

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

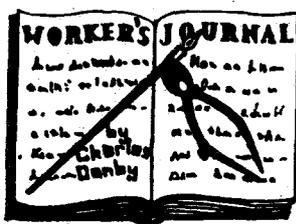
'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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All eyes on Polish workers!

by Charles Denby, Editor

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

All eyes are on the Polish workers as they have struck against their Communist regime and demanded changes in their everyday lives. The struggle is to gain concessions for the workers and the Polish people as a whole.

One of their demands is for free trade unionism, and that is something that the American workers once had, but through the years have lost. Today American workers are as much in need of it as are the Polish workers.

NEEDED: FREE TRADE UNIONS HERE

In the strikes of 1936, General Motors had a contract all worked out for the workers. In it the company would be in complete control of the workers' activities. It was rejected by the workers because they wanted a contract where they, the workers, would be in control. The workers did not accept anything coming from the company. In fact, we looked upon the company as our enemy, and any worker that was too friendly with a foreman was looked at as a company stooge.

But today the closer anyone is with the company, the better chance of being a union representative. There are thousands upon thousands of American workers who are laid off from plants, and many of those who are still working are forced to work six and seven days a week, nine and ten hours a day. When we had a union that the workers controlled there was no such thing as working overtime when your brothers and sisters were laid off.

Now the leaders of the AFL-CIO are sending the Polish workers some financial help as though they were real friends of the kind of union the Polish workers are creating from below. Even Secretary of State Muskie was for his own reasons opposed to their action. In reality these American trade unionists are as much opposed to any action of workers from below in America as management is.

(Continued on Page 10)



Polish workers occupying Lenin shipyards in Gdansk

Against militarized science and religious reaction

From Poland to Miami: masses as reason

(Editor's Note: Below we print excerpts from the *Perspectives Report to the Convention of News and Letters Committees*, Aug. 30, 1980. For full report, see ad, p. 11.)

by Raya Dunayevskaya,

National Chairwoman, News and Letters Committees

This August, the TV subjected us to the hollow spectacles of the quadrennial circus acts of the two dominant capitalist parties—the Republicans and Democrats, called National Presidential Nominating Conventions. One thing, however, that neither the wholesale psychedelic ballooning of red, white, and blue nor the totality of the hypocrisy could cover up was the overriding law of this state-capitalist age — joblessness.

MISSILES, MISSILES, MISSILES — BUT WHAT ABOUT JOBS?

That which Marx, a century back, had called “the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation” — the unemployed army — has been transformed by unimpaired capitalism to such an extreme that the unemployed army, far from being a sometime feature of capitalism in

crisis, has become its permanent state. Even at these elitist conventions, it dominated all questions, all speeches, all platforms, all motions, and so disrobed capitalism that it stood stark naked. In a word, what everyone saw and heard was not the unctuous speeches, but their exploitative, racist, sexist, militaristic, decadent character — which didn't stop the politicians from transforming that question into something that could bring us to the brink of a nuclear holocaust.

The politicians this August, thinking that Aug. 4, the outbreak of the First World War, was but the beginning, and that that's what they should be celebrating, brought about their biggest guns, Defense (read War) Secretary Brown to talk of missiles, missiles, missiles . . .

Nothing less than the absolutely fantastic sum of one trillion dollars during the next five years is scheduled to be spent by Carter on missiles, missiles, and more missiles . . .

If you haven't been able to picture what a trillion dollars looks like, you might ask Carter how he can allot that inconceivable sum for missiles, but think that \$12 billion for a jobs program for the millions unemployed is “inflationary.” Very clearly “flexibility” applies only to refusing a pittance for the life of the masses and spending like crazy for destruction of the masses.

There is hardly a day that passes that doesn't have some outbreak of Black revolt, and it isn't only South. The press can't deny that — whether they consider the South Bronx or the 15-year-old Watts rebellion in Los Angeles, where exactly nothing has been done. It is all ready to explode again even if no one can name the exact date. All the hypocrisies at both the Democratic and Republican Conventions testifying to the contrary will not cover up the totality of the crisis that we are now in . . .

This undercurrent of revolt exists not only among the unemployed but also the employed, thoroughly disgusted with their conditions of speeded up labor called “higher productivity and higher quality products”; and it concerns not only jobs and joblessness but youth refusing to become cannon-fodder for WW III; and it involves not only labor, Black and youth forces as reason, but also women liberationists. The last word will not be spoken in the voting booth but by masses in motion against this decrepit society . . .

(Continued on Page 10)

The new expanded 12 page News & Letters

With this issue of News & Letters we are expanding on a regular basis to a 12-page paper. We hope this will allow us to present more fully, analysis of world events as well as theoretical discussion, in addition to what has always been a principle with us—freedom activists speaking for themselves—and to as well publish contributions from our Marxist-Humanist archives.

The decision to expand was made by News and Letters Committees meeting in convention session over Labor Day weekend in Detroit, Michigan—in this the 25th anniversary year of our founding. From the *Perspectives Report* (excerpted in this issue of News & Letters) to the sessions on our organization, on the new expanded News & Letters newspaper, and finally on our financial responsibility for all the work we project to do, it was a most serious, wide-ranging convention.

Reports were heard from European and Middle Eastern friends. Internationally a British News & Letters has begun to be issued. Translations of Marxist-Humanist writings have appeared in Farsi and Polish. Special sessions were held at our national meeting on women's liberation and on youth. Reports of these will be found in those two sections of our paper this issue. Black Reality/Black Thought was taken up both in the *Perspectives Report* and in discussion. All the major reports to the Convention are being prepared for circulation and can be ordered through ads in this issue of our paper.

We wish here to call attention to one special focal point of our convention which is particularly reflected in this issue of News & Letters. It is *A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments: 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the United States* written by the National Chairwoman, Raya Dunayevskaya. We are both presenting it within the pages of News & Letters beginning with this issue (see page 4) and will issue it as a News and Letters pamphlet before the end of the year. We believe it is a most serious presentation on the relationship of the world historical events of the past 25 years and the responsibilities of a group of revolutionary Marxists to those events—News and Letters Committees, Marxist-Humanists in the United States.

To help enable us to present the 12-page News & Letters and to publish such studies as the 25 year history of Marxist-Humanism in the United States we have felt compelled for the first time in our history to raise the price of our paper from 10¢ to 25¢. These minimum prices have always been a principle with us, as we have strongly felt that these ideas must be accessible to all those struggling for a new world. Prices for subscriptions are now \$2.50 per year. Because the new prices will only begin to pay for the increases in the paper and the publication of our 25 year history, we hope that many of you will consider contributing to our publishing/organizing fund.

As always the pages of our paper remain open for you the readers to contribute. Please feel free to write for us.

ON THE INSIDE

A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments: 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., Part I by Raya Dunayevskaya . . . p. 4

WOMAN AS REASON

Marxist-feminism demanded in theory and in life

(Editor's note: *Women's Liberation—News & Letters* held a national meeting in Detroit on August 29, at which there were presentations and discussion on "Marxist-feminism in theory and in life" and "Iranian Women's Liberation: U.S. and Iran." The following are excerpts from the talk given by Olga Domanski, National Organizer of News & Letters Committees. The full texts are available from *Women's Liberation—News & Letters*; see ad below.)

The reason we called the critique, "Women's Liberation in Search of a Theory" (See N&L, June, 1980) nothing less than a "summary of the decade," is because the passion for a philosophy of liberation, the search for a theory which would give action a revolutionary direction is an objective fact of this decade.

Moreover, both the movement from practice, and the movement from theory (or what attempts to be a movement from theory) prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that Marxist-feminism is on the agenda, and not because we put it there. It is objective. There is not a single serious theoretician who has not had to grapple with Marx . . . whether it is to try to disregard Marxism, as both de Beauvoir and Gerda Lerner wind up doing, or to try to "synthesize" it with feminism, as Sheila Rowbotham is trying to do.

The objective situation is such that you cannot pick up a paper without finding women's liberation as part of every struggle and Marxist-feminism as the critical question. Just consider that the Polish strikes were sparked by the transfer of a woman crane operator, Anna Walentynowicz, who had been a member of the workers' delegation that met with Gierek after the 1970 events and was one of the founders of the Committee for Free Trade Unions.

Or that so concerned were the Russian rulers when the dissident feminists called on men not to fight in Afghanistan that they expelled them.

And finally, even in Afghanistan—Karmal has been having so much trouble with the sudden nationalism that the Russian invasion has created, that in trying to ap-

pease the peasants, he has just abandoned the literacy program which according to the *Manchester Guardian* "had enraged the male chauvinism of the countryside by stirring up the women folk."

But our problem at the end of this decade, is not with the movement from practice, but with the movement from theory, or lack of it. And what makes it so urgent is not just that women's liberation has become in life and not only in theory (where it has been ever since Marx spelled out Man/Woman in his 1843-44 Manuscripts) one of the most crucial measures of how deep the uprooting of the old must be.

But what we have to ask ourselves at this point is, is it only "measure"? Or, is woman being disclosed as the new revolutionary force that serious revolutionaries (men and women) must see on the same level that Lenin saw revolutionary nationalism as not mere catalyst, but as a particular, specific movement that could help transform the abstract universal of socialism into the concrete new society?

REVOLUTIONARY REASON

The two works which we have brought onto the historic scene this year, the Farsi pamphlet, "Women as Reason and Force of Revolution," which Neda reports has now reached Iran and Europe, and the draft chapters of Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, although on very different levels, do represent a theory that has recaptured the movement that was present in Marx's whole new continent of thought, but was not yet real then. It was captured only by the theorist Raya Dunayevskaya, who was so rooted in that philosophy that she could recognize the new force when it arose, capture it, and single out the new category for our age: Woman as revolutionary reason and thereby revolutionary force.

When you read the new history that we are producing on this 25th anniversary of *News and Letters* Committees, (see pp. 4-5) you will see that the roots of that concept are so deep that from our very, very earliest beginnings, long before the idea actually burst forth on the historic scene, we recorded it and made it one with Marxist-Humanism.

I think that what is urgent for us today is never to separate theory from action or from philosophy; Women's Liberation from the new stage we are reaching with the new 12-page theoretical-practical *News & Letters*; or any of the concrete problems we want to work out—from leaflets to classes to columns—from the ground out of which it all flows: the articulation for our age of Marx's philosophy of how to make liberation real.

Minneapolis

Women Take Back The Night

Minneapolis, Minn. — On Saturday, Aug. 9, more than 8,000 women and men marched downtown to Take Back The Night. During the two hour rally before the march, speakers talked about sexual harassment on the job and what women could do about it.

Women of color addressed the problems in their own communities in dealing with rape and battering, as well as the racist attitudes that result in the poor treatment of women of color by the police, social service agencies, and the courts. A lesbian speaker talked about the hatred and violence that lesbians and gay men are subjected to because of their sexual preference. She spoke about the harm done to all women by the hatred of women expressed in pornography.

The march was organized by Women Against Violence Against Women, and this is the second year it has taken place. Marchers walked through the main downtown street known for its adult book stores and topless bars. It is also an area of high prostitution, and one where women don't feel safe, night or day. Men who were verbally hostile to marchers along the route were shouted down with chants of, "Free our bodies, free our lives, we will not be victimized."

—Blind feminist-activist

NEW DISCUSSION BULLETIN!

Includes full texts of:

- Marxist-Feminism—in Theory and in Life
- Iranian Women's Liberation—U.S. & Iran
- Discussion on Marx's concept of woman

Order from: *Women's Liberation—News & Letters*,
2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, MI 48211



women-worldwide

Chahin Bavafa, director of the hospital in Sananda, Iran, was executed on June 17 because she had asked reporters from the journal *L'Express* to bring to world attention the number of wounded being treated in her clinic and the fact that the clinic itself had been heavily damaged in attacks by the Iranian army against revolutionary Kurds.

In Lima, Peru, 40 women workers at the electronic firm CONEL have occupied their factory since December, when they discovered that the company had built new factories after telling them that theirs would be closed down. They have received no pay for 10 months and have survived attacks by company goons sent to take the machinery. ALIMUPER, a women's liberation organization, asks for funds and letters of support. Write to: ALIMUPER, Apartado 2211, Lima 100, Peru.

(Information from COURAGE, W. Berlin)

Among a wave of strikes in South Africa recently 1000 workers, mostly women, won their demands of \$32.50 per week and forced the Kromrivier Apple Co. operative to recognize their union, the Food and Canning Workers Union. August 9 has been known as Women's Day in South Africa since the 1956 demonstration by over 20,000 women in Pretoria against the pass system. The women created a song then, which goes, "... Now you have touched the women, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed."

(Information from SOJOURNER, Cambridge, MA)

Women's liberation in Papua

Papua, New Guinea — Women here — all over — are on the move. They recently held a forum at the university on harassment and inequality which was a first here. They had to face about 1000 people, many of whom were cat-calling men.

A Women's Investment Corporation is flourishing as are a number of other projects such as the Central Highland Women's Cooperative, which transports magnificent Highland vegetables to Port Moresby and other areas which still rely on stale Australian produce. But with economic independence comes both the good — strong moves toward transforming traditional women's roles — and the bad — the creation of an elite of women entrepreneurs (albeit on a small scale).

The issue of philosophy, of direction, is a question as always. What is most exciting here is to see if "primitive communism," based on a sexual division of labor, can co-exist with the self-organization of women in unions and along cooperative forms. The ideas of women's liberation are all pervasive. I have yet to encounter any women who aren't feminists — they just don't use that jargon. More to the point, the women are humanists, which is all encompassing.

—Correspondent

Operators protest speed-up

Walnut Creek, Cal.—On Sept. 10, one month after the agreement between the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and the Bell System was reached, a group of off-duty directory assistance operators, all women, picketed the Walnut Creek facility of Pacific Telephone to protest the speed-up required by management. New automated equipment monitors the length of time each call takes, and an operator is expected to average only 28 seconds per call over a month's time. The operators claim this produces inadequate service to customers, and an increased amount of pressure on them to hurry. A petition supporting the protest was signed by 53 of the operators inside, under the noses of management.

Earlier in August, Pacific Telephone employees had struck over work rules, but were called back a day later by a local bargaining agreement reached between the union and company. On Aug. 21, workers at seven Western Electric Supply Distribution Centers (SDC) for Northern California walked off their job to protest the inadequate raises negotiated for them and set up an unauthorized informational picket line, to let other workers know the situation, including the fact that the company had sent several supervisors to drive fork lifts at the struck SDC's.

The union is now in the midst of pushing to ratify this three-year agreement by Sept. 20. CWA claims to have made real progress on a major bone of contention of the workers—job pressures. The Diagnostic Remote Monitoring Plan, in which supervisors listened in on operators' calls, has been eliminated. But as the information operators in Walnut Creek have shown, the pressures aren't over.



WRITE ON!

The Women's Room, Teleplay by Carol Sobieski from the novel by Marilyn French, ABC-TV.

The only grain of truth in either the book or TV version of *The Women's Room* was the depiction of the banality of 1950s, white, middle-class suburban life — which, at that time, women themselves began to reject: see *The Feminine Mystique*.

With this story, we might have glimpsed, if only fictionally, how women in the '60s and '70s were beginning to question their individuality, the family, sexuality, relations with men, children and each other—not to mention their participation in the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements.

Instead, the mere consciousness of women's oppression is passed off as "liberation." And when history is reduced to mere backdrop at worst, or lifestyle at best, then it's not surprising that the TV producers gushed up an existentialist, Horatio Alger, rip-off type ending, diametrically opposed to the novel's denouement (which declared guerrilla war on all men), but equally dead-end.

As Hegel put it when our epoch of revolutions first began: when you throw off the master and gain a mind of your own, but don't develop it actively and socially in the world, you end up in a "frenzy of self-conceit." And that aptly sums up Marilyn French, her characters, and the men and women who concocted the TV version, which was replete with ads for "feminine products" but totally devoid of any feeling for women's passion to become free.

—M.H.

Helen Keller: Her Socialist Years, Writings and Speeches, Edited by Philip S. Foner, New York: International Publishers, 1967.

The disregard for Helen Keller as a socialist seen in the newest biographies published in 1980—the 100th anniversary of her birth—seems to be the same attitude she fought against in her lifetime. This collection (from 1911 to 1929) shows her marching on picket lines in support of striking workers, advocating woman suffrage, opposing World War I. Yet the world then, as now, only wanted to see her as a nice woman who overcame her handicaps. As she wrote in 1924, "So long as I confine my activities to social service and the blind, they compliment me extravagantly," but when she voiced her socialist views they treated her as a mindless cripple being exploited by others. Her thoughts, as expressed here, say otherwise.

—M.J.

Revolutionary role of labor: Poland and U.S.

New York, N.Y. — What the Gdansk shipyard workers showed was the still critical and revolutionary role labor maintains in state-capitalist society, calling itself Communist, as well as within western and eastern state capitalism, with its new uniminated production robots. The strike committees formed, first on the Baltic coast and then throughout Poland, to negotiate with Communist bosses, and Carter's so-called re-industrialization of America are far from being uniminated topics.

For State planners as for private businessmen alike, it is a question of heightening the productivity of labor measured in output per man hour. The key in the West and Japan is extensive automation and unimation. It is estimated that there are now 3,500 industrial robots at work in America with another 1,300 scheduled to be installed this year.

Japan the world's leader, has upwards of 12,000 robots and has scheduled another 3,500 this year. The effect on the working class is staggering. Hundreds of thousands have been thrown out of work and even bourgeois economists do not see a turn-around in employment until 1986.

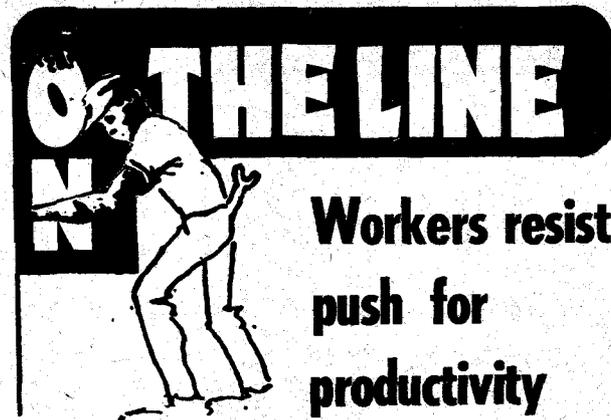
To help their productivity drive U.S. automakers are dabbling with a concept that calls for more labor/management cooperation. Along with many other large corporations, GM and Ford have formed worker/

supervisor groups — "quality circles" they call them — to iron out production problems with the new machines. Management, no doubt, expects added profits by tapping labor's expertise at the point of production. But the Polish strike leader, Lech Walesa, clearly had something more revolutionary in mind when he said — workers now wanted to be master in their own workplace.

No one I have talked with has failed to show enthusiasm and solidarity for the struggle of the Polish workers. But we also understand, as a young Polish American shipyard worker in Port Newark said: "They got a lot more than we're going to get in our next contract." The understanding is, I think, that we must be as united if we are to win anything at all.

One of the most remarkable lessons so far of the Polish workers revolt however, was that impressed upon western, above all, American capitalists. While they applaud the advances of workers under state-capitalism, what really bothers them is their own workers. Can we be disciplined by lay-offs and unimation—disciplined under conditions of speed-up and intensification of labor, for diminishing wages? In the U.S. auto industry, where they have just introduced their new cars, they are breathlessly waiting to see what their workers will do when the line is up to full capacity.

— Joe Green



by John Marcotte

Miami's Liberty City rebellion showed us a Black woman with a picket sign saying, "The U.S. is a lie." And over one hundred years ago Karl Marx wrote that to have one basis for science and another for human life is from the start a lie. This lie can be seen all around us.

It can be seen in the neighborhood surrounding the shop where I work, the misery of the South Bronx, where permanent unemployment has been created by the "science" of unimation that has followed the science of automation.

And it can be seen right within the shop where work means that you are in a constant fight with management over the "science" of production. Production is the only thing that Art Steel cares about.

They'll hire you, push you to produce like crazy, then lay you off when they don't need you anymore. That's what they did to last summer's night shift.

Workers know what this drive for production means more than anyone else. As one worker said to me, "I'm not lazy. But this is heavy work and if I work at the pace they want for eight hours, I am too tired for anything else when I get home." The whole night shift was new, and management was able to push them to put out as many cabinets as the day shift with less than half the men. They gave "pep talks" about how if they didn't produce more and more they'd get laid off. Well that push for productivity got them five lay-offs in nine months.

And now the game of productivity is starting all over again. Many of those laid-off workers have been called back to the day shift. Why? Now the company needs them to fill up their warehouses for the possible strike that's coming in November. After the strike is settled, all the workers say there'll be another lay-off. They won't need us anymore for their "production."

It is a cruel game that the company is playing with people's livelihood, and the union, District 65-UAW, seems to be nowhere around.

But the resistance is there. In the lay-off of a year ago, young workers went off and started tearing up the plant.

The daily resistance to speed-up which we see at Art Steel you have had at an intense level in larger industries like auto and steel. There they have tried to do away with the resistance by bringing in the "sciences" first of automation and now unimation. But it will not stop the crisis, the human crisis, that is present in the streets or in the shops.

The immediate coming up for us now at Art Steel is a strike when the contract expires in November. That there will be a strike appears 100 percent sure. We are tired of working so hard and with nothing to show for it. The fight is over wages where we are still making under \$4 an hour with rising prices and rising taxes. But it needs to be as well against the "science" of production as we experience it every day.

N. Y. transit sell-out

New York, N.Y.—We have to compare the Polish situation to ours here. We have the same problem as Poland: we're sold out by our union leaders, who are the same as management. We have workers here in transit who come from Poland, and it's the same thing we face here in the U.S.

I can't see any American union leader who is doing his job today. Most workers are watching the situation in Poland very carefully. We could take over the subway yards in New York, but we'd have to be prepared for how the police would attack us with force.

In transit we want the same working conditions as other people have, or should have: bathrooms, a nice lunchroom, etc. Another problem is with the health insurance. We have Health Insurance Plan (HIP) but many people don't have a center near them.

The union election campaign is starting soon and we're trying once again to get rid of our present leaders. Our situation is not an isolated one. Every union is the same. The TWU leaders have a concentrated effort against us, helped by the banks and the MTA and Koch.

Maybe the union leaders will sponsor some fake opposition, like George MacDonald last time, to stop Arnold Cherry. Last time he took away 5,000 votes from Cherry, and now he's got a Vice-President's job.

—Transit worker
207 Street

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Chrysler Jefferson

Detroit, Mich.—Everyone has heard tons of publicity about Chrysler making the new "K-car" at the Jefferson plant, but has anyone found out what the workers have been going through to produce it? Ever since we were laid back over two months ago, we have been working 12 hours a day, six days a week. Many workers have to work seven days. What happened was that Chrysler was in a rush to start production before they were ready. The robots in the body shop constantly break down, especially the 4-door robot, which turns out junk. They can set on 100 jobs an hour, but the truth is much less, so we have to work overtime to catch it up.

The paint shop workers went to the union, asking how long the overtime can continue like this. When voluntary overtime was put in the contract some years ago, it was supposed to be no more than 54 hours (!), except "start-up" and "build-out." The union said that they had agreed to a start-up exception of ONE DAY, where we could be forced to work just like we were working now.

Many workers have demanded a special union meeting for the paint shop, but the new union rules say now we have to petition for any meeting you want, and the committeemen refuse to hold a meeting of the day and afternoons together. We need a meeting now. We want to know: why are repair sanders making \$7.75, when they are supposed to be making \$7.97? Why are workers on one of the paper lines walking on raw mats, without mats, two months after start-up? And what about the way Marc Stepp agreed to let Chrysler take "TRA" money out of our checks every week, supposedly paying back Chrysler with our own money that we put into the SUB fund? Some workers have to "pay back" \$1,300. For many workers who came from Dodge plant, the situation at Jefferson has been a vicious experience. For many other workers, they are still unemployed while we are being killed with overtime, with kick-door company-union deals.

—Paint shop worker

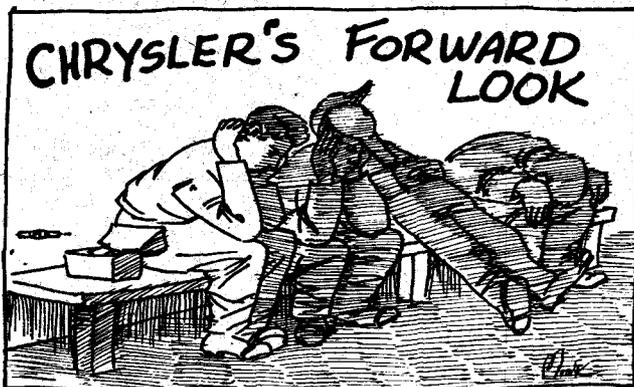
Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — The structure of the plant has changed in the year since the 1979 changeover. Even at the first of this year, people still thought that laid-off workers were going to be called back, and there was a lot of fighting the company over job conditions. Now most of the older workers, even with 25 years of experience, are worried about keeping their jobs. Many of them like they are trapped, and are practically driven to work before complaining. The work is so much harder now you don't get into conversations. Before, you used to have a few minutes here and there to talk. Now you only have any spare time when the company has been moving in with automation machines.

A year ago the plant was about 50-50 Black and white, now it is 70 percent white. One-fifth of the workers are women, now it is 98 percent men. The union has

long since been bought and paid for by the company, and foremen threaten to call the committeemen on workers. The company is threatening everybody left with even heavier investments in unimation—and more workers in the street.

—Fleetwood worker



Solidarity House

Los Angeles, Cal.—I'm from closed-up GM South Gate, and recently tried to visit Solidarity House when in Detroit. An unemployed worker friend said they wouldn't let me in, but since my sweat and blood over the last 20 years helped to pay for it I wanted to try to look over my "property."

At the gate a guard with his big gun wanted to know what I wanted. After lots of questions, checking my union card and GM card he said with suspicion, "I guess you are all right" and pointed a way in.

At the door a well-fed, well-dressed, young man wanted to know why I was there, and after looking me over still wasn't sure I belonged. I guess because I was dressed in work clothes. I said I was from GM South Gate and wanted to look over my property. He gave me a look like I was nuts and made a phone call saying I was from California and wanted a tour through the house.

He hung up and said someone would come in a few minutes. Soon the phone rang and he asked what my name was and told the man on the phone. Two minutes later the phone rang again, and after he spoke in a low voice he looked around at me and said, "I'm sorry everyone is out in the field." "But there are lots of shiny cars in the parking lot and the auto plants are closed so where is everyone?" I asked. He said, "We've lots of strikes." I said the only one I knew about was Wayne State workers and I hadn't seen any union bureaucrats there.

His face was really something by then. I left again saying I just wanted to see if I could get in to look over my property.

—Unemployed (ex?) auto worker

THEORY / PRACTICE

With this issue, Raya Dunayevskaya has asked that the name of her column be changed from TWO WORLDS, to THEORY/PRACTICE

A HISTORY OF WORLDWIDE REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENTS:

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Chairwoman, News and Letters Committees

1. Where to begin: Laying new theoretical and practical foundations and establishing new international relations

THE UNIQUENESS OF our original contributions to Marx's Humanism was first manifested in catching a direct link to it in 1955, at the very time when we were most concrete about the negative features of our state-capitalist age.

It is true that the germ of Marx's Humanism was present from the very beginning of my break with Trotsky at the outset of World War II and my subsequent study of the class nature of Russia as a state-capitalist society. An unpublished section of that analysis, "Labor and Society," did root itself in an 1844 essay by Marx on the role of labor as the very essence of the class nature of any society. However, I did not then single out Humanism as the focal point, nor did the State-Capitalist Tendency, when it enjoyed a brief, six-week, independent existence in 1947, and published the 1942 essay in one of its mimeographed bulletins. (See Vol. IV, Sec. III of the Marxist-Humanist Archives.)

The major document of the Tendency, *State-Capitalism and World Revolution*, dismissed Humanism because, in the late 1940s, it had appeared in the forms of Existentialism and of Christian Humanism. It was only after the final break with Johnson; it was only when new forms of workers' revolts sprang up—that the Humanism of Marx was brought onto the historic stage of our own age.

The year 1980 is an especially relevant vantage point from which to view the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., both because a quarter of a century is a serious enough period of time to measure the political-philosophic analyses against the objective world events; and because wars, even when they are but distant clouds on the horizon, do form the Divide also within Marxist groups—if, within those groups, there is an element unable to meet the objective challenge.

At our birth we were at once put to the test, not only because of the McCarthyite listing of our Tendency, which the Johnson faction sought to escape, but because, especially because, of our attitude to objectivity on three very different levels: determining how to fight McCarthyism when war clouds formed; recognizing the movement from practice which was itself a form of theory—in East Berlin; in Detroit; in Montgomery, Ala.; and testing, in the philosophic sphere, Russia's attack on Marx's Humanist Essays during the undercurrent of proletarian revolts.

No doubt, great illumination on Carter's 1980 drive for war (with the old Cold War warrior, Reagan, still further to the Right) could be gained from a look back at what happened with the appearance of the war clouds over Formosa in the mid-1950s, when McCarthyism was still prevalent both in the form of the reactionary old China lobby's jingoistic refrain: "Who lost China?", and in the form of attacks on the Left so virulent as to cause splits within it as well, including the break-up of the State-Capitalist Tendency. But the crucial point of reference for the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. is imbedded in the philosophic capacity to recognize the genius of the masses from below in a way that records its movement from practice as itself a form of theory.

Beginning with the very first issue of our new publication, *News & Letters*, in June, 1955 in commemoration of the second anniversary of the East German

Revolt, we related that revolt to the new, 1955 forms of revolt at home. There were growing wildcats against Automation in Detroit and by the end of the year the Montgomery Bus Boycott had erupted in Alabama. Because we saw that event not as some isolated incident against discrimination in a benighted Southern city, but as the beginning of a whole new age of Black revolt, our editor, Charles Denby—to this day the only Black production worker to edit a Marxist journal—decided to revisit his Alabama home. The second part of his autobiography, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, (5) begins with "Visiting Montgomery."

In a word, both nationally and internationally, and not just locally, the revolts and wildcats were recorded not alone as militant happenings, but as those new forms of workers' revolt that signified a new stage of cognition as well. And, indeed, the third testing came in the philosophic sphere.



Reprinted from N&L, April 16, 1957

It is not that the leading Russian theoretician, Karpushin, had any such goal in mind. The very opposite was the case. In launching his attack on the young Marx's Humanist Essays (the now famous 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*), Karpushin was banking on the fact that the article would be taken in the guise in which he presented it: freeing the "materialist" Marx from the abstruseness of the "idealistic" Hegelian phrase Marx was using—"negation of the negation." American pragmatists fell into the trap; "negation of the negation" became the butt of their jokes.

Convinced that what the Russians were attacking had nothing whatever to do with the alleged abstruseness of "negation of the negation" (which, for Marxists, had always stood for revolution); that it had everything to do with the here and now, specifically in East Europe—I criticized both the Russian state-capitalists calling themselves Communist theoreticians, and the American pragmatists. (6) I insisted that, far from the polemic being a matter of dogmatic hair-splitting, it hid a fear of revolution, and that Russia must be sensing a new revolution in East Europe similar to the East German revolt they had driven underground.

The great Hungarian Revolution broke out the following year. Five months before that historic occurrence, we held the first Convention of News and Letters Committees. So firmly grounded were we in the totally new movement from practice for freedom, and so confident were we that the 1955 Russian attack on Marx's Humanist Essays did signify more revolts to come, that my July 8, 1956 report to that first Convention, "Where to Begin," stressed that the "active relationship of theory and practice is the essence of Marxism," and concluded that the "continuous thread from history is a sort of wireless communication that will first be decoded in our age which will see to it that the idea of workers' freedom is not so feeble that it will not actually come to be in our day." (See Vol. VI, Sec. II, 2.)

(5) The 1978 edition of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* (South End Press, Boston) reproduces Part I, first published in 1952, and the new Part II as one continuous revolutionary life story. Nevertheless, there is no way not to see the difference between what was written before the break with Johnson and the 25-year self-development that came with becoming the editor of *News & Letters*.

(6) See my letter in *Philosophy of Science*, July, 1956, Vol. 23, No. 3, objecting to the manner in which Americans had reported on the International Congress for the Philosophy of Science. See also *Marxism and Freedom*, pp. 62-66, on Karpushin's first attack in *Questions of Philosophy*, No. 3, 1955.

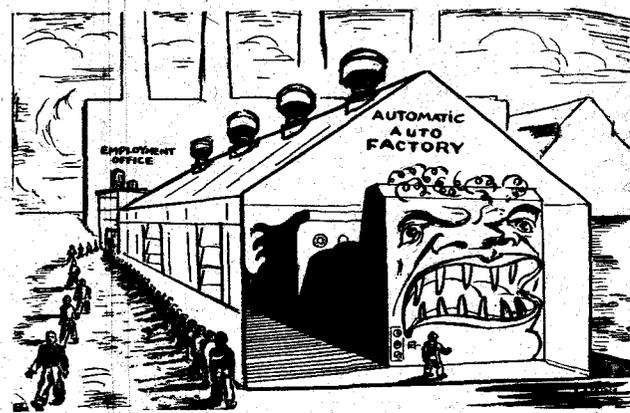
FIRST AND FOREMOST, we considered it of the essence to assure the "continuance of *News & Letters* as a workers' paper . . . which is at the same time a new form of unity of theory and practice." To that end we made sure that a Black production worker, Charles Denby, would be its editor.

The Constitution we adopted, at one and the same time singled out four forces of revolution—rank and file labor, Black dimension, youth, and women's liberation—and held that, since each generation must interpret Marxism for itself, it is up to us to re-establish both the American and the Humanist world roots of Marxism, and to do so in comprehensive, theoretical historical "book form." *Marxism and Freedom*, from 1776 until today was completed the next year.

It was structured on the movement from practice by no means limited to our age. Quite the contrary Chapter I begins with "The Age of Revolutions: Industrial, Social-Political, Intellectual." But where the first revolutions of the industrial age are followed by the birth of classical political economy and the Hegelian dialectic, Marx's "New Humanism" leads to the Communist Manifesto, which anticipated the 1848 revolutions. Nevertheless, as Marx's new continent of thought develops and deepens, it is clear that the great historic events like the Civil War in the U.S., followed by the struggles for the 8-Hour Day, and the Paris Commune exercised so strong an impact on Marx as to change the structure of his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*.

In our own age I felt strongly, as I put it in the Introduction to *Marxism and Freedom*, that: "No theoretician, today more than ever before, can write out of his own head. Theory requires a constant shaping and reshaping of ideas on the basis of what the workers themselves are doing and thinking . . . Because we live in an age of absolutes—on the threshold of absolute freedom out of the struggle against absolute tyranny—the compelling need for a new unity of theory and practice dictates a new method of writing. At least it dictated the method by which this book was written."

I thereupon undertook a tour in which I submitted drafts of various chapters to groups of workers (miners especially) and student youth, discussing the book with them in more than one stage of the writing. I then began to submit outlines of the book to intellectuals. It was no easy matter to find a publisher in the mid-1950s for a book on Marx's Humanism that also included, as Appendices, the first English translation both of Marx's 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* and Lenin's *Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic*. Ever if you disregard McCarthyism's brainwashing, it is still a fact that academia had nothing to say of youth except to describe them as "the beat generation," failing to recognize that a new generation of revolutionaries was



Reprinted from N&L, Oct. 2, 1954

in fact, emerging. In general, American intellectuals were busy declaiming an "End of Ideology" even as a new Third World was struggling to emerge. One intellectual, however, to whom I had submitted an outline long before I had completed *Marxism and Freedom* wrote enthusiastically: "Your ideas are an oasis in the desert of Marxist thought." He was Herbert Marcuse.

He also, however, deeply disagreed with me on the role of labor, writing that "the composition, structure and the consciousness of the laboring classes," were not as revolutionary as my analysis claimed. Nevertheless, he did feel strongly the need to broaden the dialogue among Marxists, and agreed sufficiently "with the theoretical interpretation of the Marxian oeuvre" (7) to write the Preface.

ONCE MARXISM AND FREEDOM finally came off the press in January, 1958, intensive tours were undertaken both here and abroad. Where in West Europe

(Continued on Page 5)

(7) See Preface to *Marxism and Freedom* by Herbert Marcuse, p. 12.

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25 YEARS OF MARXIST-HUMANISM IN THE UNITED STATES

(Continued from Page 4)

there were signs of such retrogression as the coming of De Gaulle to power, in Africa, a whole new Third World was emerging. The transformation of the Gold Coast into the Republic of Ghana, the first fully independent state in Africa, so inspired those, like Patrice Lumumba of the Congo, who were still in the throes of colonial subjugation, that the whole map of Africa was soon redrawn.

In 1958-59, however, the pitfalls of our state-capitalist age were soon revealed, not only in the retrogressive movements in West Europe, but in the new



Reprinted from N&L, July 16, 1957

"Let 100 flowers bloom"

independent states of Africa which were being sucked into the imperialist world market both economically and ideologically—as if there really was a fundamental difference between the two nuclear Titans fighting for single world control.

Where Marxism and Freedom had concentrated on the Western world, I now wrote a new pamphlet, *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*. It was not only a question of remembering a Camerounian I had met in France in 1947 who had told of a magnificent spontaneous revolt in which the entire population, literally "every man, woman and child", was involved in trying to establish independence the minute World War II was over, only to have the French Navy rush in to crush it, just as De Gaulle had massacred the 1943 rebellion in Madagascar.

It was, above all, the need to recognize that the African revolts had preceded the successful national revolutions in Asia, but, being unsuccessful then, were now being fought over in a titanic struggle between imperialisms.

For that matter, the same was true of the newly unfolding Latin American revolts initiated by the first great successful rebellion against U.S. imperialism by Cuba. Here, again, we were witness to a spontaneous revolution that had gained its freedom without any aid from Russia and had declared itself to be against both U.S. imperialism and Russian totalitarianism.(8) The very next year Castro found himself in the Russian camp.

By the end of 1959, when Eisenhower and Krushchev, "in the spirit of Camp David", were busy talking of peaceful co-existence, China acted as a special pole of attraction for the Third World.

On June 18, 1957, while I was reading the galleys of *Marxism and Freedom*, Mao Tse-tung had caused a world sensation with his speech, "How to Handle Contradictions Among the People," and I had felt the urgency to include a new footnote(9), which read:

"The lowest of all today's sophists is the head of the Chinese Communist Party and State, Mao Tse-tung who . . . has ridden this single track which he calls "Contradiction" ever since 1937. At that time he directed his attack against 'dogmatists' who refused to reduce all contradictions in the anti-Japanese struggle and submit to 'the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek' . . . By June 18, 1957, after editing with a heavy hand the speech he delivered on Feb. 27th . . . he reduced the struggle of class against class to a contradiction among 'the people' while he became the champion, at one and the same time, of the philosophy of a hundred flowers blooming and one, and only one Party, the Chinese Communist Party ruling. Outside of the exploitative class relations themselves, nothing so clearly exposes the new Chinese ruling class as their threadbare philosophy."

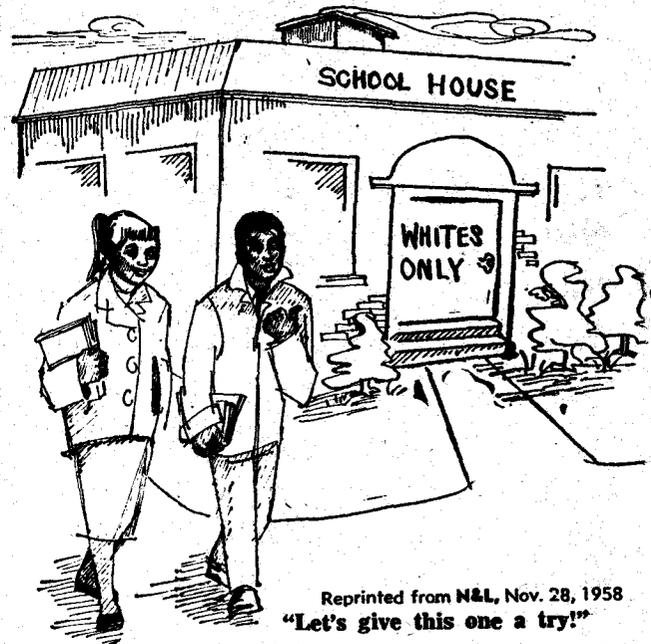
It was the same period in which the intellectual abdication of Johnson, the co-founder of the State-Capitalist Tendency, had led him to devise the following enthusiastic apologia for Nkrumah:

"In one of the remarkable episodes in revolutionary history, he singlehandedly outlined a programme based on the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Gandhi . . ." (10)

To which, I replied:

"I admit that combining Marx, Lenin and Gandhi is quite a feat. But for a pamphleteer like J. R. Johnson, who thundered so for the Soviet United States of Europe, Soviet United States of Asia, world revolution, the struggle against bureaucracy 'as such', the self-mobilization of the masses and for new passions and new forces to reconstruct society on totally new beginnings—to end with Nkrumah as the representative of the new, the new, is rather pathetic. There is nothing to add but to

- (8) In a speech during the summer of 1959, Castro had declared: "Standing between the two political and economic ideologies or positions being debated in the world, we are holding our own positions. We have named it humanism . . . This is a humanistic revolution because it does not deprive man of his essence but holds him as its basic aim. Capitalism sacrifices man; the Communist state, by its totalitarian concept, sacrifices the rights of man . . ." See "History Will Be My Judge", published in *The New Left Review*, Jan.-Feb., 1961.
- (9) At considerable expense to myself, I should add, since the publisher could see no reason for my insistence on adding yet another "footnote" when the book was already on the presses.
- (10) J. R. Johnson, *Facing Reality* (Detroit, Correspondence Publishing Co., 1958) p. 77.



Reprinted from N&L, Nov. 28, 1958
"Let's give this one a try!"

say, with Hamlet, 'Alas, poor Yorick, I knew him.'" (11)

IT WAS THAT VERY pamphlet on the Afro-Asian Revolutions that attracted an altogether new Left Group at Cambridge University in England. Peter Cadogan, who was active in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament with which we, of course, solidarized and collaborated(12), volunteered to bring out a British edition with a new Introduction by myself and new Preface by him.(13)

So many new relations were opened both here and abroad that by the end of 1959 we not only had participated in an international conference in Milan of independent Marxist tendencies that opposed both poles of world capital, U.S. and Russia, but had established an international forum for further dialogue, through a section of Onorato Damen's *Prometeo*(14), printed on a different color of paper to distinguish its independent character. In England I had also established the relations with West African revolutionaries which would lead to my trip there in 1962. And soon after my return from Britain a young group in London actually began writing a special page of "British Labour News" in *News & Letters* which they distributed as their front page.

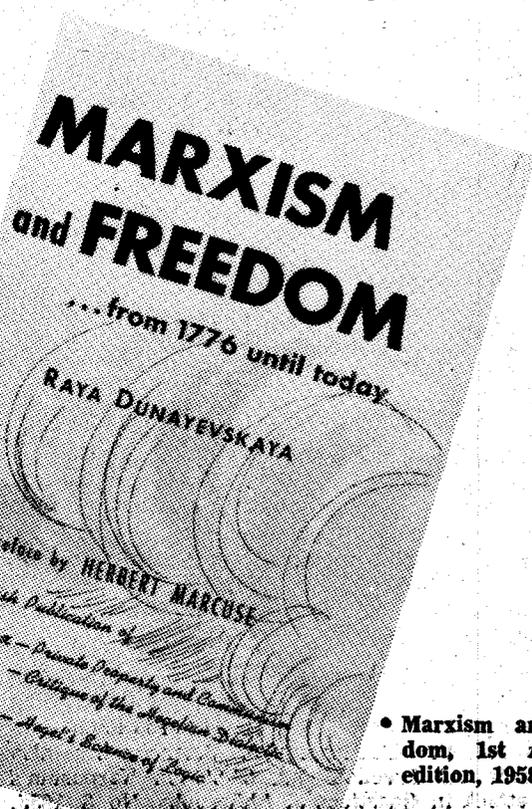
The important gain for Marxist-Humanism, of course, came when Harry McShane—the outstanding revolutionary Scottish fighter and Marxist, who had been one of the original founders of the Communist Party when it stood for the Russian Revolution of 1917 but who had broken with the Party in 1953—declared himself a Marxist-Humanist in 1959.

Whether one begins with the new spontaneous revolts in East Europe, or the U.S., or Africa; or with the philosophy of Marx's Humanism which inspired a great outpouring of new energies, nationally and internationally, one thing was beyond any doubt: we were face to face with a new beginning that would determine the end.

Next month—

II. The 1960s: A new generation of revolutionaries. A new Third World. A new theory?

- (11) *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*, fn. 2, p. 9.
- (12) The dialogue with other activists, like the libertarian-anarchist, Lawrence Otter, around the question of war and peace, war and revolution, included exchanges and publication of each other's views with many groups and journals.
- (13) The U.S. edition was published in August, 1959; the British in May, 1961.
- (14) Before we had even reached our first Convention, the report of the split of the State-Capitalist Tendency in the U.S. was noted abroad among Marxist groups. The Italian State-Capitalist Tendency of Onorato Damen published my report to our first Conference, in the Spring 1956 issue of its theoretical journal, *Prometeo*, under the title of "An American Experience". It was the beginning of the international relations which would result in this international conference of state-capitalist tendencies in West Europe in 1959, prompted by the need to fight neo-fascism, signified by the 1958 rise of De Gaulle to power.



• *Marxism and Freedom*, 1st American edition, 1958

• N&L, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 24, 1955 — 2nd anniversary, East German uprising

THE POLISH GENERAL STRIKE: A WORLDWIDE IMPACT

The present outcome of the Polish struggle confirms our faith in the instincts of the workers when being repressed, and what we say about the spontaneous urge coming from the workers. Nobody heeds the Polish Communist Party. The appeal of church dignitaries for the workers to return to work fell on deaf ears. When one reads closely the remarks of strike leaders it becomes clear that they see beyond the concessions they have won. To get the dissidents released was a great political victory.

It would be wrong of us to talk lightly of what the intellectuals of Poland have been doing for a number of years. They did make a contribution. This is only the beginning. There is now not a government anywhere on earth free from nervous thoughts about the future. Without a trade union or a party to guide them the workers have made history.

Harry McShane
Glasgow, Scotland

FOR WOMEN

She dashed into the office
And began to shout
"Please, Mr. Doctor, check me out!"
"You've got the wrong guy, lady.
The license I carry is just for veterinary.
I don't treat people at all."
"Please Mr. Doctor, but I feel
Just like an animal!"
In the morning I run round the house,
Never fail like a cat with a can
Tied to its tail.
I trot off to work
Like a horse without fuss;
I hang like a monkey from
A strap on the bus.
I'm worked like a donkey,
I never can stop;
Like a camel I'm loaded down till I drop.
Like a tigress I fight
For my marital right when I come
Back home from the job at night.
When at last I sleep it doesn't end then:
Husband tenderly whispers
"Move over, old hen."
So with all these miracle cures
We're seeing—could you also make me
A HUMAN BEING?
(From SOLIDARITY, strike newspaper
of the Lenin Shipyards, Gdansk.)

What struck me most about the Polish events was the strange, I would say "unholy," alliance that tried to save not so much the Polish state as it pretended to, but the Polish government. Isn't it something to laugh at when you see the West German banks allied with the Polish cardinal-primate Wyszynski, as well as with the Schmidt and Giscard d'Estaing governments — all trying to "moderate" the workers and fearing a disruption of the European balance?

Happily, the workers are as much class-conscious as one can expect, and they refused to listen to both the arguments of the vice-premier Jagielski and to those of the cardinal. (Both dignitaries used the same language, the same terminology.)

As far as the banks are concerned, they "scrambled together," as one West German commentator put it, two billion marks to offer to Gierek's government. The Italian socialist newspaper *La Repubblica* pointed out: "It is very probable we are witnessing ... the first case in which the West is going to help a Communist leadership, to support, at a not indifferent price, the regime — perhaps even to avoid its fall ..." I think the words a very clear expression of the underlying state-capitalist tendencies of both camps.

Correspondent
Czechoslovakia

I wanted to write something about the magnificent Polish mass strike, but 1500 Polish coal miners in West Germany have already said it for me. This is from a resolution which they sent to the workers in Poland and to their own union leaders in the first week of September:

"We were full of admiration when we learned that you were not just striking for higher wages, but for freedom of the press and the release of political prisoners in Poland. Until now it had simply never occurred to us that one can strike for such things.

"We were especially impressed by your public negotiations with the government representatives: how you insisted that the negotiations be broadcast



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throughout the Lenin Shipyard on loudspeakers, and to the outside as well on radio and TV ... Until now we had also never imagined strike negotiations ... being broadcast. Your example has awakened us. We will insist that our union's future negotiations with the Mining and Energy Trust be broadcast live by the radio and TV stations."

Reader
Poland's second city (Chicago)

It is no coincidence that the strikes in Poland for free unions are happening at the same time as so many struggles throughout Latin America. People are more aware now of what they want, which is more freedom. In Latin America too many revolutionary leaders just want to follow Cuba, which means following Russia. But look at what the Polish workers are doing now. They want to change their system too. They're tell-

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ing us that their system is a dictatorship. Too often the people only count for the leaders when they're out in mass in the streets. In the Latin American struggles, it comes down many times to which superpower will the leaders follow, the U.S. or Russia, which is no choice at all.

Latina
New York

If Brezhnev or Kania think that by all the new games they are playing with phony "free" trade unions—company unions—they can fool the Polish workers, they are deluding themselves. The principle of free trade unions has been established, and not only for Poland. And as for the confusion currently being sown in the state press, who exactly will believe it after they have had their own strike newspapers?

Old Politico
Chicago

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Views

CARTER, REAGAN AND THE REAL AMERICA

The Republicans didn't surprise me at all with the coronation of Ronald Reagan, neither did that of Jimmy Carter. I have already made up my mind not to vote at all this November. In fact, I'm seriously thinking of organizing a drive to get people not to vote at all in the upcoming election. I don't want any of these asses.

I think we can send a message to the government that the people are not going to play their silly games any more. The two-party system is really just two sides of the same capitalistic coin... Freedom from exploitation should be our goal.

Ex-Kent State student
Ohio

Thanks for sending N&L. We always find it interesting to read about the industrial struggles going on, and also the international comment. You certainly are having some fun with the presidential election in the USA. Reagan looks like he would be the all-time reactionary president. However, I get the feeling he won't make it. I put my money on Carter, to my mind the least obnoxious leader you have had since Roosevelt, and compared to Nixon a positive saint.

Bill Hughes
London, England

I participated in the New York march against the Democratic Convention and for a "People's Alternative." What impressed me most was its size, the large representation of Latin American groups, and the good number of Blacks and women's organizations. There were at least 10,000 marchers, group after group. There were Puerto Rican independence groups; El Salvadorans calling for no U.S. intervention; and an organization of immigrant workers for immediate amnesty who had a flag made up of patches of many colors around a star, like a flag of all Latin American/Caribbean countries.

Within all these marchers were wel-

fare rights groups and many women's banners for pro-abortion, with the coat hanger as the symbol and with leaflets in English and Spanish. It represented to me the real America.

Marcher
New York

While all the presidential candidates are publicizing U.S. capitalism's need to re-industrialize now, the capital just does not seem to be there to do it. The oil industry, however, is swimming in funds. Sohio, for example, had profits of \$1.2 billion in 1979, and its profits were up 2,000 percent in the last decade. But the oil dollars are not getting "recycled" to manufacturing re-industrialization very well.

Karl Marx anticipated such a situation (which he called "capitalism of capitalism" see Vol. III of *Capital*). Capitalism hates communism so much that even when it is for themselves they don't know how to work it.

Observer
Boston

Thank you for your articles about the Republican convention (N&L, Aug-Sept. 1980). They really showed me something I had not understood about Reagan and the New Right. I knew how the religious Right had done much to take over the GOP, but I hadn't realized how much of the way they did it was organizing against Women's Liberation. There is a particularly odious and frightening mood against women that I sense even in the university now. I'm sure you won't approve, but Reagan reminds me so much of the path to World War II that I just may vote for Carter.

Professor
Ann Arbor, Mich.

SOUP LINES, PICKET LINES

When Governor Milliken of Michigan announced his proposal to cut welfare off to all "able-bodied recipients without children to support" between the ages of

20 and 45, I couldn't believe my ears. Michigan has the highest unemployment of any state. Finding a job has become impossible; when one is announced hundreds, sometimes thousands, of applicants line up. What are we supposed to live on now? Or are we just being told to "hit the road" — and if so, for where? Milliken and his kind are the ones who should hit the road.

Unemployed
Michigan

After reading the article on the San Francisco hotel strike in last month's N&L I ran into a cook at the St. Francis hotel who felt that "the settlement was not only a sellout, but they moved so fast because they were afraid after the Aug. 2 mass march that the next march would be even bigger and louder. This town hasn't seen anything like that for a long time."

The employer media's only mention of that march of several thousands was a single paragraph, but the "noise busts" of union officials for "too loud" picket lines really told the tale. A young longshoreman who had been supporting the strikers commented: "There'd be no arrests over noise if the hotel owners were putting up another high-rise using pick-drivers." The strike doesn't end anything; the beef goes on.

Docker
San Francisco

BLACK REALITY— AND THOUGHT

I was very impressed with the essay by Lou Turner on "Black Thought/Black Reality," in the last issue of N&L. He really captured the divisions within both those questions. Today's crisis in Black reality can be seen in the new revolts by youth every week. At the same time there are many tendencies in Black Thought that are trying to impress the youth, tendencies that I do not think represent freedom. Look at Khomeini. He would like to be a tendency in Black Thought, and he has many plans to work within Black America. Minister Louis Farrakhan is saying that Khomeini is his man, that he is the only one who stood up to white leaders. He is also viciously attacking women's liberation, saying that it is a white plot to destroy the Black family. There is a lot of work left to do to make Black Thought and Black Reality come together.

Black working woman
Detroit

When I read Lou Turner's "Black Thought/Black Reality" essay, what came to mind was the separation of organization from the masses, and of theory from practice. In the past I had dealt with groups like the SWP, and what stood out was their elitist relationship to the masses. I remember years ago trying to sell their newspapers for 50¢ a copy in the Compton area, where most people didn't have enough money for food. It was an insult to those Black and poor. This separation of thought from the reality of Black masses is what Lou's essay showed we have to overcome today.

Black youth
Los Angeles

CHINESE DISSIDENTS

The Undercurrent is an international newsletter published by a socialist group in Hong Kong on an irregular basis. The purpose is to relay more timely information on China which is either ignored or misinterpreted by the bourgeois and Chinese state-capitalist presses, so as to rally more international support for the people's movement there.

In this first issue (July 1980) there are two essays by Wang Xizhe, For a Genuine Return to Marxism, China and The Direction of Democracy, and a forward by the editorial staff. To carry on with this publication, we need donors and subscribers. The subscription rate is US \$6 a year by surface mail and US \$10 a year by airmail. Payments should be made in checks and international money orders payable to Undercurrent. Send to 30 Queen's Road West, 1st Floor, Hong Kong.

The Undercurrent
Hong Kong

BRAZILIAN INDIAN STRUGGLES

The Indians of northern Brazil's Xingu reservation are now in a veritable war against the constant invasions and seizures of their land. They have closed the road leading across their land, and have killed eleven invaders who were marking off new farms out of their land. The reservations were supposed to preserve a specific region for the Indians who have been persecuted and exterminated in Brazil over the years. But since the early 70's, when a major road was built right across their land, many farms have been built on it.

Shoshana
Recife, Brazil

From Harlem 'barricades': eyewitness report of Sydenham Hospital occupation

BULLETIN! As we go to press we receive the following story of the occupation of Sydenham hospital written just after the police attack depicted in the photo.

New York, N.Y. — Sydenham Hospital, in the center of Harlem, scheduled to be closed by New York City's politicians and banks on Oct. 1 in a continuing assault on the poor Black and Latin communities' necessary health and social services, has been an object of struggle for the past five years. In the last few days it has become the focal point for opposition to the racist and life-threatening cut-backs. About 30 people are occupying the hospital, determined to force the City to respond to the demands of thousands of community demonstrators who have been outside on a picket-line throughout the past week. The following is "from the barricades:"

The elected officials representing Harlem went inside to confer with the activists occupying the building. When they came out and faced us—about 1,000 demonstrators—one of those inside the building called out that how the cops would be helpful would be to arrange it so the cops would remove the barricades they had put up, separating us from those inside the building, so that food and necessities could be passed in.

Another guy inside yelled that the men should move to the front of the barricades, because there was going to be a confrontation. Many Black women around me raised their fists and moved toward the front. The cops started swinging their clubs, as the politicians stood next to them and watched. I heard one white cop say, point-



ing to a white female, "There's a white liberal b——. Get her!"

There were about 200 cops, only two of them Black. Bottles, mop-handles, and pieces of furniture came raining down from the roofs of surrounding apartment buildings. The cop's faces turned white, and they looked like foreign occupying soldiers, as they scanned the buildings while still watching the crowd. They viciously beat anyone within reach. One cop pulled a gun and aimed it at a brother running down the street. The only thing that saved him was he turned a corner.

I live in the Grant Housing Project. When my son was one-and-a-half years old he had trouble breathing, so I ran with him to Sydenham. We need this hospital.

It's a matter of life and death. The government wants to turn it into a Drug Rehabilitation Center. We know how those things go. We want a hospital that deals with all human needs. People here not only don't have cars to go somewhere else, they don't have cars.

I have my eight-year-old son with me. There are other women here with babies in carriages. We didn't expect anything from the police department like this. But my son wants to get involved. He knows what the struggle is. We can't isolate our children. They are aware we live in a racist society. And they're in a Black skin; they never forget who you are. My children are used to demonstrations. I've been demonstrating all my life.

—Sydenham demonstrator

Workers need control of production, unions

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

While waiting in the unemployment line for hours, I was talking with a Black truck driver. He was telling me how his union representatives had sold him and other truck drivers out in their last contract. He had been reading about what the Polish workers did during negotiations — listening over loudspeakers to what their representatives and the government were saying — and from now on he wanted to know what his representatives were saying during the negotiation of the contract.

As his contract reads now, on an Ohio run out of Detroit in the winter time, if they get snow bound for a week, the drivers are responsible 24 hours a day for what is in the truck, but they only get paid for 8 hours. **UNION TAKES COMPANY SIDE**

The reason is that the international union reps have taken the ground of the corporation, saying that the company has got to make a profit. None of these reps are saying to the capitalists, who produce nothing, "To hell with you and your profits, I represent the workers."

This young driver commented, "As long as working people let the salary class do the thinking while the wage class does the work, workers that produce will always be worked to death or unemployed."

I couldn't agree more, we have to become the thinkers as well as doers if there will ever be freedom on this earth. As it is now we earn just enough to keep us coming back and working to produce for the capitalist the next day. But when they don't need us, we are quickly laid off. And then they want to push us off of unemployment, or kick us off of welfare, when there are no jobs to go to.

HAZARDS ON THE JOB

If its bad off the job, being on the job is none too healthy. Last year Michigan had 90 workers killed on the job. But that didn't include another 265 workers who died on the job as a result of heart attacks, or auto accidents on the job. And what about all the workers who are dying years after exposure to cancer-causing or poisonous chemicals.

Meanwhile employers who fail to protect workers from serious job hazards face only the most minimal fines. Do you think conditions of labor would be this way if those bureaucratic parasites were taking care of our business? They are taking care of business alright, their business, and at our expense.

A young iron worker in the unemployment line put it this way, "We now in large industry are laid off. All we have to do is get together and take over the plants, mines and mills where we work. We don't need these corporate, nor union bureaucrats. We produce everything and we can do it without them. Now is the time to do it. Let's get together."

Latino farm laborers on move

Toledo, Ohio — Over 2,000 Latino farmworkers, members of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), continued their now two year old strike in the tomato fields of northwest Ohio. Since August, 1978, these strikers have refused to work in the fields under contract to Libby's and Campbell's in an effort to obtain a contract with these two companies. FLOC is asking everyone to boycott Libby's and Campbell's.

In spite of being met with lost wages, violence by the County Sheriff's office and legal attacks, the strikers persist in their demands for a living wage, adequate housing, child labor restrictions, and protection from exposure to pesticides.

But the strike in northwest Ohio is only part of the nationwide struggle of Latino farm laborers against the interests of the large agri-business corporations who are always looking for cheap labor to exploit. In the Messilla Valley of New Mexico, The Texas Farm Workers Union (TFWU) has begun to organize workers picking California type peppers for 35¢ a pail with even the strongest workers barely picking 6 pails an hour.

Many of these workers come to the U.S. literally to avoid starvation in their own countries. Because they are so-called "undocumented" and speak little English, the big growers and their labor contractors try to get away with all sorts of illegal schemes to cheat the workers out of their rightful wages.

It is because of the low wages paid to these laborers that the growers and food processing companies can reap greater and greater profits. As one farmworker told an organizer for the TFWU: "We bring about these riches but do not benefit from them. We need the union in the fields because we have the right to live better."



Thousands apply for 70 jobs in Baltimore

From a U.S. shipyard worker

(Editor's note: The following story was told by an American shipyard worker at our national convention.)

Now as you know, the way to launch a ship is not someone standing up on the bow and breaking a champagne bottle. The workers themselves do it. In my particular yard, the method we used in a ship launching was that they handed out 800 sledge hammers and we each were given four wedges apiece.

We all went under the ship (now this is a 1,000 foot ship) and the idea was to raise it off its block one-half inch which takes a lot of pounding with those hammers. And the supervisors were there with bullhorns and loudspeakers so they could coordinate the raising. And when they had raised it a half inch, they'd cut it and it was launched. Of course, watching all this was a stand of dignitaries with TV cameras and photographers.

We got done with that at 11:30 in the morning, a half hour before lunch. So they told us that we could have an extra half hour that day with pay for lunch. And in the meantime they had quite a spread set out for themselves in that yard. Well what happened was that most of the workers walked out—they left right then.

And so the management had to revise their order. They said people could leave if they wanted to. But, they said, we wouldn't be getting the extra half hour. Well, they had to revise that too—they had to pay us that half hour!

When you work, you see the power of labor and it's quite a power. It's a force—and that's the force of proletarian reason. And we see that in Poland today. When workers do begin to move and their movement really has a chance to flower, there is something new created in the world. And what is happening in Poland has illuminated the whole world so that labor will not be the same in Poland or in Eastern Europe and labor will not be the same in the United States after that.

McDonnell Douglas strike?

Long Beach, Cal.—After a month of contract negotiations, McDonnell Douglas workers, some 3,000 of them, met on Sunday, Sept. 21 at the Long Beach Convention Center to take a strike vote. Three thousand workers are only 25 percent of the membership, and the first thing Jerry Whipple, Western Regional Director of the United Auto Workers, was hit with (after the boos against him died down) was why Local 148 leadership called the meeting on a Sunday night instead of the way Boeing workers did when they got a 97 percent turnout. They had brought the workers out of the plant to have the meeting.

Another thing the workers wanted to know was what the union was doing by participating in Douglas' plant "open house" on the very same day the union wanted the workers to take a strike vote.

To date McDonnell Douglas has come up with some 200 "take-away" proposals at contract negotiations. The strike deadline is Oct. 19 and many workers recalled the last 91-day strike, when scabs were allowed to cross the picket line and production allowed to continue.

From the floor, the workers' voices and ideas were sharp and to the point. When Whipple said to forget politics (those directed against him) and stick to economics, workers came back with: "Six years and two bad contracts under this leadership is politics." When Whipple told aerospace workers that their support of him was necessary in order for them to get the kind of deal autoworkers got, a laid-off G.M. worker responded: "I'm a laid-off autoworker, that's the kind of deal the UAW got us."

Everyone who spoke supported going out on strike. But the question they had was whether or not the leadership would sell them out like last time.

In the end the declaration of one worker summed up the attitude of so many toward the union leadership when he pointed to the podium and said: "We'll be looking for you, Whipple, if you sell us out on this contract."

Unemployed face hard times

Los Angeles, Cal. — I'm an unemployed auto worker who's been laid off for the past 13 months, and jobs are so hard to find that I've been forced to try for casual labor jobs at my local unemployment office — jobs that pay a third of what I used to make.

The casual labor program at the unemployment office is a first-come, first-served program supposedly to help the desperately unemployed, but it's really geared to help employers who need cheap labor for a day or two.

I recently went down there when my benefits ran out, and by 6 o'clock in the morning 14 men were standing in line outside the locked doors of the office. Some had been camped out there since 2 a.m. Only two were sent out to work that day while the rest of us had waited 4-6 hours or more for nothing. And this was for \$3 an hour jobs!

It used to be that if you were 25th in line, you'd be sure to get work. Now you might be the second one there and get no work at all. All the unemployment offices in the city are now this way.

I remember how happy we were when laid off in July of last year — the long hours on a fast assembly line takes its toll on your health and sanity. We looked forward to our "extended vacation." At first we were getting unemployment and SUB, which covered 90 percent of our base pay. Then after 6 months unemployment ran out. They now say you can apply for a 13 week unemployment insurance extension, but the catch is you don't get it if you didn't work last year. Meanwhile, they also said you wouldn't get it if you did!

So now with unemployment insurance gone and SUB expired, I have to look for temporary work at \$3 an hour — you can't even get the casual labor these days.

I started out making \$9 an hour as an auto worker, then went to making 90 percent of my pay in SUB, and by now I'm down to \$3 an hour jobs. This is how capitalism forces down the living standards of the workers, in order to be able to invest in new automation and unimation, which will lay off more workers in turn. How much longer can they expect workers to take this?

S. Africa workers fight cops

Johannesburg, South Africa — Just after Detroit city workers had battled Mayor Young's administration for a decent contract last July, the Black Municipal Workers' Union (BMWU) in South Africa carried out the most massive strike ever staged against the Johannesburg city government. From July 24 to Aug. 1, over 10,000 municipal workers virtually brought the capital city of apartheid land to a standstill.

Rejecting the strikers' demands for their legitimate human rights, the city council on Aug. 1, called out the police to ruthlessly break the strike with the most brutal "strong arm" methods. Over 12,000 strikers were arrested and forcibly resettled in the so-called "homelands," while other unskilled workers were brought in from these "homelands" as (unwitting) scabs.

As part of their strategy to break the strike and destroy the BMWU, police arrested and detained Joseph Mavi and Hope Mamabolo, prominent leaders of the BMWU. The offices of the Union were searched and documents confiscated.

The struggle for the release of these arrested leaders and for the total scrapping of the apartheid system is part and parcel of the international struggle of all workers to end exploitative production relations and to be accorded recognition as full citizens and human beings.

Messages of solidarity should be sent to: The Secretary-General, Black Municipal Workers Union, P.O. Box 9753, Johannesburg, 2000, South Africa.

Racism at Jacobi

Bronx, N.Y.—Since I've worked at Jacobi Hospital there has been race discrimination. But before it was hidden; now it's open. A co-worker has been kept in a CETA classification for five years, when after a year you are supposed to be moved up to provisional status. The administrators here openly admit they don't want to give any security, because the old workers get bad habits. In this woman's case she has a very good record, but they claim she "runs her mouth too much." The real reason is their feeling about her being Black and speaking up for herself and others. By open discrimination I mean that they scream, at people, calling them "idiots" and "nincompoops." I've worked with the union and tried to do something. But all the channels you have to go through are exhausting and frustrating. I am not giving up. I intend to fight this in new ways.

Concerned Jacobi worker

LABOR

YOUTH

by Jim Mills

Scenes flashing across the TV screen on Sept. 23 showed the realities of decadent capitalism led by this election year's shift to the right — and its youth opposition. After reports of the Iran-Iraq war, followed scenes of Black students from Southern University in Baton Rouge, La. Intent on making racist America hear a different kind of music, they sat down in front of the buses carrying their school's band across town to Louisiana State where arch-reactionary Ronald Reagan was to speak.

It was with the aim of working out the form for our participation in these kinds of mass, youth revolutionary activities already shaping the eighties that the Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth Committee met in conference on August 29.

CONFERENCE'S INTERNATIONALISM

The most outstanding feature of the conference was its internationalism. A young British Marxist-Humanist reported that the first British *News & Letters* was read by people at a mass disarmament rally this summer in London, and he also related the Miami rebellion here to the Bristol rebellion this spring by Black and white youth against police harassment and neo-fascism.

A young Marxist-Humanist from the Middle East posed Iran as the revolutionary event of the decade, generating political shifts globally. Yet he stressed within that revolution, revolutionaries like the Fedayeen, by calling on Iranian workers to raise production and on women's liberationists to be silent when Khomeini took power, forgot Marx's dialectic.

As against such retrogression, he proposed supporting South Korean youth who are resisting their own new "Shah," and the formation of an autonomous youth organization, under Lenin's banner: The main enemy is always at home.

A young woman Marxist-Humanist also from the Middle East stressed the urgency she feels for ideas when she sees them translated into her own language. She urged that some of our activities be publicized and conducted in Farsi and Polish!

Finally, a young Polish Marxist-Humanist living in the U.S. singled out "hunger for ideas" as the driving force in the Polish workers general strike going on at that very moment. Thus, a whole flowering of radical student papers is challenging censorship. New ideas like those of Black Consciousness movement leader Steve Biko have appeared in the dissident press.

MARXIST REVOLUTIONARY JOURNALISM

It was just such a stress on revolutionary journalism

Youth creativity in 'Fame'

Los Angeles, Cal.—A film that I really enjoyed seeing this summer was *Fame*. As a high school student it was interesting for me to see that the film had not tried to show young people as content and foolish, but had shown their real problems. In this movie the emphasis was on the students of a performing arts high school, but it was easy to see that many of their problems are shared by youth throughout the country.

In the atmosphere of a high school in a poor New York neighborhood you see the problems that each Black, Latino, Jewish or gay student had in intermingling with others. These students were under tremendous pressure: the Black, because of the racist attitude of society; the Latino, because of being a minority and having to carry the burden of family responsibility; the gay, because of the way society was starting to treat him; and the Jewish, because she resented the values her family tried to impose on her.

All the burdens on the shoulders of these students, in addition to the amount of work that school demanded from them, caused them to become very much alienated from themselves. This alienation was clearly shown by the Latino who was always trying to maintain a "happy" attitude but finally revealed his desperation by bursting into tears when explaining his family's miseries.

All of the students had done their best to get into this school, and they were truly talented in fields like drama, music, or dancing. Through four years of high school they had undergone tremendous pressure to increase their performing abilities. However, at the end you could see how all this talent and creativity was abused, as when, for example, the Black high school woman was forced to expose her naked body in front of the camera to show that she was a "professional" actress.

Here the film gave a concrete example of capitalism's abuse of talent. Since in this system the only aim is to achieve higher profits, the creativity and talent of a performer is reduced to a mere profit-making agent. To fight this sexist, racist, class-ridden society we need to base our struggle on a philosophy of liberation which includes all the oppressed sectors of our society.

It is only through combining that theory with practice that we can achieve a new human society in which human beings will be able to develop their creativity in a human sense.

—Woman high school student

Internationalist Marxist-Humanist youth meeting

—Marx's and our's—that the conference turned to, looking at it always as philosophy as action. Independently writing and editing contributions for this, the youth page of *News & Letters*, grew out of the Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth Committee's exploration of Marx's own revolutionary activity as a journalist for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

The continuity with Marx's humanism and Marxist-Humanist philosophy for this coming year means that the foundation for a total outlook follows from our re-examination of 25 years of young Marxist-Humanism:

The *News and Letters* Committees Constitution singling out youth's revolutionary idealism in 1957; the voices in *Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves* in 1961; the expansion of the Black Civil Rights movement into a Free Speech movement and its discovery of Marx's concept of alienation as its own in *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution* in 1964; and youth's consciousness of its own internationalism in the seventies, captured in *Franz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought*.

The youth of the eighties — the Black pre-teenage "little shorties" participating in the Miami rebellion this summer and the estimated one million young men who boycotted Carter's war registration—are already authors of our own essay on the youth movement in the 1980s we will contribute to the new expanded *News & Letters* next year.

Expanding activities in the class struggles here and internationally must, finally, involve grounding all our activities in the quest by youth everywhere for philosophy, as total freedom from wars and oppression by others, especially through the instrumentality of production.

WSU student job grievances

Detroit, Mich. — Newly-hired Wayne State University student assistant workers did not receive checks on payday in early September. The usual bureaucratic reasons for it were given, but there was actually no excuse. As a result, new student assistants made requests for pay advances, but none were given out.

The student anger over this event underscores the desire of many student assistants to create some kind of organization to fight these kinds of abuses by Wayne State.

At the end of the summer, clerical workers threatened to strike the university. One student office assistant who had been led to believe her job had been eliminated found out that her job had been restored "with much memo-writing and kind words and personal pleadings."

When the clerical workers actually went out on strike this August, the need for student assistants to band together became urgent again. Many students tried to keep the university from using them against the strikers. A student worker at the bookstore honored the picket lines for a week, even though the clerical union did not ask students not to cross the lines.

But the opposition to administration management was not limited to the strike. An office student assistant in the nursing school put it this way: "I'm not supposed to do any typing at all. But the department chairman will often come around and give us some typing to do, saying, 'It's just a little thing.' It's always just a little thing, but they add up."

These kinds of ongoing grievances have brought some student assistants to meetings called by people on the Student-Faculty Council, the student government. Ever since the strike, students have wanted to know what they could do about the pressures placed on them by the administration during the strike and about their problems like the payless payday. One student found out from another one at one of those meetings that he should have gotten a wage increase when the minimum wage went up in January.

Although new people have come to meetings, they often are not asked for their ideas but to do tedious work like copying down mailing lists instead, not unlike the work they do for the university. Despite this the need for an organization which will project grievances and promote communication amongst students can be seen in many corners of the campus.

THE INTERNATIONALIST MARXIST-HUMANIST YOUTH COMMITTEES CONFERENCE BULLETIN

75¢ (plus 50¢ postage)

Order from: Detroit News & Letters
Youth Committee, 2832 E. Grand Boulevard
Detroit, MI 48211

That is why local Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth Committees will sponsor Raya Dunayevskaya in a spring lecture tour.

I invite you to find out more, first, by ordering a copy of the conference proceedings which we're making available to readers of this page. (See the ad below.) And then I hope you will join us in both reconnecting with the history of revolutions —and making our own!

Black Hills survival rally

Chicago, Ill.—Over 12,000 people gathered in South Dakota this summer to work towards the survival of humanity and protection of the environment. Activists from over 40 nations, including many indigenous "Indian" nations, participated. B-52 bombers from Ellsworth Air Force Base regularly roared overhead the tent city we set up.

A Citizens Review Commission on Energy Developing Corporations presented testimony on multinational corporations currently exploiting the mineral resources of the Black Hills—the spiritual-center of the Lakota (Sioux) Nation. This area is slated as a "National Sacrifice Area" according to Carter's energy plan, as it is rich in uranium and coal. Much of the water in this area is already contaminated with radioactive waste from mining in the '50s. One study by Women of All Red Nations (WARN) revealed a 38 percent stillbirth rate and breathing difficulties in 60-70 percent of newborns of the reservation.

Health for Survival workshops covered the dangers of radiation and chemical contamination and holistic alternatives to profit-oriented medicine. Education for Survival workshops emphasized bringing issues like militarism, ecology and co-operation into the schools.

Representatives from resistance movements in Australia, Europe, Puerto Rico, and South America shared their struggles. Native Americans stressed a push to stop mining and the M-X missile by enforcing treaties the U.S. signed with their tribes. Over 400 of these treaties have been violated.

All literature distributed had to be approved because of the Black Hills Alliance's fear of alienating traditional locals. They wouldn't allow circulation of papers containing gay rights or marijuana legalization articles. When some women asked why the security team had only male squad leaders, an American Indian Movement activist tried to justify this by saying it was traditional.

Although it was obvious that, while respecting traditional values of living in harmony with nature, new ways of working out human relations were needed, people of many different cultures, working together did break down some of the barriers that separate us all.

For more information write—The Black Hills Alliance, Box 2508, Rapid City, South Dakota 57709.

—R. K.

Youth in Revolt

For refusing to turn over incriminating photos, the editor of the University of Texas student newspaper was fined \$100 and sent to jail Sept. 2. *Daily Texan* editor Mark McKinnon had refused to surrender newspaper photos of Iranian students who were on trial for disrupting a speech, Jan. 31, by the former Iranian ambassador to the UN.

Concluding that "the punks have won this one," the Great Lakes Training Facility commander suspended the showing of a film of the national anthem before feature pictures at the base movie theatre. Earlier in the summer, jeering sailors forced the anthem's suspension. Although the base commander asked informants to tell on other enlistees, none came forward when the anthem was reinstated and the boing resumed. It was discontinued for good July 12.

Hundreds of young people in Zurich, Switzerland who were protesting the city's closing of a youth center, began a rampage through a fashionable shopping center the first week of September. The revolt, where police arrested over 300, was a repeat of the rebellion last May when the youths demanded city funds for a new autonomous youth center. A new opera house got funds instead. Many of the participants in the riot are the unemployed children of "guest workers" from the Middle East.

Students and teachers of Mali continue their protests that began in November, 1979, over the right to organize and choose their own unions. The students' protest originally began against the new entrance examinations for professional training that would make it difficult to qualify for civil service jobs, and spread to the teachers' protests which have paralleled that of the students' and have faced the same government attacks.

Against militarized science and religious reaction...

(Continued from Page 1)

RELIGION IN GENERAL, JERUSALEM IN PARTICULAR — IN THIS STATE-CAPITALIST AGE

Israel has been moving so steadily to the Right that no reactionary action should surprise anyone. Nevertheless, the world — and this includes President Carter who is still pretending that the so-called Peace Treaty he engineered between Egypt and Israel will bring real peace to the whole of the Middle East — was shocked by the timing, if nothing else, of the "sudden" fiat from the Knesset that Jerusalem, East and West (that is, Arab as well as Jewish), was "one," was "indivisible" capital of Israel, indeed, was "eternal," as if really its order extends into the eons of time.

If however, we take a second, objective look at that phrase, "if nothing else," we will see that it is precisely the timing, the provocative timing, which is the logical conclusion to the extremist imperialist moves ever since Menachem Begin came to power, and that very week visited and approved a controversial new Jewish settlement in Arab land. It has gone on and expanded ever since. It is necessary, however, to limit ourselves just to this year.

In March, 1980, the government of Israel announced it would be taking 1,000 acres of mostly Arab-owned land. It was the first such major expropriation in a decade, and the second largest since the victorious 1967 war. Indeed, by the mid-1970s, Israel pried 30 percent of East Jerusalem from Arab ownership. Could anyone doubt, when the biggest war hawk of them all, Geula Cohen, was chosen to bring in a draft for the new status of Jerusalem, that it would be anything but what it was?

That the neo-fascist religious fanatics called Gush Emunim have no intention whatever of stopping was clear enough from the prevailing terrorism — not from the PLO this time, but from the reactionary religious Zionist group, who bombed the cars of two Arab mayors, maiming Mayor Bassan Shaka of Nablus and Mayor Kerim Khalaf of Ramallah.

Worse still was Menachem Begin's stonewalling the investigation. As the correspondent of the Washington Star, David Halevy, asked: how did it happen that the Shin Bet (Israeli FBI-CIA combined), that has an 85 percent success rate in probing such terrorist acts, did not produce even a suspect? And wasn't it true that the head of that secret police organization resigned because Menachem Begin wasn't giving him a free hand?

What is new — and it is by no means limited to

Zionism — is the new politicized forms of religion. Nor is it a question of whether you listen to the money-wise "electronic evangelists"; or believe in the Old or New Testament; or follow the Koran and quote Muhammad, who is supposed to have said: "Whoever goes on a pilgrimage to the Jerusalem sanctuary shall be forgiven all his sins."

The point, rather, is why this rush to power? One need not go abroad to see it is so. All one has to do is look right here at the New Right, the Christian Religious Right. We saw what they did at the Reagan convention; and it is clear that, though now they are settling for Reagan, they, no more than the KKK and the Nazis, will not stop there, any more than Solzhenitsyn stopped when he got religion and returned to the Greek Orthodox Church.

The real point is that the totality of the crises, especially since 1973-74 (which by no means signified only the Arab-Israeli War, but the economic crisis that resulted from the oil embargo) has shown that the undercurrent of revolt may — and in some cases, did — lead to revolution. It is this, especially as it is evolving in the last years, which has led the capitalist rulers to flirt with Nazism and occultism all over again. Occultism



—Thanks to Informations-Dienst

"Look, there lies the developed world."

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

The issues that the Polish rank-and-filers picked to fight over — like the miners who not only won everything that the Gdansk strikers won but also the stopping of a shift system that had resulted in eight more miners being killed recently — are so much like those of the U.S. mine workers who took on the company, the union, and the state in the form of the Taft-Hartley in their general strike of 1978 over the right to strike over local safety conditions.

Workers have flocked to join the independent trade unions in Poland, and applications for membership poured in from across the nation in what one worker activist said could be the death knell of the official Communist-controlled unions. One of the strike leaders said that some 85 to 90 percent of the workers of the Gdansk area have already joined with them. The Communist regime is saying that "anti-socialist" elements are trying to turn Poland's troubles to their own purposes. However, one striker said that they were not against the principle of socialism, but against the mistakes of the Party. The workers were striking against the Communist Party.

It was not "anti-socialist" elements that caused the strike, it was that the workers were fed up with their conditions of labor, fed up with high prices, fed up with the way workers were treated including putting them in jail for their political beliefs. All of their demands were so timely, including their demand to release political prisoners.

What was amazing to me was how the Polish workers managed to have such tremendous self-discipline. There were some people who were collecting food for these workers who were sitting-in in the plants in Gdansk. In some of the baskets they had put in some vodka. The workers discovered it, took the baskets with the vodka out into the open for everyone to see and poured the liquor out on the ground. They did not want the Communists or anyone else to be able to say they were just there drinking and not there for the demands.

EVERY WORD OVER LOUDSPEAKER

When the Communist government leaders went into the plants to negotiate the settlement with the workers' leaders, the workers' leaders demanded that each and every word be broadcast over a loudspeaker so that all the workers could hear it. A worker friend of mine said that was one of the greatest things. No American trade union leader would do it. They are so much a part of the company and the government that they would not want the American workers to know anything about what they were saying during negotiations, nor afterward. This is because in all of their negotiations there is so much dealing going on behind the backs of workers.

No worker knows what went on in those bargaining sessions until he goes back to work and the company tells him what to do. Often it is something the workers did not have to do before, but now the company tells him it is in the new contract.

When we had free trade unions our contract was no more than ten or twelve pages. Today it is nearly the size of a book with so much small reading that it would take a Philadelphia lawyer to understand it. The company insists that every foreman read and know it, while the majority of workers do not even get to see it. In the early days of the union, every worker carried the contract with him. They felt the contract meant more to them than the Bible.

Many of the Polish workers may be quite religious, and have the picture of the Pope plastered on the gate of the occupied factory. But when the Catholic Church said to them that the strike had gone far enough, and that they should return to work — they answered in the same manner that the mine workers in America answered John L. Lewis when he told them to return to work, and the same as they have answered many bureaucrats who told them what to do.

So again we say, All eyes on the Polish workers, especially their demand for free trade unions. It is, as well a demand for American workers today.

has ever been the escape from reality and since it doesn't have quite as obnoxious an odor as Nazism, non-taxable dollars are spent on that electronic miracle to bring the message to the public.

In any case, the New Religious Right, as in Begin's Israel or in Khomeini's Iran, or the Christian Right here, even when they get masses to follow them, by no means signifies that what the masses want, and what the leaders are striving for—power—has the same motivation.

Which is why Karl Marx made so sharp a distinction between the religion of the oppressed and that of the oppressor. The whole theory of alienation started there. Follow the majestic, the historic sweep of Marx's goal: "To unmask human self-alienation in its secular form now that it has been unmasked in its sacred form . . ."

"Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people . . ."

"Religion is indeed man's self-consciousness and self-awareness so long as he has not found himself or has lost himself again. But man is not an abstract being, squatting outside the world. Man is the human world, state, society." (See Marx's Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law, Introduction, 1844.)

Nor was it only religion that Marx called "the opium of the people." The same was true for science. A full 130 years before ever the atom was split, and out of which came, not the most constructive new energy force, but the most destructive atomic bomb, Marx wrote: "To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie."

We have been living this lie altogether too long. State-capitalism has reincarnated both Religion and Science as moves away from real human needs and new human relations. The turning of the clock backward must be stopped and will be stopped when we stop separating the philosophy of revolution from social revolution . . .

ALL ROADS LEAD TO GDANSK AND . . .

The most exciting new form of freedom in the world today is being created in Poland. Every day brings news of unprecedented acts of rebellion by the Polish workers. What started out as the occupation of the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk and became 17,000 strikers in three other cities, soon snowballed and had no less than 50,000 other workers join them, and 200 factories were shut down.

What seemed at one place to be just opposition to high meat prices and at another place just a strike in opposition to the firing of Mrs. Anna Walentynowicz who had been active in the 1970 strike and who was fired a few months short of being entitled to receive a pension, so broadened and widened the participation that we now have a general strike including other industrial units from aircraft and textile plants, to city garbage collectors and bus drivers. What started out as demands for a rise in wages became at one and the same time a demand for free trade unions as well as free speech, free press, freer communications.

Indeed, the shipyard strike everyone was talking about as the first, occurred in fact after six full weeks of non-stop labor unrest that had begun with 3,000 railway men who insisted on nominating independent candidates for workers' council elections. This report (by Eric Bourne in the Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 13, 1980) is indeed born out not only by other reports in the daily press, but what we hear from within Poland by the strikers and intellectual dissidents.

(Continued on Page 11)

Polish exile and activist

URSULA WISLANKA

will speak on

"Today's Polish Fight For Freedom"

DETROIT

Tuesday, Oct. 7

Wayne State — Student Center Building

1 p.m., Hilberry Lounge

7 p.m., Room 289

NEW YORK

Sunday, Oct. 12, 7 p.m.

369 8th Ave. (29th St.), Workmen's Circle

from Poland to Miami: masses as reason

(Continued from Page 10)

Indeed, what worries the Communist rulers more than anything is the fact that a small dissident group of mainly intellectuals called the Workers' Social Self-Defense Committees (KOR), which was established in the mid-1970s of those who had been fired or imprisoned, whose spokesman is Jacek Kuron, has expressed more than solidarity with these workers by establishing a co-ordinating committee that, at one and the same time, tells workers of strikes in other regions and tells the Western press the actual situation in contradiction to what the official press carries.

As Kuron, who was once again imprisoned, put it: "It is a solidarity strike, and has a political character. It is a step toward a free trade union — a very important step. These committees create an absolutely new situation."

Marx on Poland

... Only after Poland has won its independence again, only after it is able to govern itself again as a free people, only then can its inner development begin again and can it cooperate as an independent force in the social transformation of Europe ...

The main reason for the sympathy felt by the working class for Poland is, however, this: Poland is not only the only Slav race which has fought and is fighting as a cosmopolitan soldier of the revolution. Poland spilt its blood in the American War of Independence; its legions fought under the banner of the first French republic; with its revolution of 1830 it prevented the invasion of France, which had been decided upon by the partitioners of Poland; in 1846 in Cracow it was the first to plant the banner of revolution in Europe; in 1848 it had a glorious share in the revolutionary struggles in Hungary, Germany and Italy; finally, in 1871 it provided the Paris Commune with the best generals and the most heroic soldiers.

In the brief moments when the popular masses in Europe have been able to move freely they have remembered what they owe to Poland ...

—Speech of March, 1875

By now (New York Times, 8/28/80) the shipyard workers of Gdansk have truly established "a world apart," right within a totalitarian land at that, with their occupation — occupation, not just strike. They are not only fanning out across the whole country, having international representatives of labor from France, Norway, Austria. They established their own system of internal broadcasting over loudspeakers so that every word of negotiating sessions with government representatives is piped out to workers lounging on the grass or clustered in discussions! Eight-hundred delegates from other factories are in the conference hall and they tape-record sessions for workers in their districts.

Exhilaration of producing their own newspaper — *Exhilaration* (for excerpt see Readers' Views, page 6) — is catching on with even some government journalists there. The Western TV cameramen who concentrate on pictures of the Pope on the shipyard gate, should note that dissident spokesmen criticized Cardinal Wyszynski's statement, saying, "The workers will disregard it. They are too determined." And they, the workers, now number no less than 300,000. (Editor's Note: Several days after the above report was written, numbers reached over 800,000.)

Whether or not the Communist totalitarian government will attempt to put it down bloodily, though the workers thus far have not used any arms, it is absolutely impossible to dim the penetrating illumination cast by this great revolt, both of conditions in state-capitalist lands calling themselves Communist, and of the burning desire for freedom ...

... AND THE ROAD TO THE BLACK GHETTO

The maturity of our age is seen also in every act of opposition to the powers-that-be even when there is no revolution and even where it seems to be as isolated as the Black ghetto of Miami ... In the Black ghettos of the North as well as the South, and specifically in Liberty City of Miami, eight out of every ten Black youth are out of work. And so filthy are the living conditions there, that so-called Liberty City is referred to as "Germ City."

The Miami Courier, a Black bi-weekly, revealed one other important fact. It is about "the little shorties." "The little shorties" refers to some of the most militant Blacks in that revolt who were no more than 11, 12, and 13 years old, and who are obviously best at throwing bottles and stones at every passing white motorist.

And when an adult, Homer Breman, (who is 27) spoke up, he said, "You know, a lot of us aren't scared of dying no more." He was referring to the fact that he was a Vietnam veteran and he hasn't found condi-

tions now in his hometown any better. Insofar as the Miami Blacks are concerned, they struck not only at the government, but the established Black leadership in or out of the NAACP, Urban League, SCLC. "No need for bullets," said another, "unemployment and inflation are killing us."

At one of the public housing projects, the James E. Scott, the reporters were being chased away and someone yelled at them: "And one more thing. Tell those old Black leaders to stop jumping in front of the television cameras, giving interviews, because they don't speak for us."

The most serious lesson to learn from the Miami uprising which few are even listening to is the complete rejection of leadership. And that, the rebellions made clear, applies most sharply to the Black leaders who think that what they did in the '60s entitles them to leadership evermore, whereas in fact, insofar as they are concerned, it is all a period of "broken promises." The revolts will not stop, and neither will the search for a philosophy of freedom.

OUR TASKS

This year, as we are getting ready to appear with the 12-pager as the regular format of News & Letters and to finish the book, we do have, accidentally or otherwise, the advantage of looking at our 25-year history. In many respects, the first five years were the most difficult and the most fundamental, as they laid the ground, philosophically, politically, organizationally for the existence of Marxist-Humanism on U.S. soil.

First and foremost is that which characterized us from our birth. We, at one and the same time, listened to new voices from below and singled out new revolutionary forces whose movement from practice was itself a form of theory, as well as taking on the responsibility of filling the theoretic void in the movement since,

For Further Marxist-Humanist Reading on East Europe

Socialist Humanism, Edited by Eric Fromm
Contributions from Marxist-Humanists in East Europe and the West. Includes essay by Raya Dunayevskaya.

Communist Shipyard Workers Revolt
Polish shipyard workers speak in the midst of the 1970 Gdansk shipyard occupation. A News and Letters pamphlet.

"State Capitalism and the East European Revolts"
Chapter 8 of Philosophy and Revolution. On East European Revolts of the '60s and '70s, centering on Poland, 1970-1971.

Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution
An analysis of the Czechoslovakian events of the late '60s, including an eyewitness report from Prague. A News and Letters pamphlet.

"The Beginning of the End of Russian Totalitarianism"
Chapter 15 of Marxism and Freedom. Includes sections on the East German June 17, 1953 revolt; the Vorkuta prison uprising, July 1953; the Hungarian Revolution, 1956.

"Marxist-Humanism" in Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions, by Raya Dunayevskaya. Published by Cambridge Left Labour Club and News and Letters.

Lenin's death, and transcending it, that is to say, restating Marxism for our own age. Where we stress that listening to the new voices does not free the intellectuals from their responsibility of what Hegel called Absolute Method, or "Self-Thinking Idea," it is also manifest that the Idea cannot itself think without human beings thinking it.

We continued to dig deep for American roots, not only when we first started, but as a constant characteristic, so that in the mid-1970s, we also produced, first, *America's First Unfinished Revolution*, and then *The First (1877) General Strike in the U.S.: Then and Now*, and most recently, *"American Black Thought and Black Reality"* you'll be discussing under Organizational Reports. It is this type of theoretical working out what is, as relevant for history as for method, i.e. dialectics of analysis of current events, which now that we are transforming the paper, needs to become a regular feature. For this, we need a whole nucleus of "philosophers," or political analysts, if you insist ...

It was no accident (nor only related to the objective situation of Carter's drive for war) that we posed the question of expansion of News & Letters. The more fundamental reason was the imperativeness of philosophy as action, and the need, therefore, of a philosophic nucleus, whether that be every Marxist-Humanist a philosopher, or as a sort of thought-exuding nucleus. It goes without saying that it's needed most if we are fully to comprehend why the Rosa Luxemburg book has the title it has.

Nor do I mean that the three parts—*Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*—are of equal newness. I mean that never before has Marx's philosophy of revolution been fully presented; at best, it was a theory of proletarian revolution that was strictly political.

I mean also that it could not have been presented in full, because we did not have all of his works until recently. It is for this reason that I consider it also no accident that we started publishing the book not with Chapter 1, "Two Turning Points in Rosa Luxemburg's Life," but with Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*, or more precisely put, "The Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation: Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted." That is to say, just as the question of Women's Liberation could not fully be understood as a Marxist when thinking that Marx and Engels were one, so Marx's total philosophy of revolution could not be as fully worked out as it will be in this book because we do finally have nearly the whole of Marx's writings.

It is there, i.e. in the *Ethnological Notebooks*, where Marx returns to the question he first posed in 1844 — the Man/Woman relationship as the manifestation of the whole of human relationships — and in the *Grundrisse*, 1857, where he described the human relationship as "the absolute movement of becoming."

The relationship of theory to practice is not the easiest problematic to work out, as it changes with every historic period in every historic culture, with every different country, and above all, in the relationship between the mass movement when it is in motion, and the counter-revolution and its strength. Not to mention the whole world context.

The overriding question is this: since it is only now — 100 years from the last writing of Marx (and through the *Ethnological Notebooks*, see also with new eyes that 1881 Preface to the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*) — that we can grapple with nearly all the writings of this founder of a whole new continent of thought, this presents a new challenge to the whole Marxist movement and the need to face not only the relationship of philosophy and revolution but also philosophy of revolution ...

News and Letters Committees Perspectives Report

TODAY AND TOMORROW

by Raya Dunayevskaya

PART ONE: U.S. Capitalism-Imperialism, At Home and Abroad, Especially in the Middle East and Latin America

I. Missiles, Missiles, Missiles—But What About Jobs?

II. U.S. Imperialism's Tentacles: From Iran to South Korea, and From El Salvador to Iraq; Also Relations With Other Capitalist Imperialisms

- 1) Iran
- 2) South Korea

- 3) Latin America, El Salvador especially
- 4) Iraq
- 5) Is West European Capitalism Different?

III. Religion in General and Jerusalem in Particular in this State-Capitalist Age

PART TWO: Long March of Revolt, Long March of Philosophy: Imperative Need for New Relationship of Practice to Theory

- I. All Roads Lead to Gdansk, Poland, And ... The Road to the Black Ghetto, USA
- II. Today's Tasks and A Brief Glance at 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism

ALSO: "Theory and Our Archives", by Olga Domanski, National Organizer, News and Letters Committees "On Organization", by Michael Connolly, Co-National Organizer, News and Letters Committees Available for 75¢ (plus 50¢ postage) from News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, MI 48211

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

Day 500 of the Iranian revolution: Khomeini's Islamic regime in turmoil

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

(We received the following report from Azadkar, an Iranian revolutionary:)

In day 500 of the Iranian revolution, the new was that the Shah is dead; and in fact it is the best thing he ever did for the Iranian people after 37 years of murderous and corrupt rule. Today, Khomeini's regime appears to have gained an upper hand over the revolutionary forces in Iran. He has fulfilled his promise of bringing everything under Islamic laws. Nothing has been saved from these reactionary decrees.

The economic effects of this Islamic capitalism has been inflation of 50 percent and unemployment of near half of the Iranian work force. Prices of those necessary items such as food and medicine have risen 100 percent and as many people say, "prices are changed hour by hour." The tremendous economic crisis is not simply due to the lack of spare parts or management. At the heart of it lies the shaky mechanism of capitalism and the class struggle.

The ruling classes are engaged in a bitter fight for power and Behesti is certainly trying to pull the rug from under Bani-Sadr and gradually acquire the instruments of state. But when it comes down to the problems of the economy, they both agree to blame the workers. Over the past 18 months they have joined hands to suppress the shoras and other workers' organizations that

had started to run production under workers' control. Some "unity" was needed in order to massacre the Kurdish revolutionaries and other minorities fighting for self-determination; to recapture lands from the peasants who dared to seize them; to attack the Left and shut down the universities under the slogan "cultural revolution," and the latest, to force women to appear at work under the "Islamic veil."

The fact that the "Islamic Republican Party," with the blessing of Iman, has been taking an anti-imperialist appearance to cover up its counter-revolutionary activities throughout Iran, to regain its ever decreasing popularity and manipulate its secular and so-called liberal opponents, does not mean that masses of toilers and the Left can afford to reduce the class struggle in particular, and revolutionary movement in general to this type of "anti-imperialism," and abandon all the freedom struggles until "the petty-bourgeois masses and their political representatives in the government have defeated (!) U.S. imperialism . . ."

These differences in the "above" as Ayatollah Khomeini has put it, clearly are only "small differences of choice," and they are in fact "homogenous and united against the enemies of Islam and for enforcing law and order in this country . . ."

Or as Marx wrote in "The Civil War in France," "All the opposing factions of the ruling class together were

conspiring against the masses and at the same time were plotting against themselves . . ."

The occupation of the labor house by the unemployed workers in the midst of this alleged "anti-imperialism" in November; many strikes, sit-ins, marches and actual factory take-overs, have proven that "the workers are the real anti-imperialists" and that they are not going to allow the mullahs to once again use them as mindless mobs to accomplish their counter-revolutionary goals. For that matter not even the "Left" can mobilize them only as force, not reason of the revolution.

Even a more developed class and national consciousness is taking shape among the masses of Kurdistan and in a slower pace with the other national minorities.

Students in their resistance to goons in university classes, and women in their courageous demonstration which took place under the threat of knives and sticks and under overwhelming silence of the Left organizations, are showing a new way.

All these movements and other struggles in every corner of Iranian society echoed the decisive message of how total the second phase of the revolution must be, if it is not to be arrested and fall into the grips of the self-proclaimed "anti-imperialist" forces of Khomeini or the pro-imperialist forces of Bakhtiar.

El Salvador

Civil War in El Salvador, on a scale approaching the events that overthrew the government of neighboring Nicaragua, has raged since the general strike of August which closed down the country.

The Christian Democrat-Military junta which rules the country with the support of the U.S. through Ambassador Robert White and millions in armaments including patrol boats, helicopters, jeeps, parachutes, trucks, has slaughtered over 4,000 civilians in cold blood in less than one year.

Almost daily this September, the bodies of dead and often mutilated men and women are being found in the streets of the cities and the ditches in the countryside.

The U.S. government which had proclaimed itself for "human rights" in the mid-1970s, had a change of heart when it came to Central America in July, 1979. That was the date that the Nicaraguan Revolution finally completed the overthrow of Somoza.

Since that date, the U.S. arranged a coup against the Romero government. From that moment it has been trying to engineer various combinations for rule, including a civilian presence in the form of the Christian Democrats.

Meanwhile the deaths and the "disappeared" continued. Para-military forces first under the name ORDEN, and then reconstituted as the Broad National Front (FAN), began to terrorize the countryside and to try and eliminate key leaders of popular organizations.

The popular organizations have become stronger and stronger, first as a coalition—the Revolutionary Coordinating Council of the Masses, and then as the Democratic Revolutionary Front which includes as well the political-military organizations of the Left under the Unified Revolutionary Directorate. They have been staging mass demonstrations, a general strike, guerrilla warfare and diplomatic efforts to gain international solidarity.

What is at stake is the people and land of El Salvador, whether they and their country will finally be able to determine their own destiny without the U.S. once again occupying a portion of Central America as its own backyard.

China

On the fourth anniversary of Mao's death, with the National People's Congress in session, no one bothered to write a single commemorative article in the government press about the founder and permanent chairman of the People's Republic of China. Indeed, before the Congress came into session, all but one portrait of Mao were removed from the public buildings on which they always were displayed.

It is not true, however, as Deng and his cohorts as well as the West make it appear, that this "seals the reversal of Mao's policies as pursued over the past 22 years" (Toronto Globe and Mail, Sept. 10, 1980). Quite the contrary is true insofar as the establishment of the Republic.

That is to say, the Chinese Revolution was a national revolution and openly called itself a state-capitalist society, which it still is. In 1949 it assured the masses of only one thing: that they need not fear Mao's state-



Japanese and Koreans demonstrate outside Tokyo's Foreign Affairs Ministry against the death penalty given to South Korean dissident leader, Kim Dae Jung, by a military court, Sept. 17. Jung and 23 of his comrades were convicted of numerous trumped-up charges against the government. U.S. government protests of this sentence was hardly even a whisper.

capitalism not only because it did remove the comprador-bourgeois imperialist Chiang Kai-shek, but because all political power was in the hands of the Communist Party, (CP) which it still is.

Let us not count the CP out yet. No doubt the in-fighting in the bureaucracy is still going on, and when it next meets in Congress session we may be in for a few surprises, though they be minor. For example, they might have by then decided the fate of the so-called "Gang of Four," and the irony is that insofar as foreign policy is concerned, they are all doing exactly the same thing—all following what Mao initiated with rolling out the red carpet for Nixon.

Indeed, they out-do the "Gang of Four" in villifying Lin Biao, since he is the one that both carried out the so-called Cultural Revolution and momentarily destroyed it, the youth who were genuine rebels and took the Cultural Revolution at face value, likewise were most happy to have him removed (or killed outright).

Nevertheless, Lin Biao is the only one who dared oppose Mao's embrace of U.S. imperialism. It is true that he helped Mao heat up the campaign against Russia, calling it "enemy number one." But when it became clear that Mao was even ready for a possible military alliance with U.S. imperialism, Lin Biao balked and began his own battle with Mao, which led to his death.

What the new Chinese leadership is reversing is any illusion about politics predominating over technology, and what they are speeding-up is industrialization. And since Mao was supposed to be both Lenin and Stalin, not to mention Marx, they are left with The Party, and their de-Maoization has to travel a slightly less villifying road on "Mao's Thought."

What followed Stalin's death were the magnificent East European revolts, as well as revolts in the forced labor camps within Russia. We have not yet seen such great revolts from below in China, but we do not doubt that they will appear and they are the only ones that can really uproot the legacy of state-capitalism, speeded-up or otherwise.

Turkey

Generals in Turkey overthrew Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel on Sept. 12, rounded up politicians and others expressing any political dissent, ordered 60,000 strikers back to work, and declared themselves in authority.

Under Demirel's regime, in the past year alone more than 2,000 people were killed as right-wing vigilantes tried to eradicate opposition to a social structure with over 20 percent unemployment and an inflation rate of 130 percent.

While the new government, under Prime Minister Bulent Ulusu, promises to end this bloodbath, they are trying to accomplish it by imposing nationwide martial law, abolishing the constitution, suspending all political activity, and detaining all "political extremists"—with more than 2,000 already under arrest.

It was also the country's economic collapse which created the continuing unrest exposing the fragility of Western democracy, especially when it is strategically located on the Russian border. Yet the new government is attempting to correct the economic evils of the old, by naming a former Demirel economic aide, Turgut Ozal, deputy prime minister. The new military government has already reaffirmed its commitment to NATO, and received the support of the U.S.—including more than \$400 million in aid promised annually.

No authoritarianism, no matter what its form, will keep people from fighting an anti-human system.

Canada

The meeting of Canada's ten provincial premiers, held for six days in Ottawa, has broken up with no agreement on constitutional reform. Far from being a genuine attempt to unify Canada under a charter of rights which would include language rights, the struggle was really a struggle for a piece of the pie on the parts of Pierre Trudeau representing the federal government and the provincial premiers—especially from the oil rich provinces that wish to keep the high revenues. But it was a struggle in which these "opponents" are in truth united against the genuine opposition—the people of Canada.

Thus at the present time we are witness to: 1) a clerical workers' strike against the federal government which has seen job actions in different parts of the country; 2) the struggle of native Canadians against the natural gas pipe line through the MacKenzie Valley, which has now included sit-ins, and 3) the labor struggles in Quebec, where wage levels are abysmal. In the Reynolds Aluminum strike now taking place, the provincial police have occupied the town of Trois Rivieres.

And we must never forget that these latest federal government-provincial government negotiations have taken place as we approach the tenth anniversary of the October Crisis when Trudeau brought in the War Measures Act.

In truth the genuine opposites are not provincial and federal, but the Canadian masses versus the class society enforced upon them by provincial and federal government alike.