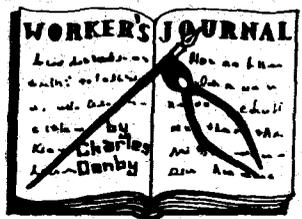


ON THE INSIDE LEON TROTSKY: A CRITIQUE

by Raya Dunayevskaya
SEE PAGE 5



Brecher calls Indignant Heart 'a classic'

by Charles Denby, Editor

Author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* (While Charles Denby is on a speaking tour in California, we are printing excerpts of a review of his book, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, which was written by Jeremy Brecher, author of *Strike!*, and appeared in the April 25-May 1, 1979 issue of *In These Times*)—Ed.

For many years, one of my most cherished possessions has been a little paperback, privately published in 1952, called *Indignant Heart*. It was the autobiography of a black auto worker, Matthew Ward. *Indignant Heart* has now been reissued with a new section continuing the story from 1952 to the present; "Matthew Ward" is identified as a pseudonym for Charles Denby, now editor of the Detroit workers' newspaper, *News & Letters*. As literature, as a historical document, and as a political statement, *Indignant Heart* is a classic.

Charles Denby was born in 1907 in Lowndes County, Ala. His grandmother had been a slave. . . . The twin themes of oppression and resistance run throughout the book.

IN 1924, Denby went north to work in Detroit. . . . When the big lay-offs came in 1929, Denby reluctantly returned to the South. When large-scale hiring of Blacks resumed in 1943, he returned to Detroit, "never so glad for anything in my life."

Here began his experience with the problems of black workers with the union — and his efforts to develop an independent Black response. Over opposition by both union and management, he helped organize work stoppages that eventually ensured the opportunity for black women workers to transfer out of the department to more desirable jobs.

Meanwhile, various groups in Detroit began trying to recruit Denby. The left-wing caucus of the United Auto Workers, which included both Reuther and the Communist Party at that time, ran him as their delegate to the Wayne County CIO convention. He was never able to accept their support of the no-strike pledge, however. He remained suspicious of the Communist Party: "When I talk to Negro Stalinists, I know and feel it is the party first, second and always. . . . it is never the Negroes first, whatever they say."

HE WAS so impressed by what seemed the genuine commitment of the Trotskyists to helping Blacks that he joined and began recruiting his friends. As he gradually became disillusioned with the attitude that, as one white comrade put it, "The Negroes will have to forget they are Negroes and be Marxists"

Denby returned to the South after the Supreme Court outlawed school segregation in 1954. He gives a brief but moving survey of the civil rights movement from the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955 through the rise of the Black power movement in the early 1970s.

(Continued on Page 2)

Report from Iran: Kurdistan and the Left

Tehran, Iran—In Kurdistan, in the past five to six months, Khomeini's guards have gone to the villages and have been trying to arm the landlords who still exist there. The Kurdistan movement is not only a movement for self-determination. It is integrated with the peasants' movement and the working class movement against the landlords and the capitalists.

It is very important to emphasize that it is not the Kurdish bourgeoisie who seeks self-determination. Rather, the Kurdish masses for the past several months have captured landlords, executed some, and set up revolutionary courts in the villages and provinces.

They have built their own peasant councils in the villages; and in the cities, the only part of Iran where the workers' councils still exist is Kurdistan. No other part of the country can compare to the revolutionary atmosphere of Kurdistan.

The government tried with all the forces it could to arm the landlords in Kurdistan. The landlords hired some so-called fighters to fight the peasants. They shot the peasants, and forced them off the land and out of the villages in some places. That is when the events of Paveh took place in Kurdistan, between the peasants on one side, and the landlords with Khomeini's guards on the other side.

10¢ NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx, Capital Vol. III

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Resurgent racism, Black revolt, and the sheer escapism of Black leaders

by Eugene Walker

The present moment when resurgent racism in these United States has reached new heights—including the murder of Blacks by police in cities across the land—and has in turn brought forth a new dimension of protest by Black masses reaching from the deep South of Mississippi and Alabama to New York and Los Angeles, is the time when the Black leadership of a Jesse Jackson, of a Joseph Lowery, have chosen to rush headlong into the Middle East imbroglio.

The attacks in Boston on school buses carrying



Black GM workers in Chicago protest racism and sell-outs by leaders.

Black students into all-white neighborhoods — scenes horribly reminiscent of Little Rock over 20 years ago; the firebombing of homes of civil rights activists in Alabama and in Ohio; the mass lay-offs of Black workers, especially Black women and youth: these have been the facts of daily life in the nearly two months since the storm broke over Andrew Young's resignation as U.N. ambassador.

But it was not these very real crises faced by Black masses in America which drove some of the leadership to the Middle East. Rather, it was the continuing crises within that leadership itself, beginning with their divorce from the Black masses, that led some to the sheer escapism of the PLO connection. It is true that the Aug. 22 "Unity Statement" of Black leadership after Ambassador Young's resignation pinpointed American racism in correctly analyzing the backward steps on the Bakke and Weber cases of many former liberals, and of many in the Jewish middle class, as an expression of neo-conservatism.* But that important point of departure has seemingly been abandoned at precisely the moment when affirmative action specifically is most under the gun, and when every form of racism is achieving a new coating of respectability. From beneath the facade of academic argument about "fiscal responsibility", "local initiatives" and "balanced justice systems" ooze the facts about the assault on Black America.

RACISM IN 'COSMOPOLITAN' NEW YORK

Nowhere is it more glaring than in that "cosmopolitan capital", New York City, where a dozen and more Black youth have been killed by police in the past two years. In one of the most recent shootings, a Black woman, Elizabeth Mangum, was killed by four police officers who could think of no other way to disarm her of a small knife.

The cross burnings in N.Y. suburbs are occurring at a frightening rate. Since January there have been 36 racially motivated incidents of vandalism in neighboring Suffolk County, Long Island. Here too, the incidents extend to other minorities, with swastikas painted on the homes of Jewish families.

In response to this resurgent racism new protests have been organized. The murder of a young Latino brought out several thousand Latino and Black demonstrators to his funeral. When a peaceful protest began, the police moved in with drawn guns.

New York is by no means isolated.

• In Los Angeles, the murder of a Black woman, Eula Love, by city police has sparked months of protests and charges of police whitewash.

• In Birmingham, thousands rallied to demand both the firing of the police officer who killed a Black youth and the end to token-only integration of the Birmingham Police Department.

• And in Detroit's Ford Rouge auto plant a foreman and a general foreman who paraded up and down the assembly line wearing hoods with "KKK" written on them as a "joke", set off a storm of protests from workers, Black and white. Several walked off the line, and

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The Left, especially the Fedayeen, thought they could talk with the government. Their supporters had

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*See *On the Threshold of the 1980s* by Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairwoman's Perspectives Report, Sept. 1, 1979, 75c.

WOMAN AS REASON *Anna Mae Aquash, Indian warrior*

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ANNA MAE AQUASH, by Johanna Brand (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1978), \$6.95. Available from Akwesasne Notes, Roosevelttown, NY, 13683.

This biography of the development of Anna Mae Pictou Aquash as Indian woman and revolutionary shows feminists, Indian activists, and all serious revolutionaries why our enemies were so anxious to end her life and thought.

In February, 1976, a young woman's body was found "dead of exposure" on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. She was hastily buried—after her hands were cut off and sent to the FBI in Washington. When they identified her as Anna Mae Pictou Aquash, her family and friends demanded a second autopsy which revealed she died from a .32-caliber bullet shot from close range into the back of her head—murder.

This book tells Anna Mae Pictou Aquash's life story with no separation between the personal and political developments. Equal space is devoted to the history of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the secret FBI war on all dissenters in the U.S., from the outright murder of AIM activists, to the "terrorism and one-sided law enforcement" practiced by the FBI in the Black movement, from the Panthers to Martin Luther King, Jr.

During the occupation of Wounded Knee, 1973, Anna Mae took part in the nightly patrols; she considered herself a female warrior and did not hesitate to take on "men's work." She was able to reach reservation women and move them to fight against their hardships in a way the male leaders of AIM were not able to do.

It was the AIM women who first became suspicious of Douglass Durham, AIM Security Director, whose exposure in 1975 as an FBI agent was a deadly blow to AIM as an organization. The women had observed Durham's exploitation and abuse of other women and decided it was necessary to make it impossible for him to work in the National Office.

Anna Mae wanted to teach the students at the Red Schoolhouse AIM Survival School the use of libraries, so they could re-create "true reservation histories." She was concerned with AIM's long-range plans, and her vision that new leaders should be continually emerging conflicted with the ideas of most of the AIM leaders.

Whether feminists or AIM leaders recognized that her self-development as an Indian warrior could not have occurred without her fight to transcend the limits both white America and AIM puts on women, the

Conference on 'Second Sex'

New York, N.Y.—Over 700 women took part in a conference here on feminist theory, entitled "The Second Sex—Thirty Years Later," on Sept. 27-29. Many European women attended, particularly from France, because the conference was in honor of the 30th anniversary of the publication of Simone de Beauvoir's early work, *The Second Sex*.

Some of the talks pointed up the duality in the book—the greatness of the description of women's oppression, but her failure to see that the way out is women's own revolutionary thought and action. Yet no one criticized de Beauvoir for her failure since that work to break with its Existentialist individualism, or the failure of her brand of "Marxism" to begin working out the relationship of Marx's philosophy to the Women's Liberation Movement.

Some "commentators," including Charlotte Bunch and Audre Lorde, emphasized the need for interaction among different colors and classes of women in order to get to universals of theory. They also warned that seeing only our common oppression, or only celebrating our differences from men, leads to impasses. Christine Delphy, a French feminist, pointed to the need to know what it is we want: a revolution that will change our lives. Blanch Cook emphasized the interconnectedness of women's powerlessness, and worldwide racism and exploitation.

But the interest in theory that you could feel in the air was quickly frustrated by the abstractness of the presentations. Almost no minority women were there at all, and not one major paper was by a Black woman. There was almost no formal discussion of Marx's ideas, and a good deal of outright anti-Marxism, as well as reducing Marxism to only economics, or only the factory, or only about men.

I took the floor and discussed women's ideas for a new society as related to the Marxism of Marx. And I asked those women who are serious about theory not to accept the lies and misrepresentations about Marx, and raised for discussion the work that Raya Dunayevskaya has been doing on Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*.

—Anne Molly Jackson

counter-revolution knew that Anna Mae's life continued the high point of human creativity, individual and community self-development that was Wounded Knee, 1973. She was indeed dangerous to the racism, sexism, and capitalist exploitation that blocks human freedom all over the world.

The publication of the story of her life and death makes it possible for revolutionaries everywhere to read and discuss her ideas, and to take up her challenge to struggle for a truly human society.

—Susan Van Gelder



women-worldwide

Fu Yuehua, a 34-year-old woman who is a leader in the dissident Chinese Human Rights League, went on trial Oct. 17 for helping organize the mass rally of 100,000 peasants in Tien An Men Square Jan. 8. In 1973, Fu brought charges against the Party Secretary of her farm brigade for raping her, but a "service company investigation" found him innocent. She continued her charges, and as a result was denied any sort of work. She is only now being accused of "libel." Her trial is part of the current repression against Chinese dissidents.

Marilyn McCusker, one of four women who had filed a civil rights suit against the Pennsylvania Power & Electric Corp., owner of the Rushton Mine in which she won a job, became the first woman miner in documented U.S. history to die in an underground mine. Ms. McCusker was killed Oct. 2, while working as a roof bolter's helper, when a piece of roof fell on her. When her co-worker, Berniece Dombrowski called the mine to ask about funeral arrangements, the first thing they said to her was, "Well, are you ready to hang it up?" The Struggle Continues.

(Thanks to Helen Fogel, Detroit Free Press)

An active peasant opposition movement has grown out of a spontaneous organization begun by Polish peasant women in Ostrowek last summer. Two independent peasant papers, Peasants' Self-Defense Committees and a Peoples' University have developed, with teach-ins on how to organize to protest retirement laws, the terrible shortages, and bribes which all are forced to pay. There are also demands to preserve the history of peasant freedom struggles, better education and health care, paid maternity leave and more voice in peasant affairs.

Letter from Colletivo Casalinghe

(We print below excerpts from a "Letter to the German Women's Movement", written by the Housewives' Collective in Rome. The letter was published in the German feminist journal, *COURAGE*, in September—Ed.)

Dear Comrades in Germany, we are the Housewives' Collective in Rome, known to you through "Radio Donna." We are the women who were murderously attacked by the fascists on Jan. 9, 1979, during our broadcast . . .

Of the five women who were wounded in the fascist murder attempt in January, one—Anna—is still in the hospital . . . Gabrielka can only walk with crutches: her hip joint was shot and still has not healed. Nunni suffered bad burns on her right hand and face . . . Linda and Rossetta were shot in the legs, and the wounds are not yet entirely healed . . .

None of us receive medical benefits or pensions. Those of us who had jobs—before the attack—were working illegally and are therefore not covered by social insurance. We are indeed "only" housewives.

That we have gone into the New United Left is false. Only two women of our Housewives' Collective, Nunni and Rossetta, have joined . . . The Housewives' Collective works on as before, autonomous and independent.

But the threats of the fascists also continue. Our Housewives' Collective was a practice target for the fascists on Jan. 9. They quite consciously singled us out: we were to be silenced, because women have to keep silent and submit to men. But with our radio broadcasts we were trying to show many other housewives the way out of their four walls, their prison. Can anyone still wonder that we are a vexation to the fascists? And we are more than a vexation: we are a danger to the fascist wife-and-mother ideology!

Colletivo Casalinghe (Housewives' Collective)
Via del Governo Vecchio, 39, Roma

WORKER'S JOURNAL

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Of particular interest is his account of the civil rights movement in Lowndes County, where he opposed Stokely Carmichael's attempt to foment armed struggle through the original Black Panther Party.

"I told them that while Stokely had done many brave and good things, nobody could say for sure where he was going. He didn't have to live in Lowndes County while the Black people there, on the other hand, did have any other place to go . . . whatever freedom they were winning, and would continue to win, would have to be defended by them on their own grounds, in their own way, with their own methods."

Denby continued working in a Detroit auto plant and in the early '50s became the editor of *News Letters*, a paper designed to "provide a forum where workers could speak for themselves."

A FEW THEMES shine out from the book . . . Perhaps most fundamental is his belief in the power of self-initiated and self-directed action. In reflecting on the Montgomery bus boycott and the subsequent Black struggle, he commented, "No one can set the time, or place for the self activities of the Blacks, as Communists and other radical parties have always tried to do."

Second, he opposes the idea that there is "no Black question outside of the class question." This argument is used to keep Black struggles under the control of trade union officialdom.

A third theme is the development of workers' action independent of the union officialdom, and often directed against it . . . In Part II he writes that "the union now changed so totally that it is in absolute opposition to the workers and their struggles in the shop." In the 1940s sit-downs, for example, UAW officials like Doug Frazer attacked Chrysler for agreeing to workers' demands in negotiating with them.

Denby expresses a conviction that goes beyond any organization, any social group, any program. As he puts it at the conclusion of the original edition, "For the future I can't make any blueprints but I know where I'm best. That's in the plant with my friends on the line when we're fighting the company and fighting the union on an issue . . ."

Detroit readers!

Hear Charles Denby in Person

• Tuesday, Nov. 13, 7 p.m. at Wayne State U. Hilberry Lounge, Student Center Bldg.

• Thursday, Nov. 15, 7 p.m. at University of Detroit downtown campus (E. Jefferson at St. Antoine)

Free admission at both meetings.

Please call 873-8969 for more information.

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Bata shoe workers respond to plant closing

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

The strike of workers at the Bata Shoe Company which I wrote about last month entered a new phase with the decision of the company to close the shoe factory. Responding to an editorial in a local paper which blamed the workers for this, some 150 workers, mostly women, signed a letter of their own. I am turning over part of my column for excerpts:

"Local donations to Salem Redevelopment Corp. and government funds were used to reconstruct the building Bata leases. The employee turnover rate was high. This 'come and go' employee system Bata favored was paid for by federal taxes—yours and ours. Bata was reimbursed through various government agencies for training new employees. It seems we spawned a parasite that fed (off of) our labor and gave little in return. "The operation here was conducted with almost complete disregard for the welfare of the employee. Management was aware of our problems, low wages, no job security, doubtful seniority rights, poor benefits, eager pension plan, unfair and biased treatment of employees and little, if any hope of advancement. Many

Food workers form new union

Berkeley, Cal.—For the past two months, workers at a Berkeley restaurant, The Bateau Ivre, have been engaged in a picketing and boycott action against their employers. The labor dispute came to a head in August when 23 of the restaurant workers, including wait-people, cooks and dishwashers, were fired as a result of their efforts to form a union.

The picketing has been quite effective, cutting business by 90 percent. And despite various attempts made by the owners to undermine the union drive, workers have remained committed to the struggle to organize a union. A worker said, "Our union is a necessity due to continuous harassment of employees, low wage scales, extremely bad working conditions, indiscriminate firing and sexist hiring practices." Seventeen workers have been fired in the past year.

Only one person out of 17 kitchen and bar workers at a woman. The employees have elected to join a brand-new union, the Restaurant, Bar, and Coffeehouse Union (RBCU). The bylaws submitted to the National Labor Relations Board were written by the workers themselves. According to another worker, "The present unionizing effort hopes to incorporate other houses in the area once it gets established, and offer presently organized workers a democratic union."

employees with Bata 10 to 15 years were receiving basic minimum wage or slightly more. Pay rates were being cut, and wages were going down. Would you accept this? . . ."

A worker, Nancy Sowder, in her own letter writes: "I have not lost 15 years of seniority, because I never had any seniority rights. If I could turn the clock back four months, I can assure you I would still vote the same way on whether or not to strike."

As a worker who had joined these Bata workers on the picket line last August, and who had been with them a year ago as they fought for union recognition, it hurts me deeply to see them being thrown out of work by a corporation that would rather run out of the country than pay workers more than minimum wage and grant seniority and other basic rights.

It seems that today, unionism alone is not the answer. We fight for a union and then either see it turn into its opposite and not represent the workers as it should, or we see an anti-worker company like Bata Shoe close up shop to avoid a union. To me it means that working people can no longer separate their fight for a union for decent wages and working conditions on the job, from their fight for a totally new society from the bottom up, worldwide.

Working with News and Letters Committees has put my 25 years in the labor movement within that perspective of a fight for a new human society. That is the kind of activity I would urge my fellow workers of Bata Shoe to think about and work towards.

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

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Detroit, Mich. 48211 (873-8969)

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Los Angeles, Cal. 90029

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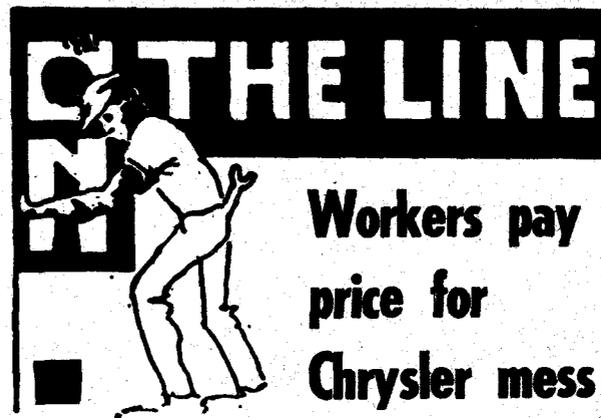
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182 Upper Street,

London, N1, England



by John Allison

A lot of people are calling Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca a miracle worker. The Chrysler workers aren't calling him that—what they're calling him can't be printed.

The fact is that for all the great sacrifices Iacocca is asking everybody to make for Chrysler profits, the ones who are riding high in this whole mess is Chrysler management. Those top dogs won't lose a dime of their millions in salaries they get unless Chrysler stock drops below \$8 a share.

As for the rank-and-file workers, they've lost plenty already and stand to lose a lot more. The \$206 million that the UAW is giving Chrysler under the contract negotiated by UAW President Fraser is just the very beginning of this round of UAW give-aways.

In the last contract, we saw that the Supplemental Unemployment Benefit provision was re-negotiated to protect seniority workers with 10 or more years at Chrysler. Now the seniority workers need protection all right—but so do all of the other laid-off workers.

The way it is now, Chrysler would have to work 20 weeks full time for there to be enough in the SUB fund to pay benefits to laid-off young workers. And nobody expects that to happen very soon, so that means long layoffs for young workers with little hope for work on the horizon.

There's also the deferment of the pension payments for two years. Now that involves not only the money that Chrysler won't pay into the pension fund, it also means millions in interest lost to the workers. So we hear about this fund and that fund and what Chrysler would have been paying, as if Chrysler put the money into the funds.

Chrysler didn't put a dime into any fund. It is all made by Chrysler workers, with Chrysler management just giving back a few crumbs. And now, even some of those crumbs are taken away from workers in taxes, taxes on SUB and even unemployment compensation.

These are just the economics that form the tip of the iceberg that keeps grinding the workers. The bottom that really does the crushing is in the shop—where the speed-up, loss of representation and unsafe conditions take a toll that can't be measured in dollars and cents. But they are measured in human life, and rank-and-file workers will pay a far worse price there than they will in their pocketbook.

Fraser may be willing for the Chrysler workers to pay that price, but the rank-and-file has already shown that it has different ideas by their wildcat strikes. This Chrysler situation is far from over, and the Chrysler workers will have a lot to say—and do—about it.

(Bulletin: As we go to press, Fraser has just signed the new Chrysler contract and been slated for the the Chrysler Board of Directors. Look for our analysis next issue.)

Unrest grows at Art Steel

South Bronx, N.Y.—Exactly three weeks after the Sept. 11 wildcat sitdown strike at Art Steel, it almost happened again on day shift. The facts seem to be this. A worker went to the toilet for 15 minutes, and the supervisor began yelling at him and chewing him out over this. The worker finally had enough, picked up a large wrench used for setting up the presses, and sent the supervisor to the hospital.

But because of the sitdown three weeks ago over just such a fight between workers and management, both the worker and the supervisor, who's been with the company over 20 years, were fired! That was the only way for management to avoid another wildcat.

The newer night shift has its problems, too, like confronting a union, District 65, UAW that acts like a company union. Many just assume the union is getting paid to forget the workers. At a recent union meeting, workers demanded to get stewards who can answer a straight question; to get paid for the Friday they were arbitrarily suspended; to get raises and back pay for classified jobs; and to see a copy of the contract.

The union had its answers all ready, promising "to investigate." People left feeling nothing would really change.

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — For three months there has been only one production shift and it doesn't look like the second shift is coming back. The problem is the second shift represented the younger workers, and since the older workers have been put on the most back-breaking line operations.

One worker said, "They've rolled us back to the jobs we did 10 years ago and we just can't take it!" Over 400 workers have been forced to go out on sick leave, so exhausting and painful is the work. On top of this, the work days are nine hours, and were over nine hours before a confrontation on the shop floor.

The company had said that until a memorandum on overtime is handed in they have the right to work workers as long as they want. One worker called his committeeman, who backed up management. The worker told both him and the foreman, "If you have that right, then we have the right to not work."

The next day the Shop Committee chairman came to the floor and was forced to say, "We've been on plan A (nine hours maximum work) all the time."

—South Gate worker

Dodge Main

Hamtramck, Mich. — After not receiving a SUB check since July, I was finally called back at Dodge Main. But I was only there four hours before they sent me home. Right now there are only 24 people running the 2. All the shifts are over nine hours, six days a week. The company told the union leadership that if there was any resistance to the nine hours, they would start firing people beginning with the union leadership itself. Already, the vice-president of Local 3 was forced to quit — they told him he would have to go back on the line. He gave up his seniority and got a job down at Solidarity House.

The union leadership has broken down and the company has made them all fear for their own jobs.

I and a few other women called down to Solidarity House to protest the nine hour shift while there are so many people laid off. They said it was "tough" because nothing in the contract says that Chrysler can't work you nine hours.

Chrysler is so afraid of what workers will do that one day they had the plant gate heavily guarded with the Hamtramck police dept., along with plant security. And in front of them all was the president of the local yelling at people standing around and talking to each other to go inside. I believe now that things are so bad for workers and Black people that we really don't have anything to lose. We need to get together and begin talking to each other about what to do.

—Laid off Dodge Main worker

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich.—The International UAW spent \$2 million to bring all Chrysler union reps to Kansas City because President Fraser needs to sell us a bad contract. But without a strike nothing will change at Dodge Truck. It's the worst now it's been in 15 years! Metal shop runs as high as 53 jobs an hour with less people.

People get days off right and left for missed welds and "poor quality". Management is really burning people up that way with the computer; they put your name in, and you get whatever discipline it spits out. Foremen laugh at chief stewards who write grievances in this situation. Our Local 140 officers had even encouraged the stewards to write them after changeover, but now those grievances get taken out of procedure in the third step.

What's going to happen to the \$75,000 for one department only in unsettled pay grievances? That's not counting health and safety problems—you don't hear about them any more. They can't even keep up with management ignoring the seniority lists!

We lost Compact building—and 1,200 jobs—without a fight. But we are determined to fight this contract.

—Dodge Truck worker

Readers' Views

BLACK MASSES, BLACK LEADERS

I was stunned when I saw Rev. Lowery and the leaders of SCLC on TV praising the PLO in Lebanon on the very same day that the PLO boasted of setting off the bombing in Jerusalem that killed and wounded dozens. It was a grotesque and cynical scene to see them embracing, knowing that this was the organization of Dr. King. Why didn't they just leave?

Civil rights activist
Tennessee

After several months the Los Angeles Police Commission finally came up with a report on the Eula Love shooting by the two policemen, saying it occurred due to sloppy police work. Police Chief Gates had said, "It's about time we say something to the people in this community about not attempting to solve this problem with violence."

This is what the Police Commissioner's report said. But to me, a white worker, Gates and the L.A. Police try to solve all problems through violence. Only the people themselves can give these killer-cops the kind of trial they deserve.

GM worker
Los Angeles

The union called me to come to a meeting to save the plant I'm laid-off from—Dodge Main. But the only thing they did there was sing "Save Dodge Main!" It's the same with Jesse Jackson and all the Black leaders who are going over to the Middle East. Are they going there because they can't do anything for Black people in this country? I'm disgusted with all of them.

Black woman worker
Detroit

FIRST COMING OF JOHN PAUL

Less than two weeks ago, I was watching the Pope tell Boston's white, Christian citizens about "brotherhood." When the TV interviewed people, they went on and on about how the Pope had been such a "new force" in their lives. Now I watch TV and see school buses stoned because they are carrying Black children. I see Black couples attacked in Boston Commons by gangs of whites, just for "fun." The hypocrisy of this country is sickening!

Ex-Catholic
Missouri

From the phraseology in Pope John Paul II's speech at Drogheda, it is widely believed that it was at least compiled by members of the Irish Catholic hierarchy. The appeal for renunciation by those involved in (anti-state) violence received the most media coverage.

Church criticism of Irish freedom fighters is nothing new. At earlier times they were even excommunicated. Despite the huge emotional response to the remarkable personality of this man, and

the carnival atmosphere enjoyed by most people, even those most uplifted on a personal level remained very critical of such a conservative line on contraceptives, women's role, etc., so are unlikely to take much account of the opinions he stated on the struggle against imperialism.

Eibhlín Ní Sheidhir
Dublin, Ireland

Everything here for the past few days has been Pope, Pope, Pope. He is the epitome of the "decadent Europe"—that barbarous peaceful co-existence with everything from fascism to Communist totalitarianism, which today in Chicago demanded continued inferiority for women in the church, suddenly has a "human face." It reminds me so much of what Hegel wrote in the preface to the *Phenomenology*: "By the little which now satisfies Spirit, we can measure the extent of its loss."

Observer
Chicago

MORE OIL FAKERY

Shell Oil has just made a firm commitment to purchase the little known Belridge Oil Co. for the sum of \$3.6 billion. This firm, largely privately owned, has proven reserves of no less than 376 million barrels, mostly in so-called heavy oil, which has recently become price de-controlled on orders of President Carter. The oil reserves' rate of exploitation has been very low, depending more on how much money the Belridge family needed, not how much production the country required.

How many other proven reserves are sitting around in private hands waiting for the fast-buck boys to make an offer?

Peter Mallory
Detroit

DOMINICAN QUESTIONS

I read in the newspaper that people in the Dominican Republic are still begging for food, clothes and medicine. So I ask, what the heck has been happening with what people have been sending from here and other countries? A friend just back from D.R. told me the answer is that the Red Cross and the National Guard have been keeping the best for their families and friends, and selling the rest to the people. The prices are so high no one can afford them.

A sergeant of the National Guard was caught selling food, and all that happened to him was that they lowered his rank so now he can "work" his way back up again. Do you think that's right after a hurricane has hit a people so hard?

Dominicana
New York

CHINESE REVOLT 'REKINDLED'

In the past several weeks the smouldering ashes of Peking Spring, which had died down after the March/April crackdown have rekindled! People were marching down Peking in great numbers on the 30th anniversary of the PRC. Although by and large Peking Spring is heading in a mistaken direction (e.g. the banner leading the march on Jan. 10, 1979 read: "Protect the rights contained in the Constitution"), a recently revived underground paper, (*Enquiry*, perhaps the most famous one) has confirmed what we suspected from shreds of tenuous evidence. The most revolutionary struggles have happened, not in Peking, but in other parts of China, like Hainan island. *Enquiry's* latest issue says that several hundred people have been killed in clashes with the PLA (People's Liberation Army) in Hainan. He believe the report is not far from the truth.

Thank you for sending Raya's report "On the Threshold of the 1980s." Some new comrades are very interested in knowing more about the history and organizational aspects of News and Letters Committees. Could you send us some material?

Our translation of Peking Spring underground material are progressing. Meanwhile, we are still offering *Minus 5* for sale for \$2.50 per copy to U.S. readers. Order from:

Minus 5/1984 Bookshop
180 Lockhart Rd.
1/F, Wanchai
Hong Kong

I really appreciated the information on Chinese dissidents you published in the last issue of *N&L*. It is so refreshing to see a Left paper that is not in anyone's camp (U.S., Russia or China) and still know so much about what is going on all over the world. Could you send me any more information about Chiang Ch'ing and the power struggle in China? The reports are that her trial will start soon, and I want to know more about it.

New reader
Connecticut

Ed. Note: "Sexism, Politics and Revolution," written in 1977 by Raya Dunayevskaya at the height of the vilification campaign against the "gang of four" by Chairman Hua takes up both sides in the power struggle. It tests their stories (including Roxanne Witke's on Chiang Ch'ing) against the practice of the Chinese masses, especially the women. The pamphlet is available from *N&L* for 50c, plus postage.

RELIGION AND WOMEN

I was really struck with the article in the Oct. *N&L* from an Iranian woman on religion and women in her country. It was shocking to learn about the "temporary wives" they have over there, where a rich man can hire a woman for as long as he wants — in addition to four "regular wives." It seems like in Iran there is such a close relation between religion and counter-revolution, that it made me think about our Black movement in the U.S.A. Isn't it time we faced the role of our own caste of male-only preachers and teachers that appointed themselves to lead the Black movement?

Tommie Hope
Detroit

ANTI-NUKE STRUGGLES

I saw in the union paper that David Livingston, president of District 65, UAW, was a keynote speaker at the large anti-nuclear rally here. It is fine that he is against this destruction of the environment. But he should look in his own backyard, take time to come down to our shop and see the shape of our environment there—paint spray, welding fumes, sanding dust and benzene are in the air and the noise is deafening.

One worker called paint department a death trap, and he is 100 percent right. When the painters go home they blow their noses and paint comes out all night.

Art Steel worker
Bronx, N.Y.

At first I was confused by the mass outpouring for the anti-nuke rally at Battery Park Sept. 23. I was worried that most of those 225,000 people were only there for the music. However, after listening to the lyrics of songs, I found that they were quite revolutionary and that it was the speakers who were worthless, talking only of solar energy and other narrow alternatives. It was the musicians who were answering people's

fear over nuclear war, calling for a new society. They were cheered by the participants, whereas Nader, Hayden and others only bored the people.

Bonnie Mullaney
New York

Recently there was a showing of an anti-nuke film in my high school on the Brown's Ferry nuclear accident in the early 1970s. After the showing, the teacher said that the only way to change nuclear power is to appeal to the government for help, as they have the power to change things. After the class, I went up to her and said, if people had thought that way in fighting against exploitation, none of the great revolutions would have every happened.

High school student
Los Angeles

APPEAL FROM 'PULS'

Puls, one of the underground Polish literary publications cannot continue to function without our support. Its stories — including articles from Leszek Kolakowski and other writers speaking against the regime — will not be able to appear, as their duplicating machine has totally broken down. Such a machine would be used by the whole opposition movement in Lodz and the neighboring area. Please send contributions to:

Pomost
3242 N. Pulaski Rd.
Chicago, Ill. 60641

FORD'S BODY COUNTS

One of Ford Motor Co.'s arguments against tighter auto fire safety standards, made public in an ongoing court case here, reminds me of former Ford president Robert McNamara's "cost-efficient" analysis of the Vietnam War. According to Ford's calculations, allowing 180 people to be roasted alive and another 180 to be horribly burned each year in exploding automobiles will bring an annual net gain of 87.5 million dollars to the national economy. They make a desert and call it — profit.

Burned up
Chicago

FIGHTING TORY INSANITY

The campaign against racist deportations in Oxford has a victory to celebrate. Akram Dogar, the nine-year-old the government was trying to deport as an "illegal Pakistani immigrant" has been allowed to stay. As great as it is to keep Akram from being snatched from his parents and dumped on the other side of the world, it is overshadowed by the fact that right now over 200 people sit in British prisons without trial, awaiting deportation.

The Tory government has brought to the surface some of the ugly prejudices of those in power. Brigadier Roger Stretfield, county council education committee chairman, glorified the severe cuts in services now being instituted. Some of his gems are: "A school dinner of bread and soup is sufficient. When I was in the army I got by on bully beef and biscuits." He denounced women who have children and "can't afford them," but when reminded that contraceptives were fallible, answered: "The commonest cause of cancer among women is sleeping around with too many men."

The opposite to Stretfield's ravings can be seen in the determination of workers to fight the cuts, and in support for anti-deportation struggles. The situation in Britain is full of potential, and I am sure that the time is right for beginning a serious Marxist-Humanist organization.

Dick Abernethy
Oxford, England

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TWO WORLDS

LEON TROTSKY: A CRITIQUE

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of *PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION*
and *Marxism and Freedom*

EDITOR'S NOTE: On this hundredth anniversary of Leon Trotsky's birth, we are printing brief excerpts from a new *Political-Philosophic Letter* by Raya Dunayevskaya, "The Two Russian Revolutions, and Once Again, on the Theory of Permanent Revolution." The full letter is available from *News & Letters* for 75¢, postage included. Dear Friends:

The Revolutions of 1905 and 1917 have forever enshrined Trotsky's great historical role. The same two Revolutions, however, tell a very contradictory story about the theory with which Trotsky's name will likewise always be connected as he is the creator of the 20th century version of the theory of the Permanent Revolution. The expression, "contradictory story," is not a reference to the critiques of that theory, mine included . . .

Recently, in restudying the 1905-07 Revolution as turning point in Rosa Luxemburg's life, the 1907 London Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (in Russian abbreviated RSDRP; in English, RSDLP) became crucial, not just in regard to her views, but to those of Lenin and Trotsky—and, for that matter, all other tendencies in Russia, as it was that united Congress of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks that, for once, all tendencies attended . . .

Let's begin at the beginning, with Trotsky's participation in that 1907 Congress which revolved around the 1905 Revolution. Let's remember that this occurs after Trotsky had reached the highest point of activity with the General Strike led by the St. Petersburg Soviet, which he headed. Not only was that a high-point of revolution. It became the highest point of Trotsky's theoretical development, as he drew from it what later became known as the theory of Permanent Revolution. Absolutely no one, including Lenin and Luxemburg, matched the leap in cognition which proclaimed that backward Russia, involved in a bourgeois revolution, could be the one not only to have the revolution before the advanced countries, but—in

Absolutist Russia—to reach for socialism "in an unbroken chain." That expression, "unbroken chain," which referred concretely to the 1905 Russian Revolution—and not just the concept of permanent revolution which Marx had developed in his 1850 Address to the Communist League—was the issue in dispute.

IT IS TROTSKY'S original projection, which was later to become known as the theory of Permanent Revolution but which was not on the agenda of that 1907 Congress because Lenin's proposal to discuss "The Present Moment of Revolution" was defeated by the Mensheviks—with Trotsky's help. Here is what Trotsky said in that dispute:

"What I want is that the Congress, from beginning to end, be political, that it be a gathering of revolutionary representatives of the Party, and not a club, be it of doubtful or even non-doubtful Marxists, bent on general discussions. I need political directives, and not your general philosophical deliberations about the character of the present moment of our revolution . . . Give us a formula for action! That's what I need."*

When the Congress got down to discussing the one "general", i.e., theoretical, question—the relationship of Social-Democracy (as Marxism was then called) to bourgeois parties . . . Trotsky did not present a resolution different from the one the Bolsheviks presented, though he tried to amend that one. Indeed, he reproduced his speech in the 1922 edition of 1905 precisely to show that he opposed the Mensheviks and voted with the Bolsheviks. Yet in the years immediately following the Congress he wrote a whole series of articles attacking the Bolsheviks as well as the Mensheviks. The major one (and the one he was proud enough to reproduce in the 1922 edition of his 1905) was the article entitled "Our Differences" that had been published in Luxemburg's paper in 1909. Here is how it concluded:

*From Minutes of the 1907 Fifth Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party, in Pyaty (Londonskii) 5' ezd RSDRP, April-mai 1907 goda, Protokoly, (Moscow, 1963), p. 49. (My translation.)

EDITORIAL SALT II no cure for military insanity

As the campaign for the ratification of the SALT II treaty reaches its climax—a televised debate on the Senate floor which President Carter has promised in advance will be a "superb contribution to the awareness of the American people"—a deepening anxiety is spreading, not about whether Carter or the ultra-right will prevail, but about what new military escalations the debate will spawn.

It is a fear that is all-too-well justified by the history of SALT. From its first signing in 1972 to today, every pronouncement of a new "arms control" breakthrough by the nuclear titans, the U.S. and Russia, has meant new experimentations by their respective military establishments on how to kill off humanity.

The debate ahead is sure to see the treaty opponents try to out-do each other and Carter with displays of hawkishness. Senator Nunn's demand that military spending, already at \$135.5 billion, be increased five percent a year after inflation—instead of Carter's three percent proposal—has been well publicized, as has Senator Jackson's continued mouthings that SALT II amounts to "appeasement".

MAMMOTH MX MISSILE PROJECT

Yet more chilling than the idiocies of a Jackson is the current reality of ever-greater preparations for nuclear war, from the cruise missile through "space war" projects to the newest horror—the MX missile. Proposed by Carter as he left to sign SALT II in Vienna, the magnitude of the MX is now revealed as truly fantastic.

Air Force General Guy Hecker, Jr. exuberantly proclaimed it "man's largest project, larger than the Great Wall, larger than the Pyramids, larger than the Alaska pipeline or the Panama Canal." Indeed, budgeted at up to \$60 billion, the MX and its underground "racetracks" will take 150,000 workers seven years to build, spread from near Salt Lake City to the California/Nevada border and require so much water—100 billion gallons—in the middle of the most arid part of the country, that planners are talking of diverting water from the Pacific Northwest for its construction!

This, in the midst of simultaneous recession and inflation, which the militarization of the economy largely created, beginning with Lyndon Johnson's lie that we could have "guns and butter" during the Vietnam War. Such massive production for destruction cannot but accelerate the crises in the world economy, and enforce Federal Reserve head Paul Volcker's threat that "if inflation is to be reduced, the standard of living of the average American has to decline."

Nor did President Carter's Oct. 1 speech to the nation about Russian troops in Cuba offer much consolation. The press reports praising his "restraint" did not dwell on the specific measures he put into effect: the new Caribbean Task Force; the stepped-up maneuvers in the Gulf of Mexico; and the Rapid Deployment Force, able to transport 100,000 troops anywhere on earth to wage war instantly. The threat was not lost on either the new Nicaraguan revolution or Mexico with its suddenly strategic oil.

STAND-OFF IN EUROPE

Rivaling Carter's performance was that of Russia's Brezhnev, who grandly offered to pull 20,000 troops and 1,000 tanks out of East Germany, and negotiate reductions in the number of "mid-range" missiles, if only the U.S. and NATO not deploy 572 cruise and Pershing II missiles now planned for December. In truth, Brezhnev now has 250,000 soldiers in East Germany, and total Warsaw Pact forces of 1.3 million are matched only by NATO's 1.2 million.

Brezhnev's proposal did add to the charges and counter-charges flying across the Atlantic among the allies about who is or is not increasing war spending by the agreed-upon three percent a year, with China's Hua Guo-feng even getting into the act, touring West Europe for "military preparedness". Whether one looks at the \$140 billion a year that Russia spends on its armed forces, or the similar astronomical sum spent by the U.S.—together they account for over 60 percent of world military spending—it is clear that the proposals and counter-proposals for "arms control" are yet another aspect of the path toward World War III.

The past months of escalating military insanity have surely been a factor in the mass character of the new demonstrations by the anti-nuke movement from Battery Park, New York to Bonn, West Germany, and from the Philippines to Canada (See Youth column, p. 7). The serious discussions within that movement make clear that for many of the protestors—if not for those leaders pushing solar technology or their new party—the threat of nuclear destruction comes not only from nuclear power plants, but from nuclear war-heads as well.

In the months ahead, as the SALT II debate and the new political-economic-military crises dominate the headlines, the direction of the anti-nuke movement will be tested as never before. In confronting the system that spawned such nightmares as Hiroshima and Three Mile Island, it can help to bring forth a new way of thinking, and be a part of the necessary preparation for a whole new world.

" . . . while the anti-revolutionary aspects of Menshevism have already become fully apparent, those of Bolshevism are likely to become a serious threat only in the event of victory." (1905, Vintage Books, 1972, p. 316.)

As if that were not a fantastic enough statement to make in 1909 in "predicting" the future revolution, Trotsky in 1922—that is to say, nearly five years after Lenin had led the greatest revolution in history—superciliously footnoted the 1909 statement as follows:

"Note to the present edition. This threat, as we know, never materialized because, under the leadership of Comrade Lenin, the Bolsheviks changed their policy line on this most important matter (not without inner struggle) in the spring of 1917, that is, before the seizure of power. (Author)." (1905, p. 317 fn.) . . .

THE POINT IS, what happened in those intervening 12 years between 1905 and 1917? As we already saw, in 1907 he did not wish to discuss the nature of the present moment of the revolution. In 1909 he published the above cited criticism of Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. In 1910 he followed it up with an article in *Neue Zeit*,* where the first point Trotsky made was: "Theory cannot replace experience."

As if 1905 meant, not the greatest experience ever—be it for him or the Russian proletariat and peasantry, as well as for the world working class—but only

*"Die Entwicklungstendenzen der russischen Sozialdemokratie" by Leon Trotsky, *Neue Zeit* Year 28, Vol. 2, Sept. 9, 1910, pp. 860-871.

(Continued on Page 8)

Living history of U.S. revolutionary forces
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Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

BLACK-RED VIEW Black leadership split

by John Alan

During the past weeks we have witnessed a major rupture within the ranks of Black American leadership. And, after various Black leaders have gone on their "pilgrimage" to the Middle East, to either confer with Arafat of the PLO or with Prime Minister Begin of Israel, we have seen that rupture grow wider. It is growing at a time when the masses of Black people no longer trust the established Black leadership.

Caught in a dilemma of isolation, which they created for themselves by narrowing the Black struggles for liberation down to simply a game of playing politics with capitalism, Black middle class leaders are unable to deal concretely with the economic, social and political issues faced by most Black people daily. They can only approach these issues abstractly, by "raising" them to the level of a Black foreign policy for the Middle East, or reducing the whole problem to that of Blacks vs. Jews.

The firing of Andrew Young, the issue that brought 200 Black leaders to New York City post-haste last August, has all but receded into the background of history. Young is devoting himself to the re-election campaign of President Carter, and Black middle class tempers have been mollified by the replacement of Young at the UN with another Black, Ambassador McHenry.

As events have developed since the resolutions of "unity" passed Aug. 22, what has emerged is not "our declaration of independence" as psychologist Kenneth Clark described it, but the total dependency of Black middle class leadership upon capitalism, crudely exposed as each group of leaders scrambled to secure their political and economic position with the powers-that-be,

Resurgent racism, Black revolt, Black leaders' escapism

(Continued from Page 1)

over 1,000 signed a petition demanding the firing of the racists. Even when they were finally transferred out of the plant, the new protest organization continued.

Most telling of all has been the permanent depression conditions for Black America in employment. The depth of the resurgent racism, its roots in the very structure of American capitalism, can be seen in the grim economic statistics of this year, of the 1970s, indeed of the last quarter of a century. The current recession has already produced official unemployment rates of 11 percent overall for Blacks. For Black youth, the average unemployment rate has skyrocketed to 35 percent, and in some cities, well over 50 percent. In Detroit, Black youth are unemployed at a rate more than three times that of white youth, and the gulf is growing with the new recession, as lay-offs drive the youngest workers out of the plants first.

WHAT KIND OF INTERNATIONALISM?

So serious is the crisis for Black America today that the very different direction posed by Black leadership stands out all the more starkly. The constant maneuvering of the leadership in the 1970s has, in truth, been away from the movement of the Black masses. Those leaders are once again looking for a platform and for "funding." Yet instead of seeking it at home, and testing themselves in relation to the movement, some have chosen to jump to the Middle East — a Middle East not of Palestinians, of Arab masses, but of an Arafat, a Khadafy, an Assad and a Sadat.

In concentrating on struggles in the U.S.A., it is not to ignore the historic internationalism of the Black movement in this country, which in our time has included Dr. Martin Luther King's stand against the Vietnam War and the outpouring of support for the freedom struggle in South Africa after Soweto 1976. Yet the

Save Cook County Hospital!

Chicago, Ill.—About 1,000 people rallied in downtown Chicago on Oct. 13, demanding that Cook County Hospital not be closed. The hospital has told its 6,000 workers that there are no funds for its next payroll.

There is no other hospital in the city that is going to take the patients from County. There are over 7,000 births at County each year, and over 40,000 patients. Any other hospital in the city will cost you three or four times more.

I was born in Cook County Hospital. It was always my goal to go to medical school, and go back to work at County, rather than in private practice to make a lot of money. There are different views among medical students. Some of my classmates were at the demonstration, but others don't care.

The more I'm involved with it, the more it is clear they're just interested in profit. There's no concern for the human being. The government knows that when you have a place like Cook County Hospital close, there's going to be people who are going to die. It will put thousands of people in jeopardy. Working people as it is now don't have the money or the time to go to see a doctor.

—Black medical student

or the possible powers-to-be.

It is easy to spot the conservatism of leaders like Hooks, Jordan and Rustin, and show that the vested interests of their organizations lie outside of the struggle for real Black liberation in the U.S. But the political actions of Reverend Lowery and Reverend Jackson are likewise not moving toward Black liberation in the U.S., or Palestinian liberation in the Middle East. Jesse Jackson has expressed concern with Palestinian self-determination, but this concern demands an answer to the question: is Palestinian liberation, in the truest sense, realizable through the politics of oil, or by the objective support of either American or Russian imperialism in the Middle East?

Before Jackson's departure to the Middle East, he informed the media that he was taking this trip in an effort to insure the supply of oil that the U.S. economy needed. If this oil failed to flow, in his opinion, then there would be a lot more Black unemployment and suffering in the U.S.

Black unemployment, racism, and Black suffering is not tied to oil flow: there was a hell of a lot of that when oil was cheap and plentiful, and these conditions have existed throughout the entire history of the U.S.! Black unemployment is due to the law of capitalist production. That system has long ago thrown vast numbers of Black workers into permanent unemployment as it seeks to accumulate more and more capital.

Exposing the conditions under which Palestinians live will remain an abstraction for the masses of Black people if Black leaders fail to do anything to combat similar conditions which exist in the U.S.

road Jackson, Lowery and the others have taken in the Middle East is as far outside that revolutionary internationalist tradition as it is from events in Decatur, Alabama and Boston, Mass. It is a road ever further away from genuine Black liberation, from a total uprooting of this barbarous U.S.A. (See "Black-Red View," this page).

No one can know all the possible twists and turns on this road in the months ahead, but one member of the PLO's Executive Council, who disagreed with Jackson's visit to the Middle East, questioned whether Jackson's "shuttle diplomacy" between Arafat and Sadat was not in concert with President Carter's own design for the Middle East. And what exactly was Hosea Williams, veteran of every Southern Civil Rights campaign, doing in Libya, embracing Col. Khadafy, who had bankrolled mass murderers of Africans like Bokassa and Amin? In the Middle East cauldron, where the superpowers as well as small powers are contending, no jumping in without a philosophy of revolution can lead to anywhere but anti-revolutionary ends.

In the meantime, the self-determination of the Palestinian people is being reduced by some Black leadership — as it has already been reduced by the powers big and small, by the Arab governments and by much of the Left — to the PLO alone. Self-determination for a whole people cannot be reduced to that of an organization.**

There is no way out of such convoluted dead ends except by returning to home ground. And not the narrow political "home ground" of such leaders as Ben Hooks or Vernon Jordan who, in criticizing the Middle East trips, have nevertheless confined their attentions to the courts, and the executive board rooms of corporations, where they are carrying on a "dialogue" with the system. The point is not "home" versus "abroad". The point is the self-activity of the Black masses and the relation to those struggles.

BLACK YOUTH LEAD—SOUTH AND NORTH

In Mississippi and Alabama, the past year has seen new beginnings in the movement, with daily challenges to the KKK, to rigged elections, to racist factories in the "New South." From the United League in northern Mississippi to the Decatur, Alabama marches, there is a determination among the youth not seen since the Civil Rights days of the 1960s. Yet the leaders who came to Decatur twice to march have not been seen there since the Middle East controversy began.

In the North — and specifically in racist Boston — some 1,800 Black youth dared to hold a protest march against the sniper shooting of yet another Black high school student, walking into a sea of hundreds of thousands of whites going to hear the Pope, and demanding that he look at the real conditions of "human rights" in Boston.

Never was it demonstrated more clearly that we have two worlds right within our nation. The revolutionary ideas for uprooting the old and creating the new are within those new struggles, from Boston to Mississippi. The challenge for all of us becomes how to unite thought and action as the process of revolutionary transformation, here at home as well as abroad.

**See "Lebanon: the test not only of the P.L.O., but the whole Left" in War, Peace or Revolution—Shifting Alliances in the Middle East by Raya Dunayevskaya, \$1.

Iran

(Continued from Page 1)

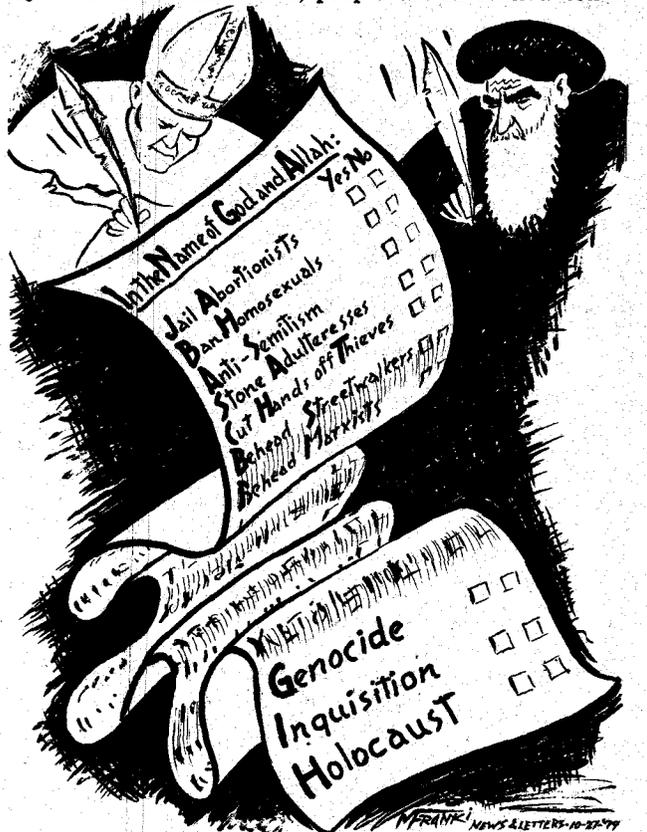
a spontaneous demonstration the day after the attack, demanding the headquarters be given back. But the Fedayeen issued a leaflet, asking for no demonstrations for at least two weeks.

Other organizations argued against this, but the Fedayeen held to its position. The whole atmosphere in Tehran turned passive. Nobody came out. All the Left books sold at bookstores were put away.

All of this took place in the very midst of the Kurdistan revolution. Exactly at the time that Kurdistan needed vast support from the rest of the country, there was no organized force to publicize the news of the Kurdistan people.

WORKERS OPPOSE CAPITALISM

On one side, we have Kurdistan events, and on the other side we have the workers in the factories still confused about the nature of Khomeini's government. There are still some dark clouds covering their eyes. At this crucial time, people are in such a condi-



tion that at one time they oppose capitalism, and at another time they view Khomeini as an anti-capitalist.

The government has granted workers high wages, passing a law doubling minimum wages, and has promised to build housing for every single worker.

In individual factories, the workers are opposing capitalism and its representatives in the factory. Anytime there is going to be a discussion on raising wages, there is a meeting of the representatives of the workers, of the so-called Ministry of Labor, and of the capitalists.

All three sit down but cannot resolve their discussion, because the contradictions grow. In the end, they have a big fight, and sometimes the workers take the capitalist representative as hostage to the Ministry of Justice and have a sit-in strike. There have been cases when Khomeini's guards have attacked the workers and their sit-in strike.

While the general condition is still support of Khomeini, the movement from below is step by step finding its way through and coming to understand that Khomeini is not the answer to the workers' problems. The workers need to experience the government in their own lives so they can realize the nature of it. **NEED FOR NEW ORGANIZATIONAL FORM**

While the workers, with experience, will come to stage the final battle with the existing government, we have the Left, and the new forces among the Left, who really need to find a way to match their own struggle with the struggle of the workers, with the struggle of the national minorities for self-emancipation, with the struggle of women fighting Khomeini's government.

We need in Iran a form of organization that will unify with the spontaneity of the people. The Left has actually been isolated from the masses. We have been lacking an organization which matches the content of a philosophy of organization.

Some new forces have learned a lesson from the recent period. They are seeking new ways in order to continue the revolution, seeking forms of organization for the present day—forms that will be in unity with the masses, with their creativity. It will be the combination of Marx's revolutionary philosophy with its organizational form. That is the real need in Iran today.

—Iranian student



by Peter Wermuth

The two most recent anti-nuclear demonstrations making international headlines, the march of 100,000 in Bonn, West Germany, Oct. 14, and the rally of over 200,000 in New York City, Sept. 23, are being discussed as showing how massive opposition to nuclear power has become. But what struck me in these two events is how quickly contradictions have emerged from within the anti-nuclear movement that threaten to stifle its further development.

At both the New York and Bonn rallies, the most visible spokespersons were either those trying to tie anti-nuke into the Citizens Party in the U.S. and the electoral Green Slate in Germany, or those trying to narrow the issue to nukes alone.

While such "leaders" clearly do not speak for the whole of the anti-nuclear movement—the New York rally, for instance, brought out tens of thousands of high school students, many of them thirsting for involvement in a genuine freedom movement—the truth is that a sizeable section of anti-nuke is so concerned with quantity alone, numbers of faces at demonstrations, that the voices and ideas of those demanding

Anti-nuke: where to now?

total human liberation are smothered.

Take the recent 11-week strike at the Windscale reactor in England of 100 fitters and riggers who walked off the job after a radiation leak contaminated eight workers. Doesn't that in itself show how organic the connection is between exploitative conditions workers face daily in every industry, with the issue of nuclear power?

Or look at the potential opened up with the internationalist dimension of the anti-nuclear movement, its most dangerous dimension in the eyes of capitalism. Anti-nuke movements have sprung up all over the Third World ever since the export of plants to Taiwan, the Philippines and South Korea began.

In the Philippines, the anti-nuke movement was initiated by peasants of Morong protesting expropriation of their land for the planned Bataan reactor. It has since broadened into a struggle attacking the hated Marcos martial law regime itself, as well as U.S. imperialism with its Subic Naval Base only miles away from the reactor site.

Rather than limiting opposition to a debate over appropriate technology, the movement is getting its direction by drawing human forces into struggle who challenge all aspects of a society based on the principle of production for the sake of production, rather than one geared for human development.

While a Barry Commoner or a Tom Hayden may not care much about that essential reality of capitalist production, the millions of workers who labor in plants across this nation, and the minorities who suffer in its ghettos, certainly do. It is by internalizing their desire for uprooting capitalist human relations that the anti-nuke movement can extend needed solidarity to anti-nuclear campaigns abroad, and prevent itself from being sidetracked into the dead end of bourgeois politics at home.

Youth in Revolt

Four hundred angry students demonstrated at the University of Missouri Board of Curators meeting in Columbia on Oct. 12 to protest curator Robert Dempster's sexist remarks comparing the university's president to "a girl who said she was raped. She didn't resist enough." He also accused women students of not spending enough time looking for husbands. And he publicly called the Black caretaker of his Sikeston, Mo. home a "nigger." The Black Student Union held a simultaneous protest at the University's Kansas City campus.

"Down with militarism! . . . We will not go to school while the army remains!" chanted 2,000 People's University students in Peking on Oct. 10. Almost the entire student body marched and sat in at the Communist Party headquarters to demand withdrawal of the army from the campus. Simultaneously, 40 wall posters were put up at Peking University, airing grievances about miserable living conditions.

Raina's book shows depth of Polish opposition movement

Political Opposition in Poland, 1954-1977, by Peter Raina; Poets' and Painters' Press, 146 Bridge Arch, Sutton Walk, London S.E.1. 8XU, England; 1978.

The Polish opposition movement has been one of the most remarkable stories of mass self-activity versus totalitarian Communism in all of the world, and Peter Raina's book is far and away the most serious and well-documented history of that movement. The extent and depth of the movement is something the author shows in a detailed narrative.

Thus the reader sees both mass worker protests and the intellectual dissent which brought Gomulka to power in 1956 as a reformer, as well as the student revolts of the 1960s against his bureaucratic rule after he destroyed the hopes placed in him by the people. Raina describes the mass student strikes of 1968 which nearly toppled Gomulka and which showed the emergence of a new generation of student rebels whose slogan became "No bread with freedom."

The Gomulka regime clung to power by resorting to the oldest form of racism—anti-Semitism. The rulers branded the protestors "Zionists" or simply "Jews", forcing thousands of the small number of Polish Jews who had survived Nazism to flee to the West. By the winter of 1970-71 the mass revolts by workers in Gdansk, Szczecin and other port cities against sharp increases in food prices did bring Gomulka down, but by this time a rift had appeared in the movement.

Where in 1968 some workers had supported the students, the intellectual dissidents "assumed a neutral attitude when the workers revolted in December, 1970," Raina writes. However, by 1976 this had changed and the author continues: "The workers' revolt and the im-



—News & Letters photo

The Oct. 14 first National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights drew upwards of 100,000 people from across the U.S. and internationally. Third World lesbians headed the march, and there were contingents of gays with disabilities, gay teachers, gay nurses—everyone was joyous in expressing themselves: "We're Asians and Proud," "Lesbians will destroy patriarchy," "Socialist Feminist Lesbian and Gay Men Against Political Repression in Mexico," and many statements that "We Are Everywhere." Marchers' demands included the passage of a national lesbian/gay rights bill.

NY high school walkouts

New York, N.Y.—"No sports, no school" was the slogan that over 10,000 N.Y.C. high school youth shouted as they staged school walkouts the week of Sept. 24 in support of their coaches who were demanding restoration of their full salaries, cut in the fiscal crisis of 1975. Students in every borough responded to the coaches' appeal for support and marched on City Hall.

The police tried to run the marching students off the street with their motorcycles. Upon arriving at City Hall, the students were met with degrading comments—"You're just kids"—but they demanded that the city take them seriously, and demanded as well the media's attention, then focused on the Pope's visit.

The students won their battle. The method of the walkout as a form of protest is the only way, they feel, that they can gain the attention of adults—teachers, administration, and city officials. Furthermore, it was organized through the only forms available to them: by rumor, word of mouth and telephone within each school and among the city high schools.

In the school where I work, the classrooms were nearly empty. I know that not all of those students are athletes and that a good percentage were revolting against the educational system which oppresses them everyday, and against this whole society.

—Student teacher

mediate response to it by the dissenting intellectuals in manifesting their solidarity with the workers' cause were a welcome sign."

On June 25, 1976 the immediate question was once again a government attempt to hike food prices, and mass strikes and riots occurred throughout the country. In one particularly militant strike, at Radom, the author gives the following account of worker self-activity, after a local Communist Party official tried to debate a crowd led by a woman worker:

"When she said that she earned just 2,200 z. a month, which was not even enough to feed her children, Adamczyk began mocking her. Upon this, she took her shoe off and struck Adamczyk on the shoulder. Someone shouted that Adamczyk's elegant suit should be ripped off him. The crowd jumped upon him and in a few minutes Adamczyk was seen running for his life in his underclothes. The workers then stormed the Party building, ramming the main gate with a tractor. Inside the building, the crowd discovered large quantities of good quality ham and other luxury goods."

Many Party headquarters were burned down, and repression by police was savage. Since 1976 workers, students and intellectuals have continually developed new forms of organization—both formal and informal—to continue the struggle. Among them are "The Committee for the Defence of the Workers" and the underground "Flying University" meeting in people's homes, as well as dozens of illegal publications. The merit of Raina's book lies in its comprehensive view of a modern revolutionary movement which genuine revolutionaries all over the world can learn from.

—Kevin A. Barry

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Workers' revolt belies capitalists' 'no exit' economic forecast

According to economic experts at *Business Week* (Oct. 1, 1979), the "door that leads out of the U.S.'s current economic malaise may be marked 'no exit.'" Yet just a few months ago, when a new U.S. and British recession became certain, economists were saying that the stronger German and Japanese economies would act as "locomotives," preventing a world recession.

At the October International Monetary Fund meeting in Belgrade, nationalism instead of coordination predominated, and there was no willingness to use any national currency as a substitute for the dollar.

The IMF was worried about debt and revolution in that vast majority of Third World countries without oil, where the average inflation rate

is 30 percent this year and the deficit is on the scale of the disastrous year of 1975. IMF dictates for loans have exacerbated the unrest, widespread strikes and urban rebellion in countries like Jamaica, which was ordered to drastically lower the already abysmally minimal standard of living of its workers.

So intractable is the economic situation even in the USA, that when the recession reaches its deepest point next year with possible double-digit unemployment, the annual inflation rate will still be eight percent or more.

The crisis, plain and simple, is that while all value comes from living labor, capitalist growth has meant there is relatively less living labor as advanced technology has spread, as it must, on a

world scale in the post-World War II world. No amount of blaming workers for "lack of productivity growth" can hide the capitalists' refusal to invest in whole industries, like steel with its obsolete technology. Instead of investing for growth, what there has been is more militarization (see Editorial, p. 5).

Business Week's conclusion to its report on the crisis pointed to a total demise called "no exit." That is the logical conclusion to what Karl Marx called the soul of capitalist thought—seeing human activity constantly determined by something outside the human being. Against this no-exit world based on value production, Marx saw the doing and thinking of the workers' revolt, the elemental leap to freedom.

France

Twelve thousand people marched in silence in Paris on Sept. 27 to mourn the death of the anarchist writer, Pierre Goldman. He was gunned down in broad daylight a week earlier as he left his apartment. His fascist assassins called up the media, dubbing themselves "Honor to the Police." Released from prison only two years ago after having served time for a drug store robbery and murder in 1969, Goldman had become a prominent writer in prison with his book, *The Obscure Memoirs of a Polish Jew Born in France*.

This anti-Left and anti-Semitic murder of a prominent writer in the heart of Paris did galvanize the French Left, humanitarian and Jewish groups into demanding a serious investigation by the government.

This horrible murder is proof of the racism and anti-Semitism which permeate the top levels of French society. In addition to the recent assassination of Henri Curiel, a prominent opponent of the Algerian war, there have been no less than 73 unsolved murders of immigrant workers in the past eight years. Not only does it appear that the French police don't really try to solve these cases, many believe that off-duty police are actually the ones involved.

East Germany

Rudolf Bahro was released from an East German prison on Oct. 12 in, according to the government, an amnesty for some political prisoners, in honor of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the East German state. But, in fact, Bahro's release came as a result of an ever-growing international campaign demanding his freedom from the prison in which he was held since the August, 1977 publication of his book, *The Alternative, A Contribution to the Critique of Socialism as it Actually Exists*.

When Bahro tried to meet, after his release, with fellow East German dissident Robert Havemann, the East German police placed the 69-year-old Havemann under house arrest—sealing off his house and forbidding him to leave or make telephone calls. The government considers Havemann a threat for publishing in the West a series of theses critical of the East German political system.

Bahro and his family have been pushed into exile in West Germany at the same time as 23-year-old dissident Nico Hubner, who had been imprisoned for refusing to serve in the East German army on political grounds.

South Korea

The most widespread demonstrations against the dictatorship of South Korean President Park Chung Hee since he seized power 18 years ago began Oct. 16 in the southern port city of Pusan, spreading to the Masan-Changwon area where 4,000 students and workers surged through the streets chanting "Abolish dictatorship" and throwing rocks at police stations and the local office of President Park's Democratic Republican Party. Park responded by establishing military control over the entire area.

A prelude to the current protests was the Oct. 9 expulsion from the National Assembly of Kim Young Sam, the leader of the parliamentary opposition party to President Park. Under the South Korean Constitution, Park has the authority to appoint 30 percent of the National Assembly. The Korean C.I.A. of 300,000 members, plus 35,000 U.S. troops, keep the dictator in power.

It was the death of a student in Masan at the hands of police in 1960 that brought about the ouster of the former President Syngman Rhee. Perhaps history is about to repeat itself.

(As we go to press, Park and a group of his bodyguards have been assassinated by the head of the South Korean CIA. We will write on these developments in the next issue—P.M. and R.B.)

TWO WORLDS**LEON TROTSKY: A CRITIQUE**

(Continued from Page 5)

factional disputes between "Economists", Mensheviks and Bolsheviks; as if Russian Marxism arose merely out of fighting a "primitive ideological viewpoint" (i.e., the Narodniks), Trotsky reached the following conclusion regarding those factional disputes between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks: the differences arise out of "the process of adaptation of Marxist intellectuals to the class struggle, i.e. the political immaturity of the Russian proletariat." What such argumentation betrays, I would say, is that it isn't only the "nature" of the peasantry about which Leon Trotsky had a low opinion; it is the proletariat which he considered backward—"politically immature." Trotsky's logic, however, led him to accuse the Bolsheviks, Lenin especially, of "ideological fetishism," "sectarianism," and "intellectual individualism."

Far from returning to his theory of Permanent Revolution, much less to the Luxemburgian view of the advanced nature of the Russian proletariat, Trotsky veered off to psychology, talk against "lack of morality" and "piracy" (a reference to expropriations), not to mention "sexual anarchy."

It all sounds as if somebody was writing a farcical caricature about Trotsky. But unfortunately, it is not a caricature. It is not somebody writing about Trotsky. It is Trotsky's own writing.

Those who say that—since that was the period climaxed by the infamous "August Bloc" which Trotsky acknowledged was a "fundamental error", and since he accepted Lenin's characterization of him as "conciliationist"—Trotsky's joining of the Bolshevik Party, like his revolutionary activities in 1917, "eliminated all differences" show they understand nothing of either theory or organization . . .

THE POINT HERE is not so much whether Lenin or Trotsky was right in this or that dispute. Rather, the amazing fact is that Trotsky, the creator of the theory of Permanent Revolution, was practicing not just organizational but theoretical conciliationism—and the

theoretical conciliationism was not only against "others" but against himself. In a word, not a single serious point Trotsky made in 1905 was either developed or related to anything he did in those 12 long years between 1905 and 1917.

How, then, did the question of his theory mature when, finally, in 1917 a proletarian revolution did, indeed, succeed and was led by Lenin and himself? The November, 1917 Revolution remains the highest point of proletarian revolution and is magnificently retold in *The History of the Russian Revolution* . . . What isn't natural is some rewriting of history in the Appendices, especially as it relates to Lenin and the theoretic division between the two on Lenin's slogan, "the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry," which is almost always abbreviated by Trotsky as just "bourgeois-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." To prove how that kept the Bolsheviks from understanding the course of 1917, he shows how hard Lenin had to work "to rearm the Party."

That, in part, is true but the whole truth is that it was not the theory of Permanent Revolution that "rearmed the Party," but Lenin's famous April Thesis. To try to claim that the April Thesis somehow implied Lenin's conversion to Trotsky's theory is to skip entirely Lenin's philosophic-dialectic reorganization which, far from bringing him closer to Trotsky, led to THE most fundamental dispute between them over Lenin's slogans—"Defeat of your own country is the lesser evil"; "Transform the imperialist war into civil war." It was not Leon Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution, but the dialectics of revolution that led Lenin both to the April Thesis and to the writing of STATE AND REVOLUTION, as well as to putting conquest of power on the agenda of the Bolshevik Party. And it was THEN that Trotsky joined Lenin, not Lenin Trotsky . . .

WHAT STANDS OUT is Trotsky's failure to grasp the totally new theoretical point of departure on the question which Lenin introduced in his Theses on the

National and Colonial Questions at the Second Congress of the Communist International. Trotsky's reference to that thesis is limited to the context of his fight with Stalin—internationalism vs. nationalism—and not the pivotal point of the revolutionary live force of the peasantry, of the national question, and of the perspective that, since world revolution has not come via Berlin, "then perhaps" it can come via Peking. That new point of departure in theory was not grasped, much less developed, by Trotsky.

His attempt, retrospectively, to credit the 1917 Revolution's success to his theory of Permanent Revolution, was not, of course, at the bottom of the Trotsky-Stalin struggle that ensued after the death of Lenin. No. More objective causes are at the root—the new stage of world capitalism, reflected in Stalin's revisionist capitulation to the capitalistic impulse as he moved in the opposite direction of the workers' demands. But, of course, Stalin took advantage of the specific dispute over the additions to the 1922 edition of Trotsky's 1905 as he began his usurpation of the mantle of Lenin . . .

Whether the theory of Permanent Revolution was confirmed or unconfirmed in 1917 is not proven, as we showed before, by the mere repetition of the theory of 1905-06 in 1922. The real point at issue by the time of the writing of *The History of the Russian Revolution* in the early '30s was whether one has a theory to meet the challenge of the new stage of world capitalism—the Great Depression which brought on state-capitalism as a world phenomenon. Although Trotsky by the mid-1930s had fought the Stalin bureaucracy for a solid decade, had written *The Revolution Betrayed*, he denied the transformation of Russia into a state-capitalist society. And he ended up tailoring Stalinism, calling for the defense of Russia as a "workers' state, though degenerate" at the very time when the infamous Hitler-Stalin Pact had given the green light to World War II.

Which is why it becomes imperative to see the two revolutions, not weighed down with factional disputes, much less slanted to theoretical conclusions, but with eyes of today turned to future revolutions.

—October 1, 1979