

# Draft Perspectives, 1979-1980

## THE SHIFT IN GLOBAL POLITICS AND THE NEED FOR A PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION

In this special issue we are publishing our Draft Perspectives Thesis, part of our preparation for the national gathering of News and Letters Committees over Labor Day weekend. We are asking you to join in the discussion of these Perspectives with us. We have done this every year since 1975, breaking new ground for the Marxist movement as we work to overcome the barriers between "inside" and "outside", workers and intellectuals, theory and practice, philosophy and revolution.

### Introduction

So perilous are our times, economically and politically, militarily and intra-imperialistically — and in a state-capitalist age this means East as well as West — that the two truly global nuclear powers, U.S. and Russia, urge adoption of SALT II, not just as a sort of holding action, and, as President Carter put it, not even as only a question of war and peace, but as nothing short of the survival of humanity. He ought to know, as he is living for a possible nuclear holocaust.

At the same time, the great mass unrest — whether in ordinary strikes and Black confrontations with racists in the U.S., by no means restricted to Decatur, Ala.; anti-nuclear demonstrations here and in Western Europe as well as Japan; or outright revolutions as in Iran — has thrown such fears into the world rulers and their ideologues that — despite the tide of new Conservatism (be it in Thatcher's victory in Britain, or the well-paid idiocies of Senator Jackson, whose irrational words would make us believe that any reduction in nuclear armaments is "ap-

peasement in its purest essence") — we are also offered appeals for "philosophical meanings."

Thus, James Reston devoted his Sunday *New York Times* column (5-27-79) to a speech by ex-Foreign Minister from Lebanon, Charles Malik, who asks us to go beyond "the loss of gas" to "the philosophic meanings of the fuel crisis."

We are asked to go deep into the West's "origins," and to do so "in all humility," for where would we be "without Athens and Constantinople"? And where "without Antioch and Jerusalem, without the 27 characters of the alphabet that were first perfected at Byblos on the coast of Lebanon"? And since we are the heirs of this most "creative civilization," what next? Well, suddenly, the "beyond" significance of the "loss of gas" for the individual has turned into "flow of oil" for the West (Japan included!), not, it is true, through the individual pump, but then one cannot directly mention Pax Americana and "nuclear holocaust" when one speaks of "philosophic meanings." A more euphemistic

# NEWS LETTERS

Human Power is its own end

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### A NEW GLOBAL RECESSION-IN-THE-MAKING—AND THE REVOLUTION IN IRAN

This last week in June is witnessing two different types of meetings with more than two different types of perspectives. One thing, however, characterizes both "summits": the industrialized nations' rulers meeting in Tokyo, like the OPEC potentates meeting in Geneva, will be totally removed from their own masses. Just as President Carter acted as if he were unaware of the irreconcilable contradiction between claiming to strive for peace and ordering the production of the monster MX missile — with a price tag of \$30 billion when the economy is in recession and unemployment is increasing — so both the industrialized conclave and the OPEC behave as if "U.S. restraint," especially by the masses, of oil consumption would, if not solve all the problems of an economy plunging downward, surely ameliorate it so that business can continue as usual. The masses, on the other hand, reject all apologetics.

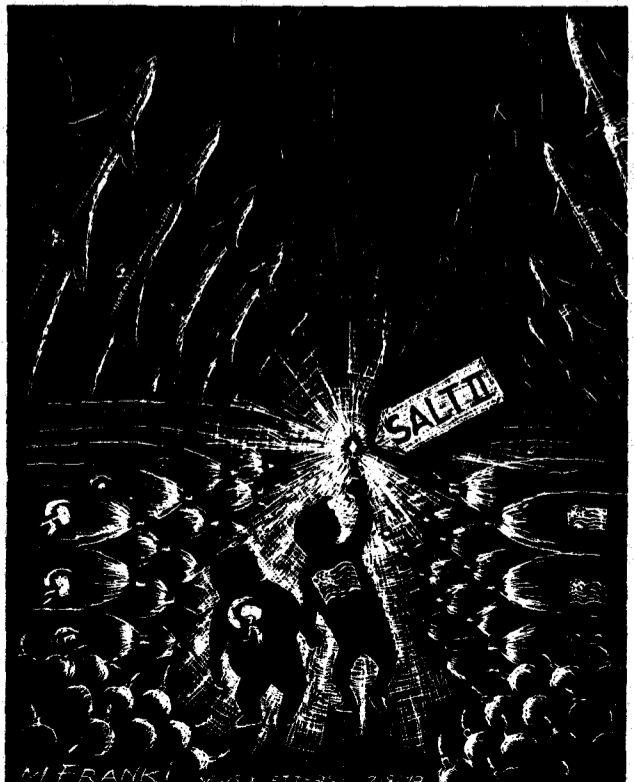
### OIL FOR THE MILITARIZED ECONOMY

There is hardly a soul that believes a single word on energy that comes out of the mouth of that incompetent oil millionaire and militarist occupying the position of "Energy Tsar," Schlesinger. Nor is there a soul who believes a word out of the President's mouth with its pretentiousness of stopping "windfall profits" now that he has initiated deregulation at the very moment when, even with regulation, the oil barons' unconscionable profits have skyrocketed. While the masses know oil prices are the biggest-ever ripoff of the public, it isn't that they don't recognize that oil is critical. But the crisis isn't because of the individual motorist's needs; rather, it is because of the insatiable appetite of the Pentagon yearning for war.

Nor is it that OPEC hasn't and isn't using oil as a political weapon. But just as the boycott didn't end with the end of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war — the quadrupling of oil prices came in 1974, and they will soar again this very week from the present inflated \$14 a barrel to \$18 or

\$20 (or even the fantastic Rotterdam "spot pricing" of \$37 a barrel) — so none of these high jumps can hide the fact that OPEC countries aren't the only ones luxuriating in a fool's paradise. The U.S. oil magnates — the infamous "Seven Sisters" — have made as unconscionable profits as OPEC. Which is why the American people, angry as they are at OPEC, are even angrier at both the "Seven Sisters" and the Carter Administration.

**Above all, they know that already they are the victims not only of oil price gouging but the total economy plunging downward. They know that they are suffering from a recession that is already here; no need for them to wait for fall when two back-to-back quarterly declines in the Gross National Product (GNP) will meet the capitalistic-academic criterion for defining a recession.**



"Better to light one candle rather than curse the darkness, eh Brezhnev, ol' pal?"

term is that that flow of oil is nothing short of "a life and death" question.

All the meanderings through history and geographic switching from the Near to the Middle East, and from the West in general, to the U.S. in particular, may have satisfied the Middle East professional politician and a top bourgeois Western journalist, but the only thing it proved is that, though U.S. imperialism has the most nuclear weapons, even they recognize that unless one first wins the minds of men, there is no way to win such a war. Dialectics teaches us, however, that philosophy is no playing around with words; it is either a philosophy of liberation, or it is nothing. Their "philosophic meanings" are so many nothings. Without confronting reality, the real objective world where contradictions abound, class struggles are fought, and visions of totally different human relations are striven for, there is no way to work out a philosophy of revolution, of liberation. Toward that end we must examine the present capitalistic-imperialist world disorder.

Unemployment is on the rise and, again, the "average" of 7 percent, when it is 10 percent in all industrial cities, needs no backing up with weakness in consumer spending to convince them we are in recession now.<sup>1</sup> Presently no less than a full 52 percent of Black youths are unemployed. And even when the U.S. Census Bureau gloated about how many Blacks have gotten white collar jobs at whites' pay, it has had to admit that between 1974-77, Blacks in poverty level rose by half a million, to a total of 7.7 million. As for weakness in consumer spending, spelled out, it means sales in April fell the most sharply since World War II, even more than 74-75, which was the deepest recession of all five post-World War II recessions. As for the business climate, which is supposed to have shown a rise the last month, the truth turns out to be that what business was getting large bank loans for was not investment in plant and equipment, which shows a healthy economy and creates jobs, but for financing inventories and accounts receivable.<sup>2</sup>

Nor is this characteristic only of the U.S. which is still the richest country in the world. There are no less than 7 million unemployed in Western Europe and Japan. The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development has shown that, instead of the 5 percent growth predicted by the U.S. for 1979, there has been only a 3 percent growth; world growth is predicted as falling to 2.8 percent for the first half of 1980 when the "consensus" has been that a 4 percent rise in economic growth is necessary to prevent unemployment from rising further, and already there is fear of proletarian revolts.

As for double digit inflation which is hitting the U.S., with the sole exception of West Germany, this is no stranger to Europe. Geoffrey H. Moore, director of the Center for International Business Cycle Research at Rutgers University,

(Continued on Page 2)

<sup>1</sup> A recent Louis Harris poll shows that, while the ideologues were fighting over which word to use to describe "economic slowdown", three out of five American adults held that we already were in recession.

<sup>2</sup> See the NYT, 6-24-79, Business & Finance Section, "How Long A Slowdown?" by Clyde Farnsworth. See also Marx's *Capital* and *Today's Global Crisis* where I argued, against Ernest Mandel's contention that the 1974-5 recession had run its course, that the deep capitalist crises by now are so structural that "There is to be no next boom."

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WORKER'S CONTRACT? page 5

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# News and Letters Committees

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speaks euphemistically of "the beginning of the growth cycle slowdown" when, in fact, even the word stagflation — the combining of a stagnant economy with rising inflation — is now out of use since what we are witnessing is not "just stagnation" but recession!

## 2) SALT I, SALT II — AND THE ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT

Senator Jackson's idiocies notwithstanding, the SALT agreements far from being "appeasement in its purest essence," have hardly stopped the nuclear arms race. First, let us not forget that SALT II is an outgrowth of SALT I, initiated during the Nixon spectaculars when that arrogant "professorial" reactionary Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, spelled out Nixon's global vision in most concrete weaponry and, at one and the same time, opened the Heavenly Gate of Mao's China, and signed SALT I with Russia. By burning both ends of the nuclear candle at the same time, SALT I was finally signed in 1972.

Far from that stopping nuclear armaments growth, here are the facts: In 1972 the U.S. had 5,700 nuclear warheads ready to fire at Russia, and Russia had 2,500 ready to fire at the U.S. Though that was quite sufficient to kill us several times over, the U.S. now has 9,200 and the Russians 5,000. That isn't all. Quite the contrary. Since the only way the Pentagon was to have agreed to SALT I was to make sure that anything that was already on the drawing board could not be stopped, nuclear development never stopped inventing more proficient killer capability, and the agreement was signed only when both sides agreed not even to face control of offensive weapons; the limitations were strictly applied to "defensive" (!) nuclear arms.

Supposedly, they would have turned to tackle limiting offensive nuclear weapons in 1974, which was the original deadline for signing SALT II. Instead, the Vladivostok formula (or, if you wish to follow post-Mao China's retention of the Ming Dynasty designation of Vladivostok as Haisenwei) was left in limbo. Despite Ford's retention of Kissinger as Secretary of State and their desire to sign, the Pentagon had gotten so intensely interested in a new weapons system that they opposed any negotiations with the Russians. As Ford was later to acknowledge, the specific new weapon that so overwhelmingly attracted the Pentagon was the cruise missile, a computer-aimed, pilotless aircraft which can be targeted with devastating accuracy.

Whether you wish to believe that the President is "captive" of the Pentagon, or the Pentagon of the politics of winning an election while gearing up for global confrontation, the point is that all these preparations for the holocaust, with or without pauses for "holding actions," likewise don't end the story because the experimentation on how to kill millions and millions of people is endless.

Think of this fact: the U.S. has spent more than \$50 billion on military space projects. *Business Week* (June 6, 1979) devoted no less than six pages to its so-called defense article, demonstrating how, right now, we are also planning not just MIRV-type or earth-bound or air-type of destruction, but space war. We have Paul C. Warnke's assurance that "there is no question in my mind that we could have a war in space within a decade."

So, in addition to the MIRVs, ICBMs, NWDs, SMLBNs, which Carter topped last year by adding the N-bomb that kills people but leaves machinery "intact," Carter further paid a price to the Chiefs of Staff, just as he was preparing to depart for Austria to sign SALT II, by approving the MX missile system, and got Russia, which is as anxious for the treaty as is Carter, to both agree to destroy some of its missiles and to modify its latest killer extravaganza — the Backfire Bomber — to "defensive" miles travelled.

It is not the Sen. Jacksons and other reactionaries along with Carter and Chiefs of Staff in and out of the Administration who will act to stop the nuclear race that will, indeed, put a

question mark on civilization as we have known it. It is the movement against it — and the movement against it is not limited to the U.S. or Russia but exists throughout the world.

Let us not forget, Thatcher's Britain is the same country where the greatest mass movement — the Campaign For Nuclear Disarmament — first developed in the 1950s, and may very well become the bacillus for a new world mass anti-nuclear movement. In the U.S., the combination of an actual near-disaster at Three Mile Island, and a movie about such a question, "The China Syndrome," transformed what was a small anti-nuclear movement into a mass movement with 120,000 pouring out for a Washington, D.C. protest. It now has developed also into an anti-draft movement. There is no doubt that the movement expanded not only in size but in the various layers — from middle-class to proletariat, with the youth again being the core, and with the European masses coming out to solidarize with the second America, who oppose its Administration, and saying: "We are all Pennsylvanians."

A single incident here will show how great

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is the passion for a serious philosophy that is anti-capitalist system and not just anti-nuclear. It is the response of the audience to a statement by a Marxist-Humanist who, in speaking about the fact that solar power is not the answer to nuclear madness, said: "If the capitalists developed solar power, they would find a way to kill us with it."

## 3) ONCE AGAIN OIL, THIS TIME WITH NOTHING SHORT OF SHIFT IN GLOBAL POLITICS

The barbaric acts of an entrenched counter-revolution in Nicaragua — the murderous Somoza dictatorship — prove, over and over again, that it stops at no savagery as it rains bombs on its own people and land. Clearly, nothing, nothing whatever, stops a ruling power faced with a people's revolution. It is imperative that the continuing daily horrors sink in, as we take a second look at U.S. imperialism's role in the Middle East since the revolution that succeeded in overthrowing the Shah of Iran. It is true that U.S. imperialism's global ambitions were hardly limited to that of the oil potentates. It is true that it did not appreciate the quadrupling of oil prices and that, for a moment, Dr. Henry Kissinger flirted with the idea of invading the oil fields and sent feelers out in that direction.

None however was prepared for the overthrow of the Shah, which ended his role as the policeman for the West both for oil and the oil lanes to the West, to Japan and to India. That the biggest blow to the flow of oil would come neither from intra-imperialist rivalries or intra-Arab maneuvers, but from outright revolution within Iran — which totally changed the whole Middle Eastern situation in a way that affected global politics — was furthest from those first planning an Egyptian-Israeli Treaty.

Nevertheless, Sadat rushed to embrace the Grand Illusion and openly offered to take over the Shah's role as the U.S.'s policeman for both the oil and the lanes bringing that oil to the West. Suddenly the Arab world saw Sadat reaching for nothing short of hegemony in the Middle East. This, on top of the revolution in Iran which had already scared Saudi Arabia out of its wits, led Saudi Arabia to question the validity of its "special relationship with the U.S." It turned, at one and the same time, to join the radical Arab front — the rejectionists — and to flirt with Russia, whose claim that all South Yemen wanted was "to work for unity with North Yemen" the King accepted. Instead of accepting a U.S.'s offer to help North Yemen, unaided by Russia, to remain a satellite of Saudi Arabia, the North-South Yemen war ended abruptly.

Far from being upset by the new acts of Saudi Arabia, upon whose gold it had heavily depended — without it, it could not have prepared the 1973 war against Israel — Sadat began to view Egypt as that much-needed outpost of U.S. imperialism. Hence, no backward steps, including even the erection of new Israeli settlements on the West Bank by that most reactionary Begin, could stop Sadat from proceeding with his side of the bargain plus offering asylum to the Shah.

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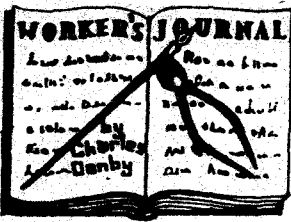
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## AN APPEAL TO OUR READERS

On July 6, postal rates went up again not only for Second-Class mail (newspapers and periodicals), but Third-Class for nonprofit organizations, Fourth-Class (books), and even Library Rates. The fantastic postage it will now cost to send a single book through the mails demonstrates the crippling effect this could have on organizations such as ours: **MARXISM AND FREEDOM**, weighing slightly over one pound, now costs 81 cents to mail. Historically, second, third and fourth class rates were established at a minimal level in order to facilitate the exchange of printed material like books and newspapers and to encourage a literate, well-informed citizenry. We refuse to now let the post-office put us out of business. Please, be sure to add the required postage for all orders—and, if you can, include an extra donation for the skyrocketing price of envelopes as well. Thanks.



# Blacks vow to root KKK out of South

by Charles Denby, Editor

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

The recent confrontation between the Ku Klux Klan and the Black demonstrators in Decatur, Ala. has resulted in some serious discussions among many Blacks and some whites, with both positive and negative points. Some are saying that the new rise of the Klan is a beginning to try to push Blacks back to where they were before the Civil Rights Movement, where we will have to enforce the law ourselves to be protected.

But quite a few people I know are saying that if the racist whites in the South and the KKK think that they are going to push the Blacks back to where we were before the Civil Rights laws were passed, they have another think coming. Blacks are not afraid anymore, especially younger Blacks, and they proved it by the marches in Decatur. They were not going to back down from the Klan even though Decatur is only about 16 percent Black.

## DECATUR IS GUILTY

The daily press tried to show how some older Blacks were saying they were afraid, and they had lived in Decatur all their lives without trouble, as though those responsible are "outsider" Blacks who do not live in Decatur. But this same press does not mention anything the racist elements are saying and doing against Blacks.

At the demonstration in Decatur June 9, Rev. Lowery, from SCLC, told the truth that "We cannot and must not permit the clock of racial injustice to be turned back to the time when Black folk had no rights." Thousands agreed with him, because they came to march.

Mayor Bill Dukes of Decatur tried to say that his city was an innocent victim caught between the KKK and SCLC. He said, "Decatur is not a redneck community." And he repeated this over and over. At the rally on the City Hall steps Rev. Lowery gave the mayor an answer. He said:

"Let me tell you how innocent Decatur is. Decatur is as innocent as Judas. Decatur is so innocent that it took a Black man with a child's mind and charged him with a maniac offense. Poor Tommy Lee Hines. They read him rights he could not understand. They made him give a confession he couldn't comprehend. They tried him in a court where there could be no Black folks on the jury. To hell with you, Decatur."

A few hours earlier, the KKK marched to the same steps. They had a prayer before their rally. It was: "Lord, give us victory over the race mixers, Communists and liberals."

One of the things that surprised me about that section of northern Alabama was that it is supposed to have a long history of being more liberal than the rest. They even say that many fought on the side of the North in the Civil War. But they don't tell you all about how Huntsville, right next to Decatur, welcomed the Hitler scientists like Werner Von Braun when they went to work there after World War II at the rocket propulsion center. It is this kind of climate that lets the KKK come to their marches well armed, although there is a law against it in Alabama.

The KKK just told the Mayor and the Chief of Police that if they wanted their guns, they would have to come get them. If Blacks had made that statement

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# Counter-revolution intensifies oppression in Iran

(We have just received the following first-hand report direct from an Iranian student in Teheran.)

I would like to picture for you the situation in Iran today. Terror and repression have been intensified to the point that it is impossible to criticize Khomeini openly. Physical attacks on the Left have increased. There is no single progressive demonstration, play, march, or meeting that has not faced the fascistic agitations of the "Falangists". Only a few days ago they blocked the march which was heading toward the U.S. Embassy in opposition to the U.S. Senate resolution on the "tribunals of the revolution". They actually turned their own "anti-imperialist" demonstration into an "anti-communist" one!

Independent newspapers have been continuously harassed, and journalists physically attacked. One of the papers (Ayandegan) was forced to shut down for almost a week. All 130 members of the editorial board of another paper (Keyhan) have been thrown out of a job by force. Others are about to go underground.

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# NEWS

# LETTERS

*'Human Power is its own end'*

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JULY, 1979

## IN U.S., BRITAIN, AFRICA

# Black freedom fighters battle capitalism's resurgent racism

by Michael Connolly

From the resurgent Ku Klux Klan marches in Decatur, Alabama, through the election victory of ultraconservative Margaret Thatcher in Britain, to the heralded arrival in Washington, D.C. July 9 of Rhodesia's Bishop Abel Muzorewa, a new and sharply retrogressive stage of white racism has appeared on the world scene. At the same time, the persistent Black revolt, from Africa through Europe to the U.S.A. — South and North — has become so interconnected that the new Black consciousness which arose with the Soweto rebellion can now truly



Thousands protest Klan terror in Decatur, Ala.

be called a world phenomenon.

As Muzorewa arrives to convince imperialist America that Ian Smith's fantastic white supremacist creation is suddenly, in truth, a Black majority government, he is sure also to meet a Second America — Black and white — which has been shaking up campuses and factories, inner city streets and City Hall plazas, throughout this Spring 1979. Nowhere has that revolt been more total than among the Black youth, who have demonstrated that they will not sit by and watch the resurgence of racism, whether in U.S.-African policy or in the revival of the KKK. (See *Worker's Journal*, this page for more on the Decatur march.)

## AFRICA POLICY: DUPLICITY, FANTASY

Nothing renders Muzorewa's visit as a "Black leader" more ridiculous than the fact that he arrives at the personal invitation of North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, an avowed member of the John Birch Society and admirer of the KKK. What makes the event no joke, however, is that he no sooner arrived than President Carter interrupted his Camp David energy emergency huddles to invite Muzorewa for personal talks with him.

The fact that President Carter loudly proclaimed his decision — "from the heart" — to continue the often-ignored sanctions, while at the same time sending Vance to London to confer with Prime Minister Thatcher on a strategy for recognition of the Rhodesian government by November, makes clear not only the thorough-going duplicity of Carter's Southern Africa policy, but its continuity with the policies formulated by Henry Kissinger on his African safaris.\* Everything is grounded in opposing the developing social revolution.

How else can the label "Black majority rule" be attached to a land where the three percent white population still controls — by Constitutional fiat — the army, the police and the civil service? Where every colonial privilege continues unchecked — including separate and unequal schools and hospitals? And where the economy, whether run from Salisbury, London or New York, depends totally on slave-wage Black labor? Even the name "Rhodesia," from the British imperialist founder, Sir Cecil Rhodes, had to be retained in the "new" entity — "Zimbabwe Rhodesia."

No sooner had Muzorewa been inaugurated than new "search and destroy" attacks were launched by the white-dominated armed forces both against the Popular Front guerrillas in Zambia and Mozambique, and against "subversives" inside Salisbury's Black townships. Over 200 were killed in the first two weeks alone, yet guerrilla activity increased. Hundreds of Zimbabwean youth were reported joining the opposition fighters.

It is precisely the instability of the military and political situation facing not only Rhodesia, but apartheid South Africa as well, that dictated the travel plans for Muzorewa's first month in office. Hardly had the para-

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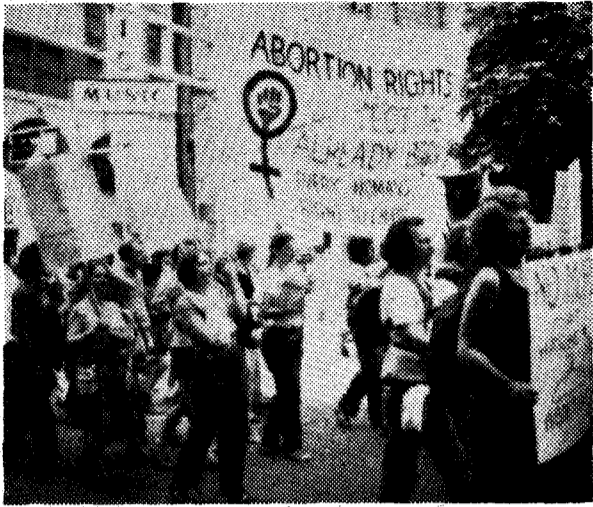
\*See the Political-Philosophic Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya, "Kissinger's African Safari: Pressuring Rhodesia While Bolstering Apartheid South Africa," written in October, 1976. Available from *News & Letters* for 50c.

I must add that they are now faced with an unbelievable economic crisis. Fifty percent of the private sector (mostly foreign capital) is still closed. The government has up to now stopped the workers from taking over these companies. Bazargan has tried his own alternative — to calm the country . . . He has guaranteed the right of private ownership and asks for "peace, order and obedience." He asks the workers not to go on strike "for we are in a period of reconstruction, and not revolution." Up to this moment he has completely failed . . .

In the Political-Philosophic Letter on Iran in the May issue of *N&L*, you have correctly warned about the "institutionalization of the counter-revolution." A very good example of that is the army today. They first appealed to the soldiers of the Shah's army to "come back to their jobs," while saying that since the army now belongs to the Islamic revolution, the call to abolish the army as well as call to abolish ranks within the army is "in the service of the enemies and is raised by communist agitators."

This army was at the same time murdering Kurds and Turkamans, as well as shooting those in the army (Continued on Page 8)

## Women protest abortion foes, demand to 'control our lives'



Over 1,500 women and men demanding reproductive freedom, march through Cincinnati.

Cincinnati, Ohio—"Not the church, not the state, women must decide their fate": this was our rallying cry June 23 as we marched for reproductive freedom through downtown Cincinnati, 1,500 women and men from cities throughout the Midwest.

Across the river, the anti-abortionists were holding their national convention. They have already succeeded in pushing through Congress the Hyde Amendment, barring federal Medicaid funding of abortions, and are now organizing to amend the Constitution to make both abortions and some forms of birth control illegal.

In answer to those who call the anti-abortion movement "right-to-life", Ellen Frankfurt, the first speaker at our rally, began with the reality of death—the death of Rosie Jimenez, a Chicana, the first woman known to have died from an illegal abortion after the passage of the Hyde Amendment. She was 27 years old.

Margaret Willis, a Black woman, Chairperson of the Ohio Welfare Rights Organization, spoke about what life is like for women on welfare, the countless ways the system tries to dehumanize you and beat you down. She showed that the unavailability of Medicaid abortions, while the government continues to fund sterilizations of poor women, is but one manifestation of the state's drive for power and control over people's lives. We joined with her in standing to say, "I want to be—a human being."

## NATIVE AMERICAN SPEAKS

By Shainape Shcapwe

After eight years of bitter struggle by Indians in Michigan, U.S. District Court Judge Noel Fox handed down a decision, in May, reaffirming the terms of treaties made in 1836 and 1855. They gave the Bay Mills and Sault Ste. Marie tribes (now about 200 of Michigan's 6,000 Chippewas) unlimited fishing rights in the southeastern corner of Lake Superior and in the northern parts of Lakes Michigan and Huron.

Two days later, a State Appeals Court decided in direct opposition to the federal ruling, stating that Michigan indeed should control Native fishing rights. But it appears that the federal decision will be binding.

The sportfishermen, or "conservationists" as they like to call themselves, are opposed to the federal ruling and predict further violence will erupt if the Native Americans exercise their rights. Many shots have already been fired at Indians trying to outwit the "sportsmen" in order to fish. They have called us "savages" and "terrorists."

Art LeBlanc, one of the leading Indian activists in this struggle, says that the two tribes will work through their governments to maintain the lakes. Any Indian wanting to fish has to obtain a tribal license and obey tribal conservation rules. The sportfishermen and their

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Second Class Postage Paid at Detroit, Michigan

This drive for wholeness, what Marx called the "quest for universality", is evident also in the words of the Black working woman Pat Carter, quoted in the Women's Liberation-News & Letters Committees leaflet we wrote for the rally. Carter concludes: "How long will a total change in society take? We've got to do something now."

What was clear to all, and clearer still the next day when the counter-revolutionary forces staged an even larger march, was that, in thought and activity and organization, this Cincinnati demonstration was only a beginning.

—Women's Liberation-News & Letters participant



## women- worldwide

A large group of women in New Delhi, India, marched on the house of a family accused of killing a bride because they found her dowry inadequate. The Women's Grievances Society reported that "hundreds of young girls are burned or beaten to death every year . . . over dowry size."

On June 9, 250 women miners held the first National Conference of Women Coal Miners, near Charleston, W. Va. Meeting independently of their union, the UMW, the women discussed mine safety and grievances, and were especially angry over sexual harassment and discrimination. There are now over 2,500 women miners and two have been elected presidents of their UMW locals.

Ting Ling, the Chinese feminist writer and one of many purged in 1957 at the end of the 100 Flowers Campaign, has been given a nominal position by the Chinese government in an effort to blame her treatment on the "Gang of Four." She is now 75 years old and in ill health, having spent 12 years in disgrace in a remote village and four years in solitary confinement, during which she sang and read aloud to preserve her voice and hearing.

Joan Little, the Black woman acquitted in the death of the white jailer who had assaulted her, has been released from prison in North Carolina on parole. She now works as a clerk for a New York City legal firm.

## Indians win fishing rights

crories in the Michigan Department of Natural Resources are so worried about control being taken out of their hands, that they refuse to remember that the fishing done by Indians is for a livelihood, not a hobby. How could the Indians possibly gain anything by ruining their main source of income in a community that faces 70 percent unemployment in the winter?

I heard Tom Washington, head of United Conservation Clubs, say that "it took years for Blacks to attain their civil rights, but now Native Americans have really gone too far—they are asking for superior rights" by demanding that the federal government live up to its part of the treaties. I wonder if he truly expects anyone to believe that Black people even today don't have to fight for anything they get in this society. The commonality of the Indian and Black struggle for self-determination is stronger today than ever before.

In June, 1976, Black students of South Africa led a revolt to protest being made to learn in Afrikaans, the language of their oppressors. The students won the right to use their own language. I was reminded of my own childhood. Only half of my brothers and sisters can now speak Lakota. This is true of many Native Americans. Today, however, children are being taught to use their native languages throughout the school system, the result of a difficult fight.

In recent years, Northern Michigan Indians' lives have been threatened by the white people of the area; they have lost income: their boats, motors and fishing gear have been vandalized or confiscated; and some of the Native fishermen have even been imprisoned. Art LeBlanc told me, "the day of the court ruling was one of the happiest days of our lives." We can only hope that other court decisions concerning Native American fishing rights go as well as this one.

Have you read . . .

**WORKING WOMEN FOR FREEDOM**

Price: \$1 (plus 50¢ postage)

Order from: Women's Liberation-News & Letters,  
2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48211

## WOMAN AS REASON

### Black feminist exposes Hares' reformist anti-woman booklet

Two Black intellectuals, Nathan and Julia Hare, have recently written a pamphlet on **Black Male/Female Relationships**. With other new and pretentious works, such as Michele Wallace's **Black Macho** and the **Myth of the Superwoman** (See review, May N&L), being touted by the white liberal press, we need to see whether this latest effort, sponsored by the **Black Scholar** publishers, offers any genuine contribution towards Black Women's liberation.

Nathan Hare had at one time been an editor for the **Black Scholar**, which earlier this year printed his attack on the Women's Liberation Movement and the role of Black women in it. This latest effort is a continuation of that attack.

The twelve essays in the pamphlet have titles ranging from "Can Black Women Go it Alone?" to "Voice of the People (A Black Man Speaks Out for Black Women)." However, I would like to begin with the Introduction. It claims to discuss strengthening Black male/female relationships, but actually weakens them, by reducing women to support groups of Black men.

While the Hares do speak of racism and sexism, you'd think that these divisions appeared out of thin air. You never get a feeling that it is the horrible capitalist society that we live in which produces such divisions. Their only answer to unemployment is to have mass employment, with never a word on what kind of labor we do perform in a capitalist society.

Although there are statistics on Black female-headed families, the pamphlet doesn't say anything about the lives of these women. Instead, the solution is for the family to have better "parental roles" and to establish Black "love groups." Such abstractions only cover up rather than confront the contradictions in the world.

The absolute opposite of these kinds of solutions is in the activity and thought of women and men who are looking for a pathway out of this society. In the Women's Liberation-N&L pamphlet **Working Women For Freedom**, women speak for themselves and for the history of women during the formation of the CIO, through WW II, to today: "It is fantastic to reduce (women's) activity to being just supportive. It was these women, as women, who not only helped to turn the tide toward recognition of the union but also helped establish the unity of employed and unemployed, women and men, Black and white."

An essay called "The State of the Race: The Black Woman in the 1980s" from **Black Male/Female Relationships** doesn't present this history, but only criticizes women's liberation as "a lot of trivia to get Blacks off the main issue of racism." This is not the viewpoint of the Women's Liberation Movement.

Throughout the pamphlet, the essays are against women, and against the reason of the Black masses. Intellectuals who have these ideas of speaking for the masses, whether the Hares who leave out history, or like Michele Wallace who tries to rewrite it, have individual, material interests.

They are not concerned with the overthrow of this society, but are trying to find ways to reform it. It is for women and men who want to uproot capitalism to find a workable solution with their own ideas and their activity to create a society of new human relations.

—Diana Lee

## 'To You, Women'

Ed. note: We are very excited to have received from a foreign correspondent the following poem, written by an underground women's liberation group in Russia. Space only permits us to print excerpts; for the entire poem, in both English and Russian, write to Women's Liberation—News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, MI 48211.

*Knock around the kitchen, sing cheerfully,  
Love, smile, be a real woman,  
Stay healthy, beautiful, well-shaped—  
Nobody needs a sick wife.  
He's reading a book—sweep the floor.  
He's playing cards—don't bother him.  
He's watching soccer on TV—stand at the stove.  
He's at the table—serve him.  
Go serenely to work every morning,  
Drop your children off at the day-care center.  
Do your job immediately  
Since now you're the equal of men.  
When they carry your husband home drunk  
Tuck him carefully in bed  
And sleep on some chairs nearby.  
Next morning, bring him a shot of vodka.  
If your husband stays out all night  
Don't accuse him of anything serious.  
For in our country there are more women than men  
And no cause for scandal.*

## FROM THE AUTO STOPS

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — There is a new experimental program now at Fleetwood called the QWL—Quality Work Life. Management and the union are hoping it will change life in the plant. QWL was designed by G.M. and approved by the UAW in the 1973 contract. The program is being set-up by management with instructors paid by G.M. These lessons are to teach "team work" between management and the union and the rank-and-file.

**If this program works out like the one they have on the floors now — with management teaching how workers don't need to call the union rep, just tell your foremen — it is not my idea of a team.**

With this new program they are trying to push job discrimination, unequal public facilities, and sexual harassment into second place on the list of priorities. The reduction of women workers ends up third. Civil rights don't exist for men or women, Black or white. Union officials only know what management tells them and the few who care aren't heard. With two different political caucuses fighting each other, but neither one offering a real change, it makes one wonder who is fighting for the people.

The layoffs are coming up, and they are saying they are going back to 1975 this time. Just when we need to really be together, we are not. I don't mean their kind of teamwork. If teamwork is kicking people out of a job for any reason management sees fit, they can keep it! We need some real unity of our own.

—Fleetwood worker, afternoons

### GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — Management has been coming down with its usual pre-model changeover harassment and speed-up. Workers in Body are particularly fed up with company neglect of safety and health conditions: leaking ceilings making puddles at job stations, construction trenches on the line inadequately covered causing foot and ankle injuries to workers, and lead solder continuing to be ground in open air despite workers' protests.

At the local union meeting workers showed up in numbers larger than usual and voted to have meetings after the shift instead of on Sunday afternoons. After-the-shift meetings put more power back in the hands of the rank-and-file.

The first after-the-shift meeting brought a lively discussion over the upcoming contract and the anticipated strike. Despite the local bureaucrats' efforts to kill it through miscounting, a motion was made and carried to send a letter to Doug Fraser demanding that there be no extension of the contract expiration date (Sept. 14, 1979) and that the entire auto industry be shut down. This move by night shift workers was carried also by day and third shift meetings. Word has it that Ford Pico Rivera workers, after hearing what workers here have done, plan to initiate similar action.

### No health and safety in plants or nuclear power

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

I recently went to an anti-nuclear power demonstration in Los Angeles where I met one woman who held her child in the air and said, "I want to save my child from being destroyed by nuclear wastes." It made me think about what good will it do to save our children from nuclear destruction if we allow them to be killed in our factories for the sake of profits.

Despite the OSHA, one out of every 11 workers in the private economy had a job-related injury or illness in 1978. The newest statistics say that at least 80,000 deaths a year nationally and 8,000 a year in California are caused by occupational exposure to cancer-causing substances. But until very recently there were no criminal prosecutions for health violations, only for safety ones. The industries causing these deaths only pay a small fine when caught.

**In auto, where I work, women workers that can get pregnant are not placed in the Body Shop, only men, and women not able to get pregnant. But if it is unsafe for pregnant women, I think it is unsafe for all of us.**

Or take the question of solder dust in the plant. The person in charge of safety is now asking us to wear coveralls over our clothes to protect us from the dust being ground in the open air. But if we need coveralls to protect us, then what about the air that we breathe?

And yet everyday we have to fight against the company on this question. It is a fight that has been going

### Eldon Axle

Detroit, Mich.—I am a member of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (F.E.P.C.) at Eldon Axle. We are "sounding the battle cry" for our work rights in our plant today, where we are having so many problems. We are receiving many complaints on sexual harassment and favoritism by foremen.

One good example is the charges against Jack Cooper, a foreman in Dept. 80. Our committee received a complaint against him from Ms. Lynette Burns on Nov. 9, 1978. Cooper wanted her to be "his woman". She didn't go along with his program. He started a six-month campaign of harassing her, putting her on the cylinder job on Line 6 and accusing her of messing it up. Finally, on June 7, 1979, she was fired from her job after he jumped on her and they really got into a fight in front of everybody.

**Lynette is still off work. Her case is still at Step One of the grievance procedure. She is now going to file suit against the company. Jack Cooper is also out of the plant, but I wonder if the company is thinking of bringing him back. They better think twice about it, because Lynette is not the only one who filed complaints against Cooper. There are several others, including Ms. Katherine Merser, who was harassed by Cooper from the day she started working for him.**

These charges need to be known by all the union sisters and brothers. Help us bring Lynette back to work now, and help us also see that Jack Cooper is never a foreman at Eldon Axle again.

—Chrysler Eldon Gear & Axle F.E.P.C. member

### Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — Just like last year, the line will be slower when we come back. It ran 48 to 52 jobs an hour; in August it will run 40 an hour. **But you know they'll make the work three times as hard for each person.** There were 8,000 workers in all the plants in Local 140 when Chrysler was going great guns. Now only Main Building will be producing in August, with less than 2,000 workers to cover the work.

—Trim line worker, temporarily laid off

Warren, Mich. — Chrysler's vicious attitude towards hourly workers is no different the day they lay you off than when they're pushing you for production. Even though many of us will never get our jobs back, after we built out the last '79 truck on July 3, management made us stay and clean up their factory.

It wasn't surprising that people here took off lots of time from work right before build-out — even with a long "vacation" coming up, and even though management was hunting for people to fire or discipline to cut off their benefits.

We didn't hear anything from the Local 140 leaders until the last minute. Their bulletin No. 10 only said the members were "uneasy"; we're mad! And their bulletin No. 11 expressed "their deepest regret"; why aren't they fighting?

—Main building workers, indefinitely laid off

on for some 20 years. How many workers' lives have been shortened right in our Body Shop by the company constantly fighting against genuine health and safety? The company says things like don't eat lunch in the Body Shop. But they don't do anything about our having to breathe in there for eight or more hours a day.

**Naturally I am happy when I see thousands of people going out to protest the possibility of our being destroyed by a nuclear power accident. But that concern should be linked as well with the dangers that working people face every day of their life on the job. The system which spends most of its time generating power without regard for the real dangers of a nuclear disaster is the same system which daily is injuring and killing its working people.**

The uprooting is necessary not only in the nuclear power industry, but in the entire system which produces capital, whether for private or public use. We must replace it with a system able to produce for the people. Then we will have a society safe for us to live in on the job and off.

**READERS — DO YOU HAVE  
A STORY TO TELL?  
SEND IT TO NEWS & LETTERS**

## Uniroyal workers want to know: What's in new rubber contract?

Detroit, Mich.—Our local union officials at the Detroit Uniroyal rubber plant said on Monday, June 18 that they had reached a settlement of our strike, and we were called back to work on one day's notice without ratifying the tentative contract. This has never happened before and no one knows how or why it's happening now.

There won't be a vote on the contract until after vacation, the end of July or beginning of August. The agreement was so sudden that many workers were out of town, and the company has been harassing and trying to fire the workers who didn't return right way.

The night they "settled" it, Louis Poole, local vice-pres., got on TV and said that he didn't know what was in the contract, but that it was a "really good one" because he had "faith in my President" (URW Pres. Peter Bommarito).

We're probably all supposed to "have faith" too, since we still don't know what's in it, and neither do most of our union representatives.

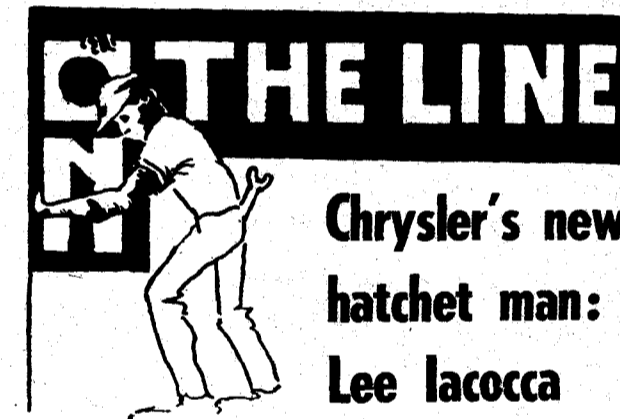
Conditions here are as bad as before — and even worse. There has been a lot of petty harassment of workers and taking away of privileges. In most departments workers create their own "rest areas" where they can relax during breaks, and most of these were torn up and taken away during the strike. Andreini, the plant manager, seems to want to get even.

**The company isn't getting much production out of us, though, and in most departments it's way down, sometimes as low as 50%.**

Most people here believe that we've been "taken," and not just by the company but by our own union officials as well. There's going to be a lot of resistance now that we have to go back under these conditions.

—Uniroyal worker

**CORRECTION:** In the last month's Uniroyal story, the line: "Sometimes tires fly off ..." should have read "Sometimes treads fly off ..."



**Chrysler's new  
hatchet man:  
Lee Iacocca**

by John Allison

Chrysler auto workers are very concerned by the corporation's working conditions and economic policies. An unbroken chain of events and people at the head of Chrysler are bringing the Chrysler story to a full circle.

The announcement of closing Dodge Main, reports of mass layoffs and now the Chrysler-Volkswagen rumors tell the story of Chrysler before the UAW starts negotiations on a new contract. Chrysler's timing is perfect to lead everyone on a wild goose chase, while GM and Ford hide behind Chrysler to help themselves with the UAW at the bargaining table.

**In the meantime, new Chrysler President Lee Iacocca has earned the reputation of top hatchet man, who has already shown his policies are going to be more production and less workers to put it out.**

It also seems like Chrysler is playing the American Motors game when it was losing money and asked the UAW to delay contract talks until after the big contracts were settled. That way they got special treatment.

The big god for Chrysler still remains what it has always been—profits. Chrysler is more than willing to sell the American workers and their souls to a foreign government if it means profits. Of course, the U.S. government could also come through with a big tank or other armaments contract to pull Chrysler's chestnuts out of the fire again, as it has done before.

**In the setup the way it was before, Chrysler used to get a lot of GM and Ford laid-off workers, and that way didn't have to go to the expense of training them. But there have been changes at Chrysler to try to catch up in production with GM and Ford, which turned Chrysler into a work hell-hole.**

It began with a real vengeance with Chrysler President Newburg (fired over a conflict of interest), continued with his successors Tex Colbert (the great drinker), Lynn Townsend (who really botched things up), then recent President Cafiero. But none of these guys are like Iacocca, who is a corporate wheeler-dealer dedicated to the profit god like few people are. Chrysler workers already know it, and know things will get a lot worse before they get better.

# Readers' Views

## ANTI-NUKE/ANTI-DRAFT/SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Scarcely any national publicity was given to the welcome that former Defense Sec. Robert McNamara — that Vietnam hardliner — received when he came to the Univ. of Chicago to receive an award for his "contributions to peace and understanding" (sic!). But let me tell you it was the biggest anti-war demonstration in Chicago since the late 1960s. Over 2500 students and faculty members protested vigorously and 25 students were arrested for sitting down in the street at the urging of Ron Kovic, the wheel-chaired leader of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (who had been invited by the city, ironically, to give the Memorial Day speech here!).

Many of the students involved were less than 10 years old when McNamara was in office—and I believe that much of the anger was really directed at the new military draft they are trying to institute. It wasn't just a "re-run" of 1968.

Observer  
Chicago

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In Los Angeles there has been a new development in a westside high school — by no means one of the more radical ones — where the students protested against a ROTC recruiter coming to the school. The students attacked him, saying he wanted to institute the draft. He said ROTC has nothing to do with that, but the students see clearly that by introducing ROTC the next stage will be precisely that.

Activist  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

Thank you for the Anti-Nuclear Leaflet, with your editorial statement on the movement. A report of the contents was published in our journal, *The Nation*, as soon as it was received. You are doing a wonderful job.

W. Colley  
Editor, *The Nation*  
Gambia

\* \* \*

The headline on your editorial, "The Alternative to Nuclear Madness is Social Revolution," is very powerful and it is more than appropriate for the world-wide anti-nuclear movement. I have been making good use of it right here.

Harry McShane  
Glasgow, Scotland

\* \* \*

Your Editorial on Nuclear Madness and Social Revolution was a challenge both to the anti-nuclear movement and to the entire Left. But referring to Harrisburg as a "near disaster" seems too mild to me. Scientists have pointed to a conservative estimate of 200 leukemia deaths resulting which would not have happened otherwise. Those lives are as dead as if Metropolitan Edison had lined them up and shot them, so far as I am concerned.

Activist  
New York

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The near nuclear disaster brought into sharp focus the lengths U.S. capitalism will go to keep itself in business. . . . Many people who have refused to be concerned with the deadly environment workers face daily in the workplace have finally been stopped in their tracks and have begun asking questions. What is not as dramatic as nuclear disaster but is an insidious and daily wasting of human life is something farm workers have warned us about for years.

I work for a green grocer. I can tell you that the fruits brought into New

York City are full of chemicals, not only from the fields but those used to ensure longer travelling life, like Benomyl and Thiabendazole and other fungicides and preservatives. Apples now being sold in New York were picked last fall and stored in special chambers. Florida tomatoes are picked green a few times a year, stored and gassed to make them red. They lack taste, bounce and have little or no nutritional value. My boss says, "Who needs nutrition?"

Mexican tomatoes that look and taste like garden vine-ripe tomatoes rarely make it to New York markets but every day in early Spring I open boxes of green apples and green grapes from Chile. The grapes have a pad that reads, "To inhibit growth of gray mold on stored table grapes . . . with patents in use in the U.S., Spain, Argentina, Chile, and the Republic of South Africa." Need more be said?

Grocer's Helper  
New York

## IRAN

I was struck by the lead article on "Revolution and Counter-revolution in Iran" in the June issue where the unemployed workers were saying "we will rebel against anything to achieve everything we want." In the GM plant where I work, what the workers are saying about the upcoming contract shows a close relationship between us and the Iranian workers: "To change our working conditions, it has to come from us workers."

At the last union meeting they voted overwhelmingly to send a letter to Fraser not to extend the contract and to strike all of the auto industry at midnight September 14.

GM Worker  
Los Angeles

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In Iran, religion was a factor in mobilizing against the Shah, and now is a factor in stifling the revolution. The middle class accepts the claims that religion can lead to a human society, but the unemployed workers come against religion in their everyday problems. While I was at one of their meetings, I heard workers insisting, "The issue is not whether you are Christian or Moslem; the issue is whether you are capitalist or working class."

Iranian Student  
California

## POLAND

I could not believe my ears when one of the national TV networks, reporting on the Pope's visit to Auschwitz, never even mentioned the word Jew. While, no doubt, the Pope mentioned that Jews were murdered at Auschwitz this no more covers up the capitulation of the Catholic hierarchy to the Nazis in WW II than it does the present anti-Semitism still raging in Poland today — and not only among so-called Communist leaders. While there is no doubt that many Polish dissidents fight against the hatred and discrimination of Polish Jews, anti-Semitism is still so bad that one Polish intellectual wrote to a U.S. Polish group that the only Jewish problem today is Jews insisting that Poland is still anti-Semitic.

Jewish Feminist  
Chicago

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Is Pope John-Paul trying to become Poland's Khomeini?

Young Revolutionary  
San Francisco

The recent brutal assaults of the police on Jacek Kuron and Henryk Wujec, who were to conduct a class on "Social Movements and Educational Environment" in the "flying university" received a lot of publicity in the Polish underground press. A *Time* correspondent was present at one of such beatings taking pictures. The "free" press here would not even print a story on it and to inquiries about it *Time* responded that it was just a "scuffle" which resulted in "cuts and bruises."

The stories of the opposition movement in Poland have gained a new outlet in Chicago with creation of *Pomost*, a quarterly publication, mostly in Polish, now in its third issue. The editors get the underground press from Poland and are devoted to making the ideas of the opposition known here. For more information write: *Pomost*, P.O. Box 11281, Chicago, IL 60611. Subscription is \$4 per year.

Urszula Wislanka  
Chicago

## BLIND APPEAL

Though rocked by the Davis decision we are determined to keep up the kind of mass movement in thought and activity that enabled Black America to transform Bakke into Weber. We have taken the State to court for the second time since January, for numerous violations of the open meetings act, and for an almost total curtailment of mandated rehabilitation services. Going to court is expensive and many of us are unemployed. The state has no case, but hopes to break us financially. Please send contributions to:

National Federation of the Blind  
of Michigan  
3761 Roosevelt  
Dearborn, MI 48124

## RACISM

Racism is not confined to Jews and Blacks. It arises from a majority trying to exterminate a minority that it hates. The Vietnamese expulsion of its Chinese minority by pushing them out to sea in leaky boats is, to me, the equivalent of pushing Jews into the Nazi gas chambers. It is the act of a racist government and must be recognized as such.

Observer  
Boston

\* \* \*

The order of the U.S. Supreme Court to desegregate public education was issued 25 years ago.

Now a number of dramatic events have passed since 1954, but I regret to report that desegregated education is not one of the notables. Nor should it come as a surprise to learn that the most blatantly racist systems are not down South but up North. A perfect example of the situation "up South" is Chicago.

The federal government has threatened to cut off \$500 million in financial aid unless the Board of Education can come up with a "feasible plan" to desegregate the school system. But in a school system with only three percent of its schools desegregated, plus a declining rate of white residents, what is a "feasible plan" for desegregation? The answer to the problem is not an administrative solution.

Andrew Mitchell  
Chicago

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At a recent demonstration I attended against the murder of Eula Love by the racist Los Angeles police, I was thinking

that the whole problem we face every day is plain survival that this system makes impossible. You see this not only in things like the Eula Love case, but in the gas crunch and with proposition 13 as well. I feel the question of the draft is part of this too. They want to get rid of the minority youth in this country, but you can feel revolution in the air.

Black youth  
Los Angeles

## THATCHER'S VICTORY

The Thatcher gang intends to militarize Britain. They believe that unemployment can be tackled in that way. Arms expenditure is to be increased. The trade unions are to be brought closer to State control. Taxation will not be reduced, but there will be a cut in direct taxation which will be made up by increasing a value added tax. The Commission on Prices has already been abolished. All you have written about the march towards authoritarianism is more than confirmed, but it will not be taken lying down.

Correspondent  
Glasgow

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Ms. Magazine had a one-page article by Susan Sontag on how great it was that Thatcher won. She said she didn't agree with Thatcher, but just the fact that a woman was elected makes it better for all of us. What idiocy! Doesn't the history of Africa tell us that just changing the color of the rulers won't change anything? The same is even more true with just changing gender. What was great about Fanon was that he wanted more than a change of color, he wanted new human relations and freedom. So do women.

Women's Liberationist  
Chicago

## MARXISM FOR OUR AGE

Raya Dunayevskaya is satisfying what Lukacs called "the pre-condition of the revolutionary function of theory," because hers is a theory that understands society, the need to change it totally, and knows itself to be that theory for change — a Marxist critique of Marxism for our day. That ability to develop the latent aspects of Marxism could only come from keeping a close ear to the voices from below — the source of all real theory. I find your paper very exciting. As for some of the suggestions that have been made to expand the coverage to something like *Socialist Review*, I say no! Despite the *Guardian's* newsiness I find I never read the whole paper because the perspective is the same old stuff. Even as small as *N&L* is, I don't think you are missing anything as far as coverage goes.

Steady Reader  
Illinois

\* \* \*

I was very much struck by the great difference in the writing between Part I and Part II of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*. It isn't just the difference that 25 years would make to any writer. It is that you can see that Denby was a full Marxist-Humanist in Part II.

To me, Part II shows the impact of Denby's participation as activist-thinker not only in all the momentous developments in the objective movement of the past 25 years but also in association with an organization of workers and intellectuals like News and Letters Committees.

Marxist-Humanist  
New York

# Black freedom fighters battle degenerate capitalism's resurgent racism

(Continued from Page 3)

troopers returned from the new raids in Mozambique than Muzorewa quietly showed up in Pretoria June 15-17 to confer with South Africa's Prime Minister Botha on "mutual defense measures."

The sickening truth for us as American revolutionaries, and thus the responsibility for international solidarity that we face, is that these apartheid regimes find in Britain's newly-elected Thatcher and the U.S.A.'s upcoming-election-conscious Jimmy Carter their closest allies. Thatcher's support for Rhodesia was clear from the beginning, as her Observer Delegation to the April elections endorsed not only the voting, but the "Protected Villages" program under which it was conducted—a copy of U.S. imperialism's ill-fated "Strategic Hamlets" in Vietnam.

## THATCHER'S RACISM AND BLACK REVOLT

For Thatcher, such attitudes are inseparable from the domestic policies she has set out to impose on Britain, beginning with a crackdown on the Black population. Nightly arrests of Black youth on "sus" charges (sus-

pected of loitering with intent to commit a crime) are now common in major cities. Neo-fascist gangs go out for an evening of "Paki-bashing." Social programs for the poor have been slashed. And Thatcher has promised a Parliamentary vote this summer on the re-institution of capital punishment.

At the same time, new forces are emerging within Britain to challenge such retrogression. Pakistanis and Indians, West Indians and Chinese, have united for the first time in defense against assaults. And labor, part of which did vote for Thatcher's demagogic appeals now has begun to fight back against the massive sales tax increases she imposed. Polls show that if the election were re-run today, Thatcher would lose.

It may be that, for his part, Pres. Carter has been deterred thus far from open support for Rhodesia by his concern over the Black vote in 1980, or by the threat of a Nigerian oil cut-off. But from the start Carter indicated that he considers the sanctions temporary, adding, as he announced their continuation last month, that he hoped "progress can be made and made rapidly."

It is for such purposes that a sizeable array of apologists have been lined up ready to explain each policy option. None has been more noxious than Bayard Rustin, using to the fullest his title as President of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and his past civil rights activity. Endorsing the April election farce and urging recognition of the Smith-Muzorewa regime, he went on TV to slander the liberationists, asserting: "It is ironic that many people who say this election was unscientific or undemocratic or uncalled for are also the very people that would abolish elections entirely and depend on violence."

## DECATUR: NEW GENERATION IN REVOLT

Against such degeneracy exhibited by some of the "established leadership" stands the magnificent courage and seriousness of the multi-dimensional Black youth revolt today. Whether you look at the campus occupations nationwide against apartheid and the destruction of Black Studies programs; the 1,200 who stormed a City Council hearing in Cincinnati to protest police terror; or the anti-Klan marches in Mississippi and Arkansas, as well as in Alabama, the reality of America 1979 includes a whole new generation determined to change this society and change it totally.

Listen to the thoughts of a young Black revolution-

ary who participated in the largest of the new demonstrations, the march in Decatur, Alabama, on June 9:

I looked around as the march for justice and freedom was forming. It was for Tommy Lee Hines, a young Black man, retarded, who had been railroaded to jail for allegedly raping a white woman. Besides those of us who came from outside Decatur, there were some of Decatur's Black community, the National Guard, the police with their shotguns and rifles, and some of the KKK left over from their morning march. As we lined up I read some of the signs: "Decatur's Justice is Retarded" and "Ban the Klan."

Close to 2,500 marched, beginning at a community church. Along the way the march grew as more Black people from Decatur joined us. I felt very emotional as we sang freedom songs and chants, both of the earlier civil rights movement and those of today, like, "Hell no, we won't go. KKK has got to go!" I'm from Alabama, not far from Decatur, and it felt great to be returning and participating in a mass activity.

I rode to Birmingham with some Southern youth, as I wanted to get the feeling about the freedom movement in Alabama today. One family on the bus to Decatur was only children. They had lost their father a few weeks earlier to gunfire from the Birmingham police, and their mother had died from a heart attack while protesting the killing. And yet here were these youth going to Decatur to struggle with body and soul.

The people who came to march felt that something was going on in their lives. You grow up in the South and you see and face racism as an individual. But now in Decatur you have the opportunity to be able to deal with these people like you would like to deal with them.

It isn't that the march went fully like it should have. Some of the leadership wanted to use it for reviving the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, but only as an empty form. They put all the emphasis on non-violence, on making sure there were no confrontations. But the spirit of those who marched wasn't that way. They saw the KKK being revived and they wanted to take it on right now, stop it here.

There was this spirit of people who wanted to go beyond what the leadership was saying. There is, I believe, a racist atmosphere in this country, which is combined with class oppression. And it is this which the people, especially the young people in the march, wanted to take on.

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 3)

they would have been jailed without bond, but nothing at all was done about the KKK saying it.

There was also much discussion about the fact that a 49-year-old Black man had been arrested and charged with attempted murder in the shooting of one of the Klansmen at the earlier May 26 demonstration. Although two KKK men and two Blacks were shot then, there have been no arrests in the shooting of the Blacks. Witnesses at the May 26 march, called on the first anniversary of Tommy Lee Hines' conviction, said that all the shooting was between police and the Klan. Many of the Decatur Black community charged that the police were dragging their heels, and they called Police Chief Pack Self a racist.

## MARCHES ACROSS SOUTH

I am sure he is, but I also was thinking that it would be wrong to say that every white who lives in Decatur belongs to the KKK or agrees with it. Even on June 9, with all the publicity, they could only muster about 200, and they came from all over the South. The Black demonstration called by SCLC had some 3,000, with quite a few whites joining in.

Not only that. On the same day that Decatur marched, Blacks in Okolona, Miss. and Little Rock, Ark. marched against racial mistreatment. There are demonstrations in cities and towns across the South every week that you will never hear about.

Some of us were discussing the whole situation concerning the KKK in the South today. One man said that he had not been South since he was stationed there in World War II. He had some experience with the KKK then, and he said he believes nothing has changed. We told him there have been a lot of changes. Today Blacks say to the KKK in Decatur: "If we are killed, we will just be killed. But we are going to walk the streets of this city."

We told him that in 1945, if those racist whites had told Blacks to stay off the streets, they would not have marched. It is so different today that Skip Robinson, from the United League in Mississippi, who came to the march on May 26, can say: "The Klan cannot stop us; they bleed just like we bleed."

This is the only way we have ever been protected against the KKK. President Carter can run around the world yelling about human rights, but cannot do anything about human rights in Alabama, USA. The only thing the government does is to send someone there after some Blacks get killed to see if their civil rights had been violated. There is just no solution for racism and murder within this society, as the youth in Decatur are saying. They want a total change, and they want it now.

Local News & Letters Committees can be contacted directly in the following areas:

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## BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

The crisis of European capitalism has been revealed in the persistent high inflation and high rate of unemployment. With the victory of the Tory Party and Margaret Thatcher, Britain can now add another feature to this crisis — racism.

This is not to say that the politics of racism came into being with Thatcher; it has been an issue in Britain for a long time. But Prime Minister Thatcher is the first Conservative leader to exploit the issue of race openly. She literally took the issue of race from the ultra-conservative right-wing National Front.

In France the government, in an effort to "solve" the problem of growing unemployment, has enacted laws that would both severely control the lives of the 4,000,000 foreign workers who reside in France — of whom more than 800,000 are Algerians and Black Africans — and limit all future immigration.

These laws make it easier for officials to expel any foreign worker because they simply removed all judicial processes that once were necessary before a worker could be deported. Also, any worker deemed by police to "constitute a threat to public order or public credit" can be expelled or refused access to the country.

But I have heard from a recent visitor to France that immigrant workers are continuing to resist these racist expulsion laws. At a hostel in Dijon, several hundred have been living in tents in the open air after 1,000

## Racism growing in Europe

police came early one morning and sealed off their building while most of them were at work. With support from other immigrant workers, neighbors, and Left and union organizations, the immigrant workers have stayed in their tent city.

Several demonstrations have also been held in Paris and in Lyon. However, the small size of the demonstrations would appear to indicate that support for the struggle is mostly verbal on the part of the Left, both Socialist and Communist.

Capitalists in both Britain and France are faced with the political/economic problems of getting their workers to produce more by working harder for less than real wages, and, at the same time, to get rid of the expense of paying special security and welfare benefits to their now surplus labor force who are of a different nationality or a different race. This is the only plan that the head of any government, state capitalist or private capitalist, has to deal with the crises that are inherent in the system itself.

It is the opposition of the working class to this despotic plan that the rulers of capitalism fear most. Like the actions of the immigrant workers in France, Blacks in Britain are organizing very militantly, and the mammoth protests of youth against the racism of the National Front is an indication that these reactionary forces will not be permitted to be the conquerors in Europe.

## Mental incarceration for dissident: it happens here

The great super-powers, the U.S. and Russia, each flood the world with the propaganda that Western democracy or Russian communism is the only meaningful alternative in this world. Each, further, insists that they are opposite systems. The truth, of course, is that both are essentially the same.

Russian dissidents like Plyushch, Grigoriev, Solzhenitsyn, et al. have been exposing the Russian government's use of mental institutions as a means of punishing political dissidents. The World Psychiatric Conference of 1977 finally found the strength to override Russian opposition and condemn this inhuman practice. While the U.S. government has tried to make this appear as a Russian-only barbarity, newly emerging revelations indicate that here too, the American and Russian state-capitalist systems are more alike than unlike.

One recent and dramatic book focusing on this particular area is William Arnold's *Shadowland*. It deals with the tragic life of that luminously beautiful and politically radical actress of the late Thirties, Frances Farmer, who catapulted to movie fame within a year to play feminine leads opposite the big male stars of the time: Bing Crosby, Edward Arnold, Cary Grant, John Garfield, and Tyrone Power.

Her stardom rapidly declined, and until recently, it was considered largely due to her own mental breakdown and alcoholism. It is clearer now that she was destroyed because of her independence, rebelliousness and involvement in Communist politics. The destruction was the work of officials at all societal levels, and, as in the Russian practice, was consummated in a mental institution and abetted by psychiatric officials with the highest credentials.

She, like countless others, was confined involuntarily in a mental institution for a minor infraction. Deprived of all official rights when classed as insane, she was subjected to a decade of abuse through insulin shock, drugs, and rapings.

According to Arnold, the heating up of the Cold War and the emergence of the virulent anti-communism of the McCarthy era wreaked its havoc on her. The C.I.A. had begun its program of psychological warfare experimentation. Coinciding with it, and encouraged by it, was a new method of surgically pacifying intractable and incurable mental patients. It is important to note here that Arnold's evidence, while largely circumstantial, is very impressive.

Because of her political views, because of her undiminished rebelliousness, because of her public status, Ms. Farmer became a prime guinea-pig for the new method: the insertion of a needle under her eyelid to sever crucial nerve connections, leaving no evidence of surgery. Such a radical operation was performed against the explicit opposition of Ms. Farmer's family!

Arnold's book reads like a detective novel as he uncovers deeper layers of official crime and culpability. He fails, however, to adequately pursue one avenue for a full understanding of Ms. Farmer's experience: the Communist connection.

As Ms. Farmer wrote in her autobiography which

## Discussion article: Italy and the Communist Party

We received the following letter from a correspondent in Italy, written just before the elections in June —Ed.

Milan, Italy — The low depths of political opportunism and corruption that the Italian Communist Party (CP) has reached in its attempts to take part in or absolutely control the Italian government seems almost beyond belief even for those that have always criticized the line of the CP.

The Italian government, having "fallen" again, will hold national elections in June, at the same time in which the elections for a European Parliament will take place. The CP is on the defense. In the last years, the various social movements made up of the youth, the feminists, the unemployed, etc. have demonstrated openly their hostility toward the CP, while the workers in the factories have been making more "autonomous" or wild-cat strikes, refusing to accept the union's line which states that it is more important to defend capital and capitalism than it is to defend the interests of the workers.

**BE THESE** economic interests or social interests, the right to have equal social benefits, the right of all human beings to express their ideas, to participate in the community, is becoming increasingly more important to many Italians, and the Italian CP has shown that it wants to openly deny these rights to the people.

The Italian CP is so afraid of these mass movements that they are trying to "arrest" the ideas of those who support the working class struggles and the social struggles for freedom.

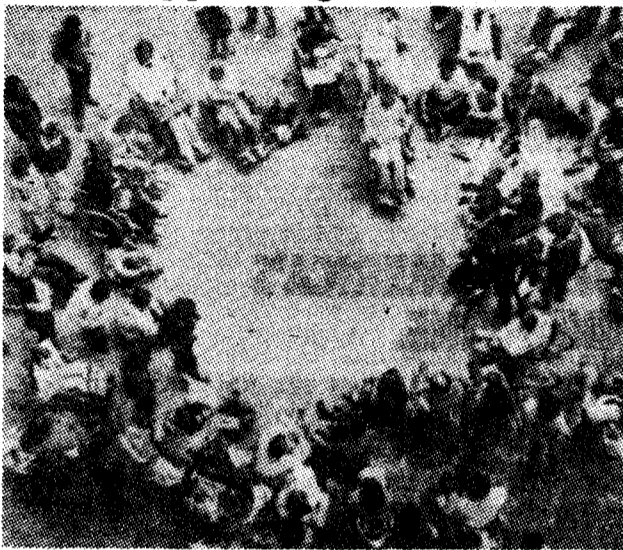
A group of intellectuals who for years have criticized the reformism of the CP, its opportunism, its policies and tactics, has been falsely accused and arrested as leaders, as a sort of "brain trust" of the various clandestine terrorist movements in Italy and in the rest of Europe.

appeared shortly after her death in 1970, "I believe the main cause of my difficulties . . . stemmed from the panic I tried to bury at being alone . . . This prolonged emptiness, I believe, was the cause of all my difficulties."

Had Arnold pursued the Communist connection, he would surely have found that the Communists had proven as wanting in their way as had the official society, U.S. capitalism, which she had rejected. How else explain her blast before her death at those Communist-sympathizers with whom she had been most intimate in her life, Clifford Odets, her former teacher Harold Clurman, and others?

M. Franki

## Handicapped fight weak laws



Handicapped persons protest new transportation laws.

San Francisco, Cal.—Thirty-nine rugged, physically-and-mentally-challenged civil right activists pitched their disabled bodies and several pup tents at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare building here, after they denied us admission to the building.

The issue was the weak Department of Transportation regulations recently signed by HEW Secretary Joe Califano. They include a provision giving D.O.T. and transit providers the right to waive the civil rights of handicapped riders in order to deny them equal access. Our civil rights were further eroded when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that colleges and universities have no obligation to be accessible to the handicapped.

The time has come for disabled people to join with others denied the opportunity of earning taxable money and let our leaders know that though we may have been created differently, we were created equally and that we will settle for nothing less than full equality.

—"One of them"

One deals with almost the entire faculty of Political Science of the University of Padova, and others that are more or less in the same position.

These intellectuals have always been for the self-freedom of the people, their self-expression. A revolution, if it is to take place, must be made by and with the masses of people and not by an avant-garde party, much less by a small group of terrorists that have named themselves revolutionaries. It must be the people that decide.

**THIS HAS** become a really clamorous political case because in Italy, in contrast to the U.S., intellectuals have a very important place on the social ladder even though they often do not want it. The Communists openly admit that the intellectuals of *autonomia* are their worst enemies. However, it is not necessarily the persons themselves that are being attacked, but rather the social and working class movements that have spontaneously accepted their ideas and their ideology.

It has been decided that all of those who protest against the CP should be considered dangerous terrorists responsible for the death of the leader of the Christian Democratic Party, Aldo Moro. It has been decided that all who protest against the CP have no right for equality in this society of inequality.

The Christian Democratic Party and other parties are also benefitting from this attack on ideas and ideologies. It gives them a means to explain their total inability to discover those who are behind the terrorists in Italy and in the world. And really that is a question to be asked. Who is behind this international terrorist movement? Obviously some of them are sincere persons, but it has become too obvious that these sincere persons are being used by groups that have international economic and political interests that will in no way resolve the problems of the people of any state, of any nation.

# ROBOTNIK

(Ed. Note: The following satire was translated for NEWS & LETTERS by Ursula Wislanka, from ROBOTNIK (WORKER), an underground Polish dissident workers' paper. It is their logo we have also reproduced.)

## The party leaves its footprint on the earth

This we all know: The Party is infinitely good. More: it is wise, honest, and can do all. It is the heart, overflowing with love for the working people. It is the brain of the nation. It will supply you a wife to your bed, find you an apartment, defend you against slander. But above all, it will give you a goal in life: Work! Work! Don't ask for what or why — at most, for how much.

Its authority stands above all and everyone. Why should we need trade unions, workers' committees, some kind of "self-rule"? From those, only an inclination toward anarchy and Polish litigiousness is born.

It takes care of everything. Like a good master, it worries about leaky roofs, steel for railroads, and railroads to haul the steel. If it breaks something, it — and only it — will repair it.

**IT KNOWS** how to reward people. In the pockets of the party member's suit are stuck permits for a car and an apartment. If you work well, you can cut the cloth to your measure.

It also knows how to punish. But why punish? Who is there to fight? Before there was the class enemy, sniping from around the corner. Now there are no conflicts, there is also no parliamentary blather. Without unnecessary politicking, expertly, according to the plan — ever forward!

**BUT IN GENERAL** the people are good. They seem grumpy and egotistical, but basically they are willing to co-operate. Good beasts. They work — and for that they get money, vacations, and sometimes something extra.

But the most important thing is the plan, to be on time with the plan, and it is just fantastic to be ahead of the plan. So what if there are heart attacks and nervous breakdowns? The plan is the true measure of human dignity. The plan is everything. But we can count on people, too, because: The Pole Can Do. Do what? That is another question . . .

## Counter-revolution in Iran

(Continued from Page 3)

who refused to fire on the Kurds. Later they outlawed the revolutionary soldiers' councils and all other forms of organization within the army. Days ago, the Minister of National Defense announced that "No one in the army has the right to participate in any political activity in or out of the army. And if you do so, you will be treated according to the previous (Shah's) laws." Why previous laws? Mr. Entezam, the Deputy Prime Minister, has the answer: "As long as the new laws have not been ratified, the old laws are still in effect."

At the schools they have eliminated Anthropology and the evolution of species. Left teachers have been thrown out of their jobs . . .

The government has also sided against those peasants who have tried to take over the land, entering the fight on behalf of the landlords. In a village close to the city of Arak, the peasants were compelled to arm themselves and fight the Gendarmerie (rural police force). It was a bloody fight in which five gendarmes, including the local chief, were killed, as well as many peasants. The rest of the peasants were either arrested or compelled to leave their village and run away. This kind of thing is going on everywhere in the rural areas. The peasants won't compromise their lives . . .

In the factories, Khomeini still has much popular support, but signs of resistance against the capitalists are all over. Continuous strikes happen all the time. In some cases the workers have taken over the factory, and confronted the "committee."

Last month, all 140 workers of Armech & Armech Tesav Companies, which produces construction supplies, went out on strike. They took the capitalists' representative hostage and went to the Ministry of Labor. After the tenth day of their sit-in, the local "committee" got involved and attacked the workers. Several workers were hospitalized, but the rest refused to release the capitalists' representative. The strike is now in its 20th day.

Khomeini was forced by the extent of the strikes to appear again on TV and preach: "Those who come to you and give you money to go on strike are agents of foreigners. Don't listen to them." In this struggle, I am sure that the war to end wage slavery will find its way through . . .

— Iranian student





# Military crises and revolts

by Peter Wermuth

The recent upsurge in the anti-draft movement, from the 500 demonstrating June 1 at Stanford University to the protest against ROTC by high school students in Los Angeles in May, has reached a critical turning point in light of new expressions of revolt within the U.S. armed forces. The soldiers are unwilling to let U.S. imperialism's latest war preparations go unchallenged.

The appearance of a new GI publication, **Enlisted Times**, geared to air the grievances and dissatisfactions of U.S. servicepeople, demonstrates the ferment within the military. This malaise has so reached a fever pitch that hawks and liberals alike in Congress and the Pentagon are pushing for ways to institute the draft in order to obtain a "trustworthy" military striking force.

Recent issues of **Enlisted Times** detail complaints of women over the abolition of government funded abortions for servicewomen; protests by sailors against radioactive leaks in nuclear aircraft carriers that are hidden from the public; responses of army personnel to the deaths of 19 men in this year's "war games" in Western Europe; and actions by Blacks against KKK cells appearing in the ships and barracks that the military has ignored.

Most significantly, the youths who joined the army simply to escape unemployment at home discover lack of decent job training inside the service, with no real chance of obtaining a job once they leave it. Their dissatisfaction is shown by the fact that more soldiers are AWOL today than at any previous time in U.S. history. In 1973, 13.6 percent in the Navy went AWOL; today the figure is over 32 percent. And a recent Brookings Institute report found only three out of five in the military to be "productive," a code word for willing to kill.

It is certainly no accident that hawks and liberals alike have presented dozens of proposals for a new draft or at least compulsory draft registration. The reason springs from instability within the military, occurring just as U.S. imperialism seeks ways to overcome its most pressing international problem, lack of control over the sources of oil production in the Middle East needed to fuel the next war effort, whether nuclear or conventional.

Despite the myth of the volunteer army, the truth is that many joining are inner city minority youth who

## SF Gay revolt, Freedom Day

San Francisco, Cal.—On June 24, 150,000 people participated in the annual Gay Freedom Day Parade and Rally, celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Stonewall Riots that launched the Gay Liberation Movement. This year the rally was more political; the mood of the crowd was a definite searching for where to go from here.

A new stage of questioning had begun on May 21, when upwards of 5,000 people, mostly gays, converged on City Hall after hearing that Dan White, the ex-cop who last November murdered liberal Mayor Moscone and the popular gay City Supervisor Harvey Milk, got off with only a manslaughter conviction. By the end of the ensuing battle with police, City Hall windows were shattered, over 100 cops were injured, and 12 police cars were blazing.

Afterwards the police went to the Castro Street area, the city's gay center, smashed up a bar, and roughed up the neighborhood. The police called it "Crystal Night!"

Signs at the June 24 march reflected the growing gay militance in response to these attacks: "You can fight City Hall—There are enough of us today"; "Grand Jury's coming, Don't talk." Some wore T-shirts with a picture of a burning police car with the slogan "No Apologies."

Copies of **News & Letters** were well received. Our Gay Rights Day leaflet read in part: "The issue is getting rid of the system whether in its state-capitalist form as in Russia or China where homosexuality is outlawed, or in its more private capitalist form as seen here. . . . Even here we see a split in the gay community between the business-oriented people, who are willing to play footsie with the city establishment, and the working and out-of-work gays, who know their human rights are at stake."

One gay activist I spoke to said about the City Hall rebellion: "Nobody could control the crowd. We got angrier and angrier as several community 'leaders' got up with bullhorns to try to speak for us. They weren't saying what our anger was."

"While I was sitting in jail I talked to several straight Black youth who were also in the fight that night. We felt a common struggle against a common oppressor. I felt that night that my struggle for freedom was really beginning."

—Chris Norwell

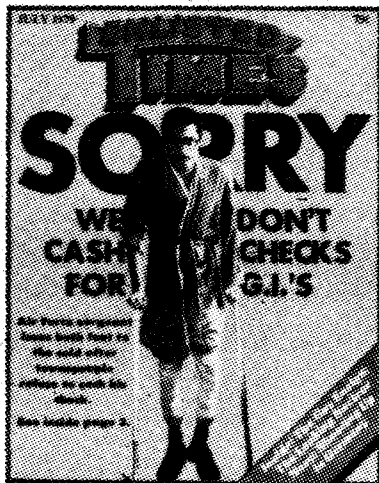
have no intention of dying to prove U.S. imperialism has not been weakened by the Iranian revolution. Twenty-six percent of the soldiers in the army are Black, while Blacks make up 51 percent of its "prisoner population," i.e. those facing charges for desertion, refusing orders, lack of discipline, etc.

This "racial imbalance" has quite a few Congressmen — many of whom support SALT II — arguing for registration. Senator Sam Nunn said, "How can a democracy defend itself when the lowest economic groups are vastly over-represented in the combat army, and middle and upper class Americans are increasingly exempt from the possibility of sacrifice for the nation."

It is precisely this type of racist push for a new draft that demands fundamental re-organization within all of today's youth movements. For rather than allowing the anti-draft struggles to keep their focus only on the draft, leaving the military as it is, opposition to the draft which challenges the entirety of war preparations will also connect with struggles inside the army.

The opposition is not one of draft versus volunteer, for in reality there is no such thing as a volunteer army today. What we have is rather the unemployed army of capitalism pressed into uniform.

Should war come, youth obviously will be most affected. With the emergence of such new revolts by young people as have upsurged in the past year, the potential for a revolutionary youth movement is certainly not an abstraction. By opposing the entirety of the forces arrayed against it, the anti-nuclear and anti-draft movements can truly come to realize "human power as its own end" which can alone spell the final abolition of this system as it rushes towards nuclear catastrophe.



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## California, Michigan rallies oppose Diablo, Fermi reactors

San Luis Obispo, Cal. — Over 40,000 anti-nuclear protestors from all over California gathered near the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant June 30, in the largest anti-nuclear rally ever held on the West Coast, to demand the plant never go on line. The day included celebrities speaking and entertaining against nuclear power, including Gov. Jerry Brown who vowed to shut down Diablo Canyon plant but said nothing about the Rancho Seco plant, which is identical to Three Mile Island's plant and is just a few miles from the capitol in Sacramento.

The crowd was a mixture of individuals drawn together by a common desire to keep Diablo Canyon from functioning. Some I talked to simply wanted solar or wind energy to replace nuclear, but others agreed with our **News and Letters** Committee leaflet linking nuclear power, nuclear war and the draft and calling for a total social revolution to end this barbarous system. There were more women than men, many concerned with the effect of low-level radiation on children. One woman told me, "We're concerned not only with nuclear power, but what the whole society is doing to us. I don't know how to fight it, maybe today is a start."

—**News and Letters** Committee participant

Monroe, Mich. — The Harrisburg TMI accident has transformed anti-nuclear opposition into a mass opposition to nuclear power, nuclear war. The new dimensions within the movement were seen and heard in the Monroe demonstration of 2,500 against Fermi II on June 2.

A farmworker from the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (Floc) spoke on the health hazards of farm workers in relation to the hazards atomic workers face. He spoke of police repression against farm workers and how they would now be in jail if they carried out the same acts as the TMI owners had. A construction worker from the Fermi II plant also spoke on the horrible working conditions there.

Suzanne Casey, a member of **Women's Liberation-**

## Detroit anti-draft protest

Detroit, Mich.—Over 200 people gathered in front of the MacNamara Building in downtown Detroit on June 21, for a protest demonstration against Congressional proposals which would reinstate military registration and/or the draft.

Speaking at the rally were many civic and community leaders, anti-war activists, and May Davis of **Women's Liberation-News and Letters** Committee, who in her remarks united the anti-draft movement with workers, women, and the struggles of low-ranking enlisted people within the armed forces.

She related how the right to choose was not only for reproductive rights of women, but for the right for everyone to choose how they want to live their own lives whether it involves the rights of G.I.'s to organize unions or the rights of workers to control their own unions as well as lives.

Another highlight of the rally was the area high school students who would be affected the most by the reinstatement of the draft. They asked for time on the speakers' platform to demand not only an end to U. S. militarization and draft plans, but an end to military spending and more spending on job programs for youth.

—**Vietnam-era vet**

## Jobless youth blast CETA

Detroit, Mich. — With shouts of "We want jobs!" some 150 Black youth burst into the Detroit headquarters of CETA (Comprehensive Employment Training Act) on June 26 and confronted for the second time in a month the head of the department, Ollie McKinney.

Unlike the first protest which lodged the CETA head in his office for several hours with the young black protestors demanding jobs and straight answers, this time the Director made himself scarce and told his staff he would not return to meet with the jobless youth, though he did call the riot squad on them.

Some high school youth who earlier this year demonstrated 300-strong at the National Alliance of Business, a federally-funded jobs program located in the Fisher Bldg. in Detroit, expressed a new militancy in ideas as well as activity when asked what they thought of the job situation this summer.

"None of the students in my high school want the jobs of picking up trash along the freeway," said one young woman from Northern H.S. She told of how her sister worked all of last summer in a CETA job at a day care center at WSU and received only three paychecks—two for \$9 and one for \$53.

All the statistics and surveys show that there are thousands of Black youth out looking for jobs this summer. What the statistics don't show are the new militant ideas Black youth have about transforming this crisis-ridden society.

**News and Letters**, spoke of **News and Letters** Committees involvement before and through the transition of the anti-nuclear movement, beginning from the activities around Karen Silkwood to today. She stated that solar power is not the alternative for the anti-nuke movement if it is developed under capitalism. The only alternative that will change these repressive conditions is a social revolution creating a new human society.

—**News and Letters** Committee participant

## Youth in Revolt

A June 9 protest in Harlem, which pushed for the removal of Columbia University's TRIGA reactor, drew 400 people, many Black and Latino residents of the community. Speakers challenged the anti-nuclear movement to target the issues of racism and sexism. Anti-nuclear, South African divestiture, and tenants organizations sponsored the rally organized by the construction workers group, Fight Back.

The Israeli Peace Now movement activists joined with Palestinian Arabs and marched 4,000-strong towards Nablus during the June 10 weekend to protest new Israeli settlements on the occupied West Bank. The march, suspended when protestors received word of Israeli cabinet-level consideration of their demands, resumed the following weekend in Tel Aviv when the cabinet affirmed the settlement policy. Ten thousand participants marched, while at the same time (June 17) Palestinian youth protesting the settlements confronted Israeli military police in Nablus.

In sentencing Zola Mae Humphries, a 20-year-old Black mother of two children in April to a 5-year probationed prison term, a Nixon-appointed federal judge in Macon, Georgia threatened to have her "tubes tied" if he had the power to do so, and would throw her in jail if she had another "illegitimate" child.

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

# Nicaraguan revolt toppling regime of dictator Somoza

The latest chapter in the Nicaraguan revolution, which continues to amaze all with its repeated mass mobilizations on an ever greater scale, was opened on June 4 when the opposition called for a "final offensive," initiating still another general strike and an all out attack by the Sandinista guerrillas on dictator Somoza's personal army, the Nicaraguan National Guard. The unfoldment of full blown social revolution in the last year and a half has shown new paths to expressing the total opposition of the Nicaraguan people to the 46-year-old U.S.-backed Somoza dynasty.

By the end of May, Somoza had boasted of finishing off the Sandinistas and had nearly doubled the National Guard to 13,000. In the present offensive, however, not only are the Sandinistas totally expelling the National Guard from vast areas they already hold, like the cities of Matagalpa, Esteli and Nicaragua's second largest city, Leon, where the only thing left to the Somoza regime was the National Guard barracks; but the huge barrios around the capital city of Managua are held by "people's militia" composed mostly of very young men and women armed with pistols and rifles. Managua's fashionable shopping districts were looted, and the poor organized their own food distribution.

The situation before the latest offensive was one of a nearly complete breakdown in the Nicaraguan economy, with unemployment running at 40 percent, a 75 percent inflation rate since Jan. 1, and a flight of \$240 million in capital investment since

the September civil war alone. Each unleashing of Somoza's machinery of death, as in that September civil war when over 3,000, mostly teenagers, were gunned down, has created thousands of new, totally committed opponents to his regime. In Masaya, where the Guard was expelled in battle, thousands of youth fled after holding that city in September to join the Sandinistas.

The wanton killing of a U.S. TV newsman and a Nicaraguan interpreter, which millions saw here on TV, reflects the depraved actions of Somoza against the whole Nicaraguan people. "The crimes, torture, rapes and the destruction of towns led me to desert", reported one member of the National Guard who "saw executions of children, women, and old people only because they gave food or aid to the guerrillas who came to their place." Somoza's barbarism extended to massive air force rocket attacks into whole neighborhoods in cities held by the guerrillas and the barrios around Managua. Tens of thousands fled to refugee centers which were also hit by Somoza's rockets.

The concern of a June 20, 1979 *New York Times* editorial was nothing short of "the security of the United States" which, it added, "is not necessarily threatened by Sandinists or any other revolutionary movement . . . however, [the U.S.] can be affected by the ways in which such movements come to power."

It was just then that Carter was sending Vance to propose the military intervention by the O.A.S.—and could not get a single country to vote with him.

What is crucial to such thinking is that change not come through full blown social revolution with its logic from below. Rather, just as the U.S. Marines handed Nicaragua to the Somozas 46 years ago, so now what is crucial—whether that is through outright intervention with a "peacekeeping force" or a transitional government approved by the O.A.S.—is that a solution be anointed, if not imposed, from above.

Somoza had created such a total political and economic monopoly of power in Nicaragua that what unites all, including conservative businessmen, is the expropriation of his business empire and the breakup of the National Guard, eliminating officers directly responsible for the killing. A coalition including the Sandinistas, who themselves represent many points of view from those who call themselves Marxists to nationalists, was announced on June 18 with the appointment of a five-person junta that promises to bring democracy to Nicaragua. That coalition also includes an opposition business group which a short while ago was hoping a U.S. "mediation" effort would succeed against both Somoza and the mass insurrection. Some Latin American governments have already recognized the junta as the official Nicaraguan government.

The freeing of Nicaragua from the incubus of Somoza would be a long-awaited triumph. It will be a new beginning for the Nicaraguan masses who have created the present turning point and who have been working out their own solutions in their persistent mass mobilizations and insurrections for the last year and a half.

## Pope's tour

The Pope has concluded the tour of his homeland Poland. The reception he received was far more a demonstration against Stalinist state capitalism and its tyranny, than it was for religion as a viable alternative to the miserable economic condition of the Poles.

It ill behoves the head of one of the world's most totalitarian organizations, the Catholic church, to speak up in veiled terms for reform and democracy, which he so consistently denies to the masses within his own organization. Just as the regime in Poland today is but a mirror reflection of the despotic rule of state capitalism in the Soviet Union, where workers have no voice in running their own economy, the rule of the Pope and the College of Cardinals over the Catholic masses permits no opportunity for self expression or democracy.

The Pope's visit to Auschwitz was a mockery for the millions of Jews who were burned in its gas chambers. Could it have been that he was doing penance for one of his predecessors, Pope Pius XII, who not only knew what was going on, but whose priests blessed the Nazi butchers as they went off to battle? Fascism could not have existed

without the support and connivance of the leadership of Holy Mother Church.

Consider the zeal with which the church today pursues its campaign against abortion through the "right to life" movement. When did they ever mount such a campaign against fascism?

In Italy, Mussolini was never without the Catholic prelates who participated in his pomp and ceremonies, urging the faithful to support the government of the fascists. To pretend at this date that fascism could have existed without the support of the Catholic hierarchy, and the blessing of Pope Pius XII, is sheer hypocrisy.

In Poland a very fine resistance movement has grown up following the successful strikes of the shipyard workers in June 1967, which almost toppled the Communist regime. The movement continues with Jacek Kuron representing the Social Self-Defense Committee (K.O.R.) which met together with Charter 77 representatives from Czechoslovakia at the border as recently as September of 1978.

Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, former members of the Communist Party in Poland, while in Polish jails, wrote a 95-page "Open Letter to the Party" in 1966, which characterized the Polish state as a state capitalist society and called upon the

working class to overthrow the ruling class, the Communist government, citing the capitalist exploitation of the workers by the state.

Trumpets may have toppled the walls of Jericho, but only a workers' revolution will bring economic and political freedom to Poland.

(See p. 8 for article from *ROBOTNIK*, underground Polish dissident workers' paper.)

## China

Now that the euphoria of playing their American card has worn off, China is ready to admit some of the bare facts of life in China today.

Deputy Chairman Li Xiannian has admitted to a party conference in Peking that the country faces an economic crisis, widespread hunger and unemployment of 20 million people. While no one is starving to death as they did under Chiang Kai-shek before the revolution, Li admits that 10 percent of the one billion population does not have enough to eat and do a proper day's work. He suggests that the older workers retire and give jobs to the younger people.

The modernization plans have created a deficit of \$6 billion this year, paying for machinery which is not yet in use, producing neither income nor jobs.

# Jacques d'Hondt captures revolutionary link between Hegel and Marx

*De Hegel a Marx*, by Jacques d'Hondt (Presses Universitaires de France, 1972).

*De Hegel a Marx* by Jacques d'Hondt, the head of the French Hegel Institute, comprises an exciting collection of essays from the 1960s and 1970s. What makes them a book, a whole, is the unifying thread which binds together the various levels of links and parallels, and also differences, between Hegel and Marx; it is the revolutionary nature of the Hegelian dialectic which Marx recreated.

Far from this being a mere rhetorical conclusion, it was arrived at after deep digging into Hegel. Professor d'Hondt, after quoting from Hegel's *History of Philosophy* (pp. 107-108), argues that instead of a pure idealism, Hegel's objective spirit was a totality: "For each epoch, the totality of the social and cultural structure is conditioned by the state of its base, that is, by the stage of development of the spirit, just as, for Marx, it is conditioned by the stage of development of the productive forces." (p.113)

One of the most interesting essays, "Hegel and the Socialists", uncovers close connections between Hegelian thought and the first French utopian socialists, and early 19th century revolutionaries. D'Hondt starts by noting that "around 1850", in the aftermath of the 1848 revolutions here and there, people who were called "Hegelians" were shot by the authorities. One early

French socialist, Pierre Leroux, who invented the word "socialism", was an avid student of Hegel's thought in the 1820s and 1830s.

In 1842 Leroux asked: "Today, what has become of the royal and aristocratic Hegelian philosophy? It has become revolutionary." In 1843 the young Marx expressed his regrets that the "genial Leroux" became captivated instead by a genuinely reactionary Prussian philosopher (something Hegel never was), "Schelling sophistry." As Professor d'Hondt points out, Hegel, on the contrary, was widely viewed as "one of the intellectual instigators of 1848" which leads him to conclude "henceforth another spectre will haunt Europe."

This probing of Hegel by a revolutionary intellectual is a far cry from the administrative mentality toward the masses, as well as toward philosophy so current on the French scene—be it by outright reactionaries or Communists like Althusser who dares pride himself for his "anti-humanism" and his demand to drive Hegel "back into the night." D'Hondt tears into what he calls a "barbarous" attitude.

Thus, in the book's final essay, "The Crisis of Humanism in Contemporary Marxism", he doesn't let Althusser forget that fascism was the philosophy which prided itself on anti-humanism. D'Hondt correctly concludes that to attempt to pin an "anti-humanist" label on Marxism is both "a kind of provocation" and incorrigibly wrong when one claims to be describing Marx-

ism, "a doctrine which strives to be human and universal."

In contrast to the current French "scene" with its reactionary Solzhenitsyn-inspired "new philosophy" which claims to be "beyond" Marx and Hegel, and with its Althusserian and other Communist perversions of Marxism—both of which are rushed into English translation by bourgeois publishers—d'Hondt's "From Hegel to Marx" is a serious and learned study of dialectics which, unfortunately, has not been translated. It should be, and I hope this brief review will help spark a move in that direction.

—Kevin A. Barry

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# News and Letters Committees

# Draft Perspectives, 1979-1980

(Continued from Page 2)

In a word, the burning question is not Oil, but Revolution/Counter-Revolution. What we have seen ever since the overwhelming vote for Nixon is what the fear of revolution, of youth in revolt against war, of women in revolt against male chauvinism even if that be by their own "beloved ones," of the passionate hunger for a different way of life can provoke. Enough Americans knowingly voted for Nixon, despite his anti-labor record, his anti-Black record, his anti-free speech record, to prove that there simply are no limits to the abysmal depths that society as is will go to resist change in its lifestyle. So many have patted themselves on the back for supposedly having thrown out that "crook" Nixon and now dare even to give honor to the Vietnam War, as if it really were a "war for democracy," that it shows there simply is no way out other than a total uprooting of what is.

That is, in fact, what is happening from



Sandinista guerrilla

Youth the world over are sparking and leading revolutionary movements.

## America, Central

San Salvador,

El Salvador

What do we know of you?

May 8, 1979

the roar of gunfire,

metal meets stone

the pulverization of steps,

metal meets flesh,

the quivering of dying bodies

the terrorized scramble for life

for life in America, Central

four and more centuries of life, occupied

of Spain, England, the United States, without

of the Somozas, and so many others, within

life of the banana, of the sugar cane, of the coffee

bean

of United Fruit and the Marines

May 11, 1979

fifteen thousand march for the slain twenty-one

bodies are taken from rough pine and put in velvet

and polished wood

the stone steps of the cathedral still carry their

blood

three thousand women march separately

the shouts are of "Down with Repression," and

"We Want Freedom"

there is a becoming of another life in America,

Central

—Eugene Walker

below, as is clear from the many revolts that we have witnessed this year. The greatest and most outright revolution was, of course, Iran. To think that the disarray in the Middle East now means smooth sailing for U.S. imperialism is to cover up all the other myriad crises. It is true that the contradictions within Iran are deep, now that Khomeini is going all out to institutionalize counter-revolution with his unconstitutional, unvoted for, un-discussed Constitution. Nothing can, however, possibly take away from the totality, the spontaneity, the new forces of revolution that had unfolded in the overthrow of the Shah. Let's probe more deeply.

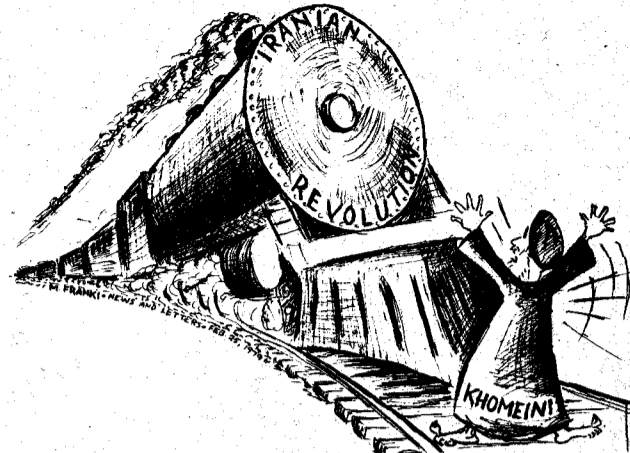
## II. REVOLUTION/COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Not only has the Iranian revolution by no means run its course, but the revolts in the world are by no means restricted to Iran, or, for that matter, to the Middle East. Latin America is seething with revolt. Look at Nicaragua where what began as a general strike is by now a dual government. Just a year ago, when the Sandinistas began the revolt, the counter-revolution was so thorough and mightily armed that it put the revolt down. It was hard to think that they could possibly return. In fact, however, they are now not just back in force, but so totally protected by the masses, even as Somoza's bombers destroy from on high the people and the land itself, that they are challenging Somoza legally as well by the occupation of the second largest city.

Nor have the revolts been stopped in Africa. One of the most amazing acts — and the white imperialists couldn't do it — was the Tanzanians, along with Ugandan exiles, overthrowing Amin. Again, even Lybian gold, Lybian oil and the Lybian army couldn't save that murderous dictator. What we are witnessing here is the most serious breakout from the straight-jacket of narrow nationalism, though its ruler vented his murders, not against imperialism and not against any "foreign" nation, but against his own people. And yet, while there is no doubt whatever that Africans are happy with this daring gesture of Nyerere, the fact that Western imperialism, and the U.S. especially, is likewise happy makes the whole situation very ambivalent.

At the same time, again, there is no doubt whatever that the genuine freedom movements are being attacked from all sides, and not only by U.S. imperialism, whether that is a question of the way in which Ethiopia, with the aid of Russia and Cuba, mowed down the Eritrean revolutionaries fighting for self-determination; or whether it is the Angolan revolution at a crossroads; or Namibia facing a hardened apartheid South Africa — hardened by the fact that comprador Ian Smith's Rhodesia pulled off a whitewash with the aid of his lackey, Muzorewa.

And all these are, according to that global politician-academic, Kissinger, "regional" crises. The myriad political crises besetting the world are indeed very nearly "secondary" to the technologically-advanced world on the edge of a new worldwide economic crisis-in-the-making. And these Big Powers become, in turn, subordinate to the fight between the two nuclear superpowers, U.S. and Russia, aiming at single world control. In this determining confrontation, if civilization survives to tell the tale, even the 900-million-strong Chinese power, christened by Nixon as "third global power," is measuring which side to be on, while China itself, in crisis, has returned to its own version of imperialism by its invasion of Vietnam. The point of pointing to the crises, besides those of the two global superpowers, was to stress that no matter how deep the crisis, the collapse is not automatic. Nor is it only a question that no one gives up their power willingly. Rather, it is a question that the barbarism of retrogression likewise has no limits and must be destroyed, and destroyed so totally that there would be no material or ideological or political way to restore itself. Which is why we must return to the revolution in Iran.



In March 1979, when we printed this cartoon along with our analysis of the counter-revolutionary policies that threatened in Iran, most of the Left allowed Khomeini's leadership to go unchallenged.

The type of revolution in Iran, which, at one and the same time, comprises new forces of revolution — youth so young as to include children (which we see also in Nicaragua); a women's liberation movement that actually did initiate a second chapter when it began questioning the male chauvinism and exploitative relationships which left the Iranian women with unfreedom, though they were part of the revolution for freedom; and the most serious challenges for national self-determination on the part of the Kurds and the Arabs — nevertheless had not, in the process of revolution, challenged the leadership of Khomeini. Even those who opposed (as many on the Left had opposed) let the leadership, and with it the banner, the philosophy of revolution, reduced to an "Islamic Republic," go unchallenged.

[An integral part of our Perspectives, naturally, includes "Iran: Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in, Revolution." Its subheadings are: I. A Whole Host of Spectres Haunting Khomeini's 'Islamic Revolution'; II. The Main Enemy Is Always At Home; III. Two Iranian Revolutions: 1906-1911 and Today's; IV. Where To Now?]

Here what we wish to stress is that the still-ongoing revolution, in its massive demonstration on May 1, manifested great ideological struggles and, by no accident whatever, in a pamphlet which contained Rosa Luxemburg's Essays on May 1, included a translation also of Chapter IV, "Worker and Intellectual at a Turning Point in History: 1848 to 1861," from Marxism and Freedom. Obviously what Marxists in the 1905-06 Russian Revolution thought (and they based their theory on just that 1848 revolution), and the 1906-09 Iranian revolution which followed the Russian, had great relevance for 1979. But that was not all. Rather, it is that the passion for philosophy and revolution, Marx's philosophy of revolution, is the need of more than the moment.

Put differently, so complex and contradictory is the Iranian revolution that the counter-revolution, virtually built into it, puts a question mark over the very existence of the Iranian Revolution; while the super-powers, U.S. and Russia, who stand aside for the moment, put a question mark over humanity's existence as they reach for world domination. It cannot, therefore, be overemphasized that our projected work on Rosa Luxemburg, Today's Women's Liberation Movement and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution is not so much a "book" as very nearly a manifesto for total freedom, and demands a 1980 deadline for its completion. In these myriad crises-ridden times — when the Left has managed to narrow both freedom and revolution even as concepts, not to mention actual revolutions where, like the Trotskyists, they tailend Stalinism, Maoism, Vietnamism, and even Pol-Potism — our seriousness regarding the deadline is being tested.

(Continued on Page 12)

3 The Political-Philosophic Letter on the Iranian Revolution is available from News & Letters for 50 cents (plus 28c postage). See also the following eyewitness reports from Iran in News & Letters: "Iran's ongoing revolution" (March, 1979), and "Revolution and counter-revolution in Iran" (June, 1979).

## News and Letters Committees

(Continued from Page 11)

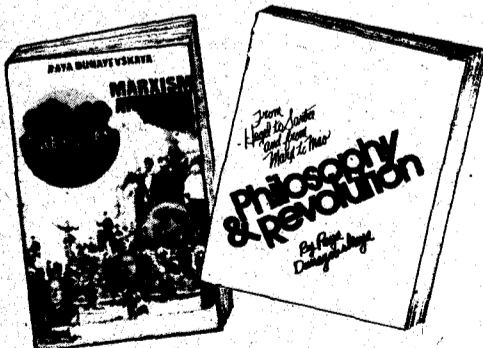
### III. ORGANIZATIONAL CONCLUSIONS

Let's take one more look at the Iranian revolution — this time as it relates to our organization — not only as a matter of solidarizing with it, and showing it the second America which fights its own capitalistic-imperialistic rulers, but as tackling the contradictions within Iran which is still capitalistic, with the counter-revolution calling itself "revolution" while using SAVAK agents to ferret out the genuine revolutionaries! **There surely is no lack of organization in Iran.** Indeed, what is tragic is that it's all the old organizations: the church, the army, the capitalist class, the single party "blessed by God," have all their organizations intact; whereas the revolutionaries that laid the ground for Khomeini to come to power and the masses of workers who made the actual revolution — from paralyzing industry to challenging the army — with their spontaneous organizations (i.e. committees, shoras, their soviets), are the very ones who have no organization now. It wasn't because they don't know an organization is needed. But so separate was philosophy of revolution from the revolution itself that what followed was a still newer division between the organized form of expression and the spontaneous action, with Left elitists designating themselves as "vanguard," "the Party to lead," and considering the spontaneously-arisen form of organization as backward.

**In a word, it isn't News and Letters Committees that is the question, but the form of a revolutionary Marxist organization as well as the relationship of it to the spontaneous new forms that arise from below, as well as the continuous working out of new-relations of theory to practice.**

In our case, we must remember that as great as was the breakthrough in the concept of the Absolute Idea, because we had discovered in it the movement from practice; and as great as the fact that the discovery preceded the actual movement from practice that emerged on June 17, 1953 in the East German uprising against Russian totalitarianism, our birth as an independent Marxist Tendency first occurred in the early 1940s. It was in that period when we, at one and the same time, worked out the state capitalist analysis of the Russian economy and, as its absolute opposite, the centrality of the Black dimension for the American revolution. In the process of working out an economic analysis of the age, we discovered Marx's Humanist Essays. To put it simply, while that was the historic birth of the economic-political-philosophic Tendency of Marxist-Humanism, and though we functioned

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as collectivity, we did not use organizational language nor make any pretense to being a party.

**It is high time, beginning from the very statement of Who Are We and What We Stand For and through the Archives,<sup>4</sup> that we recognize ourselves not just as a tendency but as an organization — the organization we have been for the last 24 years — News and Letters Committees. This will be spelled out more completely in the Organization/News & Letters report. Here we will limit ourselves to pointing to the organizational direction flowing from the Perspectives.**

First and foremost, of course, is the recognition that, since it is the objective situation — its myriad crises, its economic-political-military shifting of global alliances as against the mass struggles for freedom, while the Left is in as much disarray, theoretically, as the very forces they combat — that impels a deadline, the deadline of 1980, for finishing the book **Rosa Luxemburg, Today's Women's Liberation Movement and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**, we have to prove our seriousness toward that deadline:

1) A full year's free time is to be created for the National Chairwoman to finish the manuscript, and nearly as much for the National Organizer to collaborate on that work.

2) Toward that end, the National Co-Organizer is to become full-time which means being responsible both for the Center and **News & Letters**.

3) By the end of the year, the anti-nuclear and anti-draft movements, which remain a central focus of our activity, will reach a very sharp crisis because it will coincide then with the ratification of the SALT II agreement. That requires, at one and the same time, establishment of autonomous youth groups as well as the intensification of the activities and theoretical work of

<sup>4</sup> See Statement, below.

#### 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. I, 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.

## Draft Perspectives, 1979-1980

the existing Marxist Humanist groups on campus. Thus, for the early part of January, a meeting is projected on "The Life and Death of Rosa Luxemburg, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution." Toward that end, the National Chairwoman, as speaker, will have completed a pivotal chapter in the Rosa Luxemburg book, and thus will initiate the classes to be held on that work.

4) These classes on the chapter about the 1905 Russian Revolution will also have available a translation of Rosa Luxemburg's speech on that revolution, delivered at the 1907 Russian Congress. The reporters for the classes will not limit themselves to either of these two; rather, they will also analyze the current scene as well as past Perspectives bulletins on the revolutions in our age, such as the Portuguese and the Iranian Revolutions. In a word, what we will be doing in these classes is actually collaborating with the National Chairwoman in working out the crux of the new work on Rosa Luxemburg and Marx's philosophy of revolution.

5) What further flows from the concentration of the Perspectives is the need for a review of all our writings on the Black Dimension, from 1943 to 1979, concentrating on the period that prepared us for the publication of both **News & Letters** and **Marxism and Freedom** in the 1950s, i.e. **People of Kenya Speak for Themselves** and **Indignant Heart**, whose author, a Black production worker, Charles Denby, became **News & Letters**' editor and author of **Workers Battle Automation**; through the 1960s, when we reconnected with the new generation of revolutionaries with **The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution** and the anti-war movement's "Hell no, we won't go!", as well as **Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves**, which was the first pamphlet to single out Black women revolutionaries in Mississippi, "Woman Power Unlimited"; to our latest **Working Women for Freedom**, not to mention the tremendous statements by Black women in Chapter 9 of **Philosophy and Revolution**.

6) Finally, we will hold classes in Marx's **Capital**, Vol. I. It can have as its focus how Marx's new continent of thought analyzed, developed and related the economic laws of capitalism to the philosophy of revolution, beginning from the very first chapter, **Commodities**, and its theory "The Fetishism of Commodities," to the penultimate chapter, "Historic Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation," on the general law of capitalist accumulation as it was fought by the "new forces and new passions." Towards that end, we want to study **Capital** on three different levels:

a) The mid-1940s' "Outline of **Capital**" — which followed Marx's **Capital** "formally" and, though the philosophy nowhere shows as pivotal as we now know it to be, did not try to escape the new stage of capitalism, whether that was called by the orthodox, "monopoly capitalism," or as we analyzed it to be state-capitalism—will be reproduced from the Archives of Marxist Humanism.

b) The mid-1950s' tackling of the problem in **Marxism and Freedom**, with its stress not only on philosophy, but also on revolutionary Marxists who nevertheless deviated from Marx's **Capital** ("Appearances vs. Reality" is a critique of Luxemburg's **Accumulation of Capital**), is best presented in the pamphlet **Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crises**, because this takes direct issue with Ernest Mandel's wrong analysis of the 1970s crises in the U.S. as well as with Tony Cliff's degradation of Lenin's theory of Imperialism.

c) Chapter 2 of **Philosophy and Revolution**, Section C, on the "Adventure of the Commodity as Fetish," is placed so integrally with the whole of Marx's new continent of thought, that one finally can study Marx's **Capital** in a very original way, both as itself and in the context of the new passions and new forces of our era.

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June 26, 1979