled with disabling gas, which, after only three hours in the desert, with no enemy in sight, suddenly falls apart. First, three helicopters malfunction; then, comes the order from the Commander-in-Chief to abandon the mission. It is now 2:15 a.m. of April 25. The fiasco departure becomes a tragedy as the transport plane and helicopter collide and eight American bodies go up in flames. The Green Beret Colonel orders the rest of the crew into a plane without either picking up the bodies, or destroying the secret documents. Five others seriously burned are taken aboard. It is now 4 a.m.

It is impossible to conceive such a total failure unless the reasons behind the order to abort the operation had nothing whatever to do with either the advanced military technology or the lives of the American hostages that were supposed to have been rescued. Two probabilities surely make more logic than the official accounting. One is that the CIA is still cooperating with SAVAK and this actual Fifth Column in Iran got cold feet at the last minute and did not wish to carry through with their mercenary murderous job.

Or, even more likely, the President got cold feet through both the strong opposition he would meet from the American public and the distrust he suddenly felt for the CIA-sponsored Fifth Column . . .

Whether or not President Carter is so Nixon-bent on the retention of his powers in this election year that even the prospect of unleashing World War III cannot stay his hand, it is a fact that the Iranian misadventure can in no way be separated from Carter's

## EDITORIAL

In the aftermath of President Tito's death May 4, representatives of no less than 115 governments, including 33 Presidents and 21 Prime Ministers, converged on Yugoslavia for his lavish funeral. American newspapers eulogized him as a "war hero" and "good friend", no longer the "Communist Dictator". But Pres. Carter's statement that the USA will defend the "unity and territorial integrity" of Yugoslavia is what all ears were tuned to. Such statements may give the appearance that Tito was really an independent, or even a focal point for an alternative—as though there could really be a possibility of a third line between capitalists and workers.

Far from that being the case, the outpouring of world leaders at his funeral is yet another round in the jockeying for position, powerfully underlining the fact that U.S. imperialism still rules most of the world, and that Russia rules most of the rest.

Neither can the eulogies hide the fact that Tito himself was a total contradiction. There is no doubt that Tito's break from Stalin's grip in 1948 gave new hope to all who had fought that totalitarianism since Stalin's usurpation of power in Russia itself. So true was this, and so ready was Trotskyism to tailend this split with Stalinism, that they were very nearly ready to give over the leadership of "world revolution" to this purely state-capitalist nationalism.

### TITO'S ATTACKS ON WORKERS

Against the illusions of Trotskyism, the truth was that Tito's "new path" amounted to "Stalinism in a very single, very small, very backward country." From the very beginning, the fact that no independent direction had been set was evident from Tito's attacks on workers and minorities within Yugoslavia. Indeed, no sooner had he consolidated power than his 1947 Five Year Plan demanded "a steady increase in productivity of work . . . by thoroughly utilizing working hours."

But even on Tito's own ground—the break with Russia—the failure was clear by 1961, when, in the aftermath of Russia's monstrous 50-megaton nuclear test, and in the shadow of the coming Sino-Soviet split,

## Carter's intrusion, Khomeini's 'Holy War'

internal drive for war that he had begun long before. The point is that Carter's proposal for reinstating draft-registration for the youth has, indeed, a global imperialist outlook.

It becomes imperative, therefore, that our struggle against Carter's drive for war is at the same time a way to express our solidarity with the Iranian masses in their anti-imperialist struggle. In doing so we must make sure that the struggle for freedom does not get separated from a philosophy of liberation. And therein, precisely, lies the deep contradiction in the Iranian revolution, signified all over again by the Khomeini/Bani-Sadr unleashing of the unholy "Holy War" against the Left.

### II

NOTHING WAS MORE ghoulish than the hanging judge Ayatollah Sadegh Khalkhali's display of the burned corpses of the eight American soldiers. Did he intend to put them on trial? . . . What is as disorienting a matter as that calculated display is the statement of the supposed moderate Bani-Sadr and the Imam Khomeini which maligned the Iranian Left as having a connection with Carter's imperialist venture. What Khomeini-Bani-Sadr-Ghotbzadeh-Behesti-Khalkhali have unleashed is a move against the very forces that were in the forefront of the revolutionary overthrow of the Shah.

Not only is there no connection between the deep unrest in Iran and Carter's intrusion into Iran (and Bani-Sadr knows it), but the ruling clique in Iran has shown an affinity to the rulers in any capitalist country when they took advantage of the desert fiasco to hit out against the Left, against the dissatisfaction over the great mass unemployment, against the national liberation movements, Kurds especially, who have attempted to deepen the Iranian revolution from mere overthrow of the Shah to actual freedom and new human relations. Khomeini and Bani-Sadr know that the opposition to them began with their retrenchment from the goals of the revolution, whether that related to Khomeini's trying to turn the clock back on Women's Liberation, or trying to abolish the shoras of the workers . . .

The great unrest in the country is so inseparable from a great passion for philosophy of liberation that there isn't a single expression — and there are no less than 150 different groups attempting to articulate that passion for freedom, in every form from pamphlets, books, papers, leaflets, to cassettes — that does not at once get grabbed up on the university campuses. It is those bookstalls that so frighten Khomeini and the so-called Revolutionary Council that they order their goons to attack the student youth. Worse than the riots these

## Tito's non-alternative

Tito was trapped into returning to the fold of Russian policy, even declaring "understanding" for their atomic testing. This, only six years after he had been one of the founders of the "non-aligned" movement that sought to make the Third World a force in global affairs. This, despite the fact that that "founder" status did give him a forum for trying to present his "workers' self-management" program as something in the revolutionary tradition of workers' councils. The truth is that it hardly differed from any class collaborationism.

At the end of Tito's life, the September 1979 meeting of the "non-aligned movement" in Havana loomed as a final test of sorts, with Tito determined to combat Cuba/Russia for the future of that organization. The fact that Tito there chose to make his stand by adopting the Chinese slogan against Russian "hegemonism" is not the only irony tying his weak-voiced "last hurrah" to that of Mao.

The greater truth is that since Tito could only pose something to be against, offering no new banner for the future, the non-aligned movement emerged in the greatest disarray ever.

### FERMENT AT HOME

And at home, from the increasing number of strikers who have assailed the technocrats and demanded genuine "self-management," to the birth of "unauthorized" women's liberation groups, the Yugoslavia Tito leaves is one with plenty of revolutionary ferment. None of these forces in revolt is likely to be impressed by the Tito solution to the problem of succession — a State Presidency that rotates among representatives of the six Yugoslavian republics and two "autonomous provinces."

What Tito's non-alternative emphasizes in our crisis-ridden age, is the historic truth that the only "third way" possible is a projection of a whole new human dimension.

As for those who are willing to settle for something far less in their pursuit of "shortcuts" to socialism, they will continue to chase the Castros and Khomeinis, even as they once offered unrequited love to Tito. For the rest of us, the task of totally uprooting this degenerate society remains.

goons instigated — and there were many injured and some dead — is the state-and-clergy-sponsored edicts for the abolition of political activity. Khomeini is under the illusion that, since the Left does not command sacrosanct mosques such as they used in the struggle against the Shah, the idea of freedom will die . . . What the masses will prove is that they have no intention whatever to let the revolution remain unfinished.

### III

THE STRANGEST TOLERATION of all, if not outright "love," is the one that exists between Khomeini and Tudeh. Anyone in the West is so accustomed to the 180 degree turns, hypocrisies and outright alliances of absolute opposites on the part of the Russian Communists ever since the Hitler-Stalin Pact, which gave the green light to World War II, that none in the West were surprised by the declaration of the Secretary General of the Iranian Communist Party, Nurreddin Kianuri, that they are "followers of Imam Khomeini's line."

When interviewed by an editor of *Le Monde*, Eric Rouleau,\* on the question of supporting terrorism, Kianuri replied: "Of course we condemn terrorism, but no principle can be eternal. From the very beginning we supported the arrest of the so-called diplomats because they were engaged not only in espionage . . . but in counter-revolutionary and subversive activity." As for continuing incarceration of the American hostages, which flew in the face of international law, and which

\*The Guardian, April 27, 1980 (*Le Monde* English Section)

(Continued on Page 8)

Living history of U.S. revolutionary forces  
**THE RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA COLLECTION**  
Marxist-Humanism: Its Origin and  
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& Letters*. Price: 50¢ plus postage.

### Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stand for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. *News & Letters* was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, is the editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

*News & Letters* was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "a new Humanism," as well as individuality "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead."

In opposing the capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our Constitution states: "It is our aim . . . to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate the mass activities from the activity of thinking. Anyone who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the Constitution of *News and Letters Committees*.

# Women's liberation in search of a theory

(Continued from Page 2)

male Experience". In a "flash of insight", she tells us, she rearranged all her material according to "female life stages (Childhood, Youth, Marriage and the Single State, etc.) and to stages of the growth of feminist consciousness."

"What is needed," she insists, "in order to correct the distorted picture presented by traditional history is women-centered analysis. What would the past be like if man were regarded as woman's 'Other'? (my emphasis). Even to pose such a question . . . shifts one's angle of vision." What we wind up with is a vision not only shifted, but so twisted that the dialectic of history—the history of mass struggles of women and men for freedom—becomes a history of the "tensions" between the separate cultures, "male and female." The result is that, far from "Placing Women in History", Gerda Lerner wrenches women out of it.

While she correctly exposes that "the rich history of the abolition movement has been told as though women played a marginal, auxiliary, and at times mainly disruptive role in it," nowhere do we get a whiff of the dialectical, historical, and continuing relationship between the freedom struggles of Blacks and of women. Nowhere are the Sojourner Truths and Harriet Tubmans seen as the speakers, the "generals", the leaders, who inspired the white women to be more than "auxiliary." The Women's Rights Movement arose out of the Abolitionist Movement. There is no such thing as Black history that is not also white history. There is no such thing as woman's history that is not the actual history of humanity's struggle toward freedom.

Both *Black Women in White America* and *The Female Experience: An American Documentary*, as documentary histories, are collections of magnificent scope. But because this academic historian sees them only as that—voices, and not the Reason in all the great struggles that are history—she can actually call the work she did on *Black Women* nothing more than a "detour" on her way to her original "theory" of women's history.

No wonder she can write that "The speech by the former slave, Sojourner Truth, belongs here not so much because of its content, but because of its tone." And this is the speech where Sojourner is criticizing no one less than Frederick Douglass after the Civil War for being "short-minded" because he asked women to wait for their enfranchisement, while Sojourner was insisting that women, too, must have their rights!

Lerner's disdain for Marx is not just because he is a man. It is because for Marx theory flowed out of the actual thoughts and action of women and men shaping history, whereas for Lerner she, not the women who speak in her books, is going to be the original.

The sad truth is that it is not only the white WLM theorists who have not caught the creativity of the mass movement. We have yet to produce the Black woman theorist who has been able to develop what Toni Cade attempted to show in *The Black Woman*, her 1970 anthology of voices that were demanding to be heard; to catch in theory what the Rosa Parks, Fannie Lou Hamers, Daisy Bates, Gloria Richardson, and countless others were acting out in life in our own age.

What enabled Marx to "transform historic narrative into historic Reason"—his total philosophy of revolution—is what still eludes nearly all the new women theorists. And not only those who reject Marxism as a theory for Women's Liberation, but even those who are seeking to join Socialism and Feminism.

## SHEILA ROWBOTHAM, MARXIST HISTORIAN

Sheila Rowbotham's *Women, Resistance and Revolution* remains the most serious work of all the women theorists, not only because she is a Marxist, and the one best representative of the generation that gave birth to today's WLM out of the New Left, but because she has traced, through 300 years of history, not merely the oppression but woman's resistance to that oppression. Indeed, so organic does Rowbotham see the resistance that she states categorically: "there is no 'beginning' of feminism in the sense that there is no beginning to defiance in women."

She is especially attuned to recognize the importance of the working-class dimension. But all the events are told as if each happened apart from the other. There is no movement.

Thus, though we learn about Flora Tristan's proposal for a Workers' International in 1843 on one page and of American Abolitionism on still another—there is no sense of what the 1840s represented as a momentous historic age that produced not only the Seneca Falls Convention, the 1848 Revolutions in Europe and the anti-slavery movement in America—but Karl Marx's break from bourgeois society in 1844 and his world-shaking discovery of what Raya Dunayevskaya has called a whole "new continent of thought".

It is Rowbotham's failure to see Marx as that founder of a total philosophy of revolution for our age that is her fatal error. It is not that she has not studied

Marx's work. She writes of everything from the 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* to the *Communist Manifesto*, *German Ideology* and the powerful pages in *Capital* where Marx describes the working conditions "of sewing girls, silk workers, bleachers, straw-plaiters, and other women." She acknowledges his support for a woman's section of the *International*, his praise for the women of the Commune, his encouragement for the intellectual development and activism of his own daughters.

Yet she insists on viewing Marx as nothing more than a "bourgeois man in the 19th century"! Because she equates Marx's profound view of the Man/Woman relationship in his 1844 *Humanist Essays* as no more than the development of a "theme generally discussed in utopian socialist writing on women's liberation"—rather than seeing it as a breakthrough to the conception of just how total must be the uprooting of this exploitative society if we are ever to achieve a new human society—she limits Marx to being nothing more than a theoretician of "class struggle" rather than philosopher of a whole "new continent of thought." That is precisely why, though she passionately wants to "connect" what she feels are the two dimensions of her own being — feminism and Marxism,<sup>3</sup> she winds up concluding in the final four pages of her whole book:

"This is a book in which feminism and Marxism come home to roost. They cohabit in the same space somewhat uneasily . . . the connection between the oppression of women and the central discovery of Marxism, the class exploitation of the worker in capitalism, is still forced. It is still coming out of the heads of women like me as an idea."

But it is not an outside mediator that brings Marxism and feminism together. It is life. To insist that women have come to revolutionary consciousness by means of ideas, actions and organizations which have been made predominantly by men" is to wrench women out of the real history of humanity's struggle toward freedom every bit as much as does Simone de Beauvoir or Gerda Lerner. To see only that women have been "Hidden from History" and not that they have been hidden from philosophy means that you have not grasped what it means that throughout history women have been not only force but Reason, revolutionaries in action and in thought. What is urgent for today's revolutionaries to grasp is that only when a whole new category has been made of that cognition, *Woman as Reason and as Revolutionary Force*—as only one woman philosopher, Raya Dunayevskaya, has done<sup>4</sup>—have women finally become part, vital part, of the philosophy of freedom.

Without that philosophy, "resistance" never moves to "creativity" — the creation of the new. Without it, the "challenge to the Left" to practice new relations NOW, not "after the revolution", out of which today's WLM was born, retrogresses to as empty a thesis as the pamphlet *Beyond the Fragments* which Rowbotham produced in 1979, seven years after her serious work on *Women, Resistance and Revolution*. It is not that the question of "form of organization" that she raises there is unimportant. It is that the question is what form of organization will elicit the new voices and ground its theory in that Reason rather than attempt to "harness" the new passions of Women's Liberation—and youth, and Blacks, and labor—to its "leadership."

Only that kind of theory and organization can help move the WLM forward. What the decade of the WLM as a mass movement proves, more than anything else, is that without such a philosophy along with activity for liberation, we will not stand still, but go backward. With it, we can help create a new, truly human world.

3 In her paper, "The Feminist Challenge to Socialist Thought and Practice", Joan Landes, has contributed a serious discussion of what she pinpoints as "the most marked difference between the present and the past . . . the rise of an autonomous socialist feminist tendency within the women's liberation movement." Yet, she too, labors unsuccessfully at making a "synthesis" of socialist and feminist thought, primarily because, like most of the WLM, she considers Marx and Engels as one. What is needed is not synthesis but divide—between Marx's own philosophy and all others. (For a full development of this, see Raya Dunayevskaya's "Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted" in *News & Letters*, Jan./Feb., 1979.)

4 For her development of this philosophy, see Chapter 9, "New Passions and New Forces", in *Philosophy and Revolution* (Dell, 1973); "The WLM as Reason and as Revolutionary Force" in *Notes on Women's Liberation* (N&L, 1970); "Women as Thinkers and as Revolutionaries" in *Working Women for Freedom* (N&L, 1976); and three draft chapters from her new work-in-progress on Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (available for \$1.50 from N&L, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, MI 48211).



—News & Letters photo

Environmentalists, Native Americans, anti-draft activists, and women's liberationists joined 3,000-strong in a San Francisco March for Survival on April 26, voicing opposition to Carter's war drive, especially the Iran invasion the day before.

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by Peter Wermuth

A meeting of the Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth Committee held in Los Angeles May 15 explored the importance of Marx's activity as a revolutionary journalist for today's youth movements.

The youth present—and they ranged from Black and white to Latino, working youth to high school students, anti-draft activists to participants in the Iranian revolution—examined Marx's method of uniting theory to practice during the course of the 1848 revolutions in his newspaper, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

We took as our point of departure the article by Eugene Walker in the May issue of *News & Letters* on "Karl Marx, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and the 1850 Address on Permanent Revolution."

What is striking there is Marx's concrete method of advancing revolutionary perspectives in the course of a mass movement. "Marx did not enter the revolution with a fixed idea, and said this is the model to follow," one youth noted. "Marx learned from the events, caught the high points of mass activity. Nor did he present himself as the leader of the masses, but sought to clarify the stages of their real development."

## 50,000 say no to nukes

Chicago, Ill.—Activists from across the country converged on Washington, D.C. April 25 for a weekend of protests and meetings. Organized by the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World, the events started with lobbying for the five agreed-on demands: stop nuclear power, zero nuclear weapons, full employment, safe energy, and honor Native American treaties.

Despite an all day rain, over 50,000 turned out Saturday for a gathering at the Capitol Building. At noon a march down Constitution Avenue was headed by residents of the Harrisburg area, followed by coal miners, steel workers, and other peace, environmental, labor, Native American, and women's groups.

I took part in the civil disobedience at the Department of Defense. Twelve hundred people risked arrest to show their commitment, and 300 participated as support. Each affinity group chose its own method of blocking vehicle and pedestrian traffic. Some sat down or formed human chains; one group sat on the helicopter port; air was let out of bus tires; one couple handcuffed themselves to the doors; human blood was splashed very noticeably on pillars; an ex-marine burned his uniform; and the flags of six nations armed with nuclear warheads were burned by anarchists.

One criticism I have is that it is the civil disobedience that got all the publicity. What gets missed when that happens is the deep commitment and desire by the over 50,000 who came from all across the country to say No to nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

—R. K.

## Workers' revolt boiling as economy enters deep-freeze

(Continued from Page 1)

economic crisis than any experienced since the great Depression of the '30s.

In the face of the seriousness of the economic disaster, President Carter's assessment that the "recession" will be brief is obviously election year political hogwash—and obviously absurd. Even more ridiculous is Carter's talk about a balanced budget. Actually, the whole question of the national budget is so chaotic that the administration has revised its budgetary projections almost every month since Carter submitted the budget in January. And the deepening recession/depression will certainly force even more drastic revisions.

Moreover, Carter's revisions to date have slashed or completely sacrificed social welfare funding for programs supporting youth employment, urban and rural poverty welfare projects and aid to elderly and handicapped. At the same time, our reborn militarist president is adding billions to useless defense budgets.

### LABOR BUREAUCRACY IMPOTENT

Labor leaders, on the other hand, have shown anything but leadership capabilities. Instead of exposing the indisputable failure of capitalism and demanding a new system based on human needs, they wring their hands in despair, or, like UAW President Douglas Fraser, put forth such futile and empty demands as putting quotas on foreign imports. Far from solving economic problems, import quotas simply deepen them and only delay the day of economic reckoning.

The economic collapse taking place today is dramatic confirmation of what Karl Marx described over 100 years ago in his greatest work, *Capital*. The economic laws he discovered and their social consequences were clearly and painstakingly described.

Whether or not the capitalists are ready to agree with Marx that labor-power is the only source of all value and surplus value, they do understand that there

## Youth explore Marx's revolutionary journalism

This is in sharp contrast to the approach of today's Left elitists, who try to impose "revolutionary" perspectives from outside a movement.

But for Marx the concrete task of advancing the living mass movement never meant surrendering projection of his own views, his critical method. On the contrary, he published theoretical articles side by side with activist ones. He subjected bourgeois society to a merciless critique, and published his work *Wage-Labor and Capital* in the very pages of his journal.

An Iranian participant noted, "There are organizations on the Left in Iran that oppose Khomeini, but where they stop is in projecting a total alternative. In this situation of counter-revolution, we do need a total alternative, a view to comprehend the whole situation."

## Youth in Revolt

"We don't want your education. We don't want your thought control!" has been the rallying song of a virtually universal boycott by mixed race ("colored") high school youth in South Africa. The campaign began in late March when 700 students, parents and teachers met near Cape Town to demand an end to high fees, uniforms, intimidation, poor facilities and texts—in short, unequal education. Black youth in several cities have joined the boycott, and Black colleges have also been disrupted.

Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg, Pretoria—all saw boycotts, and police broke up several demonstrations including one of 8,000 April 22 in Cape Town, another of 1,000 in Westbury on April 29, where they arrested 600, and one May 15 near Durban. Major strikes have also broken out among Black workers in Durban and Cape Town.

As we go to press, the protests continue.

Five thousand demonstrators showed up to violently oppose an alarming militarist ceremony in Bremen, W. Germany on May 6, Germany's 25th anniversary in NATO. As 1,100 army recruits swore allegiance to the state before W. Germany's President and Defense Minister, over 250 riot police and 40 protestors were injured in the battle outside the stadium.

Fifteen hundred people, with slogans of "Make jobs, not war," observed a moment of silence at 12:42 p.m. on May 4, in Kent, Ohio, marking to the minute the tenth anniversary of the Kent State massacre. The Jackson and Kent State massacres were also remembered with a march through downtown Los Angeles by 200 youth. Their anti-draft message came against the backdrop of the U.S. House of Representatives April 22 vote to approve compulsory draft registration.

is a sharp decline in the rate of their profit compared to what they feel would be needed in order for them to keep investing to expand production. That is why they are not expanding. What is new is that even they know it is no temporary factor they can overcome with the next boom. There will be no next boom. The overwhelming preponderance of constant capital (machinery) over variable capital (living labor employed) has produced actual structural changes.

### CAPITAL BREEDS WORKER REVOLT

In this process, there is an increasing concentration of capital as big and powerful capitalists gobble up smaller firms. At the same time, deepening misery grows among the unemployed working class, as well as among workers in the plants required to work at inhuman speeds under inhuman conditions.

These contradictions arise from the conditions at the point of production. That is, the relation of the worker to the process of production, where the worker appears as a commodity, labor power, that the capitalist buys to use up in the production process. This totally dehumanized production process, however, produces more than just products for the capitalist to sell. It also produces a response from the workers, a response which revolts against the automated/unimated production line that sucks labor dry and at the same time creates huge wastelands of unemployed humanity.

Workers, just to keep their humanity, are driven to revolt against the system because it no longer serves human needs, and threatens to destroy society itself.

Miami's explosion is a response to degenerate U.S. capitalism if it is anything. And it is important to remember that the highest point reached in the Black revolt of the 1960s was in Detroit, 1967, when race and class came together in opposition to our racist, exploitative and totally dehumanizing capitalist society. Miami is not just a repeat of the 1960s. That explosion is a harbinger of the long, hot summer ahead.

"This conception of a single paper tying together theory with activist articles is very important. In Iran today, no Left publication has succeeded in doing this. All have one paper for the intellectuals, another for the workers."

The problem is much the same in the U.S., where many groups in the anti-draft and anti-nuke movements have tried to limit themselves to single issue activism, as if projecting a complete transformation of capitalism is separate from the fight against war and nuclear madness.

The todayness of Marx's revolutionary journalism is that in uniting theory and practice, he created a form for tying together a total view with concrete action. This "critical-practical-revolutionary" activity enabled Marx to develop the forces for liberation of his day, and helped him create his theory of permanent revolution in 1850.

Today, when Carter's drive to war raises the real possibility of a nuclear confrontation, nothing becomes more urgent than learning Marx's method of developing freedom struggles in permanence. An important grounding for ourselves being able to do that each day lies in developing a revolutionary journal uniting theory and practice—something we will be deepening in the youth page of *News & Letters* as we move to a fully theoretical as well as practical organ of Marxist-Humanism.

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## BLACK-RED VIEW

(Continued from Page 1)

even if it was only at the symbols in the form of the police, the National Guard, super markets and warehouses full of goods they cannot afford.

Miami has violently shown that there has been no fundamental change in the status of the masses of Black people since the hot summer of 1967. There is no "new South," "new North," "new West." In fact, the economic conditions of Blacks have worsened since the 1960s and Black civil rights are threatened by the right-wing thrusts, inside and outside of the U.S. government, from Los Angeles, to Boston, to Jackson County, Ga., to Philadelphia, where race relations are even worse than they are in Miami.

The rage of Miami has hit this Administration squarely in the Presidential campaign guts by bringing home the internal nature of the crisis of capitalism. Those malignant twin R's, Recession and Racism, will not be swept under the carpet, as all the candidates for President tried to do last February when they refused to attend the Black middle-class leadership conference at Richmond, Va.

With or without the recent Cuban influx, there will be high Black unemployment and increased white racism—it exists in sections of this country where there is not one Cuban. Black Americans are very well aware of Carter's racism and duplicity as he embraces the Cuban refugees and rejects the Black Haitian poverty-stricken refugees. But they are not blaming the Cuban refugees. They are blaming the white rulers.

So pitifully ineffectual were the Black leaders who rushed to Miami—Andrew Young, Joseph Lowery, and Benjamin Hooks—that they were shouted down by the residents of Liberty City, and for all practical purposes invited to leave.

In this column we have long "theorized" about the differences between the Black middle-class leaders and the Black masses, but never has it been so obvious as in Miami. Implicit in this rejection was the disenchantment with the limitations of the thinking and actions of that "leadership."

Blacks in Miami have gone through a harrowing experience which has taught them that the cards of the Dade County Criminal Justice system are stacked against them. They literally rejected those court decisions by their actions in the streets of Miami. The "leaders" who rushed to Miami are, in various ways, exponents of that very same system of "justice" that the Black masses have rejected, and under which they have been so horribly victimized.

Contrary to the belief of some white liberals who look at Miami today as a throw-back to the 1960s—or even "Congo Savagery," which says a lot about their racism—Miami is bound to influence Black thought and action in this decade. Miami is only one "hot spot" in this country—there are dozens more like it.

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

# South Korean students spark mass uprisings against military rule

The South Korean army regained martial law control of the city of Kwangju by initiating a blood-bath on May 26, six days after their first assault had been driven back by thousands of students and citizens who took over the city during their protests against the military rule of Gen. Chon Too Huan.

Soldiers murdered over 150 Kwangju civilians during their first attack on the tens of thousands who braved army bullets and bayonets to demonstrate on May 17, when Chon imposed Martial Law Decree 10. Students and workers burned a pro-government radio and TV station which had reported that no one was killed in Kwangju, and citizens of Mokpo took over their city as the mass protests spread throughout South Cholla Province to Naju and a dozen other cities.

While the army was surrounding Kwangju for a second assault, students distributed weapons which had been "liberated" from army and police depots, but they could not hold back the army's overpowering attack with U.S.-supplied tanks, helicopters and automatic rifles. Thousands of civilians were either killed, beaten, or taken prisoner.

Students throughout South Korea had begun mass demonstrations May 14, demanding that the civilian government then running the country do something now about its far-off 1981 promises of democratic elections. They received widespread popular support in their calls for press freedom, a new constitution, and the resignation of Gen. Chon, devoted follower of assassinated Pres. Park, who had then not yet seized complete control.

While student leaders were meeting May 16 at Ewha Women's University in Seoul, after calling off further marches in face of government pleas and promises that it would speed up democratization, police raided the campus and arrested more than 50 presidents of student bodies. The following day, Chon declared total martial law.

The South Korea that Gen. Chon is trying to take over, Park-style, is in deep economic crisis, with record 5.3 percent unemployment and a 49 percent annual inflation rate. In a country where strikes are illegal, workers have been striking and winning wage increases from employers trying to cut their already-low standard of living.

Miners in Sabuk at the nation's largest privately-owned coal mine took over the city in a four-day uprising in April, winning a major pay increase. Steelworkers in Pusan fought with police, and in Seoul, 980 steelworkers won their demands after holding a two-day sit-in strike. In all the major industrial areas, workers have joined the student demonstrations, and students have supported workers' demands.

While the military henchmen of South Korea claimed that the recent uprisings were instigated by "agents" from the Communist North, they had trouble producing even one. Nor did the arrests of student leaders mean an end to the mass demonstrations. None have forgotten that in 1960 it was the students who brought down the "invincible" puppet of U.S. imperialism, Syngman Rhee.

The real fear—the same which caused Pres. Carter to send two air mobile command stations and an aircraft carrier to South Korea, where 30,000 U.S. troops remain stationed—is that the mass, self-organized opposition will deepen into a movement for social revolution.

## From an Iranian Student

The following are excerpts from a letter we have received from an Iranian student:

What in the beginning appeared as a major victory—Khomeini's consolidation of power and diverting of opposition with the seizure of the U.S. Embassy—has begun to turn into its opposite. More and more people are realizing his inability to solve their problems. Khomeini's regime has been unable to provide even the elementary needs of society such as food, shelter and jobs. He is now faced with a multi-dimensional opposition.

Labor unrest has intensified . . . The peasant movement has grown rapidly. The most recent significant action has been by the Turkman peasants of Gonbad Ghabous who have seized the land through their peasant councils . . . There are reports of clashes of peasants with government forces in every corner of the country; in many cases they have armed themselves and thrown the landlords out of the fields.

The government's repression has continued in Kurdistan, but so has the resistance. The army has once again broken the cease-fire and has opened fire on the Kurdish people. The excuse for entering Kurdish cities was to pass through to the Iraq border—this, despite the Kurds own defense of the border. But once in the city, the troops remained, and a new rebellion started . . . All the people, young and old, men and women, are armed to defend themselves and to continue further their struggle for self-determination. . . .

Women and students have also been giving

serious blows to Khomeini's regime which has tried to suppress the opposition in blood. Under the slogan of "cultural revolution", the reactionary forces with the aid of "Revolutionary Guards" attacked all educational institutions, killing more than a hundred and wounding many others . . .

During the attack at Tehran University, Left organizations such as the student supporters of the Fedayeen resisted the invasion. But others such as Tudeh Party members gave up their building without a fight. The "cultural revolution" extended to destroying bookstores and the informal bookstalls in front of the University, where any student could set up literature . . . But the students resisted and set up their bookstalls again.

The popular support that the regime tried to develop through the occupation of the Embassy is now being exposed . . . What all of these counter-revolutionaries always underestimate is the role of the masses. Khomeini's regime must and will perish. —Raha

## Quebec

With 90 percent of the voters expressing their opinions in a referendum that would have granted Premier Rene Levesque the right to negotiate independence of Quebec Province from the rest of Canada, the Quebec voters May 20 rejected the proposal by 58 to 42 percent.

Never in Canadian history has an issue raised such passion and forces as this issue. The vote suggests more the disenchantment of the people of Quebec with the Parti Quebecois (PQ) government,

elected in a stunning victory three-and-half years ago, than an outright rejection by the French-speaking majority of the possibility of an independent Quebec. Independence still has great support, especially among youth.

The independentist PQ, which had campaigned when an opposition party as Left-leaning, if not outright "socialist," is today a broad umbrella of Quebec nationalisms, including French-Canadian capitalists who clamor after a bigger share of Canadian profits.

The past three-and-a-half years have seen many bitter strikes in the province, including one at the Robin Hood flour mill in Montreal in July 1977, where eight strikers were shot by security guards who were later acquitted on grounds that they were just doing their job. Some of the fiercest labor battles have been by Quebec government employees, fighting PQ moves to restrict their right to strike.

The Indian population of Quebec boycotted the referendum, not on the basis of opposition to self-determination, but because of their own total exploitation and the confiscation of their lands by both French and English.

Yet all realize that the struggle is far from over. Unemployment in Quebec today reaches 20 percent in parts of Montreal and even higher in the northwest. And real income has fallen to colonial levels, with minimum wages and massive seasonal unemployment. The 6,000 PQ members who gathered after the vote did more to demonstrate their resolution to continue the struggle than did the 2,000 Liberals who gathered to celebrate their "victory."

## TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

Russia also had to condemn, Kianuri let the cat out of the bag by approving the status quo of continuing the retention of the hostages when he said that it "was a good way of preventing the normalization of Iran's relations with the U.S."

It isn't true, however, that either the clerics who were with Mossadegh in the '50s or Mossadegh's secular followers are that tolerant of the Tudeh Party. Tudeh's miserable role in that period has not been forgotten and the invasion of Afghanistan has made some worry over the new "populist" phase of the Communists who did receive 100,000 votes in Teheran alone in the first round of the elections . . .

Khomeini's "anti-imperialism" (which is only anti-America) and toleration of the Tudeh Party, while being totally opposed to genuine Marxists, is seen in the commander of the Revolutionary Guards which have the full support of Khomeini. Their commander, Abu Sharif, spelled out the danger for Iran: "The danger comes from U.S. leftist organizations." He expanded it thus: "There are U.S. leftist organizations which are arming themselves such as the Fedayi Khalq. There are other leftist organizations like the Tudeh Party, which says it recognizes the Islamic Revolution's constitution and Imam Khomeini's line. In this case, it is a legal, leftist organization that acts and works on this basis. But the danger comes from the U.S. leftist organizations, which receive funds and weapons from the West and falsely speak about a Russian threat to Iran to justify

military relations with the United States." (MERIP REPORTS, March/April 1980)

AS AGAINST KIANURI'S goal — "the breaking off of all remaining ties with the U.S."—and as against

## No to U.S. Iran policy!

Pasadena, Cal.—About two dozen of us at Pasadena City College, responded within hours of hearing the news of Carter's failed attempt to free the hostages in Iran, April 25, by holding the first demonstration on campus in seven years.

Before most people awoke to the morning news, we set up a picket line outside the school, expressing opposition to Carter's drive to war, the draft, as well as the Iran mission. From 8 a.m. until late that afternoon, more students crowded the sidewalk carrying signs like "No Draft, No War," "No Blood for Oil," and "Protest Now or Die Later."

The picket was initiated by a few students from the Campus Union for Peace and Jobs, but most who joined the demonstration came in from off the street. At noon several workers on their lunch break joined the picket line, adding the sign "Money for Jobs."

Many motorists flashed the peace sign and honked in support. No one expressed any hostility to the action, except the campus police, who nevertheless made no arrests.

—Protesting student

## Carter's intrusion, Khomeini's 'Holy War'

Sharif saying that "the danger comes from U.S. leftist organizations," what becomes imperative is the forging of relations, revolutionary relations, between the masses in the U.S. and in Iran.

To prevent the real danger of a world holocaust, it is necessary to see that the enemy is not so much abroad as at home. It is here where philosophy of revolution becomes as crucial as social revolution itself. Ideas of freedom recognize no national boundaries. It is a fact that our rulers are our enemies and that the Iranian masses are our friends. The world revolution may not be on the agenda at this very moment, but it's that vision of a new world that is the ground for the actual struggle that will prevent nuclear holocaust by creating a new world on totally human foundations.

April 29, 1980

### A POLITICAL-PHILOSOPHIC LETTER

by Raya Dunayevskaya

"The Carter/Brzezinski-ordered imperialist intrusion into Iran—and what about Khomeini/Bani-Sadr's 'Holy War' against the Left?"

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