

OUR LIFE AND TIMES Chinese invasion of Vietnam: global implications

(Because of the importance of the ramifications of China's invasion of Vietnam, we are holding our column this issue and turning over the space to the following analysis.— Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer.)

by Raya Dunayevskaya

The Chinese Communist Party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng's declaration, on March 15, that China had withdrawn its armed forces from Vietnam may serve its imperial invention of instant history legends as it labels Vietnam "the aggressor." It does little, however, to shed light on why a gigantic land of 900 million wantonly invaded a land of 51 million. The shudder that the world felt at that invasion, February 17, was, after all, not just due to the disparate size of the combatants. The fear rather arose from the possible entry of Russia, leading to a nuclear holocaust. The fear was no empty fear, as it was preceded by Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to the U.S., where he never stopped denouncing Russia's "hegemonistic ambitions" as well as Vietnam's "South-east Asia ambitions." So much more adroit was Teng at using the U.S. platform (if not the "U.S. card") than U.S. imperialism had so far been at using "the China card," that Russia felt free to accuse China of trying to provoke war between two nuclear giants — U.S. and Russia.

It is necessary to look deeper into China's wanton invasion of Vietnam and warlordistic ravaging of Lang Son. But it cannot be done without examining also the sad state of the Left, which still considers all these state-capitalist lands calling themselves Communist as

if they were indeed "workers' states."

It is one thing to oppose China's invasion. It is quite another thing to be as adept in creating one's own instant history legends, calling Vietnam "vanguard of the world revolution," as the students of Mexico did in their demonstration on March 10.

CREATING INSTANT HISTORY LEGENDS

As if its invasion of India in 1962 had been correct, China referred to that war as proof to the world that the China-Vietnam war would be brief, undertaken only "to teach Vietnam a lesson." Now, outside of the imperial ukase "to teach Vietnam a lesson," there has not, to this moment, been any "uncertainty" about borders, such as was alleged about British imperialism's line drawn between the borders of India and China. To

create today's instant history legend, China found a map ready at hand. It dated back to the Ching dynasty! This does tell a tale of imperialistic ambitions. (We'll return to this later.)

The second instant history legend—about "teaching Vietnam a lesson"—was meant to demonstrate its loyalty to the defense of its satellite—the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia (Kampuchea). Teng failed to explain, however, why, if that were so, hadn't China come to Kampuchea's defense when it was needed; when, both from within Cambodia and with the Vietnamese Army, Pol Pot's barbarous regime was overthrown. Why had China's rhetoric then been just talk? Moreover, why was it followed by further talk that China didn't approve of

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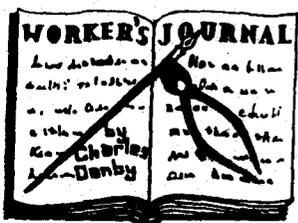
NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

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Women fight sexual job harassment

by Charles Denby, Editor

There are many problems women are facing today—on their jobs, and also away from the work place—especially since the introduction of automation and now unimation that speeds up the assembly lines, and the harassment by male supervisors.

I was shocked about a week ago when I was told that my former daughter-in-law who worked in the Detroit GM Ternstedt plant was in a rest home. I was even more shocked when I went to visit her. To my amazement, the rest home was filled with women about her same age, in the late '30s or early '40s. There were a few men, but not nearly as many men as women.

PRESSURE ON AND OFF WORK

Most were there because of the strains of the pressures in their lives. Every woman I spoke with had the same story: That they work in a plant, and after taking all the abuse from the foreman over the rat-race for production, they go home and have the housework to do—the cooking, cleaning, helping the kids with their homework. And this becomes a routine. They don't even have time to think for themselves, let alone find time for something they want to do.

My former daughter-in-law told me she goes down once a week to talk with the head shrinker. She said he asked her if she felt like she could ever kill anybody, and she told him the truth, that yes, she often felt like she could kill her foreman. The shrink told her that is the same answer he gets from most of the other women when he asks the same question.

My brother-in-law, a relief man on the line at a Ford plant, says Ford also has some women in the same rest home, and as far as he was concerned, there were quite a few who were working who should be there. He told me about a woman there who can't sleep at night, and every time he goes to relieve her, she goes to sleep in the women's rest room and has to be awakened when her time is up.

She also has a goiter on her neck, and says that her housework and children keep her awake all night. My brother-in-law told her she ought to have her goiter operated on, but she said she couldn't do it if she would be out of work very long because her family was too much in debt and her husband's pay couldn't keep up with the bills.

DEEP IN DEBT

I know this is the reason many women are working and put up with so much pressure—they are all in debt over their heads.

While the men have the production pressures of the line, the women have that and a lot more. There are many reports coming out now about just how much sexual harassment there is on the line by male supervisors. I have seen it many times, and every worker in any auto plant in this country knows it is true.

But some women are not taking it any more. Two women workers in a GM Detroit plant filed a suit against their foreman and the company, claiming they suffered physical and mental problems as a result of several months of harassment by their foreman when they refused to have sex with him. They said he put them on hard jobs and wrote bad work reports against them, and they complained to the company, but nothing was done.

The first known court case of this kind in the Detroit area ended last spring with the supervisor being acquitted.

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by Peter Mallory

The temporary cutoff of Iranian oil, which amounted to less than 5% of total U.S. consumption, has led to higher gasoline prices, artificial shortages in jet fuel, threats of rationing and rampant predictions of dire consequences. Central to the U.S. fuel and energy crisis is the absence of a national energy program, despite the objectives laid down during the Nixon administration to be energy self sufficient by 1980. Neither Nixon nor Ford did anything.

As for Schlesinger's policies, no effort has been undertaken to determine the best use of available fuel or to allocate it in such a manner as to cause as little hardship as possible on the ones who use it most, the workers, who must use it to get to work and also foot the bill for the increased costs.

CONSUMER RIP-OFF

The oil companies promised that if given higher prices for "new found oil" that they would increase exploration, drill new wells, re-open old ones and make the country self sufficient on fuel demands. They got their raise . . . and then proceeded to rip off the consumer.

Of the 15 most profitable corporations in the U.S., eight are oil companies. The biggest, Exxon, posted a profit last year of \$2.76 billion. Every time the price

of oil goes up, the oil giants reap huge profits from the relatively low cost oil already in their storage tanks or in transit.

At the pre-OPEC oil price level of \$2.50 a barrel, the U.S. oil companies prospered and built vast empires on the profits. Now, by their own figures, they are making \$3 (21.42%) sheer profit on every \$14 a barrel oil pumped through the Alaska pipe line. Still they complain about lack of incentive.

INSTANT OIL PROFITS

Before the two price system for "old" and "new" oil was instituted by the Carter administration, there were only two or three firms handling resale of "old" oil. Now there are over 600 firms that pump "old oil" out of one tank into another christened "new oil," thereby instantly raising the price from \$5 a barrel to \$14 a barrel or better.

In Texas, two small oil companies and five of their executives have been indicted for selling old oil as new oil at a profit of over \$6 million. The U.S. Attorney says the case is just the tip of the iceberg, that the practice is widespread.

The Alaskan oil pipeline, while capable of producing and transporting two million barrels of oil per day, is shipping only 1.2 million barrels per day. This unused capacity would about equal the loss of Iranian oil. Reasons given by the oil companies for not increasing production include lack of facilities for handling the oil on the West Coast. California unloads only 700,000 barrels a day from tankers while plans for more docking facilities are held up in the courts. Also, plans to build a cross country pipeline are facing 700 federal, state and local permits, according to the oil companies which have cancelled the pipeline project.

Meanwhile, exploration in the Alaska basin has come to a screaming halt. Gulf Oil has closed its office; Exxon and Standard Oil have curtailed exploration efforts. Meanwhile, geological surveys indicate there are another 30 billion barrels of undiscovered oil, plus 73 trillion cu. ft. of undiscovered natural gas.

Proven gas wells are capped and unproductive due

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Iranian women march in Teheran. See p. 2.

ON THE INSIDE

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WOMAN AS REASON

Iranian women begin new stage of revolution

The magnificent demonstrations of the Iranian women, in open protest against Khomeini, have initiated the second chapter of the Iranian Revolution by making it unmistakably clear that they will not stand for anyone turning back the clock in the name of revolution. With their new slogan, "We fought for freedom and got unfreedom!" they have revealed the incompleteness of overthrowing the Shah without declaring what you are for. That was the greatness of the new stage they began on March 8, International Women's Day, when thousands of women, their heads uncovered, marched on the office of Prime Minister Bazargan.

Some estimated the crowd at more than 100,000. The Islamic militiamen fired in the air to disperse them, and as the TV camera showed women running for cover, you saw other women, two holding hands, walk up to a man firing his gun and talk to him. This is what the women did in the beginning of the Iranian Revolution—they talked to the troops: "You will not fire on your brothers, your sisters. Join us, join us!" The man pushed the women away and continued to fire.

But these women were not to be stopped. This was no one-day demonstration. It has continued daily, despite beatings and stoning; embraces both young women and old, both students (high school as well as university) and workers; and has not subsided as of the date of this writing, a full week later.

DIMENSIONS OF THE REVOLT

On March 10 tens of thousands of women walked off their jobs to join the demonstrations, tying up all the major banking institutions and the national airlines. Over 15,000 women marched that day and took over the Palace of Justice for three hours. By March 13, the demonstrations had spread to Abadan and Tabriz.

And from the first day, while there were many chador-veiled women who joined in the attack on the protesters, there were numbers of men revolutionaries who stood with the marchers, forming a human chain to try to shield them from the rocks and knives of the Islamic fanatics.

The international dimension of the Women's Liberation Movement brought Kate Millett from the U.S. and Claudine Moullard from France to march with their Iranian sisters, and the solidarity of the world movement was made still further explicit by the support demonstrations on March 15 in Detroit, New York, San Francisco, and by the thousands who marched two days later in Paris. (See "Women Worldwide," this page.)

The new slogan of the Iranian women's movement has become "At the dawn of freedom, we have no freedom." As Khomeini seeks to impose the shroud-like chador and bans abortion, women in the military, women's right to a court divorce, women's protection from polygamy, and co-education, calling the schools "centers of prostitution," the women are crying, "Death to all forms of oppression!" They have now become the center of opposition to Khomeini.

Other voices are being raised objecting to the narrow election to be held March 30 where the only choice is between an Islamic republic and a monarchy, and where each ballot will bear the voter's name and address.

Lesbian rejects separatism

Chicago, Ill.—On Feb. 24 I heard Mary Daley speak about her new book, *Gyn/Ecology*, at the Mountain Moving Coffeehouse here. She addressed an audience comprised primarily of 200 young lesbians.

The first portion dealt with the origin of words used to describe women. She blamed patriarchy for changing the meaning of words, rather than seeing words as a reflection of women's oppression. Looking at word origins doesn't give us any place to go.

The second portion of her presentation dealt with physical forms of oppression endured by women throughout history, such as foot-binding in China, genital mutilation in Africa, burning of widows on the graves of their husbands in India, and, of course, the witch hunts.

Her presentation was focused only on oppression. She never spoke of women's fight to overcome our oppression, or even indicated that this is the way to go to a better society. Instead, she advocated the idea of developing your own society or, in other words, a counter-culture. The theme throughout her presentation was to point out what the patriarchy has done to women, which implied that matriarchy was the answer.

In talking to women later, it became clear that much of her support came from the separatists, and not everybody agreed with her conclusions. For example, one woman was shocked when asked if she would now throw the boys out of her kindergarten class. She replied, "No. I am here to teach all children."

Mary Daley speaks of "self-development" but only as looking inward. If we want to change society so that women/lesbians are not oppressed, we can't do it by that narrow kind of looking inward that isn't aimed at changing the world, but becomes an end in itself. That view makes it impossible to see that others are fighting for freedom too.

Lesbian feminist

The Kurds and the Turkomans are fighting for self-determination.

HOW TOTAL A REVOLUTION?

The Iranian women are living and fighting the dualities within their own revolution. They have seen what happened to the Algerian women who helped create that revolution and are now more oppressed than before. When the Iranian women put the veil back on before the Shah was gone, it was to protest the Shah, and to hide their faces from SAVAK as they hid guns under the hated chador. They are refusing, as one activist said, to now be relegated "back to dog status."

No wonder it is the Iranian women who, as was reported by the Iranian correspondent in last month's issue of *News & Letters*, are so "attracted to the idea of women's liberation in the Marxian philosophy." As early as 1844, Marx recognized that women's fight for freedom is a measure of how total a revolution has to be. He concretized and developed this idea throughout his whole life and in every revolution saw women as self-developing human beings who were raising the deepest kinds of questions and whose very lives revealed the contradictions in society.

The point at each stage is not the past as "history" but how does an ongoing revolution deepen—how do we move forward to total freedom?* The Iranian women are not stopping with the ousting of the Shah. They are showing the world how total revolution has to be.

—Terry Moon and Anne Molly Jackson

*See Raya Dunayevskaya's draft chapter, "Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation" (*News & Letters*, January-February, 1979).

Food stamps—\$2 a day to live

New York, N.Y.—I am angry about what is happening with food stamps, and I want everyone to know about it. I used to receive food stamps every two weeks, and I paid \$35 for \$65 worth of coupons. After January, I got a letter telling me that some people will receive less money for food, and some more.

I will get \$61 a month in coupons, but that's no good. I preferred when I got \$35 every two weeks, because then I had more food. If you want your records reviewed, you can make an appointment. But while waiting for your hearing, you will receive no coupons at all for up to two months. Who can do that?

Food is very expensive, and when I go to the supermarket, I must buy food for five days or a week. Sometimes I take the money order I receive for the children that I'm supposed to send to welfare and buy milk instead. If welfare wants the money order, they'll have to take me to court. A lot of people have the same problem as me, and we have to do something about it.

—Welfare mother



WRITE ON!

"Sojourner: Special Issue," 143 Albany St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

The February 1979 issue of this newspaper, named after the great abolitionist and feminist, Sojourner Truth, is devoted to the ideas and struggles of Third World women, whether in the U.S. or in Africa. It includes pieces by Ntozake Shange, Audre Lorde, and other Black women who felt compelled to discuss the fundamental relationship between Black men and Black women. Especially striking is the article on "Women in Botswana," which really gives you a feeling for the rural woman tied to child-raising, and the urban woman, limited to being a domestic, a cook, or a shop assistant.

A History of Women in America, by Carol Hymowitz and Michaele Weissman (Bantam Books, 1978).

This book contains a lot of facts and an excellent bibliography, but not all subjects are covered evenly. Thus, the early white feminists and the struggle for the vote have several chapters devoted to them, while Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman get one page each. There are two beautiful chapters on the working women in the 1800s and early 1900s, but the Women's Emergency Brigade of 1937 is not even mentioned.

"Multinational Sex: Feminist Roots of the South Korean Crisis", by C. Cronstadt and E. Tov; Eli Tov, c/o Yamaguchi, 3-5-27 Asagaya Kita, Suginami-ku, Tokyo 166 Japan.

This manuscript details the South Korean "kiseang" industry—officially-sponsored prostitution that is a structural part of the system of cheap labor that lures Japanese and American business investment to South Korea. I disagree with some specifics of the analysis, such as the designation of state-capitalist Russia and China as "state-command" economies. Nonetheless I do consider the authors serious revolutionary feminists with a world view.



women-worldwide

In solidarity with Iranian women freedom fighters, we are devoting the entire column to activities in support of their struggle.—Ed.

NEW YORK—A group of 1,000, mostly women, participated in a demonstration called by Ms. magazine, March 15, at the Iranian consulate. A number of women's groups were represented and the rally was part of an "international feminist action" of support for Iranian women in several U.S. cities as well as Paris, London and Rome.

DETROIT—A demonstration by members of several women's liberation groups and other supporters of Iranian women, on March 15, was forcibly disrupted by members of two Maoist groups, the RCP and the Iranian Students Association. Their shouts of "Long Live Khomeini" were met by cries of "Free our sisters!" and "Freedom — not Khomeini!" from the women demonstrators.

SAN FRANCISCO—Several hundred demonstrators marched to the Iranian Consul on March 14 to express their support for Iranian women who want to continue the revolution in Iran. Several women's organizations, including N.O.W. and the Lesbian Caucus, sponsored the march which included some Iranian women. Other Iranian organizations refused to participate, claiming that the Iranian women were victims of a conspiracy to return the Shah to power.

PARIS—Thousands of women demonstrated their concern and support of women's rights in Iran during the week of March 12, and an International Committee on Human Rights headed by Simone de Beauvoir was formed on March 15.

American feminist Kate Millett who had joined in the marches of women in Iran was arrested and put on a plane for Paris, along with her Canadian companion Sophie Keir on March 19, after being held overnight at the Teheran airport. She had been ordered expelled from the country for "provocations," when she had, in fact, been invited to Iran by feminists there.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

This question of sexual abuse by foremen has another side. When a woman gives in to the harassment and threats, she is often given better jobs. This is pure and simple worker discrimination, and union officials know it and put up with it. As a matter of fact, there are also some union officers who play this same game.

In this situation, a woman who is trying to resist the advances of a supervisor is in a tough spot. If she complains to her steward or shop committeeman who is doing the same thing, she knows nothing will happen.

WOMEN FIGHTING BACK

But there is no question about more and more women fighting against this kind of treatment. One of the sure signs of it is that some UAW union publications are now writing articles about the problem and what women can do to defend themselves.

This will help some, but it is far from a solution to the problems women face. And one thing we can be sure of is that these harassed working women will be heard from in the future like they've never been heard from before.

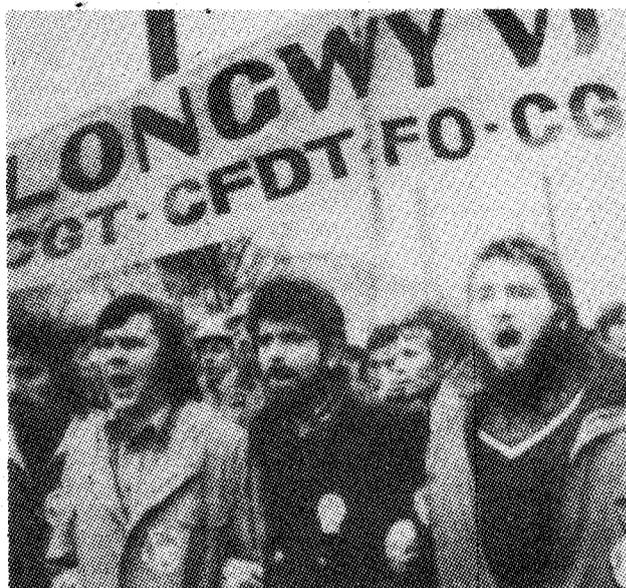
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French steelworkers defy government lay-off plan



Over 5,000 striking steelworkers march to protest lay-offs in Longwy, France.

The French government announced a plan to lay off 20,000 workers in the key steel region of Lorraine several months ago. This region borders the German Ruhr district, and the response of the French steelworkers to these government plans was massive and militant. Union leaders called strikes, and the results were the biggest strikes in the area in over 15 years, but the rank and file workers soon went beyond the plans of the union leaders too.

Beginning late in January, workers, mostly but not exclusively young, blocked and overturned railway cars, destroyed company records and occupied mills, especially in and around the town of Longwy. Managers were locked inside their offices and several police stations were attacked after police tried to stop the workers. While some labor bureaucrats supported the workers, the Communist-dominated CGT blasted them and branded these young workers "provocateurs."

As in 1968, when they helped de Gaulle to save the system from the worker-student uprising that year, the Communist bureaucrats today hint ominously that these angry young workers are being manipulated by "leftists from outside the area" and thus give ammunition to

the government to use against the workers.

Instead of listening to Communist union bureaucrats' appeals to limit their activity to general strikes, the workers have in recent weeks continued to block railways and highways, and to clash with the police. Early in March, a high point was reached when 2,000 workers set up street barricades in the steel town of Denain.

While the French steelworkers' struggle has implications not only for France but for the entire European steel region, including areas of nearby Germany and Belgium, the French government has so far refused to rescind its plan to "modernize" the industry by laying off 21,000 out of 115,000 French steelworkers.

—Kevin A. Barry

Rubber workers risk cancer

Detroit, Mich. — There is a new safety policy in most departments at Uniroyal. Now if there is an accident, it is reported as "unsafe condition" or "unsafe act", with the rule that employees have to report "unsafe conditions". If you haven't reported an "unsafe condition" ahead of time, you can be written up for an "unsafe act" if you have an accident. Everyone is furious.

Health and Safety is big on everyone's mind with the contract coming up. There are dangerous things happening almost every day from worn-out equipment, but what's even worse is the amount of poisons we breathe and soak in here every day.

There was a government film on cancer risks in the rubber industry which the union showed. Some of the people who saw it said that in some departments you have five times the chance of one type of cancer than the others, and in another department, five times the chance of other types of cancer.

I asked if that meant compared to people outside the plant, and they all said no, it was much, much higher compared to outside. There have been several cases of cancer here recently. What shocked me most was when one person told me about an employee who has leukemia right now and is still working at his job because the company hasn't given him a medical retirement.

That shows how much Uniroyal really cares about our health. If anything gets done, we're the only ones who can make them do anything about these terrible conditions.

—Uniroyal worker



by John Allison

UAW Local Union 351 and its membership went on strike for 13 weeks against U.S. Radiator in Highland Park, which is in Detroit. The company is a family-owned business that specializes in abusing workers and paying low wages.

UAW Local 490 helped to organize the factory, which has a workforce that has been changing and is now made up of about half who are Arabs from the Middle East.

The company was able to use race against race as a big part of its fight against the union. Arabs against Blacks and whites and every combination of the same.

What's so sad about it is that it was effective. The strike was broken and the workers went back to work without a contract. Management's passion for profits crushed the workers, but a big factor in the defeat was that the UAW and Local 351 let them get away with it.

U.S. Radiator is a small factory, but however small it is, its workers deserved better than they received from the union.

One excuse is that the UAW is facing the major contract negotiations with the Big Three and can't be bothered with a small outfit like U.S. Radiator. It's true that the Local 351 membership of U.S. Radiator didn't bring in a lot of dues money for the UAW, but there were workers here who needed union protection and they didn't get it. Now maybe they won't get it for a long time—if ever.

The point is that the UAW has been through this kind of battle a thousand times or more. It used to know how to fight very effectively and successfully against racial and ethnic divisive tactics that companies tried to use against the workers.

The whole story of organizing the UAW is this same story, but it now seems to have been forgotten when it comes to defending and protecting workers in a small plant.

Workers, anti-nuke struggle

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

(Editor's Note: A colleague of mine who was asked to speak to an anti-nuclear power conference on the labor movement and the anti-nuclear movement asked me to tell her why I thought there was a division between the two movements.—F.M.)

I don't know all the reasons why workers are not together with the anti-nuclear power movement. I do know that many of us feel that nuclear energy is dangerous and that it certainly can kill you.

I think that the anti-nuclear power movement will have to learn how to reach workers, how to explain the situation very concretely, and that the anti-nuclear power movement should be aware of the danger to life that workers face on the job every day, and not just in relation to nuclear power.

First, I want to know what is the situation with working people who do work with nuclear materials. How many accidents do they have? What about the workers who have to work in industries which purify radioactive materials, like Karen Silkwood. Or what about the workers who have to handle the radioactive waste products?

The anti-nuclear power movement talks about the dangers of explosions and what they could do to a whole community near a power plant, and that certainly is very important. But it isn't alone just the attitude to nuclear power, it is as well this system's attitude to human beings in general, and working people in particular. The work place is very, very unsafe, whether there are nuclear materials around or not. Where I work in an auto assembly plant we are having a problem with lead and workers getting lead poisoning.

In fact, one thing that disturbed me when I was at one anti-nuclear power demonstration was that a speaker was against nuclear power plants, but did not say he was against nuclear weapons. That didn't make much sense to me.

I think the anti-nuke movement has to speak with workers on the basis not alone of anti-nuclear power plants, but of trying to discuss a complete uprooting of what we are living under today. I think that working people see how they are being used and abused at the workplace, and know that they want a change from that.

If the anti-nuclear people also feel that it is not alone a question of anti-nuclear power plants, but of doing something about a system which creates such monsters as nuclear power plants and the type of work places workers have to live in eight and ten hours a day, then I think a unity of the labor movement and the anti-nuclear power movement can come about.

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich. — The sexual harassment that some women get in the plant makes them into nervous wrecks. The harassment from the foremen, in addition to the pressure they put on us to get production out, is bad enough. But we get it from male co-workers also.

It seems like some of them have never thought of women as people. Instead, they only make cat-calls and snide remarks. If foremen act this way, you can try to make a case of it with the union and get something done about him. But it is different with co-workers.

Recently I read about a woman who worked in a craft job with the telephone company here. The two other men on her crew harassed her constantly to get rid of her. The union refused to help, so she had to go to an outside public agency to get help.

Our situation is not exactly the same at Rouge. But I think we should do something, beginning with communicating to our co-workers that we are human beings and not sex objects.

—Woman worker

GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — Yesterday an inspector from chassis was killed in the afternoon between shifts — caught and crushed between a rear moving forklift and stacks of storage racks. This tragic incident cannot be, as GM and the insurance company will no doubt deem it, a case of individual negligence on the part of both workers involved. The company had a hand—the effects of the increased speed-up in the last month shares blame for this worker's death and many lesser unreported injuries.

Every line worker notices the way the jobs are "leaping" on the conveyors, but when the committeeman is approached about the speed, he times the line and says it's running according to contract. The fact is the lines are set up to (1) make it difficult to time by running them hard, stopping them a few seconds, running them hard again, etc., and (2) squeeze bit by bit extra production which totals out higher than the "quota" by the end of the shift.

Company and union can point to figures and say all is according to contract, but the speed while the line is actually moving forces workers to rush to complete

their operations. There is no doubt that on that afternoon, the worker who was killed and the worker who accidentally backed into him were so busy meeting the demands of speed-up production they had no time to notice each other.

—South Gate worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Workers are flocking to Local 15 union meetings that they used to ignore. The reason is that speed-up is still continuous, and workers don't want to let the local union officials off the hook. The fact is, the situation is still the same. The company still violates the contract at will, and doesn't bother with the union, or even take it seriously.

The International gave away a lot of jobs and agreed to all the company's speed-up when they settled with the company behind our backs after Thanksgiving. But since then the company has come along and added even more work on top of that in all departments. They have even been cutting back sweepers, and forcing many more workers out of the plant on sick leave. But the workers at Fleetwood are hitting at the union as hard as at the company.

—Fleetwood worker

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — Many main building workers are wondering what happened to committeeman Jack Barrett. After a car accident disabled him about a year ago, we heard that Chuck Colon was the alternate committeeman. Then around the time of the special bargaining conference with management last August, Colon was listed on some bulletins reporting on the conference, while Barrett's opponent in the shop committee election in 1977, Otis Campbell, was listed on others. Now we hear that Campbell will be on the plant shop committee for the remainder of Barrett's term.

Why didn't the local inform the membership that Barrett was out for good? Why wasn't an election held to choose a new committeeperson? For that matter, why didn't the local hold a vote on the new agreement from the special conference? Is this the kind of say we'll have in the next contract?

—Main building worker

EDITORIAL**Egypt-Israel: U.S. imperialism's Mid-East outpost**

Far from being a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, what Carter engineered during his desperate trip to the Middle East is a military pact with U.S. imperialism.

It is not that anyone believed that there would ever be peace in the Middle East so long as the Palestinian people are denied the self-determination they want. The continuous revolt in the occupied territories, and the increasingly brutal suppression of all such revolt, surely exposes the sham of any "peace" until that question is solved.

And Begin has made it abundantly clear that he has no intentions whatsoever of allowing the 1.1 million Arabs on the West Bank and the Gaza strip any true autonomy. His rabid speech to the Knesset right after agreeing to the "peace treaty," insisting that there will never be a Palestinian State, was no mere rhetoric. Ever since his early terrorist Irgun days Begin has been a master at undermining every tiny step toward any kind of reconciliation with the Arab world. This is not new.

IRAN INITIATES A NEW ROAD

What is new is that the Iranian Revolution has changed the whole Middle East. Once the Iranian people, armed only with the idea and the passion for freedom, exposed the total helplessness of a Shah who was backed and armed to the teeth by the mightiest imperialist power on earth, nobody any longer had the slightest confidence that the U.S. could save them from a possible revolution in their own countries.

That is why not only Jordan but even Saudi Arabia are seriously playing with the PLO. And why Carter's latest venture to the Middle East was no simple continuation of last September's Camp David efforts to firmly establish the U.S. presence in the oil-rich and strategically critical Middle East. At the end of that "summit" Carter could believe he had successfully separated the so-called "moderates" from the "hard-liners" among the Arab states. Now, six months later,

in the aftermath of Iran, he has seen that design explode before his eyes. That is what made him so desperate to consummate his military pact with Egypt-Israel, which have now become the global outpost for U.S. imperialism in the Middle East.

The underlying war preparations in the so-called "peace treaty" were seen the very day after Carter returned, when U.S. taxpayers were informed that the "bill" for the "peace" would be somewhere between \$5 and \$10 billion over a three year period, in economic and military aid for Egypt and Israel, additional to the \$1.8 billion Israel already receives and the \$960 million Egypt gets. It was for this purpose that both Israel and Egypt sent their respective Defense Ministers hurrying at once to confer with U.S. Defense Secretary Brown.

Indeed, Weizman and Ali brought their shopping lists with them when they arrived in Washington: Egypt wants 600 M-60 tanks, 300 F-16 fighter aircraft, 70 transport planes and up to eight destroyers or submarines. Israel wants a variety of tanks, naval guns, missile systems and armored personnel carriers, and has already been promised stepped-up delivery of F-16 warplanes.

And Congress, which must approve all costs of the "peace," has already termed it "a real bargain," in the words of Senate Minority Leader, Howard Baker.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION THE WAY TO PEACE

The military designs of U.S. imperialism must be exposed and fought. But it would be fantastic to act, as some of the Left is doing, as if the opposite to Carter lies with Russia, which has its own imperialistic designs for control in the Middle East; or the PLO, which so subordinated the Civil War in Lebanon in 1976 to its own narrow anti-Israel stance that the Revolution there was quickly defeated.

The only true opposite lies in the type of genuine social revolution we are witnessing unfold in Iran, which is what all of the powers—big or little—fear the most and constantly try to derail as they jockey and double-deal for positions in the world power game.

It was a general strike in Egypt, followed by a veritable mass uprising against impossible price rises, which sufficiently alarmed Sadat that he first undertook his dramatic 1977 journey to Jerusalem. In Israel, it is the revolt in the occupied lands, the peace movement that brought out 100,000 last fall, and the thousands of Israeli workers who went on a four-hour strike March 19 to protest their government's economic policies that are Begin's true opposition—not the hecklers in the Knesset which the media played up. It is the power that comes from the idea and passion for freedom that worries every single one of the Middle East rulers, every single one of whom, from Syria to Jordan and from Lebanon to Saudi Arabia, faces deep crises and contradictions in his own land.

It is imperative that we show there is a second U.S.—the freedom fighters here who solidarize with the masses there, and who stand opposed to U.S. imperialism's plans for the Middle East.

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WAR AND REVOLUTION

It has been hard for me to follow some of the articles I've read on China and on the Middle East. But it certainly appears to me that there is a connection between what is going on in China-Vietnam and what is going on with the treaty between Egypt-Israel. As soon as Carter got his treaty, all you read about in the papers was how many billions of dollars were going to be pumped there in the form of weapons. You couldn't help but worry what kind of a war he was getting ready for now. It was very frightening to me to think that the whole question of China-Vietnam could have led to World War III. It makes working for a "new society," before they blow us all up, much more real to me.

Black Working Woman
Detroit

* * *

Russia's ships in the port of Donghoi mean another possible starting point for WWII. While watching a Polish government-made movie of the China-Vietnamese fighting I could not help remembering that, under one of the war game plans of the Warsaw Pact, the Polish army would fight on the Chinese front. This is the expression of trust the Russian overlords feel for the Polish soldier on the Western front.

Urszula Wislanka
Chicago

* * *

The night of China's invasion all discussion here centered around the possibility of the third World War. The position of the Left is amazing. The SWP seemed to be of the opinion that the invasion was a slap on the hand for Vietnam and was irrelevant to us in Britain. (Standing on picket lines and talking to workers was all revolutionary socialists should be doing.) The CP wanted to embark on a holy war against the Chinese—really vitriolic stuff with the CP calling the SWP traitors for being soft on China. Almost everyone else seemed resigned to a war, the only question being how long. People began giving exact accounts of where they were and how they felt during the Cuban missile crisis.

A recent book called *Beneath the City Streets* looks at Britain's plans in

the event of nuclear war. It's the opinion of the state that only (!) 60 percent of the population would die, mostly the very young and the very old. The middle group (the most "useful") would be richer on a per capita basis. If everyone works 14 hours a day for 10 years the economy would be in a better position than now. It all scares the hell out of me.

Correspondent
Britain

* * *

What kind of maniacs are setting the line for so-called Leftists these days? The Spartacists are actually demanding in their paper, *Workers Vanguard*, that Russia "honor its commitment" to Vietnam. It amounts to calling for a nuclear strike against China! I wonder what planet they intend to head for when it all breaks out? The struggle against war includes the struggle against "vanguardists" like those.

Flabbergasted
Detroit

●

IRAN'S ONGOING REVOLUTION

The Iranian Revolution is to me one of the greatest popular upheavals and triumphs of this century for the masses of people not only in Iran but throughout the world. But it can be ruined by those who act not in the interest of the people as Khomeini claims to, but in their own self-interest as in Portugal with its PCP and PSP.

New Reader
San Diego, Cal.

* * *

I can't get over the sheer bravery of those Iranian women to go out and face what they do. I believe it must mean that there are millions of Iranians who are not for Khomeini's ideas of what the revolution was all about. I have been trying to find a demonstration in support of those great women so I can go and show what solidarity I feel toward their actions.

Working Woman
New York

* * *

Seeing the masses of women demonstrating in Iran has reinforced in me the strength of knowing I am not alone in my struggle, and has helped me with

the courage to come out of my house and away from my husband, to act as an independent person for what I truly believe. I don't feel that women's liberation is against men, but a fight for a totally new society for everybody. And I am determined that in that new society I as a woman will be free, just as the Iranian women are determined that in their new society they will be free.

Chicana
Detroit

* * *

The Iranian women seem to me living proof that the Draft Chapter printed in the January-February N&L is no abstract question. The events there show that the question of Man/Woman is not "just" a question of women's liberation, but one of whether or not your revolution really is a total uprooting. More important, they show to me that the question of women's liberation cannot be separated from a philosophy of revolution, if we are ever to get a truly human society at last.

Marxist-Feminist
Detroit

MORE ON THE POPE

I was sorry to see Eugene Walker indulging in the sectarian "first-claiming" in regard to Raya Dunayevskaya's analysis of Pope John Paul . . . I venture to suspect that my contacts among churchmen are wider than yours, and I know of no socialist in any Christian communion who didn't take as established: that an East European cardinal would have to be a right-winger; that any swing back to the right would start by confronting liberation theology in Latin America; that the Papal Curia had to find the ecclesiastical equivalent of a Social Democrat anti-communist rather than a traditional conservative one . . .

Reader

The only point I did not see generally predicted was how far he would move in reconciliation with the Lefebvre rebels. This suggests the right has already decided it can dispense with the Social Democrat ("Toryism with a humanoid mask") appearance and appear as undisguised conservatives.

Laurens Otter
Britain

LIFE IN PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rico Teamster organizer Miguel Cabrera, who was being framed on a murder charge in the killing of Allan Randall (a corporate lawyer with a long history of anti-labor activities and suspected of being connected to CIA operations in Puerto Rico) was acquitted because of lack of evidence by a jury that had to deliberate only three hours. We are joyful at the acquittal but there are a number of questions still to be answered. Why was the government so eager to press charges despite lack of any evidence? (The case had been front page news in Puerto Rico, and there was widespread belief that Cabrera's trial was an attempt to weaken both the trade union and independence movements there.) How much was the FBI involved in the conspiracy against Cabrera? And, finally, who did kill Allan Randall?

Defense Committee Member
New York

* * *

A friend recently returned from visiting his family in Puerto Rico was shocked at the cost of living there. Food and clothes especially are more expensive than in New York City, and incomes are much lower. His brother, a heavy equipment operator, makes \$135 a week, and that's considered good. Unemployment is officially 26 percent but it must be almost 50 percent. Everyone has food

TWO WORLDS What revolutionary ground for women's movement?

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

I am turning over my column this issue for excerpts from a presentation given by a colleague, Eugene Walker, on my work "Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted: Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation", which appeared in the Jan.-Feb. issue of N&L. I consider it a serious contribution to an ongoing discussion around the manuscript.

Dunayevskaya is asking today's Women's Liberation Movement to take a journey with her, a journey into the Marxism of Marx. She is asking them to consider the most fundamental of questions—Can the Women's Liberation Movement become subject of revolution in its fullness, as reason as well as force, by comprehending Marx's new continent of thought as ground for its further development.

In taking this journey she is asking us first, to clear the debris of today's would-be Marxist theorists, such as Hal Draper, and women's liberation theorists, who either try to unite Marxism with feminism or to separate Marxism from feminism, but without basing themselves on the Marxism of Marx.

Second, she wants us to see that in part, but only in part, their distortions stem from the fact that many had based themselves on what Engels wrote after Marx's death, his **Origin of the Family**. Since then, it has been claimed that this was Marx's conception as well. But what the **Ethnological Notebooks** of Marx clearly show is that neither in facts, nor most crucially in methodology, does **Origin of the Family** flow from Marx.

Third, she wants us as activists and thinkers, and not only in the Women's Liberation Movement, to come to grips with Marx's philosophy. Indeed, so revolutionary is her point of departure, especially in her contrasting of Marx and Engels precisely on the working out of a philosophy of liberation, that it puts to the test all

other interpretations of Marx's thought, and challenges today's independent Marxists to reorganize their thought.

PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM'S DUALITY

Marx, in contrast to Engels, had a very different view of what was primitive communism. He too based himself on Morgan's **Ancient Society** among other works, excerpting it and commenting on it in a manuscript of some 148 pages. But his attitude was neither one with Morgan's, nor more importantly, not one with that of Engels.

In Marx: 1) The social and sexual division of labor were not made synonymous. 2) Though the family was studied and commented upon, it did not become the universal pathway to a class society that Engels tried to make it. And, 3) primitive communism was not uncritically accepted as classless.

In contrast to the division of man/woman, for Marx it was the **relation** of man/woman which was so deep. So deep that it compelled him time and time again to return to that relationship throughout his life.

The origins of class society, and as Dunayevskaya points out, the transitions to class society were to be found **within** primitive communism for Marx, and not something which occurred only after. It instead had its dualities—and thus, the origins of class society were not alone in the question of the family. As Dunayevskaya notes: "Then, Marx demonstrates that, long before the dissolution of the primitive commune, there emerged the question of ranks within the egalitarian commune. It was the beginning of a transformation into opposite—gens into caste. That is to say, within the egalitarian communal form arose the elements of its opposite—caste, aristocracy, different material interests. Moreover, these weren't successive stages, but co-extensive with the communal form."

MODES OF PRODUCTION, SUBJECTS OF REVOLUTION

The continuity of Marx's new continent of thought, throughout Marx's life and to our own, lies in his con-

tinued return to the necessity of a total uprooting of class society—an uprooting by living human beings whose drive for new human relations, beginning with that most fundamental, woman/man, was most fully expressed as revolutionary subject. The necessity to bring forth the concrete expression of the drive for new
(Continued on Page 6)

WHO WE ARE

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

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

Views

stamps. In the market you don't even see cash. People pay in stamps and get change in credits.

Carter's recent vicious cutback in the food stamp program, which in New York has thrown 8,200 welfare households off the food stamps altogether and cut back two-thirds of those remaining, will surely mean terrible hardship for the long-suffering people of Puerto Rico.

Outraged
New York

CHICAGO'S ELECTION

The Democratic precinct captain visited us two weeks before the primary election here in Chicago. When we opened the door he just walked in, sat down, and started talking. It was like we were some kind of dunces and weren't supposed to think about who we voted for, but just do what he said. So when he asked us what we thought of Mayor Bilandic, I said "I think he's the biggest jackass I've ever seen." He jumped like he was shot. (I was as surprised at myself as everyone else was.)

Three days before the election, they put a big wooden sign on the corner saying Mayor Bilandic was going to plant a tree there to beautify the neighborhood. The night after the election, someone kicked it all to pieces.

Awakened Housewife
Chicago

A RADICAL LIFE

It was good to read Terry Moon's review of Vera Weisbord's book, **A Radical Life** (March 1979), which I had read just before I read Charles Denby's **Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal**. You are immediately struck with the difference.

In Weisbord's Epilogue, it is not only the workers she accuses of "nonparticipation," but the Black movement too:

"At last, in 1965, came the long overdue uprising of the black people in the civil rights struggle." What is so clear from Denby's book is the **never ending** uprising of Blacks whether it is the 1943 rebellion in Detroit, the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott, or the daily fight of individual Blacks for survival, dignity, and freedom.

Feminist Reader
Chicago

Who published **A Radical Life**? Terry Moon didn't say.

Interested
Britain

Editor's Note: Our oversight. The book was published by Indiana University Press, 1977, \$15.

TWO SIDES OF OXFORD

The Oxford Union is the University debating society, dominated by the richest and most reactionary students and universally detested by almost everyone else. The Union regularly invites hated reactionaries as guest speakers, who inevitably draw protest demonstrations. Hundreds of American students turned up from colleges all over England when Nixon came, and his speech was almost drowned out by shouting outside the building. As he was leaving, people broke through the police lines and shook his car from side to side. His crimes—from Vietnam to Chile to Watergate—have not been forgotten.

Industrially, the heart of Oxford is Cowley, where the British Leyland auto factories are. Over the last few years, the switch from a piece-rate system to something called "Measured Day Work," together with a reorganization of the Transport and General Workers' Union, have taken power away from the rank and file, and increased the authority of the union full-time officials. While the

left press reports strikes when they happen, there's little about what it's actually like working in Cowley from day to day. We have nothing here comparable to the "Auto Shops" column in N&L.

British Student
Oxford

BAKKE-WEBER

Regarding John Alan's March "Black-Red View" column . . . aside from the nonsensical notion that one group of workers (in this case, whites) should or will voluntarily give up their own very limited "opportunities" under capitalism for another group of workers (in this case, Blacks), we see the distinctly non-Marxian practice of subordinating class positions to various social categories of society. N&L apparently believes revolutionary progress possible under decadent capitalism without a socialist revolution. This leaves N&L with the position for the liberal-reformist plea: equality of exploitation!

M.W.E.
Scranton, Pa.

The economic condition of Blacks is worse today than ten years ago. Racism isn't declining in the U.S. It's increasing. That's what the Bakke and Weber cases show. What is so important about N&L is not just that it talks about concrete things like that but shows that liberation is a self-process. This society has to be transformed, and it can't be done from without. It is all those tremendous forces of revolt you have pinpointed—labor, Blacks, youth and women—who will do it, or it won't be done.

Black Intellectual
San Francisco

PHILOSOPHY AND ORGANIZATION

I think that N&L is one of the best publications of the Left. The communications from workers are particularly valuable. However I would like to hear your ideas of what the new socialist society will look like, i.e., worker councils and self-movement, or Leninist authoritarianism and barrack-room "socialism"?

IWW Reader
Boston

I find N&L's view of socialism close to my own: the belief that socialism is above all about human freedom; total opposition both to Western imperialist capitalism and to Russian and Chinese state-capitalism; recognition of the importance of the autonomous movements of women and Black people; and practical support for people in struggle. What is completely new to me is the attempt to develop unity between philosophy and practical militancy. In the past, I tended to think of these as counterposed to each other. I'd like to see News & Letters get going in Britain and set up a local group in my own area.

Supporter
Oxford, England

I would like to know your position on socialist organization. You seem to take a position similar to Rosa Luxemburg's. Do you intend to build a party in the future? Lately I have been reading about Antonio Gramsci and works by him, like his **Prison Notebooks**. His contributions enrich Marxism. What do you feel about his work?

New Subscriber
San Diego

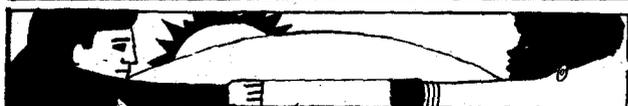
Editor's Note: The great revolutionary Gramsci rooted his "philosophy of praxis" in never separating theory from practice or philosophy from revolution. We recommend the study of Gramsci's writings, not uncritically, but to help work out the relationship of class, spontaneity and organization today. See Raya Dunayevskaya's "Two Worlds" column on Gramsci, N&L Nov. 1977. As for our own organization, see our Constitution, copies of which are available on request. (Please send 15c for postage.)

WE NEED YOUR HELP!

What I get from N&L I don't get from any other source. I wish I could contribute more than a check for a three year renewal, but I have only my social security for income.

Supporter
New Jersey

Editor's Note: Our thanks to the many readers who have responded to our urgent appeal for help to keep N&L going. **HAVE YOU SENT YOUR CONTRIBUTION?**



(The following story is part of an interview given to News & Letters by a peasant leader from northern Mexico about his experiences of over a decade in the peasant movement. He is as multidimensional as the struggle, and in later issues of News & Letters, we hope to publish his poetry.—Ed.)

Mexico City, D.F.—My struggle began when I went into the army in the early 1960s, and there I began organizing hunger strikes against the discipline. When I was thrown out, I went north, and it was there I first saw the problems of the peasants petitioning for land.

I organized a small group of men, and after calling a meeting, a couple of hundred came. But when the hour arrived to invade the land, only 20 came. We stayed on the open land by the road for three days, without food. News went around by word of mouth, and several hundred people came and joined us on the latifundia.

We began eating the cattle that were on the land, but seeing that there were too many of us now, we realized we had to invade more land. We used the tractors and cars of the latifundista to carry people around, and in this way we occupied around 70,000 hectares of several latifundistas.

When we invade the land, we stay. We build houses and begin cultivating the land. When the government begins its repression, they first burn the houses. They kill and jail the peasants. This has happened when the government can't convince the peasants to leave by arguments.

In another region, after 20 years of petitioning for cattle land of more or less 30,000 hectares, the peasants set out to take the land because the government refused to break the cattle owners' land concession. There was repression, and after that we tried to take a military outpost. But there were rumors beforehand, and the army was prepared.

There was a tremendous battle. Those that were

left escaped, intending to reunite. I was taken prisoner, but the peasants assaulted the guard house and freed us. After that, the movement fell apart and I went south. I participated in strikes with the iron ore miners, and then went north again to the land occupations.

At one meeting, I was arrested and held prisoner for four months. When I got out, the spirit of the peasants for taking the land had fallen after the experience of government repression. They decided to start the struggle again, legally, with petitions.

The land belongs to the peasants and they know it. But every time they ask for their land, there is a legal procedure, directed to the Ministry of Agrarian Reform. You take your petition there and they file it. The files of paper keep growing and growing, and after a few years, no one knows what they are all about.

As a consequence, the peasants are once more running up against the same wall, the will of the state, which violates every law by doing what the land owners demand. And the peasants become convinced that distribution of the land is not the solution to their problems.

In the early 1970s, I took part in a land invasion called the 18th of December. There was repression, and afterward we organized legally with the name of the date we took the land. A few years ago, we invaded the land again. There are now 283 peasants and their families there, and it is a community with a small school.

After the invasion, the government gave 200 hectares for 283 people, and only 20 peasants actually got rights to the land. The government did this to divide us, but we only took one hectare each and waited to get more land.

I came to understand then, through these previous experiences, that the struggle could not continue at that level but had to be raised to a national level, along with education of the masses. A part of my work today is to form small groups of teachers, but first we ourselves

have to be well educated.

I am working on this question right now, so that we can take an adequate preparation of ideas to the countryside and to the workers' in the cities. At the same time, we are studying what to do after the seizing of power by the proletariat, so that power does not belong to a new privileged class as is the case in Russia and China. That's where we are now.

Indians face fight over land

Recife, Brazil—The Brazilian government is trying to "emancipate" the Indian people, "to give them the chance of having the same rights as the ordinary citizen." With this "emancipation," the Indian would get an I.D., gain the right to vote (although Brazilians have no right to choose their own President—we live in a dictatorship), and wouldn't be considered "children" as they are now in the Constitution.

In the beginning of this century, 230 tribes lived in Brazil, on land which is rich in minerals and other resources the capitalists envy very much. Since then, 90 tribes were exterminated by diseases and weapons. Sometimes the capitalists make "presents" to the Indians of clothes contaminated with the flu, or salt with arsenic, or sugar with strychnine. Some areas have been napalmed, and the Indians have been shot from planes. The capitalists get a certificate of "non-existence" of Indians in an area and buy the land.

The Indians' whole way of life is tied up with the land, where they plant and live as a community. If the "emancipation" starts, the Indians will become peasants, earning \$50 per month or less. The Indians need their own land and the recognition that they have the same rights as other people.

—Shoshana

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

relations through revolutionary subject at each historic period, as predecessor to the final uprooting of capitalism, drove Marx to investigate most explicitly the development of capitalism, and as well, to study other modes of production—primitive, asiatic, ancient classical and medieval. But for any scholar to reverse the process and have Marx investigate modes of production as if that were unconnected to Marx's consciousness of the living subject's constant striving to uproot social relations, beginning with production relations, is to reduce the thought of Marx to a crass determinism. And to reduce a revolutionary transformation of society to an evolutionary one, or to abstract utopianism. It is precisely the interconnectedness of the development of modes of production and the development of subjects of revolution which forms Marx's expression of a "new continent of thought" . . .

Though Engels laid open the ground, he cannot be responsible for the horrid vulgarizations that Draper has put him to. Draper's vulgarizations are no accident. They are at once connected with his attitude to today's Women's Liberation Movement and to Marx's philosophy of liberation. His attitude to today's Women's Liberation Movement is one of total elitism, one who will "teach" them Marxism because he "knows." It is his complete blindness to what it means to find a new subject of revolution, and what is the role of theory, of revolutionary theoreticians, in helping to give a direction to the newly emerging subjects of revolution, that is at the base of his arrogance.

Not unconnected is his attitude toward Marx, especially Marx on women, which he is consistently ignoring or misinterpreting. Dunayevskaya points out time and time again where Draper failed to take up the crucial points Marx was making with regard to woman and social revolution, and where the points taken up are for purposes of transforming Marx's thought into something quite opposite of what he said. Can it be any accident that the non-Marxist women's liberationist Simone de Beauvoir separates sharply Fourier's concept of the emancipation of women from Marx's, while the "Marxist" Draper drives to make a false amalgam of the two?

Dunayevskaya certainly has criticism of today's Women's Liberation Movement. But so seriously does she take that movement, that far from wanting to "teach it a lesson," what she wishes is for it to understand its own seriousness as subject of revolution, a seriousness that can only be gotten when that movement is willing to come to grips, not with what Draper says, or even Engels, as great as he was, but only with what Marx created—a new continent of thought. Such a new continent of thought is no simple creation, and it is no simple task to grasp it . . .

INTERCOMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE AGES

What drove Marx back to anthropology and thus towards a new look at man/woman relations? One cannot say explicitly . . . But most crucial is what the Paris Commune had illuminated for Marx at the beginning of that decade, the stripping off of the fetishism of commodities only by freely associated labor. It was the

self-activity of the Parisian people, women quite as centrally as men, which had led Marx to add the ultimate section to the first chapter on Commodities, "The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof." Marx's interchange as philosopher, as theoretician, was with the revolutionary activity of the working class, a working class of women as well as men.

In these Ethnological Notebooks of 1880-82 the relationship of man/woman comes forth anew. Not because Marx "willed" it, but because so conscious is he of the only real science—history and its process—as continuity and as ever changing, that in his continual digging and digging into its concreteness, seeking its universality, he finds there at each point that most fundamental of relations, man/woman.

So deep is the man/woman relation for Marx that it becomes the measure of society, not as a "replacement" for the class struggle and the necessity to abolish the social division of labor, but as the touchstone for the totality of uprooting that was necessary . . .

What drives Dunayevskaya back to "history and its process"—this history being the birth and development of Marx's philosophy of liberation 1843-1883—is the same as what drove Marx back to study each mode of production: not history, but future, an end to the pre-history of human beings and a beginning of their full-free development . . .

And certainly Draper and other misconstruers of Marx are no ground for our departure, as they fail to see either revolutionary philosophy or subjects of revolution, in history or for today. Instead we have to base ourselves on this intercommunication through the Marxism of Marx and its continuity in Marxist-Humanism of today. That is what will set the stage for the leaps to freedom which are to come.

—Eugene Walker

DETROIT AREA READERS —

You are invited to participate in a series of four lectures by:

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA
on her book

Philosophy and Revolution

Tuesdays, 7 P.M.

Hilberry Lounge, Student Center Bldg.

Wayne State University

April 10: Why Hegel? Why Now? And 20th Century New Passions and New Forces

April 17: Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (1843 to 1883)

April 24: Dialectics of the Concrete vs. False Alternatives

May 1: Dialectic Methodology and Dialectics of Liberation

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Hanover, N.H.—Struggles of minority and women students at Dartmouth College against the racism and sexism of this Ivy League school culminated in a rally March 1, attended by 300 students, and a symposium on March 8, with all classes cancelled.

The racist incidents of the previous few weeks included the white students at the Feb. 25 school hockey game who skated out onto the ice, dressed as Indians and shouted "Scalp 'em"—to loud applause—and the destruction of the sculpture Black students had built as a monument to the anti-apartheid struggle. These events brought the women together with the minority students, especially the Native Americans, as never before.

The students' demands include ending the Indian symbol as school mascot, banning the fraternities that have fanned a lot of racist feelings, expanding Black and female enrollment and women's studies, and reviewing recent tenure decisions the women feel were unfairly balanced against them.

There are also the relations to the divestiture movement, with the students' anti-apartheid monument a continuation of last November's vigil and picket against Dartmouth's South African investments.

One student commented on the symposium: "The President spoke first, but it was the same old stuff. It was the women who received a standing ovation, with one woman in particular speaking about the song 'Men of Dartmouth' and the attitude of many male students towards women. The hall was packed, and after the symposium, groups of faculty and students went off in other areas and discussed the issues. The good thing about all of this was that it brought the issues of racism

Youth in Revolt

Hundreds of Arab youths of the Israel-occupied West Bank spilled into the street on March 15 for the sixth straight day to oppose the newest Israeli-Egyptian agreement. In Halhoul, Israeli soldiers shot to death two protesters, a 17-year-old woman and a 21-year-old man. March 10, Romallah high school students set up barricades and burned tires to protest Carter's Jerusalem visit.

Thirteen students from Essex University, England have been held in custody on suspicion of causing criminal damage after a week-long occupation in which they demanded "no victimization" for participants in a rent strike. Another 100 Essex students responded with an occupation of the police station.

Moroccan students recently formed the National Union of Moroccan students, joining with worker's demands for the release of political prisoners and for wage increase. Those activities come during a war in the Sahara and a national strike wave progressing since the beginning of the year.

As part of the ongoing nation-wide divestiture movement, 300 students at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, attended the March 16 Board of Regents meeting to demand that U of M give up its \$86 million investments in companies with South Africa operations. The students were evicted by court order, and two men were arrested.

Dartmouth shut down

and sexism that we have encountered for so long here into the open."

Another student said: "Women have faced a lot of harassment. All the women feel they share the problems in common with each other and this has helped them get support from the other minority groups."

Dartmouth may feel that its "traditions" are more important than people, but people are now standing up and speaking out.

—Peter Wermuth

Students fight racist quotas

British schools occupied

London, England—I am writing this letter to N&L March 20 in a brief break from the occupation of my school, North East London Polytechnic. What has happened is that the British government is now trying to impose a quota system on overseas students applying for colleges and universities. Mainly Third World students will be affected in this institutionalized racism. The quotas would reduce the number of overseas students by 20,000 from the present 80,000.

The real reason for the quotas is a desire to carry out cuts in higher education, since courses would be scrapped and lecturers made redundant (laid off). The government has already imposed massive fee increases on overseas students here, with those unable to pay being expelled.

In response to these actions, the "Broad Left" coalition of Stalinists and Social Democrats in the leadership of the National Union of Students has done nothing. But the rank and file are resisting, with students at North East London beginning an indefinite occupation against the quotas.

Despite the Polytechnic authorities' attempts to smash the occupation by cutting off heating, lighting and telephones, closing down the canteen and threatening students with not being allowed to take exams or with failing them, the action has gained increasing support. Even the freezing of funds by the Student Union leadership has had no effect.

Students at Sussex University and Brighton Polytechnic have also occupied, and other colleges are expected to follow suit. The Universities of Warwick, and Bristol, and Leeds Polytechnic have already refused to introduce quotas. The occupiers are determined to stay put and win.

The occupation has broken down the isolation and apathy which has bedeviled the student movement here for years. Students are openly and freely discussing not only the education system, but the oppressive nature of capitalism as a whole.

At the same time the Leftist "leadership" acts as though these questions are "going over people's heads." The totality of their contribution seems to be a fetishization of the vanguard party. They aim to rob Marx's work of its Humanist content entirely. But for the rank and file it is different. Slowly there is a beginning of what Hegel called a revolution in thought.

This Polytechnic has been closed once this year by the manual workers' industrial action; now the students have occupied it. Working people are showing that by their own actions they can determine their futures.

—Terry Liddle, North East London Polytechnic

Anti-nuke world perspective

by Jim Mills

Certainly the March 9 Clamshell Alliance demonstration at the Seabrook, N.H. nuclear reactor, where 170 were arrested blocking delivery of a major component, signals the beginning of new battles on the anti-nuclear front this spring.

Public doubts about the safety of nuclear installations forced the hand of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission recently in abandoning support for its own pro-reactor Rasmussen study, and in suspending operation last month of five unsafely designed reactors.

However, revolutionary activity the world over, the constant revolts from below characterize a challenge to the system, to capitalist production relations everywhere, yet to be articulated within the anti-nuclear movement.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S NUCLEAR SCANDAL

The Charter 77 group in Czechoslovakia recently published details of two serious nuclear accidents at that country's main nuclear plant. Though known as a human rights organization, they risked imprisonment and perhaps death by smuggling this report out of the country, where the report has created a national scandal.

Their adoption of opposition to nuclear power is a new ground for political dissonance against state totalitarianism. It also relates directly to the victory in neighboring Austria where the electorate vetoed plans to commission the already-completed, \$700 million Zwentendorf reactor; Austria is Czechoslovakia's only accessible, non-Russian bloc neighbor whose open borders are now a path for the anti-nuclear dialogue.

Neither anti-nuclear activists nor the left has published this news, or grasped its importance.

The range of concerns which the anti-nuclear movement has brought out, as seen in the recently televised documentary "Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang," could be an inkling of the multidimensional character possible for the movement.

STATE CAPITALISM'S NUCLEAR MADNESS

Jacobs interviewed cancer ward patients, former soldiers used in nuclear bomb test areas. Many had no choice for duty assignments to the blasts, which produced injuries and hysteria among the GI's then. This report and its settings contradicted the army's 1950s image of ordinary mock battles in atomic zones, an image meant to allay the public doubts about the cold war.

The same program examined Portsmouth, N.H. Navy Shipyard workers servicing nuclear ships, whose incidence of leukemia is six times higher than normal.

Worsening conditions of labor pervade all capitalist production. One of every four workers is exposed to some substance thought to be capable of causing death or disease. And on-the-job accidents killed 13,000 workers in 1977, four percent more than in 1976, and they disabled 2.3 million, up 4.5 percent.

The question, then, is how can the anti-nuclear movement challenge a world whose insane drive for profits includes inhumanly exploitative working conditions and proven nuclear energy madness. The successful creation of a method for doing it means nothing less than establishing a relationship to the ever-new forms of revolt everywhere. A perspective that does grasp state-capitalism as a world stage of capitalism will signal new foundations for the opposition to a nuclear world.

Oil companies use Iran as excuse for huge consumer price rip-off

(Continued from Page 1)

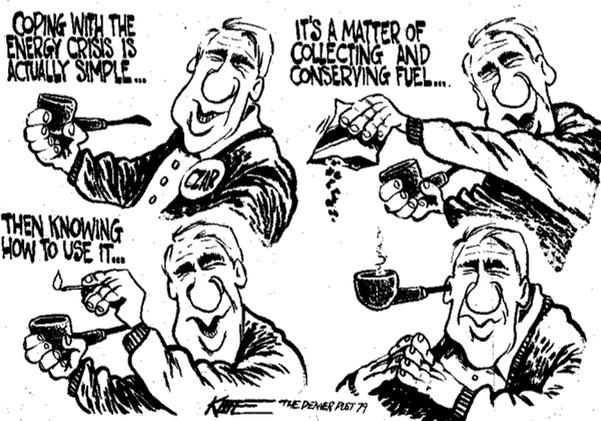
to lack of a pipeline—while New England pays the high cost of imported Algerian liquefied natural gas.

It is hard to believe that Schlesinger, the bungling head of the national Energy Dept., has at his command a budget of \$10 billion and a staff of 20,000 tucked away in no less than 17 vast offices in Washington, D.C. Many critics in Congress call it the most screwed up bureaucracy in Washington. It seems that no one is sure what Schlesinger is doing—including Schlesinger.

He has advocated stand-by gas rationing, with tickets already printed (and a built-in black market where Toyota owners can sell their surplus tickets to owners of gas-guzzling Lincolns and Cadillacs) and supports raising gas and oil prices still further through increased taxation. Workers, meanwhile, faced by constantly increasing costs, are being forced to abandon their expensive cars that already cost too much to operate.

If Carter and Schlesinger were really interested in conserving gasoline, they might recall that Air Force #1, which Carter flies around the world, uses 8,000 gallons of fuel per hour. An atomic bomber in the air 24 hours a day, as is current practice, uses the same amount of fuel. The government fleet of cars, trucks and buses has grown by 8,000 units since the oil embargo of 1973 and uses no less than 730 million gallons of gasoline per year. A 25% cut in that fleet of 730,000 vehicles would eliminate any thought of gas rationing.

Senator Sasser of Tennessee states that no less than 22,000 government bureaucrats are flying somewhere every day of the week, occupying about 220 planes at a cost of \$7.9 billion per year and wasting millions of gallons of gas. When Schlesinger was offered Mexican natural gas, he thumbed his nose at the deal,



even though the Mexican government had already built a pipeline to within 75 miles of the U.S. border.

The history of Mexican oil reached a climax in 1937 when Mexico, tired of the exploitation of its resources by U.S. oil companies, nationalized the oil industry. The U.S. almost went to war over the issue, but learned to live with it due to the discovery of Middle East oil which they could get even cheaper. Since 1937 the U.S. has ignored Mexico, boycotted it wherever possible—until the past few years when huge new fuel deposits have been discovered.

Mexico has proven reserves of 26 billion barrels, equal to that of the U.S., with the very good possibility of over 100 billion barrels still to be discovered. Some estimates indicate Mexican oil reserves surpass even those of Saudi Arabia.

Mexico is not rushing to follow the exploitation policies of the Middle East. It plans to increase production from 1.2 million barrels a day to 2 million, of which 1 million will be for the export market, and then to hold to that production rate. Plenty of natural gas is available for export if the U.S. is willing to pay the price, which Mexico wants pegged to the higher price of distilled fuel oil, not the lower residual fuel oil price Schlesinger is trying to get.

NO OIL FOR PEANUTS

When President Carter was in Mexico City recently, the walls of the University were emblazoned with three-ft. high signs reading "Carter is coming to exchange oil for peanuts." Carter was rejected in Mexico, and will continue to be until he meets the conditions that Mexico is now in a position to impose.

The Mexican campesinos however, share neither the government's joy nor economic benefits from the new oil deliveries. In the southeastern oil fields, peasants have set up over 55 road blocks which government troops have removed. The campesinos, fighting for compensation for their land which the government-owned Pemex Oil Co. has confiscated without just payment, also claim that the natural gas which is wasted by flaring, creates heat and fumes that are destroying the crops on the little land that is left to them.

Just as the plight of the Mexican peasants is ignored by the Mexican government, so is the worsening situation of U.S. workers neglected by Washington.

The Carter administration shows every indication of pursuing policies that are in the best interests of the Big, Seven oil companies, regardless of the national interest. The burden of the costs for those policies will weigh most heavily on the working class through higher taxes and increased fuel and energy costs.

China's invasion of Vietnam: the global implications

(Continued from Page 1)

"all" Kampuchea's actions? Wasn't this distance between "socialist allies" being laid now in order to create a new berth and new allies for itself?

This more ominous tale does touch on the global built-in conflict with Russia, only it is not because at this moment it fears Russia. Rather, it is because, as a great power itself, it felt quite sure that, just as it had not come to any direct defense of Cambodia, so Russia would not come to any direct defense of Vietnam.

Indeed, the minute a rumor reached the air-waves that China was supposedly bombing Haiphong Harbor just as the Russian ship, Admiral Senyavin, a 16,000 ton Soviet cruiser, was unloading supplies, that instant—and this time it truly was but an instant—official denials came from both China and Russia. After all, Russia has a 4,500 mile-long border with China. There Russia has 44 divisions on alert. It must not be tempted to strike into China's industrial heartland, Manchuria. Russia was not a land to be "taught a lesson" by China. On the contrary. In no respect whatever would China wish to incur the wrath of Russia for any mini-war with Vietnam.

The only truth to be gained from the present Big Power testing is that, whether it is monarchical, feudal Saudi Arabia not coming to the defense of its satellite, North Yemen; or state-capitalisms calling themselves Communists not coming to the defense of their satellites; each country was only testing, testing, testing as if war and death were a game. Like Russia and Nazi Germany in the Spanish Civil War, small wars are but a theatre of testing weapons and armies in preparation for the real global holocaust!

The five ASEAN nations — Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand — naturally relished the sight of two "Communist" countries engaged in outright imperialist war. It also created an opportunity for jabbing at Russia. In a *New York Times* report, of March 11, the *Singapore Straight Times* rushed to conclude that the "failure of the Soviet Union to come directly to the aid of Hanoi would be taken as proof that Moscow is nothing but a paper polar bear." All ASEAN combined questioned whether China wasn't, after all, "a paper tiger."

None of them, any more than the Big Powers, will nevertheless offer any challenge to class rulers and militarists like themselves. For that matter, the very first truly historic legend was created with the 1955 Bandung conference announcing a new Afro-Asian world.

FROM BANDUNG THROUGH 1962 SINO-INDIAN WAR TO 1979 CHINA-VIETNAM WAR

The new spirit that arose with the beginnings of decolonization, and especially Mao's victory over the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek regime as well as imperialism, reached global proportions from within the technologically underdeveloped countries when China and India declared a new type of Afro-Asian Third World. Chou En-lai and Nehru worked out a manifesto they called "Five Principles of Co-Existence." Though Marxists knew that, without genuine social revolutions, Bandung would not usher in a new non-exploitative world, none thought Mao's China would harbor ambitions of the Middle Kingdom as the "center of the universe"! To the shock of Nehru when he visited his co-host, Chou En-lai, he found that the officially published "Manual of History"⁽¹⁾ showed itself as it was under the Yuan and Ming dynasties when China had conquered Burma, Thailand, the Indochina peninsula, had debarked troops in Indonesia, and not only imprisoned the King of Ceylon, but also imposed an annual tribute from the Moslem world, especially the holy city of Mecca.⁽²⁾

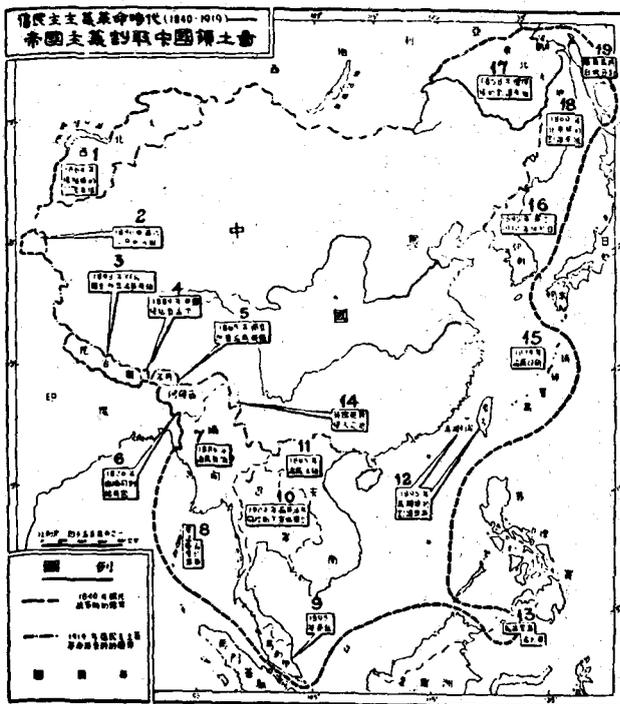
That wasn't all there was to the "model" of the 1962 Sino-Indian war and the map, which had shown a great part of the Soviet Far East as well as the Republic of Outer Mongolia, North and South Korea, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, Burma, Assam (about 50,000 miles of Indian territory, in fact), Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, the island of Sakhalin, as well as some islands in the Philippines, as having been part of China. No, 1978 and the Karakoram Highway⁽³⁾ showed us that that wasn't all there was to the "model." What, then can we expect, in 1979, from the upcoming China-Vietnam negotiations having that 1962 model? Or is it now not just the Yuan and Ming, but also Ching dynasties?

INSIDE CHINA; INSIDE VIETNAM— AND WHERE IS THE LEFT ABROAD?

The only serious challenge against China's invasion

of Vietnam comes neither from other states, nor from the so-called Left outside of China which is all too ready to jump from tail-ending one state-power to tail-ending another. It, too, is busy inventing "new" instant history legends as to what is now the "vanguard of the world revolution." No, the only serious class challenge comes from within China. Whether or not one is to believe Vietnam's claim that there is an actual underground radio station in China which forced the call to end the war, there is no doubt whatever that there is great dissent inside China against the exploitative rulers at home as well as against their "foreign policy." The wall posters testify to that. The strikes are sharper proof of the dissatisfaction with working conditions in China.

The official press finally had to take note of the



Map from "Manual of History" published in Peking, 1954.

undercurrent of revolt. Thus, the *People's Daily*, March 9, ran an article, "Settle Grudges and Fight in Solidarity." This admitted that "contradictions" were developing in the Party both against conditions of labor, and the war. This was by no means the only article. The foreign press reported also a peasant march on Peking, as well as wall posters, as well as demonstrations . . .

This does not mean that Vietnam is free from pronounced dissatisfaction with their conditions of labor and life. The truth is that neither were the Chinese soldiers at their "fighting best," nor did the Vietnamese, who did defend their land, fight with the same enthusiasm as when they were fighting U.S. imperialism. The results of their victory over imperialism are hardly seen in a better life for the masses, much less participating in the decision-making by the rulers of their land.

And how exactly is the solidarity of the Left abroad expressed?

We repeat: It is one thing to oppose China's in-

vasion. It is quite another to play up Vietnam as "vanguard of the world revolution," as not only the Stalinist Mexican Left, but the Trotskyists everywhere are doing. It is one thing to see, correctly, U.S. imperialism as the most serious threat to world revolution. It is quite another thing to think that it is the only pied piper and that "the Stalinist bureaucrats in Peking are serving as willing accomplices in Carter's charade"; that "in return for economic favors from imperialism, Peking is deliberately lending the prestige of the Chinese Revolution to Washington's anti-Vietnam campaign."⁽⁴⁾

It is one thing to still see China "in a Cultural Revolution" against Russia's monolithism and playing with U.S. imperialism. It is quite another to act as if China's military adventure against Vietnam is some sort of minor deviation which the Chinese will "end and clarify."⁽⁵⁾

Finally, if anyone thinks that Russia was declared Enemy #1 only because it was playing with U.S. imperialism when Khrushchev and Eisenhower created the first "Camp David Spirit," reread Mao's loyal friend, Edgar Snow, who, in *The Other Side of the River*, in that same crucial year of the Sino-Indian War, 1962, was hinting to the U.S., unambiguously, "China's preoccupation with U.S. as the main enemy might veer elsewhere."

The shift in global alliances has been a long time coming. It has nothing whatever to do with any nature of "workers' states," as all are state-capitalist societies. The very opposite is the truth. It is because we are living in a state-capitalist age, where all state powers have only one "lesson to teach": a global imperialistic reach!

There is but one way out, be it in China or the U.S., Russia or Vietnam, and that is a proletarian revolution against "its own" exploitative, racist, sexist rulers. The biggest enemy is always at home. So is its greatest revolutionary force, and those masses not only as force but as reason. There is no other way to create a classless society of truly human relations.

—March 17, 1979

(4) *Intercontinental Press*, Feb. 19, 1979. As if the quotations above are not fantastic enough, the Trotskyist editor and author, Mary-Alice Waters, assured us — in boldface type—"the danger is not a Chinese invasion of Vietnam, but an imperialist maneuver that Peking is helping to cover up." Too bad that the magazine appeared two days after China's invasion of Vietnam on Feb. 17, 1979.

(5) The most disgusting articles of that gender are penned by a special contributor to the "Op-Ed" page of the *NYT*—the University of Wisconsin professor "specialist" on China, Edward Friedman, who assured us on 3/11/79, that China's invasion of Vietnam proves that that land of 900 million "is refusing to be pushed around by anyone (little Vietnam—rd), is murderously but clearly manifest in its Indochina invasion." That apologist for post-Mao China tells us that further, we should not forget China's "commitment to proud sovereignty" as well as China's "original and anti-bureaucratic purposes of the post-1949 government (which) are moving forward. This occurs in a new atmosphere of joyous liberation from past terrors."

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

The January-February, 1979 issue of *The Black Scholar* magazine is devoted entirely to the subject of "Public Policy and the Black Masses". The editors published, without comment, five key speeches given by well-known Black leaders at the National Black United Fund (NBUF) conference.

In the introduction, Walter Bremond, Executive Director of NBUF, stated that this conference was responding to "the alarming trends in America's Black communities" that were demanding "a thorough analysis of the Black underclass and the effects of public policy on its members."

It was quite evident that all of the speakers, except perhaps Andrew Young, saw government policy—in the form of President Carter's Administration—as a total failure when it came to dealing with the devastating assaults that inflation, unemployment and political reaction have been making daily on Black existence. However, the recognition of this condition didn't shock them into doing some serious thinking about the real nature of capitalism, or about their own relationship to Black masses.

Andrew Young's speech, "The Challenge of Leadership," was, on one hand, hardly more than praise for "the talented tenth"—those Blacks who got their foot inside the door—and, on the other hand, support of Carter's African policy. Young also doesn't think that the Bakke decision was a setback, but rather a "triumphant victory," because, "for the first time the Court did uphold the broad principles of affirmative action."

Young is not oblivious to the existence of a Black "underclass," but his middle class blinders have limited him to seeing that class as only poor and suffering, and not as masses of people having the potential to trans-

Black leaders ignore masses

form this racist society into one of real human relationships.

When it comes to Africa and Carter's foreign policy for that continent, Young has been able, by the use of sheer rhetoric, to change that imperialist policy into one of mutual helpfulness that boils down to the simple concept that Africa has minerals that America needs, and America has money that Africa needs to buy the things they want. So, there can be a fair exchange without domination.

This simple formula of "equals trading with equals" in the world marketplace has been the foundation upon which the industrial capitalist nations of the world have built their economic domination over the underdeveloped raw material-producing nations. This is what Young characterizes as the intelligent African policy of the Carter Administration.

Only two of the other speeches are worth any comment. One is by Louis Farrakhan, the national representative of the Nation of Islam, and the other is by Ronald V. Dellums, the U.S. Congressman from the 8th district of California.

Both of them differed with Andrew Young about the extent of the failure of government to come to grips with the economic and political problems that the American Black masses are now facing. For Farrakhan the solution is "in the Holy Bible and the Holy Koran." For Dellums, it is the translation of Black humanistic values into a "political context", which would change the priorities of the government toward a more "human awareness".

Each one leaves the Black masses outside of the solution and seeks solutions within the system of capitalism, the very system that is the origin of the problems that Black masses are facing daily in order to survive.

(1) The map included in that "Manual of History," published in Peking in 1954, was reproduced in the *New Republic*, 4/20/62. See also B. Shiva Rae's article on the subject of "China's Borders" in the *National Observer*, 7/23/63.

(2) See my analysis of "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" in the second edition of *Marxism and Freedom*, especially the section entitled "Can There be War between Russia and China? The Non-Viability of State-Capitalism," pp. 316-326.

(3) The Karakoram Highway, a 500-mile all-weather road over the roof of the world, linking Sinkiang Province with Pakistan, and where the frontiers of no less than five states—Pakistan, Afghanistan, China, India and Russia—meet, was not completed until June, 1978. It was the true reason for the 1962 Sino-Indian War. See "Perspectives 1978-79: The Dialectic of Today's Crises and Today's Revolts," available from *News & Letters*.