

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

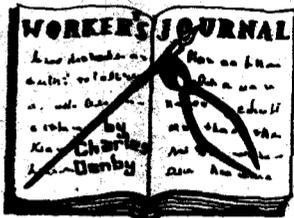
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German review of 'Indignant Heart' aired



by Charles Denby, Editor

Author of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal
I am turning my column over to a German radio review of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* (Im Reichsten Land Der Welt). It was broadcast by Inge Presser on Hessischer Rundfunk (Frankfurt/Main) on July 11, 1981.—Charles Denby.

In the slave-holding society of the United States, according to Malcolm X, there was the house Negro and the field Negro. The house Negro wept when the master's house burned and ran as quickly as he could to put out the fire. But the field Negro shouted for joy: "Look, master's house is burning! Who could have set the fire?" and he made the most of the favorable opportunity, took off through the fields, and was never seen again.

Thus, two attitudes: accommodation to slavery and active resistance.

(Continued on Page 10)

Chinese women garment workers protest

San Francisco, Cal. — Nearly 150 women garment workers turned out for a meeting in San Francisco's Chinatown on Oct. 3 to support 19 other garment workers who are currently on trial for unemployment fraud. The women, and the two companies they work for, have been charged by the Employment Development Department and the District Attorney with fraudulently collecting partial unemployment benefits while they were supposedly working full time.

The case against the garment workers is based on a year's surveillance of several shops, where the investigators took pictures of the women going in and out.

The women maintain that they were entitled to the money that they collected, that they did everything according to the proper procedures. If the pictures show that they went to work early and left late it is because they had to go to the shops and sit around and wait for work. The fact that they may have been in the shop did not mean that they were working.

THE 'FOURTH WORLD'

These Chinese women are only a small part of a growing "Fourth World" within the United States as the number of non-English speaking, immigrant workers continues to mount within the large cities and the sunbelt region. In San Francisco for instance, there are two garment districts, one Chinese, the other Latin American.

The garment industry in particular is built on the backs of immigrant women workers who are limited by language and education to the lowest paying jobs. On the West Coast immigrant women workers supply the labor for other industries such as canning, electronics, farms, and even banking to a certain extent. The computerization of jobs in the banking industry has produced a multitude of "unskilled" jobs which are filled by Fourth World women workers. During a recent organizing drive at a large computer center leaflets had to be issued in English, Spanish, Chinese and Tagalog.

The working conditions faced by women workers in the garment industry appear to have changed little in the past century. Women in San Francisco's garment shops earn between \$3,000 and \$6,000 per year, and wages are determined on a piece-rate system. Supposedly piece-rates are set so that workers can produce enough items in an hour to make at least the minimum wage, while the reality is that women often have to work many hours overtime in order to make even minimum wages for a week.

A NEW ORGANIZING DRIVE?

The shops are operated out of storefronts that often lack proper heating and ventilation. The lighting is often insufficient, and fire regulations are sometimes ignored. Rarely do the women receive health benefits, vacation pay or sick leave. There has been little union activity in

War hysteria of U.S. imperialism extends to Libya

Silence of Egyptian masses over Sadat

by Kevin A. Barry

On Oct. 6, at a closely guarded military parade on the occasion of Egypt's Army Day, while helicopters flew above, dozens of security men surrounded the reviewing stand and the soldiers passing in review had been screened for three days by the U.S.-trained security agents, nonetheless it happened. Four men jumped from a military truck and gunned down their ruler, General Anwar Sadat, with little or no resistance from his bodyguards.

The fact that it could have happened on that day and under those circumstances and with commando-like precision can mean nothing less than a conspiracy reaching far higher in the 400,000-man Egyptian Army than the leader, an obscure lieutenant.

THE MASS DISCONTENT IN SADAT'S EGYPT
That Sadat was already in deep trouble was shown

by his mass arrest, last Sept. 2. of no less than 1,500 opposition leaders, his dissolution of 13 opposition political and religious groups, his exiling to a monastery of Coptic Christian Pope Chenouda III at the same time as his declaration of war on the Muslim Brothers, his banning of seven opposition newspapers, and his firing of over 100 professors and journalists.

This massive political repression, about which the mass media remained virtually as silent as Reagan, had, furthermore, been preceded for years by genuine mass opposition from below, as witness the food uprisings that the same army had suppressed. In a word, the unrest in the country was by no means only "religious extremists," but by the hungry masses desiring food and freedom from the corrupt repressive regime swimming in luxury and global capitalistic recognition, mainly from the United States.

This mass opposition which the Egyptian rulers supposedly ignored was obvious enough when they, led by Hosni Mubarak, prevented anyone but high officials from attending the funeral, plus had the march go through an unpopulated and guarded area rather than the streets of Cairo.

Despite the alleged "isolated" character of the assassination, all the visiting American journalists were stunned by the deafening silence in the streets of Cairo as against the millions who poured out to mourn Nasser in 1970.

CONTRAST OF ASSYUT RIOTING AND DEEPER OPPOSITION

Two days after Sadat's death, over 100 were killed in the large upper Nile city of Assyut, in the most violent incident since the food uprisings of 1977. But far from that type of mass upheaval as in 1977, the Assyut rioting was launched by 75 well-armed Muslim fundamentalist commandos, who attacked the central police station, and then retreated into the slums to carry out sniper warfare with police and soldiers.

Assyut is a stronghold of Islamic reactionaries such as the Muslim Brothers. In 1979 Islamic reactionaries at the university attacked Coptic Christians and women, demanding the expulsion of the Copts and the separation of the sexes at the university. This type of fighting, often between Left students and Muslim reactionaries, has been going on throughout the Arab world for the past two years, ever since the Iranian Revolution.

In June of this year, Islamic reactionaries staged a still more violent attack on the Copt minority in Cairo, where their murderous KKK-style raids did not even spare babies, who were thrown out of windows. In short, the movement against Sadat has both genuine revolutionaries as well as some very reactionary Islamic fundamentalist forces. As in Iran under the Shah, the Islamic reactionaries know how to keep quiet about their beliefs that poverty is "the will of Allah" in order to agitate around conditions of life and labor.

Those conditions of life and labor are truly horrendous in this country of 42 million people which is supposed to be the military key to the area for "the West." Despite new oil discoveries, Arab and Western "aid", and truce with Israel since 1978, the masses are still forced to live at the level of \$350 per year annual

(Continued on Page 4)



Upwards of 300,000 marched in Bonn, West Germany, Oct. 10 against nuclear weapons and U.S. war policies. See article, page 12, and Editorial page 7.

ON THE INSIDE

- Dunayevskaya: What kind of revolution against Khomeini counter-revolution? p. 5
- Historical ground of Marxist-Humanist Archives p. 8
- Greece, Poland p. 12

Blue Cross-Blue Shield—"after" the contract

Detroit, Mich. — Blue Cross-Blue Shield workers voted to ratify their first contract on Sept. 19. The following story from women workers there was distributed in a leaflet by Women's Liberation-News & Letters:

"At Blue Cross-Blue Shield, after the new contract, and since January when we voted to be represented by the UAW, we are looking hard to see how our working conditions have changed fundamentally.

"BC-BS still sends around time-study and sets production at levels no one can meet. They stand over you and you may work a little faster to get them off your back. Then they add on some more work and set a rate, like 350-400 in claims, that nobody can get out. Now they are threatening to take action in November against those who can't meet production standards. This is after the new contract.

"Do we have a safety committee? If so, they should take a look at conditions like those a friend of ours told us about in the mail department. We are stuck in a room like a prison, without windows, and there's no room to move around without bumping into carts, meter machines, and sorters. Some women have been injured by the sorting machines, but even if you are not directly hurt, the noise levels are injurious on a daily basis. It is like working in an auto plant. This is after the new contract.

"Why hasn't overtime been controlled? BC-BS still has the right to work us 10 hours overtime a week, and two Saturdays in a row. Plus they can play around with overtime pay, by saying the overtime you worked wasn't "mandatory." Yet you know your supervisor told you you had to work. This is after the new contract.

"Why hasn't the sick leave policy been changed? On the fifth occurrence, we can still be suspended for three days pending termination. BC-BS and the UAW have left this policy open to negotiations until September 1982."

German socialist feminists

Reluctant Feminists in German Social Democracy, 1885-1917, by Jean Quataert (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

Reluctant Feminists in German Social Democracy, 1885-1917 is important reading for us today, as it is one of the few books in English on this massive turn-of-the-century women's movement in the German Social Democratic Party (SPD). That movement was proletarian, socialist, feminist, anti-militarist, and internationalist, and it grappled with problems, such as sexism on the Left and the need for women's movement autonomy, that we face today.

The book traces the development of the movement in large part through biographies of eight influential women leaders. We meet for example Luise Zietz, a factory worker who marries a dockworker, Karl: "... when Karl recognized the oratorical and organizational talents of his wife, they held a conference and he stated that she, as the more gifted, ought to devote full time to the Party while he would continue to work."

Indeed, tens of thousands of working class women were becoming active, organizing in factories, in home industry, and as domestic servants. Within the SPD, demands encompassed both equal wages for women workers, maternity insurance, health and sanitary regulations and women's suffrage, as well as day-care centers, easier divorce laws, more equality in family relations.

However, feminist demands were never fully integrated into socialist theory. But rather than probing the inadequacies of a "Marxism" that sometimes counterposed socialism and feminism, Quataert imposes false, simplistic categories onto the movement, as in Chapter V, "Class Versus Sex Identity: Clara Zetkin and Lily Braun." The revolutionary Zetkin is described as "class identified", as if she only followed "men socialists."

That cannot cover over the fact that it was Zetkin as editor of the women's paper *Gleichheit* (Equality) who insisted on retaining autonomy for the paper, developing it in a revolutionary direction contrary to the demands of male Party leaders, whereas Braun, the "sex-identified," called for the transfer of *Gleichheit* to the control of the Party press.

Nor do we get a sense of the world moving towards war, and the fact that it was the SPD women who consistently and massively opposed their leadership's capitulation to militarism, and then to actual world war. *Gleichheit* was recognized internationally as the anti-war organ. And, incredibly, Rosa Luxemburg, and the 1918-1919 German Revolution she led, are dismissed by Quataert as an "episode" in a few superficial, inaccurate sentences.

Despite the fact that the revolutionary dimension of the SPD women's movement is downplayed in this study, it is this dimension that speaks most to us as anti-militarist feminists of the 1980s. Let's continue to examine this rich field of our revolutionary history.

—Mariana Louise

Why can't it be settled now? Our personal time should be ours to use, but what good is it if you want to use it with your flex time, and you end up being disciplined for it? This is after the new contract.

"After the new contract, some of us are making only \$30 more per week over what we made three years ago. And others of us, like the reader-printer operators, are facing the prospect of having our jobs eliminated by new machines. Yet we are being threatened — again — with layoffs, because we ratified the contract.

"We want everyone to know that these conditions are intolerable — and we intend to see them changed!"

A worker responded to the leaflet: "We were told by our supervisor that our percentages for the month of September would not be used because everyone used operation codes that we 'had no business using,' thus bringing up our production too high. It was explained to the supervisor that it is impossible to meet production with the rates per hour the way they are now.

"The response to this was that none of the rates can be changed before a time study is done. We were told to consider this a 'counselling' by supervision, and that we will probably be written up in the future for not meeting production."

Another worker said: "There were a lot of promises made by the UAW. But why should they take five years to take effect? It's not a question of being against the union. What we want to know is, what kind of union are we going to have?"

Women's Pentagon action

The Women's Pentagon Action will return to Washington D.C. to meet and demonstrate against militarism on Nov. 15 and 16. Thousands of women are expected from the East Coast, where the group began last year. The Action invites all women, stating:

"Because, each day, the men in power are making decisions, appointments, laws that put the people of this country under attack especially women, people of color, lesbian and gay people . . .

"Because, each day, the men in power flaunt that power, pushing the world closer and closer to nuclear destruction . . .

"WE WOMEN MUST ACT."

Last fall, over 2,000 women from throughout the Northeast went to the Pentagon to demonstrate their mourning, rage, empowerment and defiance. About 150 were arrested.

The theme of this year's Action is "transformation." The Sunday demonstration will include a women's fair and discussions.

For more information, contact Women's Pentagon Action, 339 Lafayette St., New York, N. Y. 10012, telephone 212-254-4961.



**women-
worldwide**

On Sept. 25, in the Minneapolis suburb of Farmington, Minn., 23 women and one man were arrested for picketing the regional air traffic control center. The women said they had decided to challenge an ordinance forbidding picketing by anyone not directly involved in a strike, both to relieve their husbands (who have part-time jobs) of some picket duty and to show their own support of the PATCO strike and concern over air safety.

Naoual El Saadaoui, Egyptian feminist and author, was arrested in Cairo on Sept. 3, as part of the late President Sadat's crackdown on opponents to his regime. Saadaoui, a doctor, was appointed Egypt's Director of Public Health in 1965, but was dismissed after the publication of her *Woman and Sex* in 1972. She continued to write novels and essays, including *The Hidden Face of Eve*, published in English in 1980. She remains in prison, and an international appeal is being launched for her release.

On Oct. 8, the U.S. Labor Department announced it will end a long-standing ban on the manufacture of knitted outerwear by workers in their homes. Labor Secretary Donovan (who had proposed lifting regulations on all industrial home work) was forced to this compromise by opposition from labor unions and textile workers stating that early garment workers unions had fought hard battles to win protection against violations of wage and hour laws and sweatshop conditions for women and children which are still common in New York "home work" today.

WOMAN AS REASON

Black women test WLM and the Left

"Only you haven't been in prison, Brother, and you were not hired to think. Had you forgotten that? If so listen to me: You were not hired to think."

"... But what if I wish to express an idea?"
"We furnish all ideas."

Invisible Man by Ralph Ellison

Dear Sisters,

What struck me in reading *Invisible Man* and going to Women Against Militarism meetings at the same time was that the elitism of the Left is just the other side of the coin of the racism of the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM). This is what I mean.

The WLM has always been conscious and uncomfortable about its whiteness and for over ten years I have listened to the justifications. It usually goes something like this: It's not our fault we're so white, Black women think abortion is genocide; or, they only care about Black liberation; or, Black women have a different relationship to the family; or, Black women are just not interested in women's liberation. They are Black first and women second. On the theoretical level as the WL theorists criticize Marx for supposedly only writing of the proletariat, they end up relegating the roots of Black oppression and the Black liberation movement to a footnote saying, this particular writing is not the place to take up racism; or, someone else will have to do this important work, etc.

THE WLM, THE LEFT ON BLACK WOMEN

Now this is pretty 'disgusting' stuff. How can the Left be the other side of this coin? Because they say exactly the same thing only for a different reason. For example, at the Feminists Against Militarism meetings and the conference itself, vanguardist Left women were saying that there were so few Blacks there because Black women are not interested in women's liberation, they have a different view of the family, think abortion is genocide, etc.

Now the Left doesn't say all this to excuse the women's movement its whiteness; the Left uses the issue of racism to say that the WLM has no validity at all and is, in fact, a priori racist. In other words, the very idea of women making a priority of our fight for freedom and refusing to put that off until after a revolution is racist because, according to them, Black women are not the least bit interested in women's liberation.

That kind of racism on the part of both the WLM and Left women, of making Black women into an object, an "other" so different from white women, is so totally negated by history itself that the only excuse for its survival this long is that we live in a deeply racist world.

I particularly love the statement from the National Black Feminist Organization because it cuts through how this alienating society fragments us, including fragmenting our thought: "Well it would be nice if we were oppressed as women Monday through Thursday, then oppressed as Blacks the rest of the week. We could combat one or the other on those days — but we have to fight both every day of the week."

Anyone who thinks that Black women don't care about women's liberation should talk to Black women who work at Schwinn in Chicago, who speak of not only conditions in the shop—including sexual harassment—but also relations at home and their ideas of what a relationship between women and men should be.

BLACK WOMEN AS REASON

I'm certainly not trying to say that white and Black women are the same. What does seem clear is that with all this new desire for creating a WLM that truly encompasses all women sparked by Reagan's all-out attack on women, Blacks and the poor, the place to begin is not by saying that Black women are so different, that they have no interest in the WLM, but by seeing Black women as Reason, as thinkers both historically and today. Again, at the Feminists Against Militarism Conference one Black woman said, "I'm sick of coming to these conferences and talking about white women's racism. I have ideas about all kinds of things—including anti-militarism."

Working out the question of how to break down racism to form a WLM that is a movement of all women is not an easy question. But a good place to begin, I think, would be to recognize the Reason of Black and minority women because without their ideas any revolution will simply be incomplete, will not get us to that total transformation of society that will, at long last, free all of us.

—Terry Moon

Need grievance and overtime rights at Schwinn

Chicago, Ill.—When the next contract comes up I'm going to have a long list of loopholes to plug up. For example, the contract states that from Monday to Friday there is no equalization on the overtime—the person who normally performs the job gets the overtime. That's where the contract stops. If you don't want to work, who gets the overtime? The contract doesn't say. So that means it is left up to the discretion of the supervisor. So he is giving it to whoever he wants to, creating the kind of disharmony and favoritism that we went out on strike against.

Another issue that wasn't clearly negotiated was the merit raises. The company doesn't want to make it retroactive to April 1. That means if you were entitled to a raise in April and were supposed to get another one in October, they just dropped the April one. We went back to work in February and the raises were supposed to have been negotiated by April 1. It looks like Schwinn deliberately stalled up till now so he could get past the next six months review period.

A lot of people are getting less money than they are supposed to anyway. They have a starting pay and after 90 days they're supposed to automatically get half-way to top pay. The merit starts from that point on. Everybody who was called back to work had at least two years and should at least be at mid point. They've been shifting people around to different departments to get around this.

We still have a problem with grievances. The International isn't taking any to arbitration. Somehow it was agreed that no matter who won, the union and the company would each pay half the \$1,000 cost.

Workers' unrest at Renault

Only four months after the election of the new Socialist government of Francois Mitterrand, auto workers have launched a series of wildcat as well as official strikes at the state-owned Renault factories, especially the key Billancourt plant outside Paris. Not having seen any improvement in their living or working conditions since the election, workers are beginning to move.

Assembly line workers are demanding better pay and benefits, improvements in working conditions, and the chance to transfer out of assembly line work, rather than being stuck on the line "for life." Several thousand workers have been able to shut down the line at Renault Billancourt by walking out in several departments. Managements has so far taken a hard line, locking out 4,000 workers.

Since the beginning of October there have been strikes in several other Renault plants, on the railroads, and elsewhere, involving occupations and locking up management. It may be the beginning of the first split between the new government and the working class.

—New York observer

GM new hires harassed

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

On Oct. 12, the GM South Gate plant began full production on a second shift. No one really knows why. Even management admits cars are not selling as projected.

Thousands of young people waited outside to get hired during September. As many as 30 new hires an hour were brought in to be trained by day shift workers. But General Motors is not that desperate for production. They also feel the recession. What GM is serious about, however, is the \$600 it receives in government subsidies to hire and train young unemployed people.

GM's crackdown over absenteeism and tardiness has been twice as tough on the new hires as on recalled workers. One 18-year-old Black woman was two minutes late from lunch-break and was fired on the spot. Another young mother was fired because she had to pick up her children from school and couldn't work overtime. Sometimes 20 to 30 new hires have been fired out of some 200 or so hired in a day.

The latest word being heard in the plant these days is "picks." These are new hires who are put in good positions, pitting them against workers with seniority who are shifted around without regard to their rights. GM is trying to split workers again with their "picks."

However, the discipline of the production line is stronger than that of management. One worker from another department was telling me how many young new hires, after a few hours or days on the line, told GM to "take this job and shove it!" But that's the kind of worker that needs to stay at GM.

What a young Chicano worker told me showed that these militant workers are staying. He said, "I'm only 25 and have two children to raise. That's the reason I have to keep this job. But this is a hell of a world to bring up children. If I have to become a revolutionary to change it—I will."

I heard about a case that went to the third stage that we couldn't have lost in arbitration. The International rep isn't doing his job—this worker was terminated for not responding to a letter calling her back to work which she didn't receive.

I don't care how large or small it is, a person who has a grievance has a grievance. Even if it goes all the way up to the third step and has to go to arbitration, it means that the problem is still on the shop floor. The company will keep doing the same thing until the orders come down telling them to do different.

—Schwinn worker

NY TA: Pay dues or Lawe wins

New York, N.Y. — Safety in the trains will soon really be in a bad way. Sooner or later passengers will be killed in an accident, maybe lots of people. Where is the Department of Health or the Fire Department to check out these unsafe conditions? If the Transit Authority (TA) was owned privately, they could shut it down for violations.

They blame the lack of repairs on the workers. This is a cheap excuse. They have repair shops which are 50 or 60 years old and too small to hold many cars. They also can only take in a limited number because they need the others to run. They don't give us the tools we need. They only have us do minor quick repairs, or inexpensive ones.

Conditions are like 50 years ago inside. They have the latest computer at TA headquarters on Jay St. and we have the worst tools.

There's a hidden story in the union's loss of the dues checkoff because of last year's strike. The trickery is that the court ruled just before the union election in December. Union organizers will collect dues now, and many workers may refuse to pay and give them lots of abuse, but the trick is that if you're not paid up, then you can't vote against John Lawe in December.

We knew a year ago that this court decision would probably come down right about now, just before the election. Lawe has 6,000 or 7,000 people who'll vote his way no matter what. As strange as it sounds, I feel every union member should be sure to pay up to be able to vote against John Lawe in December.

—Transit maintenance, 207 St.

PO subs can't count on work

New York, NY—This is the way it is in the U.S. Post Office. When you first get hired you're classified as a "sub." Some places they're called "part-time flex." It takes about two years to make regular.

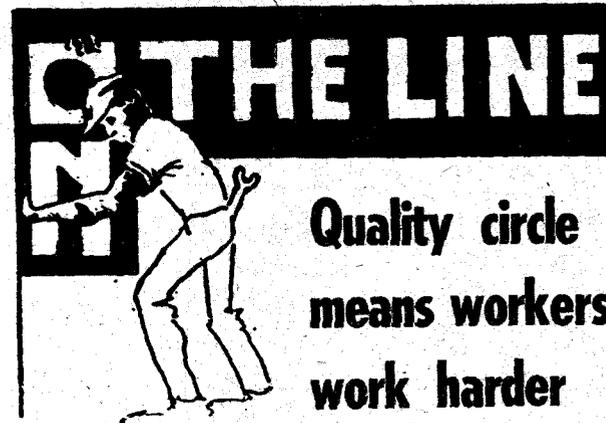
When you're a sub they lie to you. They say you'll make 40 hours a week, but all you're guaranteed is 20 hours. You can't make a living on that. You're on a seven day schedule. You don't even know when your day off is. They say, "We'll call you in the morning. If you don't hear from us by 9, you're off."

You can make your 40 hours as a sub but you're going to have to kill yourself to make it. You have to really do everything they give you and not complain. It means sacrificing lunches, it means having no breaks, it means running, it means cutting across lawns, it means throwing garbage mail away. The first day a carrier goes out he's shown the proper way to do the job, the "Postal way." Now if you were to do the job that way you'd be out there for two days!

Another curse for subs is the auxiliary route. That is a regular route except they might take off one block. But you're expected to do an auxiliary route in four hours. I've done auxiliary routes that were longer than a regular eight hour route!

Then we as postal workers get blamed for why the mail delivery and everything stinks. It's not us. Most of the workers are really good workers. It's management's system. Their timing system will make a fool of anyone.

—The real postal workers



Quality circle
means workers
work harder

by John Marcotte

The big kick now in labor management is the "quality control circle" of Japan. Even the UAW has sent a delegation to Japan to study this. Public television had a show recently called "Working Smarter." In it, a business exec from this country says, "We have spent our money on capital investment in Automation and process changes, but haven't drawn on our greatest asset, our human resources." He admitted, "The workers who do the work every day know best what needs to be done in their various jobs."

The TV reporter asked him, would he have said this five years ago? The exec answered, no. So what has changed your outlook, he was asked, was there some new humane appreciation? "Competition from Japan," answered the exec.

At Austeel, a Japanese-owned steel mill in upstate New York, workers are made to sit down with management and talk about how they feel about the job. At Corry Jamestown, an office furniture plant in Jamestown, N.Y., the company and the union have gone in on a productivity bonus plan.

The point is to try to make every worker a "company man." They talk about peer pressure making everyone work harder, about how if you're absent your fellow-workers will hold it against you. The foremen and union officials were all enthusiastic about this plan, but no workers were interviewed.

My office furniture plant tried a productivity bonus two years ago. A lot of the workers didn't pay it any mind. But if it did have a chance to work, management killed it themselves by being too cheap. We'd be working hard and see more production going out, and at the end of the month they'd put up some fancy arithmetic to show productivity had gone down. The most we ever saw was a few dollars for a month of hard work.

Carborundum, another plant in that TV program, had a profit-sharing plan too. Things seemed to go along smoothly for several years. But one day management decided to have a lay-off. The workers said they had been led to believe this could not happen. "We have been had," said a union steward.

The workers of Library Bureau Inc., a furniture plant in Herkimer, N.Y., had a similar story to tell. They bought their plant in 1975 rather than let it be shut down by Sperry Rand. But even a union official had this to say: "The biggest misconception was, if you're part owner you're going to run the company. And you are not going to run the company. I don't really see that much difference the way the plant's being run today than the way it was run under Sperry."

That is the point. Sooner or later when push comes to shove, who makes the decision, workers or management? It is clear to me those QC circles want only a very limited part of what workers know, only what would increase productivity. They are not interested in the worker as a total person.

What QC circles show is that capital is forced to recognize that, despite all their technology, labor is still central to all. So they want to enlist labor to raise production, but all else remains the same, all the relations of production. But when labor moves as it is doing in Poland today, and as it will be in the U.S. and Japan, it shows it means to redo society entirely, beginning with those relations of production.

In Memoriam — James 'Scoats' Riley, 1919-1981

The fighting spirit of James "Scoats" Riley, who died Oct. 1 of black lung disease, will always burn fiercely in the memories of the many coal miners in West Virginia and Pennsylvania who knew and worked with him during a lifetime of class struggle in the coal fields.

Scoats had a vision of a world freed from racial prejudices, oppression and deprivation. That vision and spirit never wavered, before black lung forced him out of the mines, or later when the deadly disease ravaged his body.

As a union official and as a rank-and-filer, Scoats never permitted a boss to insult, degrade or otherwise mistreat either himself or a fellow worker. Among the first things told to any new boss at the mine

where he worked was, "Don't mess with that man."

Both directly and indirectly, the ideas of Scoats appeared in the pages of *News & Letters*—from our first issue which appeared in 1955 to today. A Black miner who feared no one, Scoats would just as soon take on a union bureaucrat as well as a mine boss or superintendent to oppose injustice or misrepresentation. On a picket line, inside the mine or in the mine superintendent's office fighting for the rights of workers, Scoats also let those who tangled with him know they were in a battle.

We mourn his death, but our sorrow is intermingled with a great pride of having known a magnificent fighter, and we add our voice to those who knew Scoats to proclaim: "Now there was a man!"

Egyptian masses greet Sadat's assassination with deafening silence

(Continued from Page 1)

income, fully 29 years after the 1952 national revolution led by Nasser, Sadat and the other "Free Officers." Millions of workers are forced to emigrate to find work, while at home those close to the regime live in luxury as never before.

But it would be very wrong to lay all of these problems at the door of Sadat alone or Camp David. He inherited from Nasser an economic shambles and a police state regime which had also just lost the 1967 war with Israel. Egypt had already suffered from a decade of Russian advisors and their "development" plans, grafted onto Nasser's own top-down vision of an "Arab Socialism."

EGYPT AFTER NASSER AND SADAT, RUSSIA AND AMERICA

The masses are still paying for the Russian-built Aswan Dam, whose fruits they have yet to see. Then came Sadat's turn to the "West" and a "free market economy." Now Egypt owes as much or more to the big international banks as to Russia despite "aid" from the U.S., Israel and Arab sheiks, while the people have seen the price of land skyrocket and their general living conditions worsen still further.

Anwar Sadat knew full well what an explosive point things had reached as early as January, 1977 when riots broke out in Cairo, with not only Sadat but also Hosni Mubarak as special targets of the masses' wrath. (See N&L March, 1977).

Within that very year, 1977, Sadat made his "historic" trip to Israel, resulting in so-called peace agreements. While many in the Arab world criticized Sadat for compromising with the "Zionist enemy", there was considerable mass support initially within Egypt, since Sadat promised that peace would bring prosperity at home. It never arrived.

Sadat was also in many ways aware of the growing power of the "Fundamentalists," such as those who murdered him. In fact, from Nasser's death in 1970 on, Sadat courted them as a force to offset the Left and the pro-Russian wing of the Nasser regime. In the early 1970s he let Muslim Brothers out of jail who had been there since their group's attempts on Nasser's life in 1954 and also in 1966. Still more reactionary and violent

groups such as Takkir Wal Hijra, connected directly to Sadat's murder, sprung up after Sadat released them from jail and the "fundamentalists" splintered. The splintering only led to illusions on the part of Sadat that the masses were thereby deprived of leaders!

THE MYRIAD CRISES

The fall of Sadat is also a world question not only because of Middle East oil, but because of revolution "in the air," as witness the 1979 revolution in Iran. The U.S. says it will not "permit" a revolution in the area, and plans massive military exercises, calling Egypt "our" best friend in the region. But the truth is that Reagan still wants the AWACs for Saudi Arabia and may in fact lean more on Israel in the future as an "ally."

This week's papers carried pictures of Idi Amin in Saudi Arabia, which had granted him even more luxurious asylum than Libya. It is but one single phenomenon of all those contradictions U.S. imperialism is trying to exorcise with the typically lying Haig phrase "strategic consensus." That there is no such thing is easy enough to see. The very fact that the Reagan Administration has to resort to the desperate measure of the AWAC sale to Saudi Arabia, as if that would win Reagan Arab support, is proof enough of that. Let us for a moment take a closer look at Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia has a population of no more than five million but there are also at least two million foreign workers who comprise 43 percent of the labor force, and who are the majority of the population in the large cities. The dominant tribe also oppresses the other Saudi tribes, plus faces the presence of a large Shiite Muslim minority concentrated in the oil-rich Eastern Province, where this oppressed minority is actually the majority.

The regime is one of the most reactionary on earth. The Koran is the constitution. Women have no rights and polygamy is the "ideal" form of "marriage." All youths suffer from the practice of forced "arranged" marriages. Nor has the vaunted oil wealth wiped out either illiteracy or malnutrition, which are massive problems.

Is it any wonder then that King Faisal was killed in 1975 by an alienated young member of the royal family? Or that youths are increasingly resisting forced marriages? Or that foreign workers rose up in rebellion in Medina a few years ago? Or that 1979, the year of the Iranian Revolution, saw the two-week siege of Mecca by fundamentalist radicals plus a mass uprising in the oil region of Shiites? How exactly can simple military might of U.S. imperialism keep such a regime in place?

Then there is Libya's Qaddafi who certainly does aspire to be a sub-imperialist power in the region, lately with massive Russian support. Reagan's U.S. has already had its one-minute shoot out (See News and Letters Perspectives Report, "The Trail in the 1980s" September, 1981. Order from N&L for 75¢.) and would like to vanquish Libya. Last year Qaddafi conquered neighboring Chad, but his army is only 35,000, plus a small "Pan-Arab Legion."

With a population of only two million, Libya's bid for power rests on oil money and the ideology of militant "Islamic revolution" against the U.S. and Israel, which Qaddafi is willing to export by financing and hiring terrorists. It is not Qaddafi as Libya—it is the

internal discontent in other countries that gives puny Libya the illusion that it can threaten Egypt (population 42 million), and the Sudan (18 million), or even Nigeria half a continent away.

When faced with a mass-based popular movement, such as the overthrow of Idi Amin in Uganda in 1979, Qaddafi's oil money and military intervention came to nought. But he is skilled at using demagoguery and "socialist" language to cover over his sub-imperialistic dreams, much as in the manner of Mussolini's fascism.

But it isn't all quiet inside Libya. Oil revenues remain high, but not only has there been a sharp decline in that, there is also plenty of discontent. Foreign workers make up three-fifths of the labor force, more than even in Saudi Arabia. While the material standard of living may be high for the region, Libya is a totalitarian police state with 100,000 people in exile and thousands in jail. Youth are beginning to resist the idea of being drafted for stretches of up to ten years, especially when it may mean dying for Qaddafi in Chad, where 1,000 have already been killed or wounded.

From Syria, Libya and Iran, whose regimes the Russians support, to the lands of the U.S.'s supposed "strategic consensus," there is no way out either for U.S. imperialism or Russian totalitarianism. Both super powers show, in the Middle East cauldron, their clay feet.

The mass discontent will go either to full social revolution, or stop short under the influence of one form or another of Islamic reaction or "anti-Zionism" posing as revolution. Here women's liberation is the dividing line between the genuine Left and those who tail-end Islamic reaction.

What is needed is total uprooting of what is—be it Egypt or Israel, United States or Russia and all their satellites. There are no short cuts, least of all by those on the Left who insist on ever widening the division between revolution and a philosophy of revolution. In an immediate sense there is nothing that can be done. But we must not keep looking at the top and their crises. We must listen to the voices from below while we do all things possible to stop the enemy at home—the Reagan Administration's drive to global war.

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THEORY / PRACTICE

The struggle continues: What kind of revolution is needed in the battle against the Khomeini-IRP counter revolution?

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION
and Marxism and Freedom

Editor's Note: The following was written as a special introduction to the Farsi edition of the Political-Philosophic Letters on the Iranian Revolution, 1979-1981, by Raya Dunayevskaya. The most recent, published June 25, 1981, is entitled "What Has Happened to the Iranian Revolution? Has It Already Run Its Course into Its Opposite, Counter-Revolution? Or Can It Be Saved and Deepened?" See ad below.

The Revolution in Iran has reached so sharp a turn-around that it would appear that the counter-revolution has all but swallowed it up. But that simply isn't true. It is true that the IRP (Islamic Republic Party) has monopolized all state and military power and that its firing squads are executing genuine revolutionaries who have awakened to what has happened since the IRP gained power — totalitarian, feudal-capitalistic power, blessed by a Khomeini who has usurped all "spiritual" as well as earthly powers. It is not true that Khomeini can do what the combined might of the Shah and his prop, the U.S. nuclear Titan that kept him in power for 25 long years, could not do. They can not extinguish the new world beacon of revolution the 1979 revolution that was lit by the 1979 revolution in Iran.

The very fury of those firing squads—now reaching for every facet of the nation, including its children—proves the very opposite. It reveals how deep and massive is the revolutionary opposition to the powers-that-be. The most ironic of all the aspects of the present chaos in the land is that the Communists (Tudeh), the Trotskyists, the Maoists* are all supporting the Khomeini regime. The opposition comprises those who were the spark and actual force as well as the reason of the revolution: from the oil workers, who carried out the heroic 90-day-long strikes that drove the Shah from power, to the Mujahedeen; from the Women's Liberation Movement, which began "Chapter 2" of the revolution, to the youth, whose quest for universality was heard the world around; as well as the minorities, Kurds especially, whose struggle for self-determination still continues.

IN REPRODUCING the Letters that traced the revolution in Iran as it unfolded, it becomes clear that religion is no substitute for a philosophy of liberation. Quite the contrary; its mysticism only shrouds the elemental forces and deviates from the masses in motion and their quest for universality—freedom. That is why, from the beginning, we warned against the underesti-

* The Beijing Review (Sept. 21, 1981), in printing its reporter's Sept. 11 news from Teheran in "Iran in Agony" did little to analyze the forces of revolt. As if those forces and the rulers are one it concludes that "it is painful to see Iran embroiled in internal strife."



Iranian women marched in Teheran on International Women's Day, 1979, challenging Khomeini.

mation of Khomeini's power and the price that the mullahs would exact for having allowed the mosques to be used for meetings of the Left during the reign of the Shah when it was illegal to meet elsewhere.

But, just as it was wrong to underestimate the power of Khomeini and the IRP, so it is wrong to overestimate their power now. That is exactly what they wish us to do. That is exactly what we must not let them do. Nor can we allow delusions to float about—whether they are sown by Bani-Sadr and Massoud Rajavi, who oppose Khomeini, or by the Communists/Trotskyists/Maoists, who justify support of Khomeini by acting as if his misuse of the phrase "anti-imperialism" is "progressive" and leads to genuine workers' power.

Instead, let us trace the revolution both as it occurred and as it retrogressed, and let us see the forms in which the revolt is occurring now. The opposition to those in power is by no means limited to the Mujahedeen; though they are certainly not counter-revolutionaries, their bombs are but the opposite side of Khomeini's firing squads. What was at first little reported in the press was the near-civil war that is raging. And even now that it is being reported, it is being made to appear as if it flowed out of the bomb-throwing. The truth is that the actual mass demonstrations, the street battles, had long been ongoing. Take the battles in downtown Teheran on Sept. 9. They were preceded by three days of demonstrations at Mossadegh (formerly Pahlavi) University. They were suppressed by the so-called "Revolutionary Guards" and somewhere between 40 to 100 were killed. Literally thousands have been executed by Khomeini.

THIS DOESN'T MEAN that the new revolutionaries are for the return to power of Bani-Sadr—or Massoud Rajavi. On the contrary, the youth are questioning: What had Bani-Sadr done when he was in power to help the workers maintain their shoras and demand the right to control production? What had he done for the students whose quest for universality was being acted out through their bookstalls, their many newspapers, their discussions of all ideas of freedom? Had he not, rather, helped Khomeini and the IRP close down Teheran University's open admissions?

What had he done when the women not only demonstrated on International Women's Day, but continued their protests, shouting: "We fought for freedom and got unfreedom"? That charge had been directed not only against Khomeini and the IRP, but against the "liberal" Ghotbzadeh, who controlled the mass media and refused to extend coverage to their Movement and their demands. The women, like the Kurds, have certainly not seen the desires of the masses being realized, whether that be the self-determination of nationalities or of ideas. Instead, had not Bani-Sadr and Rajavi—like all the rest—bowed to the Constitution and its institutionalization of theocracy in the form of the Office of Religious Guide?

As for those who are pro-Russia (like Tudeh), or those who are pro-China, as well as those (like the Trotskyists) who are tailendists of the state-capitalists who call themselves Communists—they have not only tailended Khomeini but have accepted his fake "anti-imperialism" (especially in the Iraq-Iran war) as if that meant truly fighting for the revolution. "Anti-imperialism" has become but the phrase used to hide the exploitative, totalitarian, theocratic nature of the

IRP, which is no different than that of all capitalistic rulers. Of course U.S. imperialism seeks to regain power in Iran. But it is not the only one to do so; and the other nuclear Titan, Russia, has the advantage of having a party in Iran.

THE ONLY WAY to wage a genuine struggle against imperialism is to oppose the exploitative rulers in one's own country. That is what the masses did in the Revolution when they drove the Shah out of power, along with his protector, U.S. imperialism. They did not stop there. They raised the banner of freedom, total freedom, not attached to any state power—U.S. or Russia or any other exploitative power, including those in the Middle East. When the Iranian Revolution took oil off the pedestal it had occupied as if it represented the "culture" of the Middle East, it opened an entirely new stage of world freedom. In a word, revolution, not "oil", became the key not alone for Iran or even the Middle East, but for the world youth who had been fighting all capitalists and imperialists—especially the gory U.S. but by no means only the U.S.

In a word, we repeat, when a country like Iran showed that it could dislodge both a shah and one of the two nuclear giants from its power base in Iran, in oil, in the geo-political Gulf region, it proved how all-powerful are masses in motion who hold in their hands a banner of freedom. The outpouring of millions made it impossible to think of terrorism (whether of SAVAK or of the bomb-throwers) as all-powerful. What was all-powerful were masses in motion—labor, youth, national minorities, Womens Liberationists.

The grave contradiction in this elemental revolt was that it was without a philosophy of revolution. We need that again to stress that religion is no substitute for a philosophy of revolution. If even religion were a philosophy—and its theoreticians** are acting as if it were—the key word is revolution, not religion, whether Islamic, or Christian, or Buddhist, or Jewish, or any other. What contributed to the failure of the revolts in post-World War II to mature to revolutions in West Europe was an admixture of religion and social revolution; the former only diluted the latter.

MARX MADE a distinction between the religion of the oppressor and that of the oppressed, whose voice he recognized as the "sigh of the oppressed, the heart of a heartless world . . . The abolition of religion as people's illusory happiness is the demand for their real happiness . . . Thus it is the immediate task of philosophy which is in the service of history to unmask human self-alienation." To gain real freedom and happiness meant to transform the reality which compels such human self-alienation and to thus gain real freedom.

What is haunting Khomeini, who has made that substitution of religion for a philosophy of revolution, is not only a whole host of spectres, but an ongoing revolt. I do not mean the terrorists who are killing themselves a great deal more than the IRP leadership they are trying to dislodge. I mean that what confronts Khomeini is a 40 percent unemployment, a runaway inflation, the discontent of the peasants as well as the workers, the ongoing revolt from below.

[One word more must be said on the bombs. No one, not even the Mujahedeen, could have gotten that close into the inner sanctum. There is opposition within the IRP, within the "Partisans of God." They are responsible for "security" and they alone could have had that access.]

Remembering the highpoints of the Revolution does not mean forgetting that it has now reached a point of retrogression. The impasse in the Iraq-Iran war is not as pivotal as the move backward in freedoms and independence at home. The revolution had its elemental upward surge but lacked a philosophy of revolution and could not disclose the trail to total freedom as well as solidarity with all those the world over who wished to follow its lead. What is needed is the working out of a theory that would never again separate itself from the actuality, any more than the actuality can be separated from theory.

It is toward that end, of uniting a philosophy of revolution with an actual revolution, that the other, the second America—the revolutionary Marxist-Humanist Tendency which expresses it—has worked. It is this which led us to follow the unfoldment of the Iranian revolution and to solidarize with it. We are one with you. We will do all in our power to help the fight for freedom.

The struggle continues.

Sept. 25, 1981
See especially "Anti-Imperialism and Other Western Fallacies."

Iran

Writings by

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

- What Has Happened to the Iranian Revolution? Has It Already Run Its Course into Its Opposite, Counter-Revolution? Or Can It Be Saved and Deepened? (June 25, 1981)
- The Carter/Brzezinski-Ordered Imperialist Intrusion Into Iran—And What About Khomeini/Bani-Sadr's "Holy War" Against the Left? (April 29, 1980)
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ON TRAIL TO TRANSFORM REALITY: STRUGGLES, IDEAS

Thanks for printing excerpts from "The Trail in the 1980s for Transforming Reality" by Raya Dunayevskaya (Oct. N&L). I learned a great deal from them. I had never thought before about the "two Silesias"—1844 and 1981. It suggests a very new way of thinking about the relationship of a philosophy of revolution to the actual revolution against capitalist reality.

What I mean is that out of the Silesian weavers strike in 1844 came also Marx's philosophy, only four years before the 1848 revolutions swept Europe. He was prepared for them. Today, the whole world is watching Solidarity's struggles in Poland, but I am not sure that such a breakthrough in thought is being made. From what Dunayevskaya says about her forthcoming book on Marx, Luxemburg and Women's Liberation, I feel that she is striving for that breakthrough. I am anxious to see the book when it is published.

A student of Marx
New York

While I admire your commitment, I believe you are out of touch with the U.S. working class as it actually exists—a left-sectarian error. Your analyses can be read by academics and intellectuals like myself, but not even the advanced elements of the working class would comprehend, much less finish reading most of your feature pieces, e.g. "The Trail in the 1980s", by Dunayevskaya.

Professor
Stockton St. College, NJ

I found the N&L Perspectives Thesis (at least the parts of it you printed in the newspaper) fascinating. What really struck me as new in it was the way the events and ideas in the last decade of Marx's life were so closely related to today's fight for a new society. I was very glad you brought in the question of world hunger. Just in the last week, the TV has been showing horrible scenes of starving children in Somalia. It contrasts with both the Reagan mad-man military budget and the fact that the part of the world Somalia is in—the Middle East—is the center of global fights for "strategic advantage".

There is a lot I don't know about Marx's last decade, but what you say about his view of what we call imperialism today, and its relation to the Third World, seems very important. I wonder if those who call themselves Marxists today look at what is happening in that "Horn of Africa" in the way Marx looked at the "Third World" in his day. Or do they just see great numbers of suffering masses? Please send me the full Perspectives Thesis . . .

Activist and questioner
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Ed. Note: The full thesis, "The Trail in the 1980s for Transforming Reality", by Raya Dunayevskaya, is available from N&L for 75¢, plus 50¢ postage.

IN THE SHOPS . . .

While selling N&L at the Chrysler-Jefferson plant workers responded to the question "Will Reagan's restructured economy mean more jobs?" One worker stopped immediately and said "Will it mean more jobs? . . . The direction that Reagan is going in — we won't have a world!" Another worker commented, "No, I don't think it will mean more jobs. Just look at the way Mayor Young, here in Detroit, is trying to use the little money that's left here, to construct more new buildings. Reagan even wants to put a stop to something like that." He also had a lot of concern for those that are forced into the military: "When I was in the military, it at least meant you were clothed and fed. It doesn't necessarily mean that today."

Learned something
Detroit

In the federal agency where I work, we are facing a massive lay-off in the next few weeks, yet management is doing everything possible to keep us from finding out anything. So a group of Black women workers has taken over the bulletin board on my floor and is using it to write up every new rumor, along with whether it has been confirmed or denied. Some days it is updated almost hourly, and people come from every floor to read it. Everyone is calling it our "Chinese Democracy Wall."

Federal worker
Chicago

One of the new hires at South Gate GM was a former Ford worker. He had 27 years at Ford and was laid off with no retirement when his plant closed down. He told some young workers who were talking about saving their money that all of his savings from 27 years were wiped out in one year of unemployment. Today the line is very thin between a worker having a job and a worker being on relief.

GM South Gate worker
California

On page 3 of the Oct. N&L the story signed the "real postal workers" gives pause. You think about the initiation of the 24 hour week with three days. You think about no overtime, uniforms furnished, and four years all-expense paid leave to go to any state university of a civil servant's choice. I have written the "real postal workers", and wish them the best. Thank you for one must-reading production after another.

Long-time friend
Nelson, Nebraska

Last week the company came through with a "final" offer for our new contract: no pay raises, not even cost of living, for three years, and two less sick days a year! This is supposed to hold until 1984—and we haven't had any pay increase for 18 months! People say Teamsters get a lot of money, and I guess compared to the guy who makes \$4 an hour, we do. But when you've got a family to support, and the inflation is so bad, you're losing every year. The company says they will shut the place down if we go on strike, but we voted for a strike last week anyway. I don't care if they close the place down. We can't let them get away with this.

Dockworker
City of Commerce, Calif.

. . . AND THE MILITARY

A Black co-worker recently told me about an incident when he was in the Navy, and it showed me exactly what the military really represents. Some off-duty sailors had been drinking, fell asleep on top of a building, and were badly sunburned. They were immediately thrown in the brig for three days, charged not with disorderly conduct but with damaging federal property. As my co-worker explained, every sailor and soldier is literally considered the property of the U.S. government, and can be court-martialed for injuring himself. Now I understand why they cut off unemployment benefits for veterans: only a person can be unemployed.

A lot wiser
Chicago

WITH THE YOUTH MOVEMENT...

In one of my classes the other day my teacher said that what Reagan is doing in cutting the budget is fine, because the birth rate is declining and people need less services. That doesn't sound right to me. I was working at a CETA job, until I got laid off a few weeks ago. I know that I'm not disappearing.

Student
Los Angeles

Readers' View

I appreciate the way you reported on the emergence of a powerful anti-war movement in Germany a few issues back in N&L, but I can't agree with you when you call it a "youth movement." The "Alternative List," the new party of the movement, is composed of all sorts of people, not just the youth. I think it tends to trivialize the movement when you call it "youth".

Student
California

It's exciting to see so many new forms of opposition to Reaganism emerging, not only in the U.S., but worldwide. But the question is, will the reason embodied in masses in revolt be understood by the Left? That's why I liked your youth page in the last issue. It showed what making a category of youth as revolutionary means. Youth have special ideas, unique ideas. You have to see how those ideas can help set the direction for revolution.

Young reader
Chicago



. . . AND WITH MANY VOICES OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

GM South Gate is going to start the second shift this week, and all month they've been bringing in new hires to "train" them for the jobs. A few days ago one of the new hires, a woman, said she couldn't work any overtime, because she had to go to pick up her kids from school. They wouldn't let her go, so she left—and they fired her. The night shift is going to be 40 to 60 percent women, and you can bet there's going to be a lot more revolt going on soon in GM South Gate.

Furious
GM South Gate

There has been much going on here in Washington. An Alix Dobkin concert followed by a workshop/pot luck social on struggles within lesbian communities on racism ongoing across the country. A Take Back the Night march of about 1,000 women, the most energetic of the several I've participated in. It wasn't even mentioned in the Washington Post. Another ERA White House demo where all white women (as far as I saw, which wasn't the whole thing) chained themselves to the fence, then got away. More who tried to blockade the street were arrested. Now the Women's Pentagon Action is being planned.

Women's liberationist
Washington, D.C.

THIRD WORLD WOMEN'S ARCHIVES

Could you announce the formation of the Third World Women's Archives? Our purpose is to further the development of a network of information and support for Third World women in the U.S. and abroad. We want to collect, preserve, and circulate materials including: personal papers, letters and diaries, photographs, tapes, unpublished manuscripts, articles, books and journals.

We invite all women and anti-sexist men to help make the archives a valuable resource. You can assist by donating or lending materials, and by contributing your time, money, etc. Please contact us at:

Third World Women's Archives
453 Edgewood Ave.
New Haven, CT 06511

THREE CONFERENCES: ON U.S. REAGANISM . . .

I was one of over 1,000 people who came from all over the U.S. to Detroit Oct. 16-18 for an "All People's Congress" to "Overturn the Reagan Program." What was exciting about it was not the resolutions passed for "National Days of Resistance" next April. Those plans, like the direction of the Congress as a whole, were set beforehand by the Left organizers who had no intention of encouraging genuine debate and discussion amongst conference participants.

"What is our role here?" some Black Detroit youth asked. "Are we just supposed to sit and listen to speeches?" But a woman from Ohio pointed out: "People are talking with each other, outside the 'official' conference sessions."

It was this seriousness of so many people to discuss ideas of freedom, and not just applaud militant slogans, that did lend an air of excitement to the early sessions of the Congress. The Congress showed how the vanguardist Left will attempt to control the movement of the 1980s; but it also showed that many people are searching for both a new movement and new pathways for their own self-expression.

Hopeful
Michigan

ON APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Last month, the World Medical Association met in Lisbon and voted the Medical Association of South Africa back into the world body. They had been excluded since 1976. In the debate, the case of Steve Biko became a central issue, and when it was announced that the South Africans had been voted back in by ten votes to nine, many African delegates stormed out in disgust. One of the ten countries which voted in favor of South Africa was Cuba.

That infuriates me, and intrigues me. What do you think is behind Cuba's moves here?

African liberation supporter
London, England

In the wake of last August's invasion of Angola by South Africa and the U.S. veto of a Security Council resolution condemning this act, in the wake of U.S. sabotage of another Security Council resolution condemning South Africa's continuing denial of self-determination for Namibia, 2,000 people, mostly Black, attended an October "Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa." The conference was held in the lofty Gothic eminences of New York's Riverside Church.

Sponsored by the African National Congress (ANC) and SWAPO, along with an American group, the gathering drew many politically experienced Black activists receptive to revolutionary ideas. The leadership and the speakers, however, were narrow and manipulative, heavily weighted on the side of the Communist (state-capitalist) establishment. The only Iranian group allowed to have a literature table was the Feda'i Majority, which supports Khomeini as anti-imperialist and condemns Bani-Sadr, Rajavi and the Mojahedeen as tools of Washington.

The conference tried to channel Black America's resentment. I don't think they succeeded.

Activist
Manhattan

THE CASE OF PROF. OLLMAN

Prof. Bertell Ollman of the N.Y.U. Department of Politics, who has sued the University of Maryland for rejecting him for the post of Chairman of the Department of Government and Politics at the College Park campus, has lost his case in U.S. District Court. Ollman, who has never denied being a Marxist, was recommended by a faculty research committee, the Provost and the Chancellor of the College Park Campus.

The Ollman case achieved national attention when Gov. Blair Lee stated he thought it would be "unwise" to appoint a Marxist to the chair. Prof. Ollman is appealing his case to a higher court but must raise up to \$20,000 to finance the appeal, which has broad support in the academic world. To assist the case, send funds to:

Ollman Academic Freedom Fund
c/o Prof. Michael Brown
210 Spring St.
New York, NY 10012



ON THE FRENCH EDITION OF MARX'S 'CAPITAL'

What is quite revealing from the Essay Article on the French edition of Marx's Capital last month is how all the "Marx scholars" have throughout the last 100 years been so anxious to expound upon Marx that they have rushed past the idea that first and foremost one has to present the writings of Marx himself. It is not that one cannot disagree with Marx, but it seems there should at least be the obligation to present him fully.

Because there does not seem to be a compulsion to do that, one wonders whether there has really been a grappling with the totality of Marx by Marxists. The new departures in Marxism which must certainly be made today, come not from being "different" from Marx, but rather from comprehending Marx so totally that we can face today's different reality in as comprehensive a manner as he did.

Regular reader
Detroit

I just read the Oct. N&L last night, and the article by Kevin A. Barry really popped out. I don't think that Marxists in the USA know how different the French edition of Capital was for Marx from the one he wrote first. I would like to see the French edition as a whole translated into English. Is that possible? I have a small press and would like to explore the idea...

Erasmus N.
Santa Barbara, Calif.

LATIN AMERICA'S REVOLUTIONS IN THOUGHT, IN REALITY

At a meeting in support of the Chilean struggle I attended recently, a speaker from El Salvador not only spoke well, but answered all questions—something I am not used to. When asked about the much-reported stalemate between the guerrillas and the army he answered thoughtfully. Well yes, he said, there is a military stalemate now to some extent, but you can't look at it just that way. It's not just arms or military. You have to remember that it's the entire people against a small minority, who in turn have to draw their army from the children of the workers and peasants. More and more, they are questioning what they are doing.

At this same meeting, three Chilean women spoke as a "women's committee" on the special problems of women under the dictatorship. One, who spoke quite well as a feminist and revolutionary, stressed that "we are not seeking to divide or cause separation, but this is political; there is no woman question, only a question of relations between human beings..." At least half the

men stayed for the women's speeches and applauded. That is very new, let alone raising women's liberation in any way at a support meeting in public.

John Marcotte
New York

I have been attending a number of events in support of the El Salvadoran revolution, from films to political meetings. But recently I noticed that there are less and less people from CISPEs chapters there. It makes me wonder, where is CISPEs, what are they doing? A year ago they held a conference at Cal State LA on the first anniversary of the coup. But this year they aren't holding one, even though the situation is even more serious now than ever. I hope that there are more Americans and not just Salvadoreanos at future events.

Salvadoran revolutionary
In exile

OUR READERS WRITE: VIEWS OF N&L

I think that N&L is the finest of any Left-wing publication that I've read so far. It is current and relevant to the events of the time with few rhetorical pieces. A credit to the true free press of the world. Keep my subscription coming for another year.

Ex-Kent State student
Cleveland, Ohio

I'm sorry I've not been in touch for such a long time. I am enclosing money for a year's sub to N&L. Doubtless you are aware I have political differences with you, in particular on the question of the Labour Party. But despite the differences, I really do enjoy reading N&L. In particular, I like the way it lets working people speak for themselves, rather than speaking for them, and how it tries to break down the divisions between workers and intellectuals. At a time when vanguardist organizations are out to manipulate the anger of the people for their own ends, and the "university Marxists" are competing with each other to churn out reams of mystifying garbage, this is very important.

Terry Liddle
London, England

When I was in Germany this summer, almost every Leftist I met asked, "have you read this great book, Indignant Heart? It must have been a bestseller in America!" I hadn't read the book before going to Germany, but I think I'd like to read it now.

Intellectual
Los Angeles

News & Letters is fine. However, I feel that it should be longer. I also would like for it to have more space for prisoners. Prisoners are just as much a part of the struggle as the common worker. We in prison have things to say, and need space for self-expression. You have a "Worker's Journal in N&L. Why not a "Prisoner's Journal"?"

Prisoner
Pontiac, Illinois

The Dunayevskaya Political-Philosophic Letters contain a wealth of new information for me. Especially interesting are the articles on the Middle East. I wholeheartedly agree with her position on the Palestinian-Israeli question. Even allowing for the passage of time, the 1976 articles on the U.N. "Zionism is racism" resolution and on Lebanon point out how blaming Zionism for nearly every evil in the Middle East has diverted attention away from the struggle against apartheid South Africa and away from a revolutionary solution in Lebanon. It also forces the Israeli Left into joining with more conservative Israelis to protect their basic national existence, instead of being free to press for new ways to recognize Palestinian rights.

New reader
Madison, Wisc.

EDITORIAL Refusing to let the unthinkable be thinkable

The quarter of a million who marched against nuclear weapons in Bonn, West Germany on October 9, the largest demonstration in Germany in the post-World War II period, are the latest manifestation of the tremendous growth in the peace movement throughout Western Europe. In Germany, France, England, Denmark, all over Europe, there has been a drive to halt the newest round of nuclear escalations.

It is Europe, after all, which would be a shooting gallery for the super-powers if and when the nuclear trigger is pulled. In December, 1979, the European powers agreed to the placement of a series of "theater" nuclear weapons (that is, smaller than the intercontinental missiles, the "strategic" nuclear arsenal) upon their soil. Some 464 ground-launched cruise missiles and 180 Pershing II missiles are scheduled to be deployed in five West European countries beginning in 1983. The Pershing will be deployed in West Germany. Great Britain, Italy, and Germany will deploy cruise missiles. Belgium and the Netherlands have yet to decide their policy on deployment.

SURROUNDED BY MISSILES

And from the other side, Russia has hundreds of SS-5s and SS-20s pointed at Western Europe. In sum, at least 10,000 nuclear weapons are deployed for use against targets in Europe. Nor should we forget that the U.S. now has the neutron bomb—not yet scheduled for deployment, only production.

But the question is not alone the massive number of weapons, nor the fact that not only Europe but the entire globe can be blown up many times over by the estimated 20,000 to 25,000 nuclear weapons that the U.S. has and the 20,000 that Russia has.

The concrete danger now is the drive on the part of Reagan-Weinberger-Haig and Company to make the unthinkable, thinkable; to blur the edge between conventional war and nuclear war; to argue for "surgically precise" nuclear weapons employed in one theatre, say Europe, or the Middle East or Southern Africa. This region or continent—the theater expands and contracts at will—could somehow be isolated from the rest of the world. A "winnable" nuclear war is what is now on the agenda, is what is being thought about by our nuclear stage managers. To this has now been added the selling job—how to make such madness acceptable to the public; how to make nuclear war just an extension of conventional war.



Two of the U.S. "salesmen" are Edward Rowny, the U.S. chief arms control negotiator, and Eugene Rostow, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Rowny, a former general, approaches arms control as follows: "We have put too much emphasis on the control of arms and too little on the provision of arms."

NUCLEAR INSANITY

Rostow has his concept of limited nuclear war. It is one in which one side would lose "only" 10 million and the other 100 million. After all, he has noted, that is not the whole population. And he adds, didn't Japan survive the nuclear attacks?

Did Japan survive? Two new books, Unforgettable Fire: Pictures Drawn by Atomic Bomb Survivors, edited by the Japan Broadcasting Corporation and Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings, translated from Japanese are sharp reminders that Hiroshima and Nagasaki are still with us. The sketches and paintings are by those who were within a radius of two miles of ground zero at Hiroshima. Yes, they did survive and 30 years later recalled in forceful terms that August 6. The memory is still clear and sharp and horrifying. The physical, medical and social effects of the bombing are documented in great detail in the second book to "keep alive the A-bomb experience."

Now we are in the era of the H-bomb and the N-bomb. For much of those 36 years since Hiroshima and Nagasaki millions upon millions, and not only in Japan, have been absorbed with that horror perpetrated by the United States. To them the idea that it could ever happen again has been unthinkable.

However, the leaders in power from the Korean War through the Cuban Missile Crisis, to Vietnam and the Middle East, have kept the threat of using nuclear weapons as a real option. If their hands have been stayed, it has been because of its absolute unacceptability in the minds of the vast majority of humanity.

Today, 36 years after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a drive is on to convince us that nuclear war is inevitable, is winnable. This is the greatest danger, because to convince humanity of this will free the hands of the nuclear madmen who are in power West and East.

The greatness of the new anti-nuclear weapons movement and its tremendous growth all over Western Europe is that the people are seeking to stay the hand of the madmen. They are looking for a solution independent of the super-powers and their own countries' leaders who acquiesce in this nuclear dance of death. We must join them in refusing to let the unthinkable become reality.

ESSAY ARTICLE

by Eugene Walker

The following essay is excerpted from a presentation on "The Raya Dunayevskaya Connection—Marxist-Humanism: Its Origin and Development in the U.S., 1941 to Today," given to the National Meeting of News and Letters Committees, September, 1981.

The Hitler-Stalin Pact and the outbreak of World War II began the Marxist-Humanist Archives. That may sound like a rather strange beginning, but the Archives will become ongoing to us when we grasp their deep objective nature, their link to specific historic moments.

For example there are a wealth of contributions Raya Dunayevskaya has made in relation to Marx's Capital. Let us take three contributions on Capital from the Archives and ask what was their relationship to specific historic periods:

THE ARCHIVES AND MARX'S CAPITAL

(1) From 1941-1943, two documents: "Russia is a State-Capitalist Society" and "The Nature of the Russian Economy." Today we are perhaps familiar with, almost to the point of taking for granted, the nature of the Russian economy. But 40 years ago, after the shock of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, and then the Communists and official Trotskyists defending Russia in the war, to painstakingly work out the economic categories of Russian society as capitalistic, to proceed to present these within the Trotskyist movement and even among the academic-bourgeois world—both of whom were eager to make an amalgam between Marxism and Russia—to do this was an opening on very, very new ground. And because that opening was so tightly tied to Marx's own work Capital, and to the first work with Marx's Humanism in the form of the essay "Labor and Society", it became a pathway toward the development of what we now call Marxist-Humanism. At this stage it was only an opening as in these first documents the primary task of the Tendency was battling to put forth an analysis of the new objective stage that had been reached—state-capitalism.

(2) The next contribution on Capital I want to take up, jumps to 1967 and is quite a different one. Here in the document "State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism or Philosophy and Revolution" the task was not to prove state-capitalism as the stage of the Russian economy. Indeed, it was written as a contribution to a discussion with a Japanese comrade who had already independently arrived at a state-capitalist analysis of Russia. State-capitalism as such was not the issue. What was being asked was: Is a state-capitalist analysis sufficient, or was something more needed? By 1967 China was now not only claiming to be Marxist but had begun challenging Russia, calling Russia state-capitalist, and proclaiming its own pathway.

Our posing of the alternative, Marx's Humanism, was what was compelled by the objective-subjective situation of the 1950s and '60s. As a Tendency we had done this comprehensively in Marxism and Freedom in 1957. Here, for 1967, we want to see how state-capitalism and Marxist-Humanism were raised and developed in a period where others were also breaking with Russia, some even doing so on the basis of state-capitalism; but what we want to see is how our contribution on state-capitalism meant posing that these breaks could not develop into a new stage within the Marxist movement unless they posed the Humanism of Marx.

(3) 1976-1978. Here the contributions were the Political-Philosophic Letter on "Today's Global Crisis, Marx's Capital and the Marxist Epigones Who Try to Truncate It and the Understanding of Today's Crisis" as well as the full pamphlet Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis. Something new happened in 1973-74 with the Arab-Israeli War, the oil boycott, and the subsequent quadrupling of oil prices.

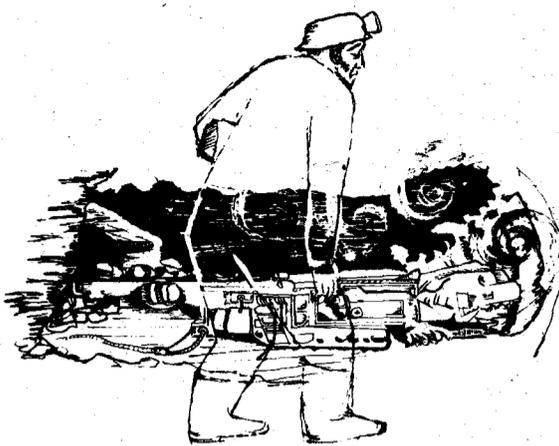
And yet in the period shortly after the boycott and quadrupling of oil prices many economists of the Left, the most well known being Ernest Mandel, misinterpreted the world recession, seeing it not as a global shift in politics related to deep changes in capitalism's economic structure, but as only a temporary setback to bourgeois economic growth. The point was not alone their misinterpretation, but that the ground for such misinterpretation went hand-in-hand with their truncating of Marx's greatest work Capital. Thus the contribution of Marxist-Humanism here both provided a cohesive analysis of the direction of the world economy, one that has set us on a firm footing as we now look at the attempts of American capitalism to restructure its economy, and was a way of entering the battle of ideas with those who claim to be Marxist theorists today.

THE MARXIST-HUMANIST YEARS, 1949-1955

Another way of looking at the development of Marxist-Humanism in the Archives is to examine briefly the main outlines of Marxist-Humanism's development in a specific period. Here too we will see the deep connection with the objective situation.

Within the Marxist-Humanist Archives, Volume Three, there is recorded the work of the remarkable years 1949-1955. This volume is crucial for seeing the growth and development of what would become Marx-

Historical ground of Marxist-Humanist Archives



The struggles of American workers in the 1949-50 General Strike and in their battles against the continuous miner automated machine are in many documents within the Archives, including the 1960 pamphlet Workers Battle Automation from which this line drawing is taken.

ism and Freedom, and at the same time the steps to create a full Marxist-Humanist Tendency, News and Letters Committees. Let us look at these years: "From the Miners' General Strike to the East German Revolt; From the Appearance of Differences in the Johnson-Forest Tendency to the Historic Re-emergence of Marx's Humanism."

What the Archives here present is first, what had emerged with the objective world: on the one hand, a new stage of production, Automation, together with a new stage of revolt, the workers' response, particularly in the mines; on the other hand, the death of Stalin and the response in East Europe, the East German Revolt. Second, within the Archives is shown the movement of a revolutionary theoretician whose impulse to work out revolutionary theory for our age comes, at one and the same time, from the new objective world stage of capitalist production with its crises, from their opposite, the new human stage of revolt East and West, and from a digging deeply into the revolutionary dialectic of Marx, of Lenin, and finally of Hegel.

Let us follow the Archives at this stage in more detail. In the Miners' General Strike of 1949-50, Dunayevskaya participates and writes articles for the radical press. She also writes directly to a miner in the strike. At the same time she finds and begins translating Lenin's "Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic" and initiates a philosophic correspondence on it with the co-founder of the Tendency, C.L.R. James, and a leader who was philosopher of the Tendency, Grace Lee (Boggs).

The texts of Dunayevskaya's letters to James and Lee are remarkably rich with ideas on the structure of Marx's Capital and on Lenin's philosophic breakthrough. Many of these will find their way into the pages of Marxism and Freedom. This correspondence was supposed to be part of the work on a book on Marxism that the three leaders of the Tendency were jointly writing. In fact, the Archives contains two book

drafts written by Dunayevskaya. As early as 1947 she had completed an 80-page outline entitled "State-Capitalism and Marxism."

But the book as Dunayevskaya is working on it in this period is transformed in her mind by two new vantage points, the role of the American proletariat, as seen by the Miners' General Strike, and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks that she had translated and begun commenting on. She holds a discussion on this new concept of the book with the other two leaders of the State-Capitalist Tendency, and invites a worker, J. Zupan, to participate in the discussion.

The conception of the book has an analysis of state-capitalism based on Marx's Capital, the philosophic ground of Marx's humanist vision as well as its American roots, Lenin's new philosophic vantage point from which he viewed the crisis of capitalism and prepared himself for revolution, and the self-activity of the American working class in their battle against a new stage of production.

The next pillar for what would become Marxism and Freedom comes in 1953 with Dunayevskaya's own confrontation with Hegel's dialectic. Her original "Letters on Hegel's Absolute Idea," of May 12 and 20, which form the decisive philosophic point of departure for our age, are presented in the Archives. It is here where the concept of a movement from practice towards theory which is itself a form of theory within Hegel's Absolute is first presented, what Dunayevskaya considers the "new beginnings" of Hegel's Absolutes. Six weeks later the East German Revolt as a movement from practice to theory in life occurs.

It is this period of 1949-1953 that will in turn bring forth in 1955 a split in the State-Capitalist Tendency, and the birth of a full Marxist-Humanist Tendency as the organization News and Letters Committees, as the newspaper News & Letters, and in book form in Marxism and Freedom, published in 1958.

When we draw the strings of those seven years, 1949-55, together—practical revolutionary activity in America, especially with the miners, working out the philosophic heritage left to us from Marx and from Lenin, finding the revolutionary philosophic point of departure for our age—we see how this brings you to be able to establish simultaneously a new form of organization, News and Letters Committees, a new kind of newspaper, News & Letters, and to the final labor for establishing the philosophic-theoretic ground for our age with Marxism and Freedom.

I have tried to indicate ways in which one can enter into the Marxist-Humanist Archives. But this can in no way substitute for one's own journey through these 40 years of a revolutionary tendency. When the archives committee worked out a supplemented and reorganized collection as well as a new guide, the most important lesson for us was the historic objectivity of these Archives which stand on their own. The documents do speak for themselves, if we will only dig into them.

Archives, whether of Marx or of Marxist-Humanism, are not alone historical documents, nor confined to volumes or microfilms in libraries. They become alive and illumine anew when grasped by today's generation of revolutionaries determined, once and for all, to overthrow the old and begin on truly human beginnings.

MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

Marxist-Humanism, 1941 to Today Its Origin and Development in the U.S.

Includes Writings on Revolution and Counter-Revolution
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- 1967 • THE ARAB-ISRAELI COLLISION
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- 1976 • UN RESOLUTION ON ZIONISM, IDEOLOGICAL OBFUSCATION ON THE LEFT
- 1978 • CAMP DAVID SUMMIT: PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST—OR EXTENSION OF U.S. IMPERIALISM?
- 1979 • SERIES OF POLITICAL-PHILOSOPHIC LETTERS ON
- 1980 • THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA COLLECTION

The newly-expanded Raya Dunayevskaya Collection is now available on microfilm for \$60. Please write to:

Archives of Labor and
Urban Affairs
Walter Reuther Library
Wayne State University
Detroit, MI 48202

The Guide to the Collection prepared by News & Letters is available for \$1.00. Please write to:

News & Letters
2832 E. Grand Blvd.
Detroit, MI 48211

In person reports: British Black revolt persists, Irish hunger strike ends

London, England — I think N&L readers should know of events in Britain following the July days. In each town and city that experienced the revolt of Black (including Asian) and white youth, mass arrests were made by police. The police broke down the doors early in the morning of all "known" houses including many in the Black areas of town.

Indiscriminate arrests, beatings and smashing up of property took place. Thousands have been charged without any real chance of getting off. Defense committees have been formed and lawyers engaged. But the state is likely to try those arrested in another part of town, away from the Black and working class areas.

Black youth organizations are coming more to the forefront. Black women's groups, especially Asian, and Asian youth groups are now more up front with their hatred of British racism and its legal system. The days when Black people in Britain were humble to the "Great British" system are over. The youth have certainly put "British Civilization on Trial."

In Bradford, 12 Asian youth were arrested during the July days for allegedly possessing petrol bombs. A massive campaign has begun in their defense. These youths are all members of the "United Black Youth League — Bradford," and the whole movement sees this as a political frame-up against these youth who have been subjected to physical and racial abuse by the police.

The fight against the deportation of Asian women carries on. The Home Office has been forced to back down over the deportation on Anwar Dittar, Jaswinder Keuw and Nasura Begum, and a strong campaign can win.

With unemployment now topping the three million mark and no economic "upturn" in sight, the Tories are desperately trying to keep the lid on the pressure cooker with increased police repression. The issuing of C.S. gas, rubber bullets and armored cars for the police, makes them increasingly a military arm of the state which is ruthlessly putting down any opposition.

The Black community has been singled out as an example by the police, who have in their ranks many active members of the Neo-Nazi British Movement and

National Front. Remember the Debtford fire bombings? The police certainly covered that up. And that is not the end. Blacks are attacked, their homes bombed and vandalized every week. The police continue to do nothing. Self-defense leagues have started up. The Black population in Britain is starting to organize itself. And it makes itself clear: the fight is not for another Labor Government. The fight is for freedom.

—Nigel Quinten

Dublin, Ireland — At the time of writing this the Long Kesh prison, Northern Ireland, hunger strike of Irish Republican prisoners of war has ended. The British authorities in the person of the new Northern Ireland Secretary, James Prior, have offered some reforms including the right of prisoners to wear their own clothes, some free association for prisoners, and some remission, but less than that demanded, in the five minimum demands for livable prison conditions for which the prisoners went on hunger strike.

The prisoners have to consider these terms carefully, especially regarding safeguards to ensure they are actually carried out. Ten of their comrades — Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh, Pat O'Hara, Joe McDonnell, Martin Hurson, Kevin Lynch, Kiaran Doherty, Tom McEliwee and Mickie Devine have given their lives. There have been hunger strikes at Long Kesh since the end of October, 1980 and deaths over the past seven months.

Popular support for the prisoners has been demonstrated not only by massive street action all over Ireland and elsewhere in the world, but also by the election of Bobby Sands to the British parliament and of Kiaran Doherty and Paddy Agnew (another prisoner) to the Southern Irish one. In August, Owen Carron held Bobby Sands' seat with an increased majority. Carron is an anti-H Blocks activist and member of the Irish republican movement. After Sands' election the British parliament passed a law precluding prisoners from running for election, giving lie to the British insistence that prisoners are not political!

As the economic crisis deepens in both statelets of

Ireland — with unemployment rates of 25 percent in some towns and 50 percent in some working class housing estates — the importance of linking a revitalized national struggle with social issues is of great importance. Among his political writings Bobby Sands left us the following:

"Even should there not be 100,000 unemployed in the North, their pittance of a wage would look shame in the company of those whose wage and profit is enormous, the privileged and capitalist class who sleep upon the people's wounds, and sweat and toils.

"Total equality and fraternity can't and never will be gained whilst these parasites dominate and rule the lives of a nation. There is no equality in a society that stands upon the economic and political bog of only the strongest make it good or survive. Compare the lives, comforts, habits, wealth of all those political conmen (who allegedly are concerned for us, the people) with that of the wretchedly deprived and oppressed... There are no luxuries in the H Blocks. But there is true concern for the Irish people."

—Eibhlin Ni Sheidhir

3,000 at Writers Congress oppose new conservatism

New York, N.Y.—More than 3,000 writers and non-writers met at the Roosevelt Hotel, Oct. 9-12, to attend the first American Writers Congress meeting since 1939. Called by The Nation Institute, the Congress' main purpose was to form "a more perfect union" of writers (like KOR), and to put the "literary/industrial complex" on notice that writers would no longer tolerate the ravages of Reaganomics. They resolved to do what they could, as writers, to oppose the new conservatism.

Throughout keynote addresses and workshops, speakers presented grim and detailed pictures of attempts by the ruling powers to create an intellectual monopoly of ideas and ideologies and to turn "information into a commodity." The writers' role was seen specifically as working to effect and protect the free flow of information and education; enforcing the First Amendment; defending those who are harassed and otherwise prevented from making their views known.

At a panel on "The Varieties of American Literature," minority writers were likened to an "ark docked at Ellis Island." One panelist suggested that if we were to take South and North America together, the dominant culture would be Creole, and that the "new settlers" in the United States are really "inhabiting the Native Americans' land." Another panelist urged participants to consider that the prevailing characteristics of the culture of the people in the Southwestern United States, Hispanic Americans, is a culture of resistance. Failure of the literary establishment to publish works of these peoples was attacked as the "censorship of exclusion."

In the Plenary Session on Sunday evening, the body voted on many of the 30-plus resolutions that developed over the days of caucusing. Resolutions in support of the air controllers' strike, imprisoned writers, minority, feminist and gay and lesbian rights; on Latin America, El Salvador, Southern Africa, Iranian writers; on peace; for the formation of a literature defense network; on libel; on the formation of a Writers Union (the average yearly income of a professional writer is \$4,200); and for a multiracial, multicultural America, were passed affirmatively.

The Congress resolved, in the form of a Continuations Committee, to continue activities to attempt to set into motion the many ideas for organizational forms that emerged throughout the four days. Although the establishment media had practically nothing to say about this important event, the writers were impressed by the display of left and radical leanings and unity.

The narrowly political Left has a great deal to learn from the spirit of the Congress. The writers expressed a desire to create language and meaning devoid of mindless rhetoric. They were admonished to be aware of their social responsibility, and, indeed, the objective situation has forced them to be.

—Teru Ibuki

BLACK-RED VIEW Attack on Voting Rights Bill

by John Alán

The House of Representatives has voted to extend the 1965 Voting Rights Act, but the Act is still under challenge from the reactionary U.S. Senate, especially from Strom Thurmond, the racist head of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Shirley Chisholm attributed House passage to the work that the Congressional Black Caucus had done, through its "network" of Black organizations, and convincing white Congressmen with a large Black constituency that failure to support extending the Voting Rights Act meant that they would lose the Black vote in the next election.

The Black Caucus may have been active, but protests and demonstrations across the Black South certainly had their impact as well, and may need to be intensified to achieve passage in the Senate.

The attack on the Voting Rights Act is not an isolated event. It is Blacks who face the cutting edge of a real depression and the invading racism of Reagan's Administration. There is concern about not only this one piece of legislation, but about the anti-civil rights policy of the Administration, in coalition with its right-wing friends in Congress.

It is a policy to weaken the enforcement of every civil rights act that directly pertains to Blacks, women, Hispanics, and other minorities. There is nothing new about this political method of bourgeois rule which curtails civil rights in actuality, while at the same time endowing these rights with constitutional and legislative "legitimacy."

The Voting Rights Act had been effectively "amended in practice" long before it came up for extension by Congress. In Mobile, Ala., a system of voting-at-large has successfully prevented Blacks from being elected to the powerful three-person Commission that runs the city in the interest of white-owned businesses. The U.S. Supreme Court has given objective sanction to voting-at-large by ruling last year, in the Wiley L. Bolden vs. the City of Mobile case, that the mere fact that Blacks don't get elected in a voting-at-large election is not enough to prove discrimination. What must be proven, the court asserted, was intent to discriminate. This is difficult, if not impossible, to prove.

Neither has the Voting Rights Act prevented racial gerrymandering of districts and the annexation of white suburbs to prevent the election of Black officials.

However, it would be an historical error to look at the right to vote, or any other civil right that the

masses of people may have, as a mere question of legislation or judicial decisions, as many Black politicians and leaders want to convey. These rights had to be fought for by masses acting as a social force within capitalist society. The history of this country abounds with such struggles—of labor to organize and to limit the working day, of women for the right to vote, and Blacks not only seeking the right to vote but also to end racism, an endemic characteristic of American capitalist society. The state gives nothing on its own.

The present Voting Rights Act is a child of one of the greatest mass movements that this country has ever experienced—the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s.

Reagan's Administration has assumed that they can dismount or ignore civil rights victories which took Black revolts more than a decade to achieve. The Administration has taken advantage of the current crisis of capitalism to ignore Black rights. Under the rubric of "getting Washington off the backs of the people," they hope to turn the clock back to some unrestrained period of capitalist exploitation.

This would take a veritable counter-revolution that would be resisted by workers, Blacks, women and youth, the potential of which was shown by the tremendous turnout at the Solidarity Day gatherings in Washington and in other cities throughout the U.S., opposing Reagan's "cut back, take back" economic programs.

To resist counter-revolution, criticism is not enough. We must escape from the narrow alienating thought that there is a "political solution" that can open the future to Black liberation.

"Political Emancipation certainly represents a great progress. It is not, indeed, the final form of human emancipation, but it is the final form of human emancipation within the framework of the prevailing social order. It goes without saying that we are speaking here of real, practical emancipation."

The above quote by Karl Marx, writing on the insufficiency of political emancipation, pinpoints the flaw in the thinking of Black politicians. They constantly repeat, in various forms, that Black liberation can be achieved within the framework of the "prevailing social order" of capitalism—a social disorder in which human being are exploited, debased and neglected, where there is no room for human freedom or development. By doing this, these politicians have ignored the whole of history—that real emancipation of an oppressed people or a class is an act of the self movement of the masses to transform the reality of an oppressive society into one where the full human potential is free to develop.

November, 1981—the 150th anniversary of G.W.F. Hegel's death

Why not read "Dialectics of Liberation in Thought and in Activity: Absolutely Negativity as New Beginning," an essay originally presented to the national meeting of the Hegel Society of America by Raya Dunayevskaya?

Available in New Essays, a collection of four of Dunayevskaya's writings on Mao, Trotsky, Marx and Hegel

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Im reichsten Land Der Welt: Ein schwarzer Arbeiter erzählt sein Leben is the title of a new Rotbuch. Its author, Charles Denby, is certainly no house Negro. Denby has not set fire to the master's house as the field Negro once did, but the story of his life is a testimony of continuous resistance. It is inseparable from the movement of Black people to abolish the relics of a slave-holding society and the newer forms of oppression.

Denby was born on a cotton plantation in the Southern state of Tennessee. His grandmother had been a slave. His father, a small tenant farmer, belonged to a family with a tradition—as Denby says—of being “the meanest Negroes that ever lived.” Denby describes the bitter poverty of the Black farm workers and small tenants on the plantations, how hard they were forced to work and how they celebrated their holidays. The reader learns how craftily and effectively they defended themselves when forced to fight for their lives or for a life worthy of humanity.

WHEN DENBY ARRIVES in the “promised land” of the North and became an auto worker in Detroit, he learned that there was discrimination there as well—only more insidious, twisted, and harder to fight than the bare-faced racism of the South.

But Denby never gave in. He fought alone or with his colleagues against vicious foremen, Uncle Toms in their own ranks, sold-out union locals, speed-up on the line, discrimination against women and the race division in the factory. His struggle was also directed against the union big-shots who have “forgotten” who it is that they are actually supposed to represent.

Denby feels that this cannot be attributed to opportunism alone, and says: “I believe it was more than that. It was a question of losing faith in the masses in action as force and reason. Once you have lost your philosophy of liberation, which is based on that, you almost automatically end up wheeling and dealing.”

Denby's experiences with the Communist Party and with a Trotskyist organization which he briefly joined were shattering. Denby does not mince words in criticizing these organizations, nor does he spare Party heroes like Paul Robeson, the famous Black singer.

IN THE SECOND PART of his book, Denby unites his report of successful resistance in the workplace with an evaluation-in-critical-solidarity of the Black movement from the '50s down to today. And in undertaking editorship of the workers' paper, *News & Letters*, he became a commentator on this movement from the bottom up.

He describes the first bus boycott in the Southern USA, the desegregation struggles in all their forms, the land occupations, the uprisings in the great cities,

'Indignant Heart' review

the march on Washington. He evaluates Martin Luther King along with many unknown activists, turning a penetrating critique on the strategy of the Black Panther Party or the cult of Angela Davis.

In one place, Denby writes of a book that he especially liked, that its most important point was “that it always was looking at what workers were not only doing, but also what they were thinking, and how they expressed their thinking in their actions.” In his own book he has succeeded in doing exactly that.



More than 6,000 people—including workers, students, and teachers—showed their opposition to both the government of Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos and its imperialist partner, the United States, in Manila, Sept. 18. The demonstration was part of two weeks of marches and boycotts also protesting high tuition, low wages, and poor housing. Opposition to the Marcos regime has continued throughout the month of October with protests in many parts of the country. Marcos is expected to visit the U.S. soon and opposition is being organized by the Philippines Solidarity Network.

Demonstrations in Puerto Rico and Dominican Republic

Students at the University of Puerto Rico are on strike against a tuition increase they cannot afford. For the first time in history, police have been brought onto the campus, which is supposed to be autonomous. Two students have been shot, and there is constant tension and the possibility of violence.

The University has expelled 4,000 students for not paying the increase in tuition, something which has never happened before. These events have caused a crisis in the University, which has been increasingly losing its “autonomy” over the past years. The campus has now been closed indefinitely.

The strike has much support from unions, including a union of employees of the University and an association of journalists. There is also an organization of parents in favor of the strike.

The student movement in Puerto Rico has been growing over the past five years. At first the student groups were just chapters of political parties, but then they changed to independent positions and became much more successful.

Blind feminist speaks

Editor's Note: Below are excerpts from a talk given by a blind subscriber to this paper, at the News and Letters Committees national gathering in September:

I want to talk about why I'm here and about an aspect of the growth of Marxist-Humanism. My political experience began a number of years ago when I got involved with a civil rights organization of blind people ... the National Federation of the Blind. I learned about the forces of oppression of blind people and how it was necessary to join with other blind people to change our conditions.

When I discovered feminism I saw the links between the two movements, why they were both necessary and inseparable in my own life. I started talking with other blind women in that organization ... At first we were laughed at, but later we were seen as a threat and a “divisive” element, because we were challenging the sexism of the men in the organization, because a lot of us were questioning the narrowness of just considering discrimination against blind people. And because some of us were speaking openly as lesbians, encountering a great deal of homophobia.

I began asking what that organization really stood for. We had always asked for equality for blind people, but equality in this society, as it is now, was not what I wanted. I began the long and painful process of breaking away from an organization. I imagine many of you have experienced it yourselves in other movements.

As a direct result of a number of us leaving NFB, we established something that we call Women's Braille Press, a group that is attempting to provide feminist and lesbian literature on tape and in braille. In Detroit, what began was the “Our Right to Know Braille Press” to produce Marxist-Humanist literature. We realized that both were vital aspects of our efforts to make change ...

Having N&L on tape for the past two years has been really valuable to me. That way I could learn what is happening in the world and be able to think about some ways to transform this society. I hope it continues, because there are a lot of blind people who want to change society fundamentally, and I feel that they would consider Marxist-Humanism as a philosophy to do it with.

Note: Issues of N&L and Marxist-Humanist literature are available on tape cassettes. Write to N&L.

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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.

YOUTH

Anti-militarism of today's youth and in World War I

by Jim Mills

Picture this if you will: 400 uniformed men, specially trained, are waiting for the signal to go and capture 500 of the enemy, who will be locked away in prisons reserved solely for them. National Guard troops will be deployed for logistical support in this operation, and journalists have been warned to stay away for their own good. Do you see two worlds poised for a clash? Perhaps the U.S. lying in wait for the Russians? No, the "enemy" from the government's point of view is the anti-nuclear movement, the protesters determined to stop Pacific Gas and Electric from firing up the Diablo Canyon reactor.

We all know that at Diablo Canyon hundreds upon hundreds were arrested. Here it was the state and local officials who made the arrests. But in truth it is the Reagan Administration and his friends in Congress who regard the anti-nuclear youth as terrorists and are making elaborate plans to repress the movement.

ANTI-MILITARIST AND ANTI-NUKE

Today's anti-nuclear youth are as well anti-militarist. And many are moving as well to be anti-capitalist. Surely a world free from the nuclear sword of Damocles is not one capitalism is ready to allow us to have. Yet that is the goal of an anti-nuclear movement we are already participants in and will be more so in the future. To be against militarization means standing fast against the nuclear machinations of all poles of capitalism, U.S. and state-capitalist Russia and China. And it also means opposing militarism in the form of the driving down of wages (that's what the so-called youth opportunity wage that will be 25 percent below the federal minimum will do) and in the form of national service that will surely be coming up as the government's alternative to youth getting drafted into the army.

To be anti-nuke, anti-war, anti-capitalist in all its forms, means to begin to unfold the vision of a revolutionary change in society. War and revolution have always constituted a divide between great revolutionaries and those who sought to escape from a total uprooting.

There is much that today's youth could learn from the anti-militarism of the German revolutionary Karl Liebknecht, who was a close collaborator with Rosa Luxemburg. When the German Social Democracy (as Marxism was known then) voted in August, 1914 with the rest of the German parliament (the Reichstag) to fund a war against Czarist Russia, World War I, Liebknecht endorsed a letter to the world drafted that very night by himself, Luxemburg, Mehring and Clara Zetkin, declaring that the day's vote of capitulation was not a unanimous opinion. In the next Reichstag vote on issuing war credits, Liebknecht stood alone among SPD deputies and opposed the war.

Liebknecht in the open discussions on parliamentary policies "spoke out the window" to the German masses when he was allowed to leave the army on furlough for

Iranian demonstration at UN

New York, N.Y.—Two hundred revolutionaries, representing a half-dozen different Iranian tendencies, demonstrated in front of the United Nations against the Khomeini regime, and for a mass uprising that would overthrow the "fascist regime," coinciding with the new presidential elections in Iran. They created an atmosphere of urgency and commitment rarely seen here since Iranian students as a major force of the Left helped to topple the Shah of Iran and U.S. imperialism from power in that explosive country two-and-a-half years ago.

Represented were Iranian women, children, and men. They were independent or aligned with groups such as the Moslem Student Society (supporters of the People's Mujahedeen), Iranian Student Assoc. of N.Y. (Organization of Iranian Fedaii Guerrillas), Union of Iranian Students (Peykar), Iranian Student Assoc. of N.Y. (member of FISUS), and 19 Bahman Student Organizations in N.Y. (Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas).

One tendency, Confederation of Iranian Students (Left-Platform), chose to march separately because they wished to also oppose Bani-Sadr, which was not in accord with the other tendencies for this march.

Few Americans were present, though the Iranians had made efforts to contact groups, they felt were genuinely supportive of the Iranian Revolution. That leaves out a substantial portion of the organized Left, who either continue to cling to Khomeini's "anti-imperialism" or prefer to forget the entire matter.

There are countless demonstrations here, but few succeed in the type of seriousness and participation that was evidenced in this one. After three hours of sustained chanting and marching, everybody broke from the line, exchanged leaflets and pamphlets, and a dozen clusters of revolutionaries discussed and exchanged ideas heatedly.

—Participant

Reichstag sessions. So "out of place" were his denunciations in the Reichstag of the imperialist and aggressive German state — accusations also publicized in a widely circulated leaflet he wrote entitled "The Main Enemy is at Home" — that one day other deputies rushed the rostrum thinking him demented.

'DOWN WITH THE WAR!'

In the midst of war when 10,000 Berliners assembled to protest World War I, Liebknecht, in uniform, in the midst of the demonstrators, shouted out "Down with the war! Down with the government!"

The police rushed into the masses and tore him out of the crowd. But open war resistance appeared for the first time on the streets of the German capital.

One more thing about Liebknecht. He was thrown in jail once before, in 1906 for his pamphlet *Militarism and Anti-militarism, With Special Reference to the International Youth Movement*. Note the second part of the title. He and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered while participating in the 1919 German Revolution.

Just as Liebknecht's goal was revolution, is our goal any less important than a life-and-death struggle against the forms of militarism we are confronted with today — from the poverty draft into the so-called all-volunteer military, to the police war on Blacks escalating daily upon signal from the White House?

The difference is that where the anti-militarism that became revolution in Germany was beheaded, our movement, faced with the horror of total nuclear destruction, dare not fail. Our generation has the task of working out our activity together with a philosophy of revolution so that this time we will succeed. That task is implicit in the activities of the German and other West European anti-war youth today who, for example, are taking up everything from the sterility of Swiss culture that will build a new opera house before it will let them have a

Atomic victims fight back

Nuclear Witnesses, Insiders Speak Out, by Leslie J. Freeman, Norton, 1981.

Nuclear Witnesses is the account of individuals who have experienced the dangers of nuclear energy and have to live with the daily torment of future death through cancer. A pipe fitter, James Pires, tells us about the horrible working conditions in a nuclear power plant. He questions the worker/management relationship that forces the workers to enter the contaminated areas of the plant for cleanup while the manager stays out and gives orders. He also tells us of a worker who is "burned out" (received excessive radiation exposure) and is then laid off because his future health problems will cause trouble for the company.

We read about John Everett, a young carpenter. What leads him to criticize the nuclear power establishment in the first place are the unsafe working conditions and dangerous mistakes made in the process of building a nuclear power plant. In his first confrontation with the Shoreham nuclear power plant, when he wants to testify against the plant, he not only fights the company's threats but also the union, "which is very much in favor of nuclear power."

We read about a woman Navajo organizer, Elsie Peshlakai, who is fighting the uranium mining companies in Arizona. The companies employ Indians under very unsafe conditions; they leave piles of uranium tailings (waste) in the streets where children play, and they pump out water with uranium and contaminate the already existing water supplies in an area where water is extremely scarce. She says, "We need Navajos to speak for us. People who know where we're from. Not these white lawyers who don't do anything. We need people who make decisions that reflect on how they want their young to be taken care of."

William Hodsdon is a Black veteran who in 1957 was forced to observe at very close range the Smoky Atomic Bomb Blast, "four times as powerful as the bomb that decimated Hiroshima." He was forced to keep quiet about his immediate symptoms of intense radiation exposure.

Eventually his symptoms were interpreted as schizophrenia and he was forced to spend many years in a mental hospital. His radiation exposure also caused severe birth defects in his four children. He is now fighting against both racism in the army and the total degradation of human beings there.

Nuclear Witnesses leaves you with a feeling of horror which only proves to us that we really have reached the age of absolutes. On the one hand we face the total destruction of the world by the nuclear behemoths, on the other hand the voices of revolt recorded here show us the prospect of a new society. We see in this book that the problems of nuclear energy and its use go far beyond a mere technical issue, but are rooted in the alienated man/woman, worker/management and race relations.

—S. Tiller

youth center, to taking over apartment buildings that bourgeois landlords would rather let go unoccupied than make available to working class people.

The activities of today's youth are truly multi-dimensional. So mature is this age, that youth's critique of existing adult society is moving to a fullness of revolution. Can it as well help to create a philosophy of revolution for today based upon the humanist vision of Marx's own philosophy of liberation? Only then will revolution develop in its fullness.

Youth in Revolt



Another tour for apartheid was interrupted, this time the Drakensberg boys choir of South Africa. Black children walked onto the stage at the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C. and chanted "The Black Children of South Africa are not singing."

As police took away one group of Dutch anti-nuclear protesters, another would erect a new blockade at the Dodeward nuclear reactor nearby. In a planned week-long blockade of the plant, 100 protesters were injured by charging riot police. Fifteen were arrested since the first confrontations on Sept. 19.

After several KKK rallies in the vicinity, 200 Wesleyan University students in Middletown, Conn. held a protest rally Oct. 12. The rally was, according to a Black Student Alliance member, "to refresh in the minds of the community the seriousness of racism in general." A year earlier, 600 students came out to protest against racist threats mailed to residents of a dormitory for Black students.

Nuclear foe narrows movement

Chicago, Ill.—About 150 people paid \$2.50 to see a lecture here on the link between nuclear energy and nuclear war by Amory Lovins, a physicist. He said that the main source of nuclear weapons is nuclear power. After showing that conservation is cheaper than nuclear power, instead of discussing the link between nuclear power and unemployment, he declared his faith in the market to find the most cost-effective technology.

If he listened to the workers, he would know that capitalism is best at finding the technology most effective for exploiting them. Furthermore, U.S. imperialism has such a drive for nuclear arms that Reagan won't let "market forces" or anything else stop him from propping up the nuclear industry.

After recent decisions by utilities to stop construction of some partially built nuclear power plants, Reagan announced that the Administration would speed up licensing (that is, cut safety requirements) and subsidize breeder reactor research and fuel reprocessing, both ideal for making plutonium for A-bombs.

In face of this, it's crazy to reduce, as Lovins did, the role of the movement to providing information to Wall Street. Almost everyone I talked to agreed that the movement is more important than that and that the urgency of preventing nuclear war is such that we can't wait for the market to do anything.

In spite of the way people contradicted his idea of the movement by meeting immediately afterwards to plan opposition to the LaSalle nuke, no one challenged Lovins. If we don't act with a philosophy of revolution that allows us to take freedom movements' ideas seriously, we're bound to be led astray. Already many anti-nuke groups are guided by a viewpoint like Lovins', which allows no thinking role to anyone except technologists like him, and sees no connection with workers fighting capitalism in the workplace, or the youth of Europe and Japan fighting nuclear weapons.

—Franklin Dmitrev

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

Protests spread, new Polish leader threatens crackdown on Solidarity

More than 5,000 protesters battled police in the southern mining town of Katowice, Oct. 20, after the arrest of three Solidarity activists for selling newspapers and distributing leaflets. While in Zyrardow, 12,000 mostly women textile workers began the second week of a strike protesting severe food shortages — defying both Solidarity and the Communist Party (CP).

Such revolt continued and spread as the Polish government sought to gain tighter control by replacing Stanislaw Kania with hardliner Wojciech Jaruzelski — the first military leader to run both the Polish government and CP — and by threatening a ban on all strikes.

This attempted crackdown came on the heels of the conclusion of the first convention of Solidarity, the only independent union in any Communist country. It was a landmark in the struggle for democracy and workers' control in Poland. Meeting as they did, under the threat of the counter-revolution from across the Russian border, the delegates engaged in hot debate over all the issues facing the Polish people.

Jan Rulewski, a local union leader from Bydgoszcz, condemned "the imperialist policy of the Soviet Union" and stated that Poland had every right to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. Andrzej Gwiazda, a leading Soli-

arity theoretician, complained that the union had gone backward by being too moderate. Marian Jurczecin drew loud applause when he attacked those Polish officials who threatened to use force against the union.

Lech Walesa, who walks the tightrope between the Catholic Church and the Communist Party, was able to maintain his leadership of the union, but not without strong opposition. His line that "the union should not trust too much in our own strength," displayed his fear of the power of the union's strength.

The vote which gave Walesa 55 percent of the vote showed 45 percent opposed, divided among three other candidates — all of whom are to the left of Walesa. Jurczyk took 24 percent, Gwiazda 9 percent and Rulewski 6 percent.

Throughout the convention, Walesa was under attack for accepting a compromise plan for workers' self-management, without consulting the rank-and-file. The plan falls short of workers' control of the shop, which was sought by workers who want to replace their present incompetent plant managers.

Rulewski stated that "this union was not created to make compromises but to smash the totalitarian system

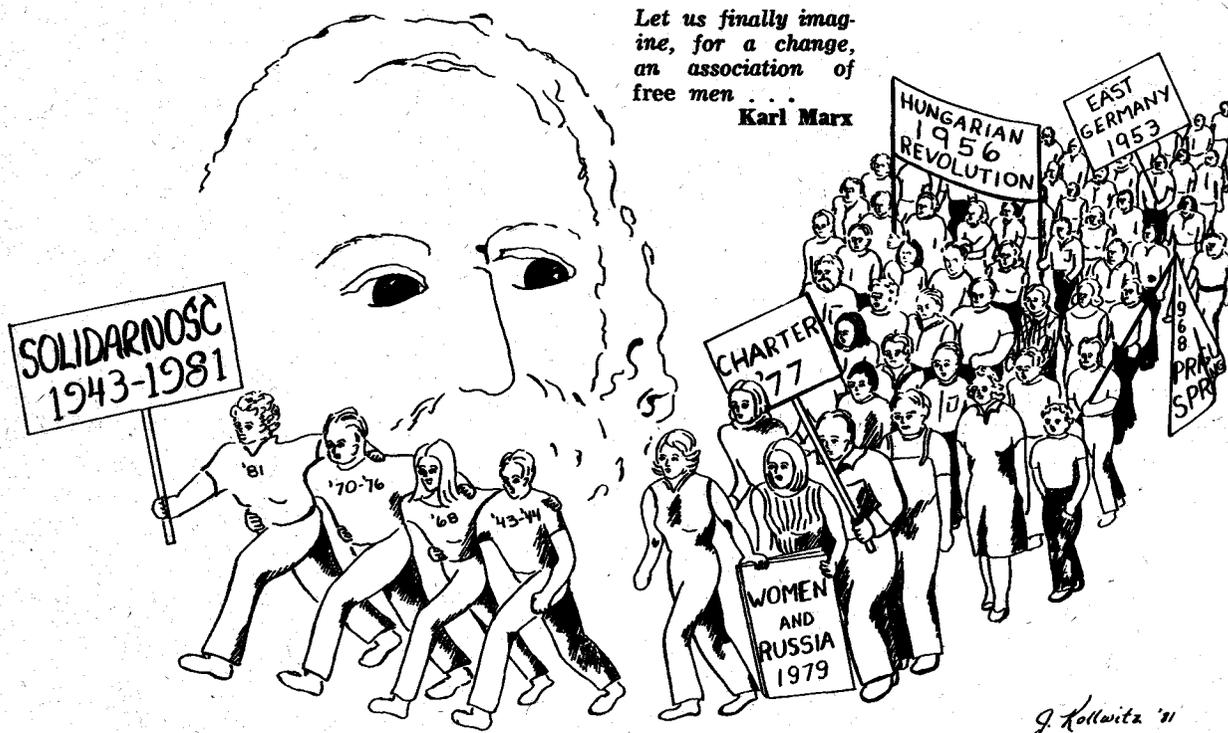
in our country." The delegates voted 348 to 189 to reprimand the Walesa leadership for "a violation of the principles of union democracy."

During the convention, Edward Lipinski, who is 93 and a socialist since 1906, announced the disbanding of KOR, which was the original underground opposition founded after the 1976 food riots. They defended hundreds of workers persecuted by the government and laid the basis for Solidarity. He said "this socialism of waste, of prisons, censorship and police has been destroying us for 30 years as it is doing with some other nations. It is their socialism that is anti-socialist and anti-revolutionary."

The 34-point program that was adopted called for reform at all levels of government, a second parliament representing self-managing bodies in industry, union control over food distribution, an end of government control of the press and air waves, and protection from arbitrary government price increases.

For the moment, Walesa remains in control, influenced by the church moderates, but hotly pursued by a very healthy left wing that will not be satisfied with compromise, half-way measures and avoiding of the main issue — workers' control of production.

A SPECTRE IS HAUNTING EASTERN EUROPE



won no less than 60 percent of the vote. He repeated their slogan, *allagi*: change. He explained: "All things will be different. The victory is a historical phenomenon, a break with the past."

The fact that a Reagan has had to congratulate Papandreou on his victory shows how carefully he feels he must tread when the U.S. nuclear pyramid, NATO, is falling. This is a great gain both for Greece and the massive anti-nuclear proliferation movements in Germany, in England, in Holland as well as in France where the Socialist Party also has won. Reaganomics is something not only the American masses oppose, but the whole world. The victory in Greece opens one more door for the masses the world over to have the last say. Solidarity with the Greek masses is the order of the day.

West Germany

Over 300,000 people gathered in Bonn, West Germany to demonstrate against the Reagan policy of manufacturing and placing the neutron bomb on European soil. They feel, quite correctly, that Germany and its neighboring countries will become the battlefield in the next confrontation between Russia and the United States.

The unprecedented demonstration, the largest in post-war Germany, saw much diversity as uniformed soldiers of several NATO countries marched beside survivors of concentration camps, farmers' organizations, women's Liberation groups, church groups, and representatives of hundreds of trade unions.

The brunt of the demonstration, which was directed against both of the superpowers, condemned the neutron bomb, designed to destroy people while it leaves the factories and real estate intact for future profitable operation. Both Reagan and Chancellor Schmidt were singled out as instigators of the planned destruction of the population of Europe.

Iran

The government of Khomeini in Iran has murdered well over 1,500 men, women and children in the last two months. Conditions in his prisons are worse than they were under the Shah. Those being killed are largely members of the Peoples Mujahedeen organization, who were in the forefront of the revolution that overthrew the Shah.

David Frankel, resident anti-Semitic columnist for the Trotskyist *Intercontinental Press*, defends the counter-revolutionary Khomeini, who is waging war against the Left, with the exception of the Stalinists, who also support him. He bases his defense on the worn-out proposition that the revolution nationalized some industries and the oil industry. Michel Rove, in the same issue, points out that "The thrust (of the Khomeini regime) is not toward greater independence from imperialism nor toward satisfying the needs of the Iranian masses."

The Trotskyists are but a step away from the full Stalinist position of the Tudeh (Communist) party: "Even if our formation were to be outlawed and our members persecuted, we would continue to support the line of *Imam* Khomeini."

Women's Liberation and Marxism

LITERATURE:

Revolutionary Feminism

On history of International Women's Day, on the Paris Commune and Black Women... 75¢ per copy

Theory and Practice

First English translation of article by Rosa Luxemburg... \$2 per copy

Women as Reason and as Force of Revolution

By Raya Dunayevskaya... \$1.50 per copy

DISCUSSIONS IN DETROIT:

Sun., Nov. 8, 3 p.m.—Anti-Militarism, Revolutions—German and Russian—and New Forces of Revolution

speaker: Suzanne Casey, Women's Liberation, News and Letters

Sun., Nov. 15, 3 p.m.—Luxemburg as Revolutionary, as Feminist; and Today's Women's Liberation Movement

speaker: Neda Azad, Iranian Marxist-feminist, translator of Farsi edition of *Woman as Reason and Force of Revolution*

Both presentations based on *Raya Dunayevskaya's*

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

Discussions at News & Letters Library, 2832 E. Grand Blvd.

Greek election victory

The Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), led by Andreas Papandreou, has won a resounding victory in the October 18th elections in Greece, winning 48 percent of the vote, and 174 seats out of a total of 300 in parliament. The ruling New Democracy fell to 113 votes, and the Communists won only 13 seats.

For the first time since the end of World War II, when Stalin and Truman combined to smash one of the most heroic resistance movements in Europe, Greece will be free of the repressive regimes that have ruled, with the fascistic military rule that overthrew George Papandreou, having been the most repressive of all. It is the masses that won when the military was ousted in 1974, but the halfway house that was then built with "New Democracy" resulted in what has characterized all of capitalism: high unemployment and high inflation (25 percent). That has now ended.

Papandreou campaigned on a program of social change for Greece, free of American imperialist interference in the form of military bases and their nuclear warheads. It doesn't mean that Papandreou will carry out those promises, as witness the interviews he has already granted to the American mass media where he spoke of "compromise." But it does mean that the masses have their eyes open, encouraged by their impressive victory.

Witness the celebrants, mostly young, on Kos Island, where the Panhellenic candidate, Vasilif Voukouvaldes,