

NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

VOL. 25—NO. 4

27 Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

May, 1980

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Eyewitness report

China: hunger for ideas to uproot class society

by Mary Holmes

I have just returned from a trip to China, and the most amazing thing in this supposedly "socialist" land is not so much that they don't practice Marx's concept of a new human basis for society—"from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs"—but rather Stalin's perversion—"to each according to his work"—as it is that the Chinese worker's wages are so low (around \$36 a month) that they don't even compare to the West.

At one agricultural commune I visited in Guangxi Autonomous Region I learned that the literal transla-

tion of the Chinese word being used for worker is "able-bodied labor power." The peasants there must fulfill state quotas of rice production by the most intense manual labor, and only the larger and more prosperous communes can afford even mechanical devices like cultivators and water pumps.

At one textile factory in Guangdong Province in South China, weaving silk and synthetic fabrics, the working conditions I saw were every bit as bad as in any non-union textile factory in South U.S.A., and far worse than those seen in the movie "Norma Rae." Shifts at this factory, and throughout China, run eight hours a day, six days per week. Each worker must run eight looms in the weaving room where the noise levels are deafening. In the spinning room, fiber particles filtered through the air and settled everywhere on the machinery. The production workers were all women, while the few men there held the more highly-paid jobs of repairmen.

PASSION FOR KNOWLEDGE

Class divisions and social unrest broke out into open opposition which reached a peak during Peking Spring, 1979, and involved many forces, including peasants, workers, women, intellectuals, rank-and-file soldiers and youth who participated in demonstrations, wrote posters, and put out dissident publications.

Despite the government's crackdown on the opposition movement, this hunger for new ideas spilled over in a new way into the Fall, when crowds converged on the Book Fair in Beijing to see the latest announce-

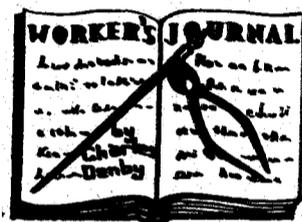
ments of reissues of Chinese classical and modern literature, translations of Western poetry and novels, literary essays, and even science fiction. The printing of these kinds of books, along with foreign language dictionaries, can't keep up with the demand. I saw people everywhere reading books that were missing the front and back pages, since they had been passed from hand to hand so often.

This passion for knowledge is also evident in the desire the Chinese show in wanting to know and speak with Westerners, and it has nothing to do with following official government policy. But while English is the language most widely taught now throughout China, it is restricted to particular fields such as science, business, public service, and so on, and is not taught as a language of ideas.

Since the Chinese government shut down Democracy Wall last fall and gave long prison sentences to activists like Fu Yue-hua, a woman who demonstrated with peasants on hunger marches in the capital, and Wei Jingsheng, author of "The Fifth Modernization," people are reluctant to express themselves as directly as before. Yet in trying to relate to Westerners as comrades, some people did speak to me about their lives, including experiences of the Cultural Revolution.

Whether they were originally enthusiastic, like one ex-student who spent six years doing manual labor in Mongolia, or whether they managed to "get by" with only one year on a commune close to the city, they all

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How will UAW respond to mass lay-offs?

by Charles Denby, Editor

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

The recent lay-offs in the auto industry are the largest since 1974, and for many they are much worse since some plants are closing permanently. Where plants aren't closing, they are down to one shift or are cutting the numbers of workers in half. Seniority is back to 1970 or before.

It isn't just Chrysler that is getting rid of thousands of workers, but also Ford and GM. In southern California alone they have closed GM South Gate and Ford Pico Rivera in the last year, and none of the workers can say when or if they will ever get called back. GM has also laid off more than 1,000 at Linden, N.J. and more than 4,000 at Cadillac and Fleetwood here in Detroit. Chrysler has practically closed down most of its operations in Detroit.

Harold Pelling, Ford executive vice president for North American automotive operations, said the reason for shutting down some of the Ford operations, particularly the Mahwah, N.J. plant, was because of shabby work. Now this has been the company method of operations all through the years — find a scapegoat — and the easiest and quickest is to blame the workers.

A laid-off Ford Mahwah worker said that management at Mahwah brought workers into a garage and showed them a Japanese car and told them that "this is a good car," and that Ford workers must strive to emulate it. But the worker pointed out that the Japanese produce 54 jobs per hour, while Mahwah workers are forced to produce at a rate of 61 to 64 jobs per hour. Now, the worker declared, after Ford has piled up added jobs on production workers, management wants increased quality as well!

I am wondering what the union is saying about all of this. Doug Fraser is busy telling everyone about how the company has the interest of the workers at heart now that he is on the Chrysler Board of Directors. Yet most of these lay-offs occurred after Fraser accepted Chrysler's offer to be on their board.

How did the union find itself in this fix? When we organized the union we were told the company was on the other side — never the twain shall meet — and the only purpose of the company was to exploit us. We had something to say about how much we would produce and we had some time to ourselves. The union supported us in everything we did as long as it did not break the

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'Sell-out' contract ends NY transit strike

New York, N.Y.—As we go to press, New York City transit workers have returned to work amid cries of "sell-out!" after 11 days on strike. Through a parliamentary trick on a secret ballot, Transit Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president John Lawe broke a tie on the executive board, which is more than half opposition members representing three rank-and-file groups, and ended the strike. Over two weeks, workers will vote by mail on the tentative contract.

Here is what transit workers, going back to work, had to tell News & Letters:

"This is a sell-out. After 11 days on strike, we will be fined 22 days' pay. All we got is nine percent the first year and eight percent the second, plus maximum COLA of 34 cents in the last six months. The last offer before we went on strike was eight and eight. We lost more than we got!

"Plus we'll now have to work 40 hours to get any overtime. This is a monumental leap backwards! We'll lose 20 minutes break every day. New workers will get 75 percent pay for the first two-and-a-half years.

"We will vote down this contract. What will happen after that, no one can say."

During the strike, the 33,000 transit workers were threatened with the state Taylor Law which prohibits public employee strikes, and the TWU has been fined one million dollars. Each worker faces loss of two days' wages in fines for the 11 days on strike.

The news media's coverage has only focused on the union leadership's manipulations of the workers' demands. Not once has the media let the workers speak for themselves.

The subway yard workers had this to say about the Taylor Law and the purpose of the strike:

"As far as the Taylor Law, it is a joke. What has to be done has to be done, despite any law. That is how it is all over. There comes a time to overthrow and that's it. We are the working people. We support everything and can't even support ourselves."

"We are on strike because we took a beating in the last two contracts. We kept the city afloat, and now we have to draw the line here. Four years ago we got only 62 cents for cost-of-living. Then last contract we



N.Y. transit workers picket during 11-day strike.

got a flat six percent for the two years. We have really fallen way behind in money."

The transit strike was not one held in isolation—it was devastating. From subway workers to the Long Island Railroad workers, the impact affected over 5.6 million passengers. The drivers and mechanics of private bus lines were also shut down, eliminating service for 230,000 Queens passengers. But New Yorkers were not nearly as behind Mayor Koch and management in this strike as the media would have it. The transit workers were seen by New Yorkers as doing what they had to do.

Picketing subway workers who work on the trains and in the tunnels had this to say about the negotiations and working conditions:

"The city is trying to break our union, to take away everything we've gained over the last 30 years. They want to make an example of us for all the other city workers. They say they have no money, but they had the transit cops getting overtime for 12-hour, six-day weeks during the strike. Some places there were

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WOMAN AS REASON

Our roots in New Left and Black struggles

Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left, by Sara Evans; New York, Vintage Books, 1980.

The importance of Sara Evans' book is to show the emergence, acknowledged right in the title, of the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) out of the Black freedom movement and the New Left. Her title leapt out at me because for years I have been reading works by academics, socialist-feminists, and, of course, the Left, who say that the WLM was started by white bourgeois career women. Evans accepts this to a degree but shows that while it is true most were white and middle class, these women founders broke with bourgeois society, many in the 1950s, to put their lives on the line fighting against racism in the South.

For me the book really begins with Chapter Two where Evans talks of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and other civil rights groups and the participation of women in these organizations. She shows how the women who took part in Mississippi Freedom Summer, the freedom rides, demonstrations and freedom schools were transformed both by their initial decision to participate—often breaking with their families to do so—as well as the actual experience which changed their lives forever.

The chapters dealing with the Civil Rights Movement are the most exciting in the book, but it wasn't until Ms. Evans moved North and concentrated on Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) that it became clearer to me what it was that had been bothering me in the first half of the book. Part of the problem is that Evans presents what she calls five "essential pre-conditions for an insurgent collective identity," which do not adequately explain what really moved things forward.

What she has missed is that the Civil Rights Movement was Black masses in motion as REASON. In the activity itself, Black masses gave a new definition to what freedom means. It was the idea of freedom—established by over ten years of the Black movement—that laid the ground for the emergence of the WLM. That Evans missed this point was brought home to me by the fact that she reduces Black women, for the most part, to being "brave" "tough" "strong" and thus "role models" to white women. But it was the ideas of Black women that inspired white women every bit as much as their bravery.

Because Evans doesn't follow the history of that idea of freedom she makes serious mistakes. For example, she does not even mention Rosa Parks and totally writes off the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as "an organization of southern black ministers, male by definition . . . dependent on massive financing from northern liberals

who responded to the image and philosophy of Martin Luther King." She not only ignores the mass character of that movement but sees "philosophy" as only Dr. King or some kind of Christian existentialism rather than something that is developed in the process of the freedom movement itself.

Because she doesn't follow the dialectic of that idea of freedom, developed by the Black masses, Evans views women's break with the New Left to be based chiefly on intransigent male chauvinism. In fact women challenged not only sexism, but the politics of the Left as well. Women demanded to know just what was meant by revolution when they were being oppressed right within a "revolutionary" group.

Sara Evans' book has done much to destroy forever the myth that the WLM began as just a bourgeois movement. And in terms of tracing the real continuity of the Civil Rights, New Left, and Women's Liberation Movements, it is an important though flawed beginning.

—Terry Moon

Hong Kong socialist-feminists

Hong Kong—The concentration of women workers throughout Asia in export industries, where factory conditions are barbaric and wages are low, has raised new questions about women's liberation. Two high school women I met with, from the group The '80s Front, wanted to put their feminism into practice by starting an organizational relationship with women workers in the electronics, textile and toy factories here.

Since several feminist groups had begun in Hong Kong before, the women wanted to make clear from the start their perspectives of socialist-feminism, as opposed to bourgeois feminism, and asked for WL-N&L's bulletin, *Revolutionary Feminism: Women As Reason*, to assist in their work.

They are also re-examining the history of Chinese women in the revolutionary movement, like Xiang Jing-yu. In a special 1978 publication on women, The '80s Front translated and published "Women's Liberation in China" (from the WL-N&L anthology, *Notes on Women's Liberation*), a critical article by a Chinese woman who participated in the liberation movement and Mao's "Great Leap Forward."

The women in Hong Kong plan to start a regular section in The '80s Biweekly specifically on women, and would like to begin an international correspondence with other women's liberationists. Their address is The '80s Front, c/o 1984 Bookshop, 180 Lockhart Rd., 1st floor, Wanchai, Hong Kong.

—Mary Holmes



women-worldwide

Lillian Ngoyi, who was known in South Africa as "the mother of the Black resistance," died in her home in Soweto on March 12 at age 68. She had been president of the women's league of the African National Congress before it was prohibited, and in Pretoria in 1956 she led a demonstration of 20,000 women against extending pass laws to women. She was jailed in 1963 and for the last 16 years was "banned" by the government.

* * *

A group of Catholic nuns who quietly purchased 147 shares of stock in the Blue Diamond Coal Co., have been using their status to oppose the company's anti-labor brutality and abysmal safety record. The median age of the group is 60 and they describe the company president as a "traditional 19th century Catholic who doesn't think it's appropriate for the good sisters to be involved in these things."

* * *

On March 7, Editions des Femmes published an "appeal to world opinion" which they received from Leningrad on behalf of the editors of *Women and Russia*. Repression by the KGB against its editors has become worse and one, Tatiana Mamonova, has asked for international support to aid her and her family in emigrating. Send signatures to Comité de defense de Tatiana Mamonova, at Librairie des Femmes, 68 rue de Saints Peres, 75005 Paris.

* * *

In Laurel, Miss., 200 members of International Chemical Workers Local 226, the majority of them Black women, have been on strike for over a year at Sanderson Farms chicken processing plant against racism and inhuman working conditions, such as being forced to work covered with chicken gore which irritates the skin and being allowed to use the washroom only three times per week. Unions and civil rights groups have called a national support march for May 17. Boycott Miss Goldy and Southern Beauty brand poultry!

Duty hazardous at Jacobi

Bronx, N.Y.—Workers at Jacobi Hospital know that the hospital has become dangerous to your health. Management has lost track of professional ethics as well as human ethics. And our union, AFSCME Local 420, has stripped itself naked. It has handed over its power and ethics to management. I'm looking for the solution.

The Bronx Municipal Hospital Center (BMHC) has failed to equip Jacobi with adequate staff and equipment. Therefore patients are not getting proper care. The hospital is nearly being run by per diems, nurses who work from an agency. These nurses do not know the patients from day to day; you get a new one practically every day. The staff under the nurses are being over-worked, underpaid, and harassed.

Management has no respect for its staff. We do not get personal days off, and if you need one or two hours off for an important matter, you are given such a hard time that you would rather take the whole day. People are being written up on false charges, seniority is being overlooked, transfers are being denied or delayed for no justified reason.

BMHC Local 420 does not do anything on our behalf. Instead they stand beside management against you 99½ percent of the time. We are harassed by management and the union at the same time.

Management needs to be cleaned up thoroughly. A new birth of this union with new strength is in order.

—Hospital worker

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THEORY AND PRACTICE

The relationship of theory to practice, of spontaneity to organization, and "advanced" to "backward," crucial questions which Luxemburg debated in 1910 with Kautsky on the direction of the revolutionary movement, confront us today in the Women's Liberation Movement.

As we approach the 10th anniversary of the mass demonstrations which marked the birth of Women's Liberation as an Idea whose time has come, we in Women's Liberation—News & Letters urge all to study this timely pamphlet by Rosa Luxemburg.

Translated by David Wolff

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'Sell-out' contract ends NY transit strike

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more cops than pickets.

"Working conditions in the subway are so bad that 43 out of 46 signal department helpers all quit because the job was too dangerous. Do you know how many workers get hit by a train and it never gets in the news? We don't even hear about it until several days later.

"The steel dust is inches thick down there and it blows all around. We're constantly breathing it in, along with asbestos from the brakes. The news media made a big deal about our retirements. But how long do you live after you retire? One worker worked 40 years only to die three months after retiring."

The day-to-day negotiations for a tentative contract between the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA), the TWU, and the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) were lessons in themselves. At first, the unions seemed worlds away from the MTA. The unions' realistic demands for a 30 percent wage increase were far apart from MTA's "initial offer" of 3.5 percent for each year.

The TWU, and Local 100 president Lawe, soon cut the increased salary demands in half—to 15 percent in each year of a two-year contract, plus an improved cost of living provision. And in return, MTA gave its "generous" offer of a five percent increase each year of a three-year contract. But it wasn't only the wage in-

GM worker relates auto crisis to Marx's 'Capital'

(Ed. Note — A Black auto worker attending the classes Detroit News and Letters Committee is sponsoring on Vol. I of Marx's Capital raised the following points during discussion on the passage below from Ch. 10, "The Working Day.")

* * *

"Crises during which production is interrupted and the factories work . . . for only a part of the week, naturally do not affect the tendency to extend the working day. The less business there is, the more profit has to be made on the business done. The less time spent in work, the more of that time has to be turned into surplus labour-time."

Detroit, Mich. — As long as capitalism exists, you will have bad conditions in the plant. The capitalists use those conditions to get just that much more capital. This is precisely what has happened in the past and is happening now in the auto shops.

Currently, at Fleetwood, there are 3,400 employed. By May 12, 1,500 workers will be laid off. The cut-off date goes all the way back to Oct. 3, 1965. This is really bad, because with 1,900 left in the plant, many older workers are forced back on the line.

Workers with less than 30 years seniority who are 55 years old are forced to take early retirement, but they won't receive full retirement benefits. They are doing anything in their power not to face being on the line again. The ones who are on sick leave will be called in and forced back on the line or forced to take a permanent layoff. The worst of it is that TRA benefits are running out. What will happen when those funds dry up?

I am back on the line now, and on my "new" job we have to put out 53 jobs an hour. There is no end to this madness. We just saw new robots coming in on crates. They are monsters — three rooms wide and two stories high! This new technology is going to leave only 87 workers in Dept. 3 within the next two years.

Japan produces the same way, but we cannot blame the Japanese workers — they are not doing too well either, because they have to pay all of that money for oil. We have to look at it on a world scale or we will never get anywhere. Fraser is running around, blaming the Japanese worker, but the problem is the Japanese technology that they have in their plants.

Pete Estes of GM is going to employ that same technology here in the U.S. That is why Estes can say on television that by 1982, there will be a reduction in manual labor by 40 percent, and by 1989 the reduction will increase to 85 or 90 percent.

But Fraser is not even addressing the question of technology. He sold that point out when he accepted GM ex-president Murphy's "productivity theory" in 1976, in a deal to let the UAW organize GM plants in the South.

That's not all. Carter's economic advisor, Alfred Kahn, says that we have to accept a lower standard of living, so that they can build up the military. What they aim to get is more capital — profit — out of workers and in return, workers will get less money and fewer benefits. It's part of the correctness of Marx's theory.

—Fleetwood worker

creases that the workers were fighting for. They were also fighting against management's pressing for "improved productivity measures" and their insistence on "give-backs" as if these measures can increase wages for workers:

"The city insists on give-backs," said one worker. "But we've got nothing left to give up. Pensions used to be at age 50 after 20 years. Then they cut it to 55 after 25 years, and last contract it went to 62 after 30 years.

"Management said they won't give us a contract without getting more productivity. But the problem with productivity is management, though they always try to blame the workers. All they care is that on paper, so many trains went out."

This strike can be seen in the context not only of the contracts for over 200,000 city workers coming up in June, but also of workers' resistance nationwide to the Cold War atmosphere and its attempt to roll back gains workers have made in the last 35 years.

Blacks in Bristol revolt

London, England—Late in the afternoon of April 2, two detectives walked into the Black and White Club in St. Paul's, an old inner city area of Bristol, typical of similar neighborhoods all over Britain, largely populated by Blacks (in this case West Indians). The club was the only amenity left in the area and they had previously revoked its drinking license. Smelling "Ganga" weed, they went out and gave a signal and hundreds of police converged on the club with dogs and cars.

A hostile crowd of local people gathered immediately, mostly, but not exclusively, young, Black, and unemployed. The police started pushing the crowd, and soon began using truncheons. It was the last straw.

The people realized they had the power and they used it. Cheering onlookers became streetfighters. The police were kicked and stoned, and several police cars were burned. The police were forced to flee the area and didn't come back until everyone had gone to bed.

When the police left, shops were looted and the bank and post office were burned. Middle-aged white people were seen jovially carting away goods collected in "people's shopping sprees." No shop owners or workers were attacked, and there was no selection of targets on any racial basis, although some friendly corner shops were defended by older Black people.

There were no leaders. The Bristol event was the spontaneous revolt of an urban community against the status quo. Even most of the press and the politicians had to admit it was no race riot. The chorus goes, "It must never happen again." But, as Mrs. Thatcher continues her offensive against the whole working class, and especially the Blacks, she must be very worried.

—Dave Black

Automation and union deals at root of plant closings

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

In Southern California, we have recently had two major auto plant closings—GM South Gate and Ford Pico Rivera—the announced closing in the near future of Firestone Tire Co., (the fourth tire company to close in Los Angeles over the past few years), and a major strike of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, the refinery workers of the huge oil companies.

I went down to the picket lines of the striking workers to ask them about the absence of any fuel shortage at the filling stations. They replied that the companies are so automated that even after a four-month strike, management has been able to keep the plants running with special long overtime shifts. A couple of the workers said there has to be another way of dealing with these corporations.

And there is no help from the Teamsters. When I asked about fuel being delivered to the pumps, the workers told me that the Teamsters and other scab truck drivers were crossing the picket lines.

The type of job-killing automation that one finds in the refineries, we in auto are also having to deal with. A couple of days after visiting the picket lines, I went to two days of hearings by the State Legislature on auto and other plant closings in the state. It was held in Pico Rivera, home of the huge closed Ford assembly plant. At these hearings were corporation bigwigs and union bureaucrats from both Ford and from the closed South Gate plant a few miles away.

Both the corporation and the union testified that the crisis in auto is due to competition from foreign imports. UAW chief Fraser has been pushing this too with trips to Japan and speeches at home. But the problem really has at its heart the same thing which the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers face. Automation is taking the workers' jobs away. It is predicted that automation will replace over 200,000 auto workers in the next five years. We have already lost tens of thousands of jobs in the

ROBOTNIK

We are reprinting the following from the underground Polish dissident workers' paper Robotnik (Worker), Oct. 5, 1979. An introduction to a story about a strike in one of the Gdansk shipyards, it was originally published in Robotnik Wybrzeza (Coastal Worker), organ of the Founding Committee of the Free Trade Unions of the Coast.

The Polish workers' movement has suffered harsh repression. On March 18, the body of 20-year-old Tadeusz Szczepanski, one of the organizers of the Free Trade Unions, was fished out of the Motlawa River in Gdansk. He had "disappeared" on Jan. 16, a day after he was fired for participating in a demonstration on the anniversary of the workers' revolts of December, 1970.

Despite such extreme measures the opposition continues, with Founding Committees of Free Trade Unions being established in Gdansk, Szczecin, Katowice, and now new ones in Bielsko-Biala.—Ed.

Our grandparents fought for an eight-hour working day in the last century. The tradition of May Day, the day of working peoples' solidarity, originated in the first outbursts for the eight-hour day by the Chicago workers . . . Today people here march in the May Day parade under the banner "The Nation is with the Party," and on working days they tremble before the boss who hands out overtime — or, if he gets mad, will not give it . . .

In most cases acceptance of overtime is forced by necessity. Pay earned during normal work time is not enough to satisfy the most basic needs: feeding and clothing the family, buying and furnishing an apartment, paying for children's education, going on vacation. Thus it appears that the workers themselves are interested in overtime. In fact, overtime is not in the interest of the workers but of the employer . . .

Constant use of overtime allows employment of fewer workers . . . Normal low wages, possible only with overtime, allow the employer to save on wages during slow times. Overtime shifts the burden of unevenness of production onto the workers . . . Further, management can easily hit the pockets of troublesome workers, while to "their own" they can even give fictitious overtime . . .

The paradox of the present situation is that overtime exists and at the same time there exists a real threat of unemployment. In many places lay-offs are in progress; in others they are promised . . .

The benefits that the employer gets from overtime mean that the fight for the eight-hour work day will not be easy for us. On the other hand, refusing to work overtime cannot go unnoticed and forces management to treat the workers' problems seriously . . .

We want to work well and earn well in an eight-hour working day. To achieve it we have to act in solidarity.

last five.

The GM executives who testified at the hearings said that the South Gate GM plant where I had been working until this "temporary" lay-off would open if the economic situation improves, and then only as a one-shift plant. But the maintenance people I've talked to say all the equipment is being moved out of the body shop. And that is the same thing that is happening at the Firestone Tire plant which is closing. They too will be investigated by this State Legislative committee, but their jobs also have disappeared.

Jobs have we arrived at a situation where a worker in a four-month strike can say, as production continues, "They don't need us any more." How have we arrived at all these auto and tire plants closing?

Yes, it is automation, but it is more. It is that management by itself can shut down a plant, can lay off workers without even a nod of their head. That power comes from the type of agreement that the union signs with the company. In the auto contract, it is paragraph 8 which gives the company "sole and exclusive responsibility" for "the location of the plant, the schedule of production, the methods, process, and means of manufacturing."

So long as we are bound by such contracts no new solutions can come forth, just as no new ideas will come out of legislative hearings where the ground of discussion is the thought of company and union bureaucrats, and not the thought of working people.

What is really responsible for the state of auto, of oil, of rubber and of steel as well, is the drive for greater and greater productivity by using fewer and fewer workers. What is the price of labor, not alone in the United States, but on a worldwide scale? That is the question. And we can't solve the crisis caused by the search for cheaper cost of production overseas or in new machinery unless the workers are the ones who take over and run production themselves. That exactly is the solution to this crisis in labor.

Readers' Views

TODAY'S LABOR REALITY: RECESSION, REPRESSION, REVOLT

This is how Black and minority workers are forced to live in the richest city in the world, New York, if the part they live in is the infamous South Bronx: A fellow worker in my shop spent the whole winter with no heat or hot water. He finally found another apartment he could afford, and moved. But this new building had a fire, and the landlord took out the boiler and abandoned the building.

The tenants who remained have no water; they carry buckets upstairs from the fire hydrant. There is no heat, no phones, and no lights in the halls, as junkies desperate for the copper have taken all the pipes and wires. My friend goes home from his night job with a pipe in one hand and a knife in the other.

The only thing the cops did for him was put a gun in his face, threaten to "blow his head off," and take away his knife. This is how those who produce all the wealth of this country end up living.

Factory worker
New York

A massive consumer boycott has been launched against Winn-Dixie Stores, Inc., the largest supermarket chain in the South and one of the largest in the USA. Black and labor organizations are demanding a change in Winn-Dixie's decades-old racist, sexist and anti-labor employment practices. One of the original targets of civil rights groups in the 1960s, Winn-Dixie was known for hiring Blacks only in menial jobs, if at all. Recent issues of the company magazine, which featured pictures of 78 employees promoted to management, revealed all 78 to be white males.

In Miami, 400 Haitians picketed Winn-Dixie after a security guard said that all Haitians should be sprayed with deodorant when they enter the store. The boycott has been backed by the United Food and Commercial Workers' Union, the SCLC, and the NAACP.

BOYCOTT WINN-DIXIE STORES!

Civil rights veteran
North Carolina

I don't know if you have heard the news about what is happening now in Brazil, since it has not been publicized much in the USA. On March 18, in the biggest port in the country, Santos, (near Rio de Janeiro), 12,000 workers went on strike. It was the first strike in Santos since the coup in 1964. Just when the strike finally ended, the auto workers of Sao Paulo, 300,000 to 400,000 strong, walked out on April 1.

Strike leader Luis Inacio da Silva told a workers' rally: "The government and

the bosses are at war against the metal workers, but the war is only from their side. We simply want to recoup a bit of the blood sucked by the multinationals over the years." Military police immediately began guarding the factories, while workers held mass meetings away from company premises. The struggle continues.

Correspondent
Boston

Now that Uniroyal is closing for sure, all of us are wondering where we are going to go next. At the same time, though, there are mixed feelings, since most of us are glad to get out of this terrible place. When we do find work again, I think it will be very hard for anyone to force us to work under conditions like those we faced at Uniroyal. Even in unemployment, we won't just be starting from zero, and no one can force us backwards.

Uniroyal worker
Detroit

Contrary to the hysterical statements of our disgusting mayor, everyone I spoke with during the transit workers' strike supported the strikers, not the City. People know it's impossible to live in New York without large salary increases to keep up with inflation, and that working underground or driving a bus in N.Y. is a horrible job. Many I spoke to, from the super of my building to my dentist, said everyone in the City should stay home til the strike was settled — a general strike!

Transit workers' supporter
New York

ROSA LUXEMBURG: AN ONGOING DISCUSSION

The pictures in the last issue of *News & Letters* were magnificent. The Nama and Herero guerrillas of German South West Africa, the striking women textile workers in Crimmitschau, really did add to Dunayevskaya's beautiful text on Luxemburg, 1910-11. What has come so alive to me in these two chapters, (Jan-Feb. and April, 1980 N&L), is the humanism of Rosa Luxemburg. And most crucially, how the chapters show that that humanism is rooted in Rosa's refusal to separate the masses' self-activity from her own theoretic-revolutionary responsibility.

Enlightened
Los Angeles

There sure is a lot of anti-Leninism going around these days. The recent ridiculous article in the *New York Review of Books*, "Communist Myths" by Leonard Shapiro (April 17, 1980), might well have been titled "how to take wild shots at Lenin." Here in Chicago, the anarchists at the IWW are trying to raise money by selling some original thing that Lenin autographed. They reported that a TASS correspondent from Moscow had visited them on it, proudly proclaiming that they had told TASS, as though they were talking to Lenin's heirs, all the reasons they disagree with Lenin! You would never recognize in their picture of Lenin, anything of the Lenin that Rosa Dunayevskaya has been tracing in her work on Rosa Luxemburg. Frankly, they seem as sectarian as the worst vanguardists.

Marxist-Humanist
Chicago

It is frankly so rare in today's Left journalism, whether "mass" newspapers or "theoretical" journals, to see the kind of original work represented by Raya Dunayevskaya's essay on Rosa Luxemburg's break with Kautsky, that I wanted to commend you for its publication. You have presented Luxemburg's deep passion against imperialism, her adherence to mass self-organization, and her refusal to knuckle under to opportunism in any form in a genuinely new light.

Not only was the pervasive chauvinism of the leadership of the German Social Democracy not known to me in the extreme and shocking form you have shown, but its deep link to their hatred of Luxemburg's revolutionary Marxism was so revealing. I see that you have also just published her "Theory and Practice" in English. It's about time — and another proof of the rare quality of your work. Please send me the pamphlet . . .

New reader
Connecticut

IRANIAN WOMEN'S LIBERATION

It was a wonderful experience to put out "Women as Reason and as Force of Revolution," the Farsi translation of writings on women's liberation by Raya Dunayevskaya. The process made Iranian comrades here feel much closer to one another in terms of ideas on women's liberation. And it is now beginning to help other Iranians, especially the women, to see the new alternative posed to them, as against the sexism which has so permeated all the "Left" organizations.

Neda
California

Ed. Note — The Farsi pamphlet is available from *News & Letters* for \$1.50, which includes postage.

REBELLION IN THE YOUNG . . .

I very much enjoyed the article by Kevin A. Barry on the youth revolt today. But I do have one criticism. I don't think it is correct to say that the main problem in the anti-draft/anti-war movement is the "single-issue mentality," but rather the elitism and vanguardism of the Left. "Multi-issue" can be just as bad — you should have heard Bertell Ollman speak on the need for a "revolutionary socialist party" at the "multi-issue" teach-in at New York University.

Intellectual
New York

The anti-draft/anti-war group at my university (CARD) is now in the midst of a big fight on the question of its attitude to Black America. The supposed leadership (mostly SWP) is just not interested in the question of "poverty conscription" or really any of the ways Carter's drive to war hits our community, and this in the middle of Detroit.

So at the last meeting most of the few Black members of CARD decided to form a Black caucus. You should have seen the anger of the Left "leaders" — both the whites and one Black SWP'er. All they could say was that we were "divisive." They never stopped to ask what was wrong in their own attitudes.

Wayne State University student
Detroit

. . . AND THE OLD

Have you ever thought about how powerful and destructive "ageism" is in this capitalist society? Older-aged people are fired from their jobs in almost every country; they get sent to "Old Age Homes" as "unproductive" members of society. In Chicago, one person in five lives below the official "poverty level," and many of these people are older people. The same official sources admit that some 350,000 people are starving each year here, mostly from the same age group.

Meanwhile, youth, at the other end of the "ageism" knife, especially Black youth, have tremendously high rates of unemployment.

New Reader
Cary, Illinois

In my shop not all the militants are young. For example, an older Black worker told his foreman, who was aggravating and nagging him about the job, "You think just because you're the foreman means you know everything? I was working before you even thought about working. You don't have to tell me to work. Slavery times are past." And he just walked away from the job and sat down.

That foreman treats him so carefully now it's funny to see.

Young worker
New York

ON ERICH FROMM

I appreciated Dunayevskaya's article on Erich Fromm. Some time ago I had become very hostile to him because of what I took to be a flabby "idealism" that infected his thinking about Marx and Freud alike. Now—perhaps it is just the passing of time, and experience — I realize that he was much more valuable than I had given credit for. He had staying power and a kind of faith which I have come to recognize as essential.

Dunayevskaya has it, too, if I may say so — and without the flab. I appreciate N&L a great deal. As I was reading it today, I thought: "this is the best combination of theory and praxis going." Keep it going.

Psychiatrist
New York

ALGERIAN FERMENT

There has been some significant unrest in Algeria, not as earlier, from Islamic fundamentalists, but from Berber students in Kabylia who are resisting the claims of fundamentalists that everyone must speak Arabic. In March demonstrations broke out when a lecture on Berber culture was abruptly cancelled at the University of Tizi-Ouzou.

This month the Berber students took their cause to Algiers, where several hundred demonstrated April 7 with signs reading "Freedom of expression" and "Is Berber not an Algerian language?" About 100 were arrested, quite brutally, with many wounded and possibly one death. The Berber students bitterly contrasted the tolerance which the authorities had shown several months ago when the fundamentalist Islamic students went on strike for Arabization with the repression of their demonstrations.

Observer
Paris

News & Letters

Vol. 25, No. 4 May, 1980

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published ten times a year, monthly except for January-February and August-September, by *News & Letters*, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48211. Telephone: 873-8969. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of five or more—6c each.

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EDITORIAL

May Day, 1980

WORKER'S JOURNAL

The facts of life are grim for American workers on this May Day, 1980. Each week the jobless rate gets revised upwards as plant closings and lay-offs swell unemployment offices to overflowing. Workers need 15 years seniority or more to work in many Detroit auto plants. Older workers suffer heart attacks due to speed-up on the assembly lines where they are thrown onto the hardest jobs. Record inflation rates rob even those still working of their pay.

At the same time there are new strikes everywhere, from the wildcats in the coal fields of West Virginia to the New York transit workers' struggle. And in Illinois, workers at International Harvester, recently on strike for six months, mark a continuity with American labor's past which reveals not only the revolutionary dimension of its present, but discloses its theoretic roots in Karl Marx's Capital.

ORIGINS OF MAY DAY

Those roots go back to 1886 when a strike centered around the workers at the old McCormick Reaper Works (predecessor of today's International Harvester) became labor's first May Day as the city of Chicago was brought to a standstill by workers demanding the eight-hour day. By 1889 the A.F.L. received the solidarity of European workers at the founding of the Second Workingmen's International in Germany for the international observance of May 1, 1890 as the target date for launching its campaign for the eight-hour day. Since then May Day has ever been the occasion to show the international solidarity between workers of different countries.

That May Day, 1980, as much as in its origins in America in 1886, continues to include the fight for the eight-hour day, exposes how miserable is the lot of workers in today's highly-automated factories.

Nevertheless, what the eight-hour day struggle first brought together is what has been separated by today's Left as much as by the labor bureaucracy, namely, the relationship of labor's struggle to the philosophy of labor's liberation — Marx's Humanism.

Karl Marx was writing his epoch-making work, Capital, as the U.S. experienced its second revolution—the Civil War. Marx rushed to help organize British worker demonstrations and organizations to prevent the British ruling class from entering the war on the side of the slave-holding South. Indeed, this is how the famous International Workingmen's Association was born.

The impact of Marx's participation in the struggle for the emancipation of Black labor on his writing of Capital revealed itself as he came to the climax of his study on the shortening of the "Working Day": "In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralyzed so long as

slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the eight hours' agitation, that ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific . . ."

Far from Marx's statement being a cliché often repeated these days, it was the most concrete measure of how critical to all success for American workers' organizations was the Black struggle.

MARX AND TODAY'S STRUGGLES

If it is true that today's labor bureaucracy has tried to bury these American and Black roots of May Day, it is even more profoundly true that today's Left has no theoretic understanding of the process by which Marx saw his economic-philosophic categories in Capital developing in relationship to the historic tendency of capitalist production and the movement of workers against it.

Thus, so much has May Day come to be associated with Russian totalitarianism rolling out its military hardware into Red Square, that the American labor bureaucracy and the Left ignore the U.S. government turning the revolutionary legacy of American labor's most important day into its most reactionary opposite as "Law Day"!

The spectre of Black youth unemployment and the coming long hot summer hangs over the deepening recession this May Day. The only solution forthcoming from the American ruling class is Carter's drive to war and capital's drive to wring more productivity out of fewer workers who are forced to keep pace with the newly-automated facilities in Western Europe and Japan.

However, it is the ceaseless reappearance of new beginnings in labor's opposition to capital which led an African journalist, who participated in the three-day general strike during the 1976 Soweto rebellion, to conclude recently that the same human forces which shook that apartheid regime in South Africa, are today challenging the massive lay-offs in the U.S.A.

Whether as past, present or as revolutionary preparation for the future, May Day isn't merely a question of a day, for there isn't one day when workers don't express their opposition to this system of production and life. They seek nothing less than its total destruction. Can we as revolutionists do less? On May Day, 1980, the need for theoretic preparation for revolution becomes as pivotal as the daily struggles of workers, women, Blacks and youth. That needed preparation is first and foremost a re-discovery of Marx's Marxism, his philosophy of revolution as he expressed it in the relationship of the eight-hour day struggles to his greatest work, Capital.

Erich Fromm's Preface to forthcoming German edition of 'Philosophy and Revolution'

by Erich Fromm

Few thought systems have been as distorted and sometimes even turned into their opposite as that of Karl Marx. The great conservative political economist Joseph Schumpeter once expressed this distortion with a hypothetical analogy: if one had discovered Europe at the time of the Inquisition, and had surmised from that that the Inquisition reflected the spirit of the Gospels, then one would have behaved as those who see the ideas of Marx expressed in Soviet Communism.

If this distortion were only to be found among opponents of Marxism, that would scarcely be surprising. The amazing thing is that it emanates from his "proponents," who convince the rest of the world that their ideology expresses the ideas of Marx. Thus it has finally come to the point that in North America and Europe, so effective has Soviet propaganda become, that one not only believes that one sees the realization of socialism in the Soviet system, but also that one is dealing with a revolutionary state which aims at world revolution, instead of with a bureaucratic reactionary form of state-capitalism.

Marx's ideas can only be understood if one knows at least the fundamentals of Hegelian philosophy. But only a very few people know them even approximately, and in the best situation take only a couple of slogans as substitutes for genuine knowledge. And what is the situation with the followers of Marx who speak in his name and who make a more serious claim than Stalin: Lenin, Trotsky, Mao, or even the "outsider" Sartre? There is little that will aid an objective understanding of this question; most of what can be read about it is biased according to the political views of the author.

All of this results in the fact that individuals who want to get an idea of the theories which influence a

great part of the world today have great difficulties forming a correct image.

Raya Dunayevskaya is unusually qualified to fill this gap in our knowledge. Not only because of her great knowledge and competence in this area — these qualities alone are rare, but not unique — and not only because of her incorruptible objectivity which is the characteristic of every scholar, or should be. What, however, is far rarer is the fact that within herself she combines this objectivity with a passionate political attitude — a passion which, at the same time, is not irrational and not fanatical. But the important factor is, perhaps, that the author is permeated by the conviction that socialism and freedom are indivisibly united, and can only exist together. She is a radical Humanist who deeply believes that the betterment of the welfare of all humanity can be achieved without the loss of individual freedom, through a new Humanism.

This book is much enriched by discussion of the African revolutions, the East European revolts, the youth movement, and the Women's Liberation Movement.

For everyone who is seriously interested in the forces which form — and deform — the present and the future, this book is to be most warmly recommended.

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 Order 26-page Guide to the Collection from News
 & Letters. Price: 50¢ plus postage.

(Continued from Page 1)

rules of the union. The union had principles in those days.

Then, at one of our contract negotiations, the late Walter Reuther signed a contract with management which read that from now on the company will have all rights to set and control production. The workers began to holler against that being a part of the contract, but the union bureaucrats said it was not bad and shut them up.

Today, with more than 220,000 auto workers laid off — 28 percent of the UAW membership — what will the union leaders say at the UAW convention in Los Angeles in May? What will Fraser tell those southern California workers who have no plant to go to? Will he tell them about the plants that are working overtime on fast-selling small cars? What happened to the idea that when one UAW member was laid-off no one worked overtime? Will he tell them about the condition of the older workers who are now back on the line, and are dying from heart attacks? Will he tell them about how the majority of Black and women workers are now out in the streets?

Instead, I'm betting he will talk about foreign cars and getting them to build cars here, or he will tell them about the need to lobby in Congress for Chrysler.

Today the union and its leaders have gone from what they were, over to the side of management to help in putting down any attempt by workers who resist. There are those who are saying that what is needed is to throw out the present leaders and replace them with new ones. That's true — Fraser is hopeless. But that alone will solve nothing, as some of the present leaders were as militant as anyone in the early days of the union.

Many more workers are now saying that what is really needed today is people determined to tear up this society from top to bottom and build a new one.

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Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

REVOLUTIONARY JOURNALISM: Karl Marx, the Neue Rheinische Zeitung and the 1850 Address on permanent revolution

by Eugene Walker, member, National Editorial Board, News & Letters

Only now, some 130 years after their suppression, are the full texts of Marx's and Engels' articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung** available in English. To read Marx at the one moment of his life when he is not an enforced emigre, but within the fullness of revolution and the threat of counter-revolution in his own land, within the sweep of the European Revolutions, is to see a revolutionary activist, journalist, theoretician in thorough-going praxis. To witness the revolutionary journalism of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is to possess the measure for our day of a practical-critical-theoretical organ of revolution.

It retains more than relevance for today. Without it, as foundation stone—and neither the Old Left nor the so-called New Left are using it as such—newspapers are hardly more than what gets aged on the morrow. With it, we can project in theory as well as in practice how to inter-relate the two, as Marx had done in transforming any historic narrative into historic reason. It is then that we will begin to know the rudiments of journalism as a road to revolution.

The year 1848 witnessed the storming of the heavens over the length and breadth of Europe. Revolution burst forth in Italy and France, Germany and Austria, Hungary and Poland. Though within boundaries of nations and even principalities, it was indeed a European Revolution, not as a single concerted act, but as successive eruptions—here as the bourgeoisie against the monarchy, there as oppressed nationality against the dominant rule from within or without. Its highest peaks were reached in France, in the birth of a republic in February, then in the magnificent Paris barricades of mid-June. For three days the proletariat held off the rule of the bourgeoisie and the army. Their defense of the barricades proclaimed a new era—that of proletarian revolution.

Marx, 29 and living in Brussels at the time of the February Revolution, arrived in early March in the new French Republic. By April, after the March Revolutions in Vienna and Berlin, he, along with Engels and other members of the Communist League began returning to Germany. In Cologne the new daily newspaper would be founded. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* began publication on June 1, 1848, and was ultimately suppressed permanently on May 19, 1849, its last issue being printed entirely in red ink.

During those 12 months it was to become the fullest expression of revolutionary journalism. It was the whip attempting to drive the bourgeoisie to complete its revolution. It was a voice of internationalism as it reported on the movement of revolution throughout Europe, as well as the restoration of the counter-revolution. It became the expression of the leading edge of the revolutionary storm as the proletariat took up the battle against the bourgeoisie. And most crucially, it at all times refused to separate the day-to-day events from the most profound theoretical analysis of the stage of the revolution, of the development of capitalism, of labor's conflict with capital.

I. THE WHIP TO THE BOURGEOISIE

"Yes, Marx supported the bourgeoisie in the struggle with absolutism, but he supported it with whips and kicks."

—Rosa Luxemburg, at the 1907 Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party

"The first duty of the press now is to undermine all foundations of the existing political state of affairs."

—Marx, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Feb. 14, 1849
"We may have to go through a hard school, but it is the preparatory school for a complete revolution."

—Marx, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Nov. 12, 1848

The hard school which Marx immediately faced upon return to Germany was the fight to defeat absolutism. The revolution of March 18 in Berlin had created a new situation. It had made possible open agitation—a newspaper. On commencing publication, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was immediately plunged into the fight to retain the revolutionary ground won in March. The bourgeoisie through the National Assemblies in Frankfurt and Berlin were indecisive in confrontation with the Crown, and were moving to betray the revolution. Marx and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* followed and exposed the debates in the assemblies with hawk-like precision. Nothing was free from his scathing criticism: the attempt by the political representatives

of the new ruling class to compromise with "the Crown by the grace of God", the bills to impose new censorship on the press, the perpetuation of feudal rights by bills to retain compulsory labor of the peasantry, as well as exposing the increasing activity of the police and military, the suppression of democratic clubs, the prison-like work regulations the bourgeoisie imposed on municipal workers.

By the fall of 1848 the bourgeoisie had fully alienated those who had made the March Revolution. The counter-revolution now felt the strength to move in. The assembly was broken, a state of siege declared, and the Brandenburg Ministry imposed its Constitution: "The real constitution of Prussia is the stage of siege."

If Marx was talking of the concrete events of 1848, the 1907 Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party was discussing those events and their relevance to the 1905 Russian Revolution. In addition, the whole question was reborn in Rosa Luxemburg's 1910 debate with Kautsky, and again in the debate Lenin launched with his "April Thesis" in the period between the February and November, 1917 Russian Revolution. (See Chapter 2, "Rosa Luxemburg: The Break with Kautsky" published in April, 1980, *News & Letters* from Raya Dunayevskaya's forthcoming book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.*)

II. THE LEADING EDGE OF THE STORM

"The tricolor republic now displays only one color, the color of the defeated, the color of blood. It has become a red republic."

—Marx, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, June 29, 1848

"Organ of the Democracy", on the masthead of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, was not simply an appeal for a bourgeois republic. Marx's support for a republic was one calculated to drive the bourgeoisie to decisively oppose the monarchy. To be concrete and still more concrete about the German Revolution was the watchword. Just as Marx had opposed the scheme for organizing emigres in Paris for an invasion into Germany to establish a republic by fiat, so once inside the country he worked within the reality of a Germany that was not yet a France. The March Revolution was a pale shadow of February in France, and June of '48 was not on the German horizon.

When the proletariat did move to decisively confront the bourgeoisie in France, in June of '48, the internationalist *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, almost alone among the press of Europe, reported, hailed and sought to push forward the fight of the proletariat throughout Europe.

Marx saw France as the storm center, but in Germany, too, he singled out the lot of the proletariat and was active within proletarian circles. The "Demands of the Communist Party of Germany", which Marx and Engels had written in Paris just before returning to Germany, was printed in Cologne as a leaflet. Later, it was circulated by the Cologne Workers Association which had been formed in mid-April. By May 1 the Association had some 5,000 members. Activists from the Communist League were within, helping to organize branches throughout the Cologne area. Marx became temporary president of the Association when the threat of a state of seige forced the elected president to flee. As president he proposed the form of the association meetings to be as follows: the first hour devoted to the interests of the association, and the second hour one in which the social and political questions are discussed.

In response to the crisis in Prussia and the menace of a counter-revolutionary coup the Workers Association and the Democracy within Cologne organized and participated in mass meetings of several thousand. A Committee of Public Safety was organized with Marx and the other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, as well as leaders of the Cologne Workers Association, among its members. In late September a state of seige was declared and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was temporarily suppressed. Upon resumption in October, Marx attacked the bourgeoisie, not only for its capitulation to the action of the monarchy, but for its reactionary attitude to the proletariat. In December, when the first president of the Workers Association, Gottschalk, was put on trial for attempting to "overthrow the existing order", Marx hit back in the pages of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, exposing the falsehood of the charges, showing that it was the authorities who were trying to overthrow the Workers Association.

All of this was put forth each day within the four-page daily press of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Its final article in the 301st issue, in red ink, addressed "To the Workers of Cologne", again put forth the vision: "The editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* thank you for the sympathy you have shown them. Their last word everywhere and always will be: emancipation of the working class!"

III. FROM THEORY TO A TOTALLY NEW CONCEPT, "PERMANENT REVOLUTION"

"The chief result of the revolutionary movement is not what the peoples won, but what they lost—the loss of their illusions."

—Marx, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Dec. 24, 1848

"Now, after our readers have seen the class struggle develop in colossal political forms in 1848, the time has come to deal more closely with the economic relations themselves on which the existence of the bourgeoisie and its class rule, as well as the slavery of the workers, are founded."

—Marx, "Wage-Labor and Capital", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, April 5, 1849

Now that we have seen Marx—author of the Communist Manifesto which issued the challenge to the whole world and threatened the capitalist order with overthrow before anyone had dreamed of revolution—knowing how to function even within the confines of a "democratic paper", let us see how the vision of "Workmen of all countries unite" remained with him.

Within the pages of the daily *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was projected the continuation of this vision, the theoretical ground for the revolutionary movement. It was indeed a practical-critical-theoretical journal. There is no greater proof of this than the last period of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, when theory and practice became concretized in the "purely" economic work which anticipates the whole of Capital, that is, "Wage-Labor and Capital".

We are in 1849, in the bleakest period of counter-revolutionary strength. The Vienna upsurge has been defeated in November, counter-revolution has occurred in Berlin. And it is precisely now that Marx chooses to leave for the proletariat his labors for the pathway ahead—the magnificent "Wage-Labor and Capital" which was printed for the first time in the pages of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Indeed it is the only time in Marx's life, save for an unauthorized printing in 1880 and a pamphlet in 1881, that it appears in German.

The date the final installment of the manuscript is published, April 11, 1849, the Committee of the Cologne Workers Association asks that all branches begin discussing social problems based on the articles and called upon other workers' associations to do likewise. Scarcely a month later, May 19, 1849, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is suppressed.

But still the vision and the hard theoretical labor necessary to help it become a reality remained as one with Marx. The most profound, far-reaching and to this day unrealized conclusions that Marx drew from the 1848 Revolutions and their defeats is his *Address to the Communist League of 1850*.

Yes, 1848 had been a defeat for the proletariat. But Marx was saying in his *Address* that in no sense was it a permanent defeat. Rather, the "loss of illusions" now set the ground for the "Revolution in Permanence":

... it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, the proletariat has conquered state power, and the associations of proletarians, not only in one country but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians in these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians . . . For us the issue (is) not the improvement of the existing society but the foundation of a new one. (*Address of the Central Authority to the Communist League, March, 1850*)

Today, some 130 years later, we have not only the rich experience of those 1848 Revolutions to build upon, but the magnificent labor of Marx in that same moment as our foundation for a new society. Think of each task we face—from the publication of a revolutionary newspaper, to the theoretical points we must develop, to the full philosophical and practical vision of a total uprooting of this society and the creation of a new one on truly human beginnings — and ask yourself whether being witness to Marx's historical materialism, 1848-50, doesn't set a full revolutionary ground for today.

Didn't Marx's greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, have as one point of departure, his "Wage-Labor and Capital," published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*? Don't we, to truly grasp what Permanent Revolution means for today's revolutions, need to return to Marx's original formulation rather than the "modern" versions, be they of Trotsky or Mao? And doesn't Marx's philosophy of revolution, as a new continent of thought that can help give direction to our practice, have roots within the revolutionary journalism that was the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, within the *Address on Permanent Revolution* given to the Communist League?

*Marx's and Engels' writings in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* occupy nearly three volumes of their collected works: *Karl Marx, Frederick Engels: Collected Works* Volumes 7, 8, 9, International Publishers, New York. Marx had been writer, and then editor-in-chief of the original *Rheinische Zeitung* from November, 1842 to March, 1843. This first period as journalist is also rich in material for today. Indeed, Marx's 20-year "career" as journalist from 1842 through the early 1860s, encompassing such papers as the *New York Daily Tribune*, the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*, the *People's Paper*, and *Die Presse* has hardly been touched in a serious manner.



Legacy of Kent State killings: lessons for today

by Jim Mills

May 4, 1980

On this, the tenth anniversary of the massacre at Kent State, where Ohio National Guard bullets mowed down Allison Krause, William Schroeder, Sandy Sheuer, and Jeffrey Miller, and wounded nine others, we also observe that counter-revolutionary moment prevailing today, as jungle law. And it is not only in Kent, Ohio, just as Jackson State witnessed counter-revolution in 1970, too.

Indeed, that is a lesson for us today in the 1980 anti-draft movement because if we do not remember all that happened then—and nothing has been rectified, far from it—the same counter-revolution will be visited upon us as our movement develops.

I was among to see participants from Kent State among the 30,000 anti-draft marchers in Washington, D.C. on March 22. In fact, Kent State has contributed a forum for anti-war agitation that has never gone silent. So I am also very glad to report the publication today of a new book, *The Kent State Coverup* by James Munves and Joseph Kelner (Harper and Row, publish-

ers). As an accounting of the perversity of capitalist justice, (Kelner was attorney for the families of the massacre victims), it is **MUST** reading as an orientation to what awaits all challengers to the ruling "order". (Watch for our review in a future N&L.)

I visited Kent State recently and saw a lot of restlessness on the campus. It is neither limited to discussions about the administration's move to permanently bar men and women from entering each other's dormitories, nor to protest against the campus racism by Black football players who boycotted the last homecoming game.

Most important is that they have not forgotten history, as evidenced by the groundswell preventing the construction of the administration's own commemorative arch whose designer was also responsible for the gym now covering the true memorial, Blanket Hill, where the students were shot. One young woman called it Napoleon's "Arc de Triomphe", asking "Who triumphed at Blanket Hill?" Not the students!

And to this day, the Kent State authorities harass all student attempts to reconnect with that history; they recently broke up a march and rally in the Commons after students erected 20 markers, each signifying someone killed in the freedom movement activities since 1964.

The gravest step backwards, though, was made by the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in Cleveland in September, 1977, absolving Ohio Gov. James Rhodes and the National Guard of their crimes. It is serious retrogression not alone for the victims' families and the survivors of the bullets, but also for the whole country.

It is of this horror which *The Kent State Coverup* warns. We in the anti-draft movement, in all freedom movements aiming to challenge society as it exists, are all on notice, subject to the same militarist justice witnessed by Kent State and Jackson State.

The Kent State Coverup along with the restiveness of Kent State students today, however, do not reveal all that is significant about Kent State. We must bring today's youth war opposition, which remembers Kent and Jackson State, to a higher stage now, necessitating also deeper involvement in it. We in the Wayne State University News and Letters Youth Committee contributed to that effort when in October, 1977 we sponsored a meeting of solidarity featuring Kent State students speaking both on struggles against the gym and against attacks on Black programs.

We can succeed in connecting with what Kent

State 1970 achieved as a force to end the Vietnam war and to bring about Nixon's demise if we build on what that climax has left for us—to see to it we never separate a philosophy of revolution from preparation for actual revolution. The alternative—nuclear holocaust—is what Carter contemplates as he unshelves glib studies on usage of nuclear arms in the Middle East or deployment of N-bombs in Europe.

When we are able to combine the new anti-war expressions with the new stage also represented by youth hardest hit in this deep recession—by lay-offs, permanent unemployment and cutbacks in social programs and education—then rather than the "me generation" image created to explain youth alienation, we will see a new stage in youth revolutionary challenges to capitalism's inhuman role.



Hundreds of Wrightsville, Georgia's Black community demonstrated April 12, showing that they would not be intimidated by racist attacks earlier that week. Johnson County Sheriff Roland Attaway and his deputies had attacked protestors April 8 with clubs and chains, then ignored KKK nightriders shooting into homes. The civil rights marches began nearly three months ago, with demands for Black representation in local government and police; increased health services; paved roads and street lights; and an end to police brutality. The protests are continuing, and the marchers vow that nothing—and no one—will turn them around until they get justice.

BLACK-RED VIEW Black power in South Africa

by John Alan

Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology, by Gail M. Gerhart; Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978.

The startling and overwhelming electoral victory of Robert Mugabe's ZANU Party in Zimbabwe, the sudden increase in Black guerrilla activity in South Africa, and the internal bickering that is going on among the leaders of the Nationalist Party over the issue of "how much" apartheid is to be practiced, are all indications that South Africa may once again be on the threshold of violent social upheaval.

For some time the brutal lid of oppression that the apartheid government clamped down on Blacks, after the 1976 Soweto revolt, has been showing signs of coming apart because of the buildup of internal economic and political pressure. And, there is a great likelihood that the result of the Zimbabwe election will hasten open Black mass revolt there, as the victory over Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique did in the mid-1970s.

So great a potential for revolt, if not outright revolution in South Africa, is ample enough reason to read Gail M. Gerhart's book, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology*, provided that it is read with a critical eye.

Ms. Gerhart set out to write a book that would examine "the development of African Nationalism in South Africa over the last three decades since the Second World War," dealing mainly with "the intellectual dimension of Black political history, and in particular the interplay of ideologies which marked the postwar era and which has brought many present day African intellectuals to their current Black Power perspective." (p. vii).

But on page 304 she reveals another purpose as well. While she rejects the concept that the African masses are only objects to be manipulated by white administrators, "swayed by forces and factors wholly beyond their own control . . .," she goes on to say that

the "ability of the politically astute African leaders to anticipate and manipulate these mass attitudes for African group ends," has been underestimated and the increasing ability of Black leaders to do so "has been the central theme of this study" (my emphasis).

It is this "central theme" which has prevented the author of this much needed study on Black South African thought to make a breakthrough that would transcend in ideas the concept of mass manipulation by "ideology," as Soweto did so heroically in action.

Ms. Gerhart further states that the purpose of the book is, "to look at ideology in the South African case, both as causal and caused, both as an independent variable largely created through the individual intellectual efforts of a few key thinkers, and in a broader sense as the product of African culture and tradition."

This one-sided undialectical treatment of "ideology" as an "independent variable" places Ms. Gerhart's political portraits of Anton Lembede, Asby Peter Mda, and Robert Sobukwe, in an upside-down relationship to the social ferment in which they lived, and where they and their ideas developed, and thereby she has robbed them of their true life.

Further, due to her belief that the South African Student Organization, (SASO), founded by Steve Biko, had abandoned the "exaggerated faith in the spontaneous revolutionary disposition of the masses" for the hard-headed task of organizing the masses, Biko too, never comes alive.

So antithetical is Ms. Gerhart's attitude to the creative role of mass spontaneity, that, although she wrote an epilogue to the Soweto, she says absolutely nothing about Soweto, or about the organizational forms and ideas that grew out of this massive spontaneous action in repressive South Africa.

What Black South Africa needs from intellectuals and leaders is not any more manipulatory "ideology" but a theory of revolution that can meet the mass spontaneity of a Soweto, and Sowetos-to-be.

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Mass opposition deepens in El Salvador as U.S. pumps aid into junta

The March 24 murder of pacifist Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero by rightists in El Salvador brought out a deeper wave of opposition that became by March 27 a general strike that closed down much of the country. Romero's funeral on March 30 drew some 400,000 people to the square outside Metropolitan Cathedral, where an army vehicle fired on a march of 80,000 leftists joining the main demonstration. Four bombs went off near the square, and snipers opened fire on the crowd from the National Palace. Government troops and paramilitary rightists killed more than 40 and wounded hundreds before the four-hour shooting spree was over.

El Salvador's ruling junta was installed through pressure from President Carter last October, when mass demonstrations and government murders brought the country near to social revolution. By January all the civilians in that junta had resigned. Before he died, Romero said the government, with the collusion of the paramilitary groups, had murdered more than 700 leftists and opposition leaders since January—more than all of last year.

There are long lists of murders of trade union

and peasant leaders, like the five workers killed on March 17 in a government submachine gun attack on strikers occupying Beckman Instruments, a U.S.-based company, where workers were demanding better salaries and job security.

Just when the hatred of this regime has reached new depths, Carter again decided to interfere, approving \$50 million in aid, including \$5.7 million military aid.

Just a month before he was murdered, Romero wrote to Carter pleading that he not aid the junta. He said: "In reality, repression against the people has increased tremendously . . . there is a clear program aimed at destroying the popular organizations." Romero went on to add the importance of not limiting one's view of "the popular outburst as just demands of the left" but singled out "the alternative presented by the people who are already involved in their liberation process."

The revolutionary opposition in El Salvador has a long tradition of being both for national liberation from U.S. imperialism and against El Salvador's 14 families—its capitalists and landowners. The opposition closely associates itself with Marx-

ism and has a genuine relationship to the masses, as witnessed by the Jan. 22 demonstration called by the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM), a new coalition made up mostly of those who broke from the Russian-allied Communist Party and radical Christians.

El Salvador's development, its centralized agribusiness, has meant a 45 percent unemployment rate among landless peasants and a growing mass of urban unemployed and poor who are in industries like the electronic component shops of U.S.-based companies.

The relationship of the Left with the independent opposition of workers and peasants is unlike neighboring Nicaragua which limited itself to being a national movement including capitalists, and raises the possibility of a more complete victory over U.S. imperialism and capitalist exploitation. That's possible if there is a total break with popular fronts of those who hang onto both nuclear-armed state-capitalist powers as well as private capitalists, and if there is an independent philosophy of freedom that is one with the actual liberation.

U.S. militarization

No one needs to be told that while the new federal budget for all social programs is being cut to the bone, militarization seems to be nearly endless. The Carter administration is out-militarizing Reagan when it comes to outfitting Anwar Sadat for his new role to replace the Shah as guardian of the Persian Gulf.

The recent visit of Sadat to Washington reassured Carter of the use of a new major U.S. Air Force base in Upper Egypt at Matruh, from which regular sorties are now being made over the Persian Gulf. Sadat has been promised \$8 to \$10 billion in arms aid, which he is in no position to pay for. Sadat, in turn, is all too eager to assume the role of the former Shah as the "peace-keeper" of the Persian Gulf.

Hundreds of tanks and armored personnel carriers have been painted with desert camouflage for use in the Middle East. While their numbers are secret, we do know that it took 28,000 gallons of paint to do the job.

In the Indian Ocean, Carter is ready to sink \$1 billion into building up the base leased from the British at Diego Garcia, an isolated spot even more difficult to supply than Vietnam. Diego Garcia is a very small island, more than 2,300 miles from the nearest land mass, with a harbor which has only limited capability for sheltering small ships, and temporary quarters for 1,750 troops and 900 Navy

personnel. Supplies for the base are flown in from Subic Bay in the Philippines. It will take one billion dollars to build an airstrip capable of handling B-52 bombers. Then the base could become a threat to all Africa, the Middle East or India.

With his constant saber-rattling, Carter has brought us to the brink of yet another global war. His ultimatums to the Russians have not removed a single soldier from Afghanistan. His actions in Iran have not freed a single hostage. His condemnations of Begin have not removed, or prevented the installation of a single new settlement on the West Bank.

The fate in store for American youth, if Carter has his way, is a new military draft which will include women as well as men to provide cannon fodder for his global ambitions. The resistance that the youth have shown so far will, if carried through to its logical conclusions, send Carter's plans for another war tumbling down the drain.

Romania

The following excerpts are from a letter from a Romanian worker which appeared in *L'Alternative*, No. 2, (Paris), January, 1980:

We can't say that today people live badly in Romania—they live miserably. The situation gets worse with every day which passes: inflation, food scarcity, lack of fuel, abuses and arbitrary actions. . . . The incompetence, the organizational incapacity

of the Communist leadership are evident . . . things are going badly, even in the police with which *Mister Ceausescu* tries to make us afraid. . . .

Really we have a military dictatorship . . . Ceausescu has named generals to all management positions. . . . Whether he walks around in uniform or not, a military officer remains a military officer. Limited in mind and accustomed to giving orders without understanding anything. . . .

At dock no. 7 in the port of Constansa, a serious incident occurred between workers and the coast guard. Workers from several warehouses enter by this gate. One of them, in his sixties, was a little bit drunk. Even though this was his work place, the guard on duty didn't let him enter. The worker insisted on his rights, and the guard clubbed him and killed him instantly. The other workers (50 or 60 of them) . . . began to protest and the guard sounded the alarm. A lieutenant arrived with a detachment of guards accompanied by wolf-hounds. . . .

The workers said to the lieutenant that it was only in films on the Gestapo that you could see such scenes: Romanian soldiers ready to fire and to sic police dogs on the workers, on those who nourish them—the parasites paid by the state. . . . Later it seemed that the death of the worker was declared an accident. . . .

The workers are convinced that this situation cannot be prolonged for too much longer—everything has its end. Even the great Somoza fell, so then Ceausescu?

Report from China: hunger for ideas to uproot class society

(Continued from Page 1)

made it clear that they don't want to return to that, for they know very well that it is capitalist exploitation and not socialism.

HONG KONG REVOLUTIONARIES

I also travelled to Hong Kong, where I spoke with activists who are trying to begin something new with workers, women, students and political refugees, as well as expanding their direct relationship to the movement in China. One group of independent socialists, The '80s Front, has translated into English a bulletin of documents from Peking Spring, including statements from the various tendencies, analyses, and stories.*

A central target for criticism by the Peking Spring movement was the totalitarian one-party state, and this question was central to one ex-Red Guard with whom I spoke, who fled China in the 1970s. He had read Marx's writings on the Paris Commune and wanted to know whether the current opposition to the Party within China could develop in a Marxist direction, so that the Chinese Communist Party, which makes itself appear as the only structure for society, could be thoroughly destroyed and Marx's idea of socialism be put into practice.

Another political refugee, a Chinese proletarian originally from Southeast Asia, said that China's invasion of Vietnam exposed the truth that the Party was only interested in "socialism" in their own country, and not world revolution. The opposition movement, he be-

lieved, was a challenge by the whole people, demanding what they rightfully deserve under socialism but which the bureaucracy has usurped:

"The masses oppose this bureaucracy, not Marxism or socialism. Now I am opposed to any party, except one which the masses themselves would build as truly representative, along the lines of the organization of the Paris Commune."

BERLINGUER GOES TO CHINA

The total opposite of these questions and discussions was the shocking meeting which took place on April 14 in Beijing. No less important a person than Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, went to the airport that day to greet Enrico Berlinguer, leader of the Italian Communist Party.

Berlinguer's trip came on the eve of the first meeting of West European Communist Parties since 1976, a meeting the Italians have announced they will not attend. Thus far the Spanish and Yugoslav CPs have also said they will not go to this summit, which is being co-sponsored by the French and Polish CPs. It is designed not only to rally support for Russia after its invasion of Afghanistan, but more importantly, to create a new worry that if West Europe persists in following the U.S. to the point where it allows NATO missiles to be based on its soil, then it will be aiding "Atlanticization" at the expense of "Europeanization," a Europe independent of the U.S.

For his part, Berlinguer's boycott of the West European CP meeting, on the basis that such important talks on NATO missiles should be open to other "Left" parties

like the Socialists, is aimed at the upcoming Italian elections in June. The Chinese rulers, for their part, are going full speed in their policy of "Russia is Enemy No. 1," and taking advantage of Russia's invasion of Afghanistan to make alliances with any and every reactionary, as long as they oppose Russia. And the Chinese rulers are saying that Russia is "Enemy No. 1" not only of China and the U.S., but of West Europe too, since Russia is trying to make them into a satellite.

Italy's boycott of the summit, and the startling speed with which the Chinese ended their 15-year formal break with the Italian CP, which the Chinese had branded as "revisionist" when the Sino-Soviet conflict began in the early 1960s, has nothing to do with endorsing any "pluralism" of views. On the very same day that Hu was meeting Berlinguer, Chinese leaders prepared to remove from the constitution the right to press freedom, to post critical wall posters, and to hold public rallies.

The Chinese government's sham internationalism can't hide its own imperialist plans, any more than the end of legal rights will stop the mass discontent within China. While this global maneuvering was taking place, people were crowding into the bookstores of Beijing and other cities, determined to get the latest republication of Chinese classics like *Dream of the Red Chamber*, critical essays on Western novels like *The Naked and the Dead*, or books from modern China such as *Camel Xiangzi* (*Rickshaw Boy*). I return to the bookstores, not because the workers' revolt or the mass opposition movement is any less important, but because they show the deep hunger of the Chinese people for ideas, for literature is the social analysis of what is.

*For copies of *Peking Spring*, send \$2.50 to The '80s Front, c/o 1984 Bookshop, 180 Lockhart Rd., 1st Floor, Wanchai, Hong Kong.