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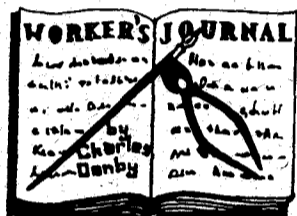
## Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought

by Lou Turner and John Alan

Introduction by Charles Denby and  
Raya Dunayevskaya

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## Unimation— worse than automation

by Charles Denby, Editor

I have just read in the *New York Times* that Unimation, Inc. of Danbury, Conn. held an open house at their new Farmington Hills, Mich. office to show customers how smart their industrial robots have become.

What concerns me most about that was how we felt when we first saw Automation being introduced in the auto shops over 20 years ago, and how workers revolted against this man-killer. Many workers were absolutely afraid of some of these machines, but the union kept yelling to the workers that we had to work those monster machines because we could not stop progress.

### HANDCUFFED TO JOB

I can't ever forget when the company brought in a new automated machine that was so fast, a worker could not work it without being handcuffed to it. When you put material in it, the machine would cut it so quick you did not have time to jerk your hands out of the way, so the handcuff was for the machine to jerk your hands away.

They could not get any worker to do it without the foreman trying it first, so he did. After running about five pieces, he yelled as loud as he could for it to be shut off, and he rushed to the rest room. So they had to take it away. I do not remember whether they ever brought it back again or not.

I know that Automation has wrecked many workers' lives. There are thousands that are messed up from Automation and many have passed away. I went out to my union last week for an election, and it was so different from when I was in the shop that I could not see why they wanted us to come out.

### REPLACING WORKERS

Now they have gone from Automation to robots. They say this Unimation 2000 series can weld along a continuous irregular path. Just the presence of a car body on the assembly line causes it to close in to make the welds as it moves by. The company president Joseph Engelberger said, "The human being is a magnificent creation and we are not going to replace him soon."

But the article went on, "maybe some humans will be replaced, since what the robots do, they tend to do quickly, efficiently, without deviation or complaint — not to mention without salary, fringe benefits or personal problems."

Sure, robots will eliminate some of the work force, but those who remain will have to work to keep pace with this robot. As Karl Marx said, when capitalism gets to the point that it puts all of its best science, its best knowledge, into improving dead labor over living labor, for the purpose of exploiting the living labor, it is creating chaos and revolt in the work place.

Engelberger said jobs taken over by the robots tend to be the most repetitive, dangerous and lousy jobs that the younger union guy doesn't want. What he is really saying is that younger workers will be much harder to control. They do not accept jobs at face value.

Workers at the Ford tractor plant in Romeo, Mich. walked out for two weeks over a welder being harassed

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# NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

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### Eye-witness report

## Mass European movements oppose racism and nuclear power threats

by Michael Connolly

The French invasion of Zaire's Shaba province, May 19, by the infamous troopers of the Foreign Legion, is the latest escalation in that former colonial ruler's rapidly growing military



"Never again Fascism" "Never again war" read the signs at April 21 march in Cologne, Germany. Nazi concentration camp survivors in prison garb were joined by many West German soldiers in uniform—despite the fact that marching in uniform is illegal.

### Hostos '500' takeover

Since March 30, students, staff and community supporters at Hostos Community College of the City University of New York (CUNY) have been occupying a large, modern building which their overcrowded college desperately needs. (See May News & Letters). The "500" building is in constant use for classes, cultural events, child care, eating and sleeping. Hostos, the only bilingual college east of Texas, is attended mainly by Latino students and is located in the South Bronx.

New York, N.Y. — I was among a dozen comrades who occupied the main building of Hostos Community College, May 8, because the president and administration were doing nothing to support the occupation of the "500" building which the City promised to Hostos over four years ago.

We took over the main building because President Anthony Santiago wrote a letter attacking the students and teachers for participating in the "500" takeover. He said students will not get credit and teachers will not be paid for having classes there. We also took it over because the City promised to start renovation of "500" once the CUNY Master Plan is acted on, which could take years. We want complete renovation, and we want it now.

A day after the occupation of the main building, two rallies were held to support our occupation which the majority of students support. We demanded to meet with the president, but instead he called in the police and we were arrested. While we were in the Bronx

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role in Africa. Worse even than the Belgians, who at least are now withdrawing their paratroops from Zaire, the French have not been content with a military presence alone, but have proclaimed to the world their conception of all Zaire's population as "animals, unfit for civilization." Behind this reminder of Suez and Algeria twenty years ago lies not only Zaire's vast mineral wealth of copper, cobalt and uranium, but also France's relationship both to U.S. imperialism's world power politics—including French reintegration into NATO—and, most critically, to the current situation inside France itself.

Massive French military involvement in civil wars in Chad and in the Western Sahara has made "war news" a front page story nearly every day in Paris newspapers, yet even the tripling of French troops and huge increases in aerial bombing runs in Chad last month did not produce an outcry from the French Left. These escalations followed the victory of the Right in the March 19 French parliamentary elections, and the subsequent virtual capitulation of the Left alternative posed by the Socialist-Communist Party "alliance", as they entered into talks with President Giscard d'Estaing.

### MAY DAY IN FRANCE

I was in Paris the week before May Day, as part of a political trip to Britain, France and Germany. In Paris, the "post-election blues" dominated, with the CP and the SP down-playing this year's May Day demonstrations—on the tenth anniversary of 1968—and encouraging workers to take a long weekend out of town instead.

But in the large African neighborhoods of Paris—in Belleville and in Barbès—you saw Tunisian worker-activists standing on the street corners, passing out leaflets asking "Everyone to the May Day demonstration!" and explaining that "for us, Tunisian immigrant workers, May 1 comes this year at a moment when our country and our people are faced with difficult circumstances in the wake of the savage, bloody aggression Jan. 26, 1978, by the Tunisian government against the working class and our union, the UGTT. Aggression which meant hundreds dead and wounded and so many arrests among the union leaders and workers."

The plain fact is that there are two different worlds within France, and that the enormous gulf between African workers and white France—even when it is the French Left—is precisely what Giscard is taking advantage of when he so freely ships French troops to Africa. (Incredibly, the Communist Party does not support voting rights for African workers even if they have lived in France all their lives!) Whether one looks at a plant like Renault-Flins, where more than a third of the workers are "immigrants", or just at the transformation of Paris into a multi-lingual city where Arabic and Portuguese are heard, it is clear that the

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### ON THE INSIDE

The Latin-American Revolutions:  
Where to Next?

by Raya Dunayevskaya . . . . page 5

## Frankfurt women march to reclaim the night

Frankfurt, W. Germany—On May Day eve—Walpurgisnacht, "Night of the Witches"—3,000 women marched through the streets of Frankfurt. The demonstration was to focus attention on the problem of rape. We wanted to claim the night for ourselves.

Our first demonstration was last May Day eve. We were 3,000 women, painted and masked like witches. The police had forbidden the demonstration, and when we had it anyway, they tried to find a few women they could accuse. But they cannot send one woman to jail when 3,000 women demonstrated in a way that they "shouldn't."

This year the police told us again that we could not be painted, and that we should have a certain route through the city, and we could not be noisy. "It's night," they said, "and people want to sleep," so we should walk silently and without masks. But what happened was that it was very loud. We all had things to make noises with—pots and pans, and flutes, and we were shouting all the time, like witches, in high and aggressive voices.

We walked for three hours through the city, and many people watched us and were astonished. We were handing out a leaflet that said: Women claim the night for themselves. It gave examples of the usual attacks that happen to women when they walk out at night, or are waiting for the train. When we passed through the quarter of the prostitutes, the police expected that there would be trouble, but the women waved at us and

greeted our demonstration.

Some of the men we passed were aggressive toward us. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* printed a hostile article: "Okay, women have good reason to protest against rape; really, it's horrible. But why are they so silly, why do they paint themselves?" The man wrote like a well-meaning father, who knows women are childish.

Most men in the Left here in Frankfurt are "spontaneists." They accept the fact of an autonomous women's movement so they don't argue about what women should or shouldn't do. But on the other hand, they don't give us much support.

The problem of attacks on women won't stop after one demonstration. Not all women know we can fight against rape. We want more women to hear of what we are doing and to participate with us.

—H.K.

## 'With Babies and Banners'

*With Babies and Banners* is a new film about the Women's Emergency Brigades and their crucial role in the 1937 Flint Sit-Down Strike against General Motors. The film, made by the Women's Labor History Film Project, is a masterpiece in every way, because it brings out in the women's own words their thought and activity, and not just in the past, but as today.

We hear Genora Johnson tell how she refused to be stashed away in the strike kitchen and instead organized on her own a children's picket line which received national publicity. Until that time, the UAW had been solely a man's domain, but the wives, sisters and women workers who supported the strikers decided to organize themselves to "play as big a part as the men." (Women sit-downers had been sent out of the plant in order to end innuendos in the press.)

The women tell how they took food to the strikers, and organized picket lines and nurseries for the children of strikers. They also tell of the attitude of the men towards them at first as one of suspicion: "You couldn't be too masculine, you couldn't be too feminine, and you couldn't be too intellectual—the men hated that worst of all. It was a damned never-never land."

When the police began firing at unarmed strikers in "The Battle of Bulls Run," Genora Johnson appealed to the women of Flint to break through the police lines to protect their relatives inside. It was after this battle that they got the idea of an Emergency Brigade that would organize and be ready whenever needed. It grew to 400 women, with chapters in Detroit and Saginaw.

The women's activity gave men a different outlook on the "housewife" and a different respect for women workers. But after the strike, the Brigades were dispersed, and the women tell how it was "Thank you, ladies, but now the laundry is piled up and the kids need taking care of."

The women are still fighting this attitude today. They see themselves as co-founders of the UAW and the CIO, and yet as the movie ends in Flint at the 40th anniversary celebration of the sit-downs, we see that it took a demonstration by Women's Liberation-News and Letters, Flint NOW and CLUW during the all-men speakers program so that a woman could speak.

This film presents the true history of the contribution by these women of the Emergency Brigades to labor history and to human history.

—Suzanne Casey

## Repressive Iran to host IWY

New York, N.Y.—The UN has set its next international women's meeting for May, 1980, in Teheran, Iran, and is trying to keep the planning secret from women's groups who will surely protest the site. The government of Iran gave half a million dollars toward the event, hoping to improve its image from that of a torture chamber for 100,000 political prisoners, many of whom are women.

The conference is to be a mid-way assessment of the Decade for Women proclaimed at the UN International Women's Year conference in Mexico in 1975. Only official delegates will be admitted. The UN Commission on the Status of Women undoubtedly accepted the site of Iran in order to avoid the presence of feminists demanding more than governmental lip-service about women's oppression. In 1975, both North and South American women ran an alternate conference in Mexico and interrupted plans at the official one.

The Commission is also planning to set up a permanent International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women in Iran. It is trying to raise \$10 million for both projects, AND is supposed to be aiding poor women in developing countries with the same fund.

When members of the Coalition of Grassroots Women in N.Y. learned about these plans in March, they attempted to attend a committee meeting and were refused, making a lie of the Commission's claim in many internal documents that it is responsive to community and working women. Now a major preparatory meeting, scheduled to begin June 19 in New York, has suddenly been moved to Vienna! The Coalition is calling for a demonstration in New York that day despite the move, and is appealing to sisters around the world to take action.

## WOMAN AS REASON

*Eleanor Marx, (Vols. One and Two) by Yvonne Kapp, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).*

Yvonne Kapp's biography of Eleanor Marx is an important contribution to the rediscovery of our history as women because of the life of Eleanor Marx herself—a serious, active, and revolutionary woman who had previously been reduced to an historical footnote as the daughter of Karl Marx.

As the struggle for the eight-hour day swept through the U.S. and Europe in the late 1880's, Eleanor Marx emerged as a vibrant public speaker and union organizer. She constantly sought out new revolutionary forces, working out concretely Marx's philosophy of going lower and deeper into the working class.

She was active with the striking workers in London's East End, especially encouraging the women to organize and join unions. At the Silvertown Strike in 1889, Eleanor Marx formed the first women's branch of the National Union of Gasworkers and General Laborers, and served on its general council until 1895.

During the same period, she worked in planning the Paris meeting which established the Second International, and she served as the translator for the English, French and German delegates. She continuously battled the jingoism and anti-Semitism within the socialist movement, insisting that revolution "will be by the workers, without distinction of sex or trade or country . . ."

However—and not by accident—Eleanor Marx, the thinking revolutionary, is lost in a deluge of "facts" without any philosophy to show their relationships. This results when Kapp discards Marx's roots in Hegelian philosophy, claiming that Marx had "outgrown" it (p.

## Review of Eleanor Marx book

110). Marxism is thus reduced to merely an economic doctrine, rather than a whole philosophy of liberation.

Eleanor Marx's first activity in the East End is likewise reduced to an act of compassion, rather than an activity flowing from an understanding of the revolutionary significance of the Match Girls' Strike and the unemployed revolts. Further, Kapp argues that Eleanor was not a feminist, but rather a Marxist who happened to be a woman, and the women workers Eleanor organized were workers who happened to be women.

In fact, Eleanor Marx went to great lengths to distinguish herself from the middle-class women's movement, but her work was constantly with women—organizing the first women's branch of the gasworkers, learning Yiddish in order to work with Jewish women immigrants, and learning Norwegian after reading Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, so that she could translate his other works into English.

It may be true that Eleanor Marx didn't theoretically single out women as a revolutionary force, but that can't be used as justification for looking at our history today as Kapp does. Such a view ignores the fact that a new Women's Liberation movement has emerged, whose roots were in the Left and challenged the Left's male-chauvinism from the beginning.

Today we know that the question of Women's Liberation can't be put off until "after the revolution," but must be dealt with now. For this reason, we in Women's Liberation-News and Letters single out women as a revolutionary category—to show that women like Eleanor Marx have been, and are, revolutionary Reason as well as force.

—Deborah Morris

## Rally to pass ERA in Illinois

Chicago, Ill.—On April 29, 4,500 women, children and men marched down State Street here, demanding Illinois pass the ERA. Women came from all over the Midwest: Michigan, downstate Illinois, Wisconsin, and Indiana.

In spite of the legal question of "one year left" to ratify the ERA, the feeling of solidarity and excitement made it clear that the Women's Liberation movement is here to stay. Gray Panthers marched along with young mothers and babies, lesbians, college groups, and a Black Boy Scout marching band. We shouted: "One two, three, four, we need three more! Five, six, seven, eight, ratify in every state!" and "Out of the kitchen into the streets, Illinois women can't be beat!" As we marched through downtown Chicago, many shoppers joined in.

When we reached Daley Plaza, politicians shared the speaking platform with ACLU, Operation PUSH, women steelworkers, and feminist singers. A Latina spoke about the discrimination Latin women face, doing slave labor for slave wages. She showed that ERA is not just a middle-class concern. A woman in her '40s spoke with passion about ERA and what it meant to be a housewife with four children, whom no one ever listened to. She spoke of how the women's movement and the fight for the ERA made it possible for her to become a thinker as well as an activist.

Legalisms aside, it was the multidimensionality of the participants that reveals that Women's Liberation as a movement will not stop short of total freedom.

—Two Participants

Demand passage of the ERA! Come to the nationwide demonstration July 9, Sunday, Washington, D.C.



## women-worldwide

The Italian feminist movement succeeded May 18 in getting a new abortion law passed by the Italian Parliament, allowing free, state-subsidized abortion for women 18 years of age and older. After the first 90 days of pregnancy, abortions would be allowed with the permission of a doctor or board of consultants. Under the old law, staunchly backed by the Catholic Church, abortion under any circumstances was considered a major crime.

In France, in a landmark case, three men were sentenced to 4-6 years in prison for raping two Belgian women tourists. It was the first time a rape case had been tried in the same court which tries serious crimes. The fact that the women were lesbians, refuted defense claims that they had consented to the acts.

On April 13, demonstrations against the Nestles Corp. were held in New York, San Francisco and Boston as part of National Infant Formula Action Day. The corporation's high-pressure sales of bottled formula have been linked to malnutrition and death of infants in many Third World countries where the necessary formula sterilization procedures are impossible.

Thirteen women are being held in South Carolina prisons for their participation in the May 1 demonstration at Allied General Nuclear Services in Barnwell, S.C., in which 285 persons were arrested. Twenty-four protesters have refused to post bond to call attention to the dangers of nuclear contamination to plant workers and area residents.

From correspondents:

Nigeria—Market women in Ibadan staged a demonstration to protest the police killing in April of ten university students in a peaceful protest against a 300 percent fee increase. All universities have been closed following the shootings.

Hong Kong—On April 28, 1,000 women workers at Kun Tong Electronics plant staged a "go-slow," then a strike and blockade of the factory when they learned that new-hires were receiving higher wages and fringe benefits than those already working at the plant.

On April 20, over 200 women workers went on strike against the Yokohama Musen Co. and stopped production for three days because management had banned them from using the bathrooms during certain hours "because too many were leaving the assembly line and stopping production."

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# Workers' deaths on job are not accidents

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

Fifty-one workers were killed in a construction disaster in St. Marys, W. Va. on April 27. Now the bureaucratic safety team will come in to tell us how it happened, but nothing is ever done about averting disasters. For instance, in this tragedy there had been 13 inspections since 1973 where OSHA disclosed numerous violations, both serious and non-serious. The last inspection was one year ago, but the subcontractor and the tower being built under its supervision had never been inspected.

The 51 workers who fell to their deaths were at the time working on scaffolding attached to concrete that had set only 24 hours instead of the required 72—and the night before it had rained! These 51 workers were murdered by the company's drive to complete the tower ahead of schedule. When workers are killed in the speed-up drive of capitalists for more and more profits, it is labeled an "accident."

One month after the miners' strike to get more safety measures, five miners were killed by poison gas and three more killed when the roof caved in, causing the first wildcat strike since the contract was "settled"—another example of speed-up and lack of safety for the sake of more and more profits. And again, just another "accident."

It's been four months since grievances were filed in the G.M. South Gate auto plant on unsafe working conditions brought on by speed-up, solder grinding in open air, and an automatic car washer that fails to adequately clean auto bodies as they leave the solder grind booth. This solder is blown into the air by power tools used while working on the jobs, and we all breathe it every day. It has been six months since the last blood test, even though it is called for every three months.

The workers that died from the tower disaster and mine "accidents" died instantly. The workers that

breathe the solder, weld smoke, and all fumes that are injurious to health die slowly. Workers say the company wants to make sure that only a few of us live to retire.

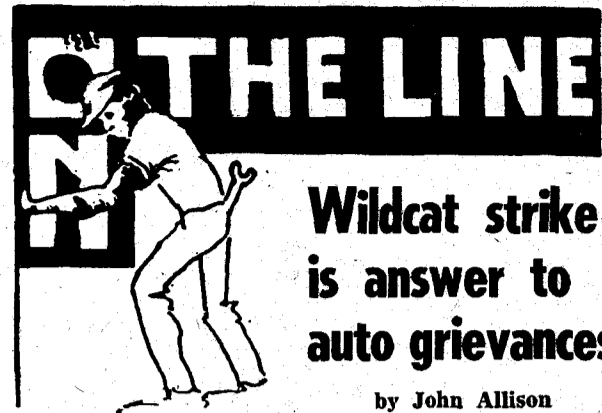
Over 15,000 workers are killed on the job each year, millions are hurt as their bodies are mangled in accidents, not to mention the hundreds of thousands that are hurt and killed in travel to and from work. Yes, for these 15,000 there will be teams sent out again to tell us why it happened. But we already know it's the speed-up drive of capitalists for more and more profits—over our dead bodies.

## Transit workers win new vote

New York, N.Y. — Transit workers opposed to the contract negotiated by their union leadership went to court and got the ratification procedure invalidated. The mail ballot, controlled by the union (TWU), was likely to have resulted in the contract passing, when most of the 35,000 workers appeared to be opposed. Seven weeks after a strike was averted on April 1, the date for a new ballot with safeguards has not even been set.

Some of those urging a "no" vote rallied at City Hall on May 18, along with other city workers whose contracts are being negotiated right now. One picket sign summed up everyone's mood: "The banks are booming; the City is dooming. Don't sell us out." A speaker at the rally, referring to the New York law which forbids strikes by public employees, said, "We need to do with the Taylor Law what the miners did with Taft-Hartley."

The proposed transit contract would give a six percent raise over 21 months. The subway and bus workers have had no increase since 1975, so have suffered a big decrease due to inflation. One worker's sign said simply: "My family and my conscience say no."



## Wildcat strike is answer to auto grievances

by John Allison

How many times have you seen workers speeded up? How many times have you seen workers forced to work on an unsafe job for no other reason than that the foreman said, "Do it, or go home!"? How many times have you heard the expression, "They would never have gotten away with it in the old days!"?

Older workers know what the expression refers to, but to younger workers it doesn't mean a thing, because they see management getting away with everything they want to do.

The truth of the matter is that Solidarity House is not the union at all, and young workers have got to learn this lesson.

On the line is where you get it down, where you learn what the real union is all about, what it started out to be and got sidetracked. And it all has to do with control over our working conditions. That's it in a nutshell, but it's a tough nut to crack.

At the Trenton Chrysler Engine Plant wildcat strike, seven workers were fired, and no chief steward was mentioned. At the Ford Romeo wildcat strike, 17 workers were fired, and no chief steward was mentioned.

We can see how well Ford and Chrysler management work together for their own cause. The UAW International and locals cry foul, but they can cry until the towel is wringing wet and it won't get a worker back on the job. Management will take all of the crying in the world—so long as there isn't any action.

How times have changed . . . and that's why the rank-and-file has to fight both the company and union bureaucrats to stay alive. What a pity. How many times must workers be forced to teach management and the so-called leaders of the union that they will never stop until they gain control?

The coal miners' strike revealed for all to see that miners will never give up their right to strike. Rank and file auto workers have shown for all the world to see that they will never give up their right to strike.

The UAW can sign all of the contracts it wants to sign until the pens run out. But as long as there remain unsolved grievances, the next order of business is the wildcat strike. And we're going to see a lot of business.

## Stockpiling threat at Uniroyal

Detroit, Mich.—Since the last strike, the company has been stockpiling huge numbers of tires. There is almost as much space used for storage as for production here at the Detroit plant. The whole area of buildings out back toward the river is huge, and some places have tires stacked floor-to-ceiling. Even in production areas there are loads of tires stacked in different corners.

There's another way the company makes profits from stockpiling. Tire prices jumped over 30 percent just after the last strike. A first-line belted-bias tire used to cost \$30 to \$35, but now a second-line tire can cost at least \$45. But tires sold with the new prices were built under the old contract.

At many plants, the union officers are "crying uncle" because of the threat of plant closings. There won't be many union plants left in this country if this keeps up, but the International doesn't seem to be doing much to organize the new plants.

Some local and International officials are even blaming the employees, their own members, for the close-downs, instead of getting after the companies.

—Uniroyal worker, Detroit

# FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

## Romeo Tractor

(Workers shut down Ford's Romeo Tractor and Equipment plant in a wildcat strike on Thursday, May 11. Strikers from the picket line tell their story here.)

Romeo, Mich.—Several welders went to labor relations angered over the constant harassment of all workers, and the singling out of one worker in particular. His foreman threatened to discipline him after eight months harassment for not sacrificing quality welding to keep up with the line.

But labor relations not only refused to lift the discipline on the one worker, but promised to discipline the others more severely. That's when they walked out, followed by workers from other departments.

As for the 17 workers fired for supposedly organizing the strike, they are people management has been trying to get rid of for a long time. Three weren't even at work the day of the strike!

The harassment precipitating the strike is so bad that one worker overheard a foreman teaching a new foreman to push his workers until they can't take any more, then push them some more.

When he tried to write a grievance on his foreman for working, an assembly worker was told by his committeeman "not to make trouble." No one hears about grievances once they're written.

Ford and Local 400 and the International want us to go back to work before discussing our demands which are reinstate the 17 fired workers and stop the harassment. But right now, we're doing the only thing we know to win.

(Romeo Tractor workers voted to return to work on May 18—Ed.)

—Romeo Tractor strikers

## GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal.—Supervision has just invested a great deal at one inspection station to insure each job has been checked. Pneumatic apparatus which stamps a mark on each auto body signifying the job has been inspected has been put on a front door clamp. In other words, the worker will be in effect "spying" on himself.

In this same area, auto bodies filthy with dangerous lead solder continue to roll down the line after workers have persistently fought to get it cleaned up. The company will spend money to spy on its workers making sure they do their job, but it refuses to invest a penny to clean up health and safety hazards affecting workers.

When workers pointed out this fact, management quickly rose to its own defense, insisting the stamping device was not for spying but something to guarantee safety standards demanded by the state. Since there is so much concern for safety, workers are saying, how come GM and OSHA allow slow death on the line by killer solder?

—South Gate worker

## Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich.—Dodge Truck workers are still talking about Jim Staffin's upset victory over Local 140 Vice President Charles Williams for Local 140 President. People got tired of the fact that the only accomplishments made by the local officers were getting some fired workers back to work. Yet those who do return seldom get their records cleared or get full back pay.

The United Membership slate which Williams headed had ditched current local President Paul Cooper, who in turn chose not to oppose Williams, but ran for Vice President on a new slate he formed for this election.

Yet Local 140 members elected Cooper's opponent, too, rejecting his patronizing attitude to rank-and-file workers. The last actions of these two top officers included encouraging chief stewards to write more grievances — and then agreeing with management to place many of those grievances on hold for 90 days.

—Main building worker

(Ed. Note — As we go to press word comes that Williams demanded a recount and now claims to have won by two votes, but many are questioning the honesty of the recount.)

## Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich.—Union elections were just held at Dearborn Stamping Plant, and as usual, were quite a farce. All the candidates hung out around the cafeterias and drinking fountains harassing you to vote for them. Just try to find one of them now that May 11 is past.

One young guy was written up for not having his safety glasses on after coming on the floor after his break, but nobody gets written up when you slip on a greasy floor carrying hot and heavy stock, or when you lose a finger in a press because of production pressure, as so many people here have. They tell you it happened because you weren't doing your job right.

—DSP worker

## Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—The company has begun breaking up jobs again and adding on work to jobs, even in departments that were supposedly "settled." Because we still do not have a local agreement, it turns out that even when the union has settled some 78's after more than a year, it means nothing if the company changes its mind.

They have been giving time off all over the plant to workers who cannot keep up with these speeded-up jobs. The company has just about been running free for almost two years, since the walkouts, as far as having to deal with Local 15. While the International sat on action by the local, and Rufus Coleman finally sold out for a job with the International, the company did what it pleased.

—Dept. 21 worker

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## EDITORIAL

# Thousands see need to mobilize for survival

The demonstration for disarmament of over 15,000 men, women and children outside the United Nations building in New York on May 27, came after a full month of massive demonstrations and rallies all over the U.S. that have united environmentalists, women's liberationists, opponents to nuclear power and anti-war activists in a new and growing "mobilization for survival." Despite the efforts of the media to make these many elements appear not only unrelated to each other, but insignificant compared to the massive European anti-nuclear movement—the past one brief month in the U.S. has seen:

- 6,000 demonstrate at Rocky Flats, Colo. on April 29 to close down the plant which manufactures plutonium triggers for hydrogen bombs and does the major research for the neutron bomb.

- The next day, 1,200 demonstrated at Barnwell, S.C., to protest a nuclear reprocessing plant.

- On May 21, 12,000 filled the Hollywood Bowl in Los Angeles to demand an end to the arms race.

- The next day, 300 demonstrators, singing "We Shall Overcome", were arrested climbing over the barbed wire fence into the Trident nuclear submarine base at Bangor, Wash.

Moreover, these protests are seen as only the beginning of more massive demonstrations yet to come—from a June 12 sit-in at the UN, and a June 24 new occupation of the mammoth Seabrook, New Hampshire nuclear power plant, to national protests from Aug. 6 to 9 to ensure that none ever forget the holocaust which devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki with U.S. atomic bombs 33 years ago.

### A MOVEMENT OF GROWING SCOPE

Some of the survivors of that atrocity marched with the demonstrators at the UN, carrying signs reading, "No More Hiroshimas! No More Hibakusha (victims of nuclear bombs)!" In the same march could be seen signs identifying Kent State students. Others declared, "Peace is a feminist issue." And the crowd included even Buddhist priests who had marched across the country from San Francisco with Native Americans.

Nor is the movement for survival limited only to disarmament, or to nuclear concerns. It is not only that humanity does not trust the rulers with weapons that could kill us all 30 times over; or capitalism with its mad rush to "nuclear energy" when it does not yet have the slightest idea how to dispose of wastes that will remain toxic for 500,000 years, and when there have already been 271 potentially lethal fires and 410 "contamination incidents" at Rocky Flats alone. It is that capitalism has by now proved itself well on the way to destroying the whole environment—air, land, seas, water and food—as witness the PBB disaster in Michigan. No wonder irate citizens didn't let Governor Milliken get any further than an opening remark, "I know you won't believe me, but . . ." before he was drowned out as he tried to convince them that it was "safe" to bury PBB-poisoned cattle in a mass grave right next to a major water shelf.

Every day come more revelations of capitalism's total disregard for human life, whether that is the uranium miners, asbestos workers, migrant farmworkers poisoned by insecticides, or the thousands killed and maimed in "industrial accidents" caused by the deadly conditions in factories and fields everywhere. And one sign of a new awareness of the need to unite with workers on the same side of the barricades is the prominent priority this year's anti-Nuke demonstrators have given to a bill before Congress that would provide new jobs for workers displaced by so-called defense cutbacks.

### THE DRIVE TO DESTRUCTION

In contrast to the swelling opposition from below to capitalism's drive to destruction, we are witnessing a session on disarmament at the UN so farcical that even the bourgeois press is laughing at its futility, and one U.S. official predicts that all it will end with is "some sort of agenda . . . over the next two, three or four years." But time is running out, and against the meaningless talk at the UN, the reality lies in the continuing U.S. threat of the neutron bomb, Russia's introduction of a new "killer satellite," France's rush to be gendarme in Africa, China's "prophecy" that Russia will

start World War III, and Germany's attempt to compete with the super-powers in the mad race to arm everybody.

At the Rocky Flats protest, Daniel Ellsberg made some chilling revelations, including his report that not only had the Pentagon, during the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations, made its own secret plans for dropping hydrogen bombs on every major city and military installation in Russia, China and other Communist countries, and had the bombs already prepared and on a ten-minute alert status; but that every President from Truman to Nixon had seriously considered using nuclear weapons; Truman and Eisenhower having discussed nuclear warheads to end the Korean War, and Johnson and Nixon weighing their use in Vietnam.

It was the massive anti-Vietnam War movement that finally forced an end to that horror. Nothing better shows the potential power and the urgent need for the growth of the new anti-nuclear power, anti-war movement to stop capitalism's drive to destruction of all humanity, and bring forth a new world based on human foundations.

## News & Letters

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### WORKERS' LIVES AND RIGHTS

The construction accident at the cooling tower in West Virginia was one among hundreds produced by contractors using speedup. This one is so flagrant that it suggests manslaughter. I am not a lawyer. I write specifications for architects. But here are the questions I think should be asked:

Was the concrete to which anchorage was made to support the hanging construction platform too green to provide such support? Was high-early strength cement used to accelerate the set of the concrete? If not, why not? Could the towers have been built simultaneously instead of one after the other? Could operations have been shifted from one tower to the other, letting the last pour of concrete on the quiet one have time to set? True, this procedure would cost more money but might it have saved lives?

How many of the construction workers were coal miners that had been on strike? How many were relatives of miners? Was the contractor cashing in on the fact that their acute needs caused them to be blind to the hazardous conditions?

Why are the newspapers pointing to the failure of the OSHA to make inspections? Are they using this as a dodge to exonerate the contractor? OSHA is just a mass of paper regulations lacking real means of enforcement. Doesn't it just provide AF of L business agents with an excuse for lack of union action?

Alan Mather  
Detroit

The new labor bill now being debated in Congress was ostensibly created to force companies to engage in collective bargaining with unions voted-in by the workers in a plant or shop. But the government has been passing laws for the last 43 years in an effort to control labor. The right-to-work law which now exists in 19 Southern and Midwest states was originally posed as beneficial to labor but it is one of the most glaring examples of anti-labor legislation. It is not the laws of this land that can make business respect the rights of workers. The only way we can be sure

this new labor bill will be passed with any meaningful substance for labor will be for the action of workers to make it so.

Auto worker  
Los Angeles

The UFW has reached an agreement with the grape growers for 25 cents an hour increase with hiring turned over to the growers. Giving up any union say-so on hiring brings to mind a crucial time for auto workers when the UAW, under Reuther's leadership, negotiated for Supplementary Unemployment Benefits but gave the corporations Paragraph 8 of the contract. This single paragraph gives the company complete authority in hiring, working conditions, line speed, when and how there can be a strike, etc. This was a major victory for GM in its efforts to gain control of the union. By giving up its right to control hiring, the UFW is opening the door for the growers' eventual control of their union, too.

Auto worker  
Los Angeles

### NEO-NAZISM

The article about the eviction of the Nazis in southwest Detroit didn't list the many organizations who picketed from the very first day N&L sent out the urgent call: West Side Mothers, WRO, Jewish Labor Committee, National Federation of the Blind, Lowndes County Movement, Metropolitan Community Church, MOHR, as well as many left groups were on the picket lines. There were Black, Brown, Red and White, Arab and Jew. The unity of all these diverse elements made it possible for the Labor-Community-Interfaith Council to bring in the all-important dimension of organized labor.

It is important to be concrete about who these forces were now that the Nazis have opened up again on Detroit's westside. The Labor-Community-Interfaith Council has allied with the Brightmoor businessmen's and community organizations. The most unexpected help has come from the white unemployed youth — the very ones the Nazis are trying to recruit. They started picketing

one hour after the Nazis opened up. The Jewish War Veterans brought their signs and demonstrations went on all day and all night, and began again the next day. Local motorcycle clubs have vowed to drive the Nazis out with force. And they would have, if the city had not sent the police out in force to protect them. They wound up having to block the whole area off, tempers were so high to get the Nazis out immediately.

Anti-Nazi Activist  
Southwest Detroit

Margareth Miller, the Ann Arbor lesbian mother, lost her appeal for custody of her daughter Jillian, despite the recommendation of a court-appointed psychologist, the Friend of the court, and Jillian's own preference. She will go to the Supreme Court even though she must pay the costs. When I spoke with her, she stressed the relationship between the loss of homosexuals' rights and the rise of Nazi movements.

"We are not being sent to gas chambers, but all Holocausts begin small . . . I recently went to Lima, Ohio to hear Anita Bryant, and was horrified by the lynch-mob atmosphere of so many so-called Christians . . . It is a tragedy that they can do this to me simply because I love a little differently and am not in a closet. An attack on one minority means that they can attack anyone."

Readers can send letters and contributions to Margareth Miller, c/o Shirley Burgoyne, 111 N. Main, Ann Arbor, MI 48107.

Susan Van Gelder  
Detroit

I attended a memorial meeting on the 35th anniversary of the heroic Warsaw Ghetto Uprising where the keynote speaker was Irving Steinberg, a Chicago attorney. He hit out against a recent editorial in *The Sentinel*, a weekly that calls itself "Voice of Chicago Jewry," which said Jews should ignore the Nazis, who only want publicity.

# Reader

The Nazis are not a poorly organized, underfinanced group looking for headlines. They are closely tied to a number of well-financed, right-wing groups in this country and abroad. Recently a group of leather-jacketed neo-Nazi youth in Hamburg, Germany, passed out anti-Semitic literature printed in Lincoln, Nebraska. As Mr. Steinberg suggested, Jews must join with labor and minority groups, especially Blacks, who were the first to bear the brunt of Nazi terrorism in Marquette Park and white supremacist rallies in Oakland and San Jose.

The meeting ended with the singing of a Partisan Song of the Warsaw Ghetto, "Du Zolst Nit Zogen As Du Genst Dem Letzten Weg."

Jewish Marxist-Humanist  
Chicago

### WOMEN'S LIBERATION

It was great to see Suzanne Casey's article, "Trotskyists Limit WL to Class Struggle 'Aspect'" in the last issue of *News & Letters*. She sure got their number! It is only after 10 years of the Women's Liberation Movement that the Left is giving lip service to women. What comes through in Ms. Casey's article is that the Left's interest in us is purely opportunistic and has nothing to do with a recognition of what we bring to revolution.

Where the Trotskyists reduce us to an "aspect," other groups totally ignore us because we don't fit into their plan for revolution. As far as I can see (and I have looked) *News & Letters* is the only organization that has singled out what is great about the WLM. It is the three words you had above Ms. Casey's column — "Woman as Reason."

Feminist  
Chicago

Ms. Casey's nominally anti-Trotskyist polemic attacking alleged opportunism of Trotskyist groups regarding "women's liberation" runs counter to my experience, is un-Marxist, and perhaps even

**TWO WORLDS**

**The Latin American revolutions: where to next?**

By **Raya Dunayevskaya**  
Author of **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION**  
and **MARXISM AND FREEDOM**

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** We print below excerpts from a new *Political-Philosophic Letter* by Raya Dunayevskaya, written upon her return from her national lecture tour. The full letter, which includes as Appendix her correspondence with Silvio Frondizi around his projected translation of **MARXISM AND FREEDOM**, can be ordered from **NEWS & LETTERS** for 50 cents.

Of the more than two dozen talks I gave on this spring's lecture tour — ranging from "Gramsci's Philosophy of Praxis vs. Eurocommunism" to "Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought"; from "Rosa Luxemburg and Today's Women's Liberation Movement," to "Today's Global Crisis, Marx's CAPITAL and the Epigones Who Try To Truncate It" — the talk that produced the most probing discussions was the one given at California State University on "The Latin American Unfinished Revolutions: Where to Next?" This was due to the fact that the discussions on it transformed the question, "Where To Next?", from one of "programs and tactics," as was the case heretofore, to one of methodology and a philosophy of revolution.

In the 1960s the discussions around the New Divide — the Cuban Revolution — were nearly totally uncritical both because of the great enthusiasm over its success against both Batista and that goliath 90 miles from its shore, U.S. imperialism, and because of the hope that it would initiate a new age of revolutions on no less than a tri-continental Third World range. But the new question now posed was: How could it be that Cuba — which made its revolution by its own force — and its own Reason which Fidel had declared to be "Humanist," — was now so blatantly tailendist to Russia, globally, as to declare Ethiopia a "land going toward socialism" and oppose the Eritrean liberation struggle Fidel had so long championed?

One African called the Cubans "mercenaries," and I strongly objected to the designation, explaining that,

no doubt, if I were Eritrean, I could easily sound as Maoist as those who declare Russia to be "Enemy No. 1," but that choosing the "lesser evil" has always brought to the fore the greater evil, be it U.S. imperialism or Russian. The young man replied that, first, he was not Eritrean, but Ethiopian; and that a genuine social revolution is exactly what the liberation struggles within Ethiopia aimed at, as against Col. Mengistu. But, continued the young man, the truth is always concrete, and, concretely, the Cubans are not revolutionaries but counter-revolutionaries in Ethiopia.

**WHERE, IN THE 1960s and early '70s,** discussions in the Left centered around "Dependency Theories," today discussion is around the unfinished nature of all Third World revolutions . . . Today, Third Worldism is declared to be sheer "euphoria," as in Gerard Chaliand's **Revolution in the Third World**. It is by no means a work by some reactionary outsider, but a Left "participant-observer" as he rightly designates himself. It is this that makes Chaliand's book a serious contribution to the present discussion of what to do now that the revolutions in the Third World have remained unfinished.

He answers unequivocally with what he calls "Guerrilla Inflation: The Foco Theory as a Theory of Failure." He shows that, first, the only peasant and urban guerrillas that had any success were those that were social as well as national struggles, that is to say, class battles. Secondly, he now acknowledges that "the most important weakness is the conceptual" (p. 179) . . . Unfortunately, far from drawing the "conceptual" to a logical conclusion as a total philosophy of liberation, Chaliand reduces it to "social and political terrain," which is hardly more than Trotskyist paraphernalia, though he rejects Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution.

**AS FAR BACK AS 1952,** Bolivia had a national and social revolution, in which the Trotskyists played a leading role. They have learned little from their popu-

lar frontism, which only paved the way for retrogression. That the failure to face that question assures the repetition of laying the ground for even more tragic failures was seen as recently as 1971, when the new euphoria over Allende's victory led them to issue the call for a "Socialist Party of the Masses" through merger of the Socialist, Communist and Trotskyist Parties . . .

(Continued on page 6)

**WHO WE ARE**

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

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

**Views**

anti-Marxist. Marxists of all stripes recognize the primacy of the class question! By implying that "male" sexism is the main enemy, Casey becomes a source of confusion as to the problems of worker exploitation and women's oppression. The bourgeoisie would very much like to keep the working class divided by sexism (and sectoralism) . . .

Look at the women's conference in Houston. What serious Marxist would cite this "ruling-class hustle" as "feminist advancement," given the prominence of the U.S. bourgeois? . . . Is the prominence of bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois women, who maintained much control, an accident? Where is the proletarian content? . . . I suggest that the charge of "opportunism" is mis-directed.

M. E.  
New York

**Editor's Note:** See Dec., 1977 N&L for our analysis of the IDEY Conference where — despite the ideological battles that didn't take place — the "20,000 women who converged on Houston . . . created a momentum far beyond the Plan of Action devised by the appointed commissioners."

**RACISM AND THE MEDIA**

When I heard some music by a few of the Rock Against Racism groups, I couldn't believe it. This is something really new. It is about the first really good rock music I've heard in at least six years. When I first heard about R. A. R. I expected them to be well-meaning but corny and "Churchy," but besides the great lyrics, in just sheer musicianship they're an easy match for all the worn-out groups like the Stones, Bowie, Clapton, E. J., and the rest. Why the radio stations aren't playing these new groups instead of the disco-trash must be for purely political and commercial reasons. Any D. J. should know good music when he hears it.

Rock Fan  
Detroit

In the morning session of the anti-Bakke conference here speakers stressed the significance of the successful mass April 15 demonstration in Washington, D.C. The establishment media came close to completely ignoring the largest mass protest against racism since the 60s. Other speakers tied the struggle against racism here in the U.S. to government and corporate support and investment in the racist regime of South Africa. The afternoon sessions included workshops on racism in education, employment and against women. Each workshop took proposals for action back to the general assembly and formed ongoing groups to work in each area. We agreed to support all the upcoming actions including demonstrations against S1437, and the July 9th national rally for the E.R.A.

Activist  
New York

The situation at Brooklyn College shows the dangers of racism to the student movement. There, a group of Puerto Rican students approached the all-white and predominantly Jewish student government for funds for buses to attend the April 15 anti-Bakke demonstration in Washington. After just having voted \$1,000 for buses to protest the Nazis in Skokie, the student government passed a resolution granting \$10 to the Puerto Rican students. They were outraged and a fight broke out in the middle of the student government meeting. One Puerto Rican teacher was immediately fired for fighting.

Since then there have been frequent fights between students along racial lines. Needless to say, this situation rather than the Hostos movement is what the bourgeois media have given prominent coverage.

CUNY student  
New York

**BACK TO McCARTHYISM?**

It is chilling to see how easily we can slip back to the McCarthyite era. What has happened to Bertell Ollman is the proof. Prof. Ollman is a serious scholar who earned his doctorate from Oxford, has been teaching at NYU for ten years, and is the author of **Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society**. He was selected over 100 other candidates to head the political science department of the University of Maryland — until Maryland's acting governor set off a furor by questioning whether a Marxist should be given such a post, and his appointment was put in grave doubt. It is not an isolated incident. It is part of the whole move backward in this country, that began with trying to erase every gain won by the Black revolt. We cannot allow it to happen.

Student Protesters  
New York

**PEACE NEWS**

**Peace News** and **The Leveller** are being done in for contempt of court in Britain in what is a clear case of civil liberties vs. the heavy hand of the state and courts. The immediate reason for the charge is that both published the name of Colonel H. A. Johnstone (the anonymous 'Colonel B' in an official secrets case). They lifted a corner of the veil of secrecy surrounding the trial. Now both papers and the people who work on them not only face fines, but the Attorney General is demanding that his costs be paid by the defense. It would put an end to both. **Peace News** has been going since the 1930s; **The Leveller**, an alternative left paper, has been going a few years. A joint **Peace News/Leveller Defense Fund** has been set up, c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N1. And a subscription to **Peace News** would also help — only 5 pence a year to 8 Elm Ave., Nottingham, Eng.

Dawn  
Belfast, Northern Ireland

**INTERNATIONALISM**

I liked the way the Lead on Latin America last issue showed it was not a fight just over a treaty, but over a new way of life. That is the beauty of N&L. And you didn't separate Latin America

from the Caribbean as most people do. It is important that at Hostos, there are very few Haitians, and yet they felt it important enough to include French on many of their signs.

New Member  
New York

I'd like to know why a daily paper in Detroit, Michigan should spend so much time slandering and trying to stir up prejudice and racist hatred against a small nationality nearly 600 miles away. Why are they so afraid of French-Canadians wanting their own self-determination? In one week, there were three editorials about how French-Canadians don't know how to run their own affairs. If the Quebecers are so stupid, what are they afraid of? Maybe that it will link up with the many freedom movements in the United States and thus hasten the arrival of the long-overdue Revolution everywhere?

Student  
Detroit

The series of continuous mass demonstrations, hunger strikes and the strong support of high school students after the slaying of Chamorro in Nicaragua is the clearest sign of Somoza's coming downfall. The 7,500 National Guardsmen endorsing Somoza are far outnumbered by the population of Managua, which is in total opposition to the social and political order. Even if the U.S. gave military help to Somoza's dictatorship, concerned people all over the world, and especially in the U.S., would stand against it, this time with more strength than they did during the inhuman Vietnam war.

Mexicano  
Chicago

**AN URGENT APPEAL**

**Hugo Blanco**, just recently permitted back in Peru, was among the first arrested when the general strike broke out. He has been deported, along with many other prisoners, to Argentina, and there is great fear for their safety. Telegrams demanding their safe passage to a country of their choice should be sent immediately to: **President Jorge Videla, Casa Rosada, Buenos Aires, Argentina.**

# BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

At this time, the question is not which way the U.S. Supreme Court is going to "jump" when it decides the Bakke case, but the recognition of the fact that affirmative action as a method of breaking down the barriers of discrimination in education, for all practical purposes, may already be dead.

The only force that can achieve viable affirmative action in education is the militant mass action of Blacks, women, Chicanos and other minorities — the forces that gave birth to the idea of affirmative action a decade ago.

Recently, the University of California reported after a special study that there are less Black, Chicano and Asian students on the campuses now than there were eight years ago. They claim that this is due to the failure of high schools to properly prepare minority students to cope with academic study.

In San Francisco, the school district has never fully complied with a court order to desegregate. Robert Alioto, the district superintendent of schools, has introduced a plan to redesign the district—by closing schools and laying off teachers. The Hunters Point schools in the Black ghetto, he said, can never be desegregated because white parents would rather move out of the district or send their children to private schools.

# TWO WORLDS

(Continued from page 5)

Even now, when they blame Fidel for not having been critical enough of Allende's reformism, not to mention totally tail-ending Russian Communism in Africa, the Trotskyists can find nothing sharper to accuse Fidel of than "empiricism on the question of Stalinism." It is not empiricism that is the question. It is the critical determinant—the class nature, the capitalist class nature, of Stalinism, which is, after all, but the Russian name for the world phenomenon of our age: state-capitalism.

And it is the blindness to this reality which assures continued Trotskyist tail-ending of Communism . . .

**THE SPECIFIC TERRAIN** of Latin America brought to my mind the development of the Argentinian revolutionary, Silvio Frondizi. On the eve of the first revolts from under Russian totalitarianism—the June, 1953 uprising in East Germany—Frondizi began a new type of digging into the origins of Marx's new continent of thought he called a "new Humanism".

Frondizi wrote: "The recent publication of the *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* and of *The German Ideology* serves to illuminate many important aspects of dialectical materialism, making urgent and indispensable a new study of theory that would take into account the humanism in them and in *The Holy Family*, *The Jewish Question*, the introduction to the *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, as well as the later economic works that, far from contradicting the philosophical principles affirmed in the early works . . . illuminate and enriches them". . . .

Silvio Frondizi was a serious Marxist, an activist. In a land where the Left confusedly hoped after World War II that Peron might be an effective force against U.S. imperialism, Frondizi had instead, by the 1950s, organized a group to seriously study dialectics and print Marxist studies in Argentina.

**BY 1968, THE MOST** tragic aspect, globally, of Cuba's moving away from revolution, was Cuba's tail-ending Stalinism in the approval of Russia's counter-revolutionary crushing of Prague Spring, 1968 . . . It wasn't only the Third World countries that remained cold to "socialism with a human face" in 1968. So sure was the revolutionary youth movement in France that they could "make it" (a social revolution) without any digging deep in order to work out a new relationship of theory to practice, maintaining that theory, as Cohn-Bendit had put it, could be picked up "en route," that Czechoslovakia was left bleeding alone . . .

What is new (in the 1970s) are the new groups that are appearing from the Left, who want to see with eyes of today the past two decades that would not separate the Latin American struggles from those in East Europe, or the Black Revolution in the-U.S. from the present struggle in South Africa, or new class struggles in West Europe from the so-called "ultra-Lefts" in China, much less allow Women's Liberation to be relegated to "the day after" the revolution. The new is that the struggles must be considered as a totality, and as a totality from which would emerge new beginnings.

May 15, 1978

## "The Latin American Unfinished Revolutions" A New Political-Philosophic Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya

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# Blacks fight racist education

Alioto argues that the money crunch and low enrollment demands his plan be enacted. However, to place the blame for the continuation of racism on these factors is to ignore the subtle form of racism that has become fashionable in the Bay Area.

This racism has taken up the cudgel against the bogymen of an alleged quota system. They say that all affirmative action programs are inherently a "quota" and that quotas are undemocratic, and would only lead to a system where each racial and ethnic group would hold jobs according to their percentage in the population.

Black people in the U.S. have fought around the issue of education for over a hundred years; it was one of the battlefronts in the struggle for freedom. We should not forget that one of the characteristic elements in the lack of freedom for Black people during slavery was the legal denial of the right to obtain any education. To attempt to acquire the ability to read or write was considered a conspiracy against the system of slavery. And if one was caught in the act of doing so, he or she was punished accordingly.

It wasn't until after the Civil War that the revolutionary idea of universal education for all became a popular cause in the U.S. The germ of that idea was manifested in the thrust of the newly-emancipated slave for education. In 1868 in South Carolina, a predominantly Black constitutional assembly wrote into the Reconstruction constitution of that state a provision for a state-wide system of free public education for all citizens without regard to race or color.

A hallmark of capitalism, as Karl Marx pointed out, is the separation between manual and mental labor. For centuries, an overwhelming number of Blacks have been relegated to doing manual labor while whites were supposed to be doing the thinking. If affirmative action had any revolutionary meaning it was the overcoming of this separation—and not just to place elite Blacks, women, Chicanos and other minority individuals in the universities.

It is for this reason that capitalism has been so determined to see affirmative action dead and buried, and why thousands marched last month determined to make it a reality.

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# WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from page 1)

for more production. They agreed to return to work after the union came into bargain for them, but without 17 workers who were fired during the strike. Workers came out screaming, "The union sold us out." The union said the strike was not justified because it was a wild-cat, but any of those workers will tell you that the company forced them to strike, with speed-up and intimidation to the breaking point, where they just could not take it.

## DULL JOBS

Engelberger says about 60 percent of the robots have been adapted for use in the automotive industry. He predicts the gradual replacement by robots of people in "dull" jobs through normal attrition will make auto plants more interesting places to work. It will eventually lead to job enrichment for the human who directs the work of the robots. He said that it would also improve productivity which could lead to the creation of new jobs.

This was said when they first introduced Automation, that it would create more jobs. But it eliminated workers by the thousands, especially production workers. For those that were left, the machines changed their whole lives, and it was a more miserable life for many.

We have already seen the results of Automation. This robot is not only much worse than Automation, it is the last step of the capitalists' dream of replacing what Marx said was, in the capitalists' view, the "refractory hand of the laborer." What they don't understand is that they cannot eliminate that "refractory hand," which is still the gravedigger of capitalism. It is the workers' revolt that will end this exploitative society.

# 100 protest prison torture

E. St. Louis, Ill.—Almost 100 people came from Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois and Nebraska on April 22 to demonstrate against the inhuman conditions at Marion Federal Prison. We marched outside of the Court Building to protest Judge James Foreman's inhuman ruling concerning the deadly "Control Unit" (CU).

Foreman's ruling did stop the use of the dreaded 9x12 boxcar cells, but it did nothing to stop the CU itself, and gave prison officials the green light to use the CU to discipline and segregate prisoners who they "predict" might cause trouble, i.e., fight for human conditions.

Prison officials want this kind of power because Marion is full of political prisoners like Lorenzo Kombo Ervin (see April, 1978 News & Letters), Raphael Cancel Miranda, the Puerto Rican nationalist, and Leonard Peltier of the American Indian Movement.

The high points of the rally were the messages from the prisoners themselves:

"For many years, the people of this country have been tricked by the lies and propaganda of the prison bureaucracy that federal prisons 'were not bad places' and that prisoners therein were well-treated. That is the fiction, but the reality is something else. The CU is the final and clinching evidence of government oppression and criminality. Ten men have died in the CU—allegedly by suicide—many others have been driven insane or to self-mutilation.

"The prison officials don't care if they kill the prisoner or drive him insane, as long as they control him. We don't know how this will all turn out—perhaps even other victims will die in this infamous pit of inhuman abuse. But this much we do know: it is our duty and that of all concerned humanity to struggle together to abolish the Control Unit.

"In Solidarity, Lorenzo Komboa Ervin and the (H-Unit) Marion Brothers."

# Hostos '500' takeover report

(Continued from page 1)

Criminal Courthouse, about 250 comrades waited outside on a picket line until we were all released.

While we took over the main building, 13 Hostos students went on a hunger strike in front of City Hall. This ended when 1,500 CUNY students mobilized for a rally there on May 11 to support Hostos. (See story, p. 7).

The most important thing about our struggle is its links to those around the City University. Other campuses are facing the same racist attacks on students, and our struggle is showing we can beat the administration. Last week police broke up a rally at Brooklyn College, and students are trying to prevent York College from closing. We are confronting the most important issues of the whole City University here, so our struggle touches the lives of all students.

After the May 11 rally, Mayor Koch and Deputy Mayor Badillo met with a group of Hostos students and agreed to sign the papers by June so that renovation can start. But we want action and not more words. We will get the "500" building even if we get thrown out of Hostos, because Hostos is all of us.

When they start renovation we will demand they hire Hostos students and residents from the South Bronx to do the work. We need the jobs, and this is our community. We are marching forward until victory is ours.

—Ponce Laspina



by Jim Mills

This month, on June 17, we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the mass spontaneous strikes by East German workers which exploded the myth of Russian totalitarianism invincibility. In that same spirit, characteristic of the E. European countries for the past 25 years, 1,000 young people broke up the E. German government's celebration last October of 28 years under Russian state capitalism. They chanted "Russians out" and "End the police state."

Now East Germany delineates a new international dimension in the resurgent youth movement. For the first time since World War II, East and West German young people are expressing a shared opposition across a capitalist wall to the imprisonment of dissident Rudi Bahro (see lead article).

This month also marks the second anniversary of the June 16 Soweto revolt, when mass high school youth opposition to the teaching of Afrikaans forged a new global character for movements everywhere. In South Africa the relentless rebellions opposing apartheid have just compelled the white regime to close schools on June 9 to thwart plans for observances of June 16.

**A TWO-WAY ROAD**

The international dimension has now entered revolutionary struggles within all countries. Thus, in the U.S., Princeton University students protested that college's financial links to S. Africa on April 4, the tenth anniversary of the assassination of M. L. King, Jr. A Native American student speaking at the rally compared Vorster's Bantustans program in S. Africa to the removal of Native Americans to the wasteland reservations.

Likewise, Columbia University students turned May Day—international workers' day—into another protest, to demand that Columbia divest from businesses in South Africa. However, people from the coalition which sponsored the protest formed committees to oppose Columbia's role as the third largest landlord in New York, its notoriously discriminatory hiring practices, and its plans to activate a nuclear reactor on campus.

**SOLIDARITY: REVOLUTION-AT-HOME**

Internationalism within the revolts by U.S. youth emerges through the Latino struggles. Even strictly American problems reveal the Latino dimension. Take the ongoing struggles in the S. Bronx and Hostos Community College. (See story on this page.)

Or Chicago teenagers in Houston who turned out to observe Cinco de Mayo—Mexican Independence Day—and the anniversary of the death of Joe Torres Campos at the hands of Houston policemen; before the end of

**E. Coast divestment protests**

New York, N.Y.—The rising protest against South Africa's apartheid continues to show itself on U.S. campuses, and this spring it bursts out at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. Elsewhere, including at Amherst, U. of Massachusetts, Princeton, Stanford, Hampshire and Columbia, helped Vassar students move from study to action.

In the past five months there have been at least three confrontations with the Trustees who control Vassar's \$85 million portfolio, of which some \$28 million is directly invested in banks and corporations which earn their profits in the racist South African economy.

In February, the protesters conducted a sit-in at a Trustee meeting to get their point across. In April, feeling that little or no response was developing, the students held a silent protest concurrent with the academic procession and other fanfare surrounding the inauguration of Vassar's new president, Virginia Smith.

On May 13 as the Board of Trustees meeting broke up, the students moved in to temporarily blockade the meeting room doors. They demanded to know the Board's decision on their request for immediate divestiture and the rationale behind it. After some scuffling, the Trustees "escaped" and the protest broke up as the students learned the matter had not even been brought up at the meeting.

Growing frustration and militance on the part of the student coalition will accelerate the planning this summer and intensify demands in the fall, despite the stall tactics of the trustees.

NEW YORK, N.Y.—At Columbia University's May 17 graduation ceremonies several hundred capped and gowned students and their supporters stood up and "walked aside" when an honorary Doctor of Laws degree was conferred on John D. deButts, chairman of the Board of A.T.&T. DeButts was being honored for his "devotion to the public good."

The action, which was accompanied by the unfurling of banners reading "Divest Now" from the windows of surrounding buildings, was the last in a year-long series of protests against Columbia's support of the South African apartheid regime. The University has some \$80 million invested in corporations that do business in South Africa.

As students and their parents began arriving, white armbands were handed out to anyone who wished to show their support for divestment. More than 2,000 were made up, but a half hour before the ceremony began they were running out.

**Worldwide youth revolt**

the night they had burned many stores in the area and battled police. The smoldering ruins of several stores had "Justice for Torres" etched on them.

This internationalism developed on and within continents marks a new and needed outlook which is borne out by the formation of new groups who refuse to separate Third World revolutions from their own country's freedom struggles. The plain truth is that the strongest solidarity expressed for another's successful revolution is the completion of the revolution in one's own country.

**Chicago anti-Begin protest**

Chicago, Ill. — Menachem Begin his visit to Chicago on May 3 by restating his intent to never yield an inch of occupied Arab land. He was greeted at Northwestern University (NU) Dyche Stadium by at least 500 protesters when he came to accept an honorary Doctor of Law degree.

A young woman summed up her analysis with the sign she carried: "Begin doesn't make up for Butz." (Arthur Butz is the NU professor whose recent book alleged that the Nazi slaughter of six million Jews was a hoax.) As this woman pointed out, "The university handled the Butz incident so badly that a lot of Jewish alumni withdrew their support. So it is very clear why the administration was so anxious to invite Begin here and award him an honorary degree."

At NU, Jewish protesters from Chutzpah and Am Chai also carried huge signs saying "Support the Israeli Peace Movement" and "Support the Tel Aviv 25,000," and shouted "Israel Yes, Palestine Yes."

An Iranian student chose a sign that read: "Jews Yes, Begin No," while two African students captured the new mood this way: "It is not a question of being against the Jews or for the Arabs. We are opposing all reactionary regimes, whether in Israel or Saudi Arabia or Africa or the U.S."

Many tried to link the struggle in the Middle East with the struggle here at home. As the Chutzpah members left they shouted, "See you on June 25," which is when the Nazis plan to invade Skokie.

—Anti-Begin protester

**80,000 British youth say 'no' to Nazi offensive**

by Dave Black

London, England—As we stood in Victoria Park, in the East End of London on April 30, we could see the huge hideous effigy-heads of pro-Nazi National Front (NF) leaders Tyndall and Webster on a truck in the middle of the park, looking strangely bewildered in the presence of 80,000 young supporters of "Rock Against Racism" and the Anti-Nazi League. We had come to say a very loud "no" to the offensive of the racist right-wing, which has been growing like a cancer in Britain's current crisis.

This "Carnival Against the Nazis" was the most impressive political (and musical) event in years. Even the organizers were astonished at the turnout. They had hoped for 20,000, and everyone agrees that at least four times that number crowded into Victoria Park.

It seemed as though the majority of the crowd was made up of teenagers—many only 13, 14 or 15 years old—who covered themselves with anti-Nazi League and Rock Against Racism badges and took every Left newspaper they could find. You could see youth exchanging papers they had two copies of for one they didn't have yet. There was a tremendous excitement in realizing that tens of thousands felt just as you did about racism.

The organizers had called the Carnival in response to the National Front's standing of hundreds of candidates in the local government elections taking place the same week. Press reports spoke of the "biggest anti-fascist mobilization since Cable Street." Cable Street, in the East End, is where in 1936 the Jewish and working class communities drove Oswald Moseley's Blackshirts from the streets. Today, the area has been hard hit by the crisis, has a large Black population, and—among the area's whites—has become a notorious breeding ground for the NF.

The bourgeois media have been "commemorating" the French May '68 near-revolution and celebrating how everyone is now "older and wiser." But the people who turned up for this event were mostly too young to remember 1968. Some of the Left sectarians here have been suggesting that they came "just for the music."

If so, why did they march five miles from Trafalgar Square instead of taking the tube? The demonstration was so massive that when the head of the march reached Victoria Park, people were still waiting to leave Trafalgar Square.

In any case, the music itself—performed by Black Reggae any Steel Pulse, plus the Clash, Tom Robinson Band and others—was openly and powerfully political music. Tom Robinson did a song called "Winter of '79," which projected an imaginary fascist takeover of Britain next year. "Looking at you," Robinson told the crowd, "they haven't got a chance." You could share his optimism. And in the elections a few days later, the fascist vote declined greatly.



—News & Letters photo

Two hundred Chicano students occupy UCLA's law school library and admissions offices on May 23 (above), protesting cuts in law school admissions for Chicanos. San Francisco marchers (below) marched on April 29 demanding reversal of the Bakke decision and supporting affirmative action and other minority gains.

**New CUNY rallies citywide**

New York, N.Y. — A demonstration on May 11 brought 1,500 students from at least six colleges of the City University of New York (CUNY) together for the first time during the current crisis in the University. Shouting, singing and dancing, the mainly Latino and Black crowd marched from Mayor Koch's apartment house to City Hall to demand expansion and a halt to cutbacks at all CUNY campuses.

Before May 11, each college had been fighting separately. On April 26, 1,000 Hostos students and supporters marched through East (Spanish) Harlem to the Board of Higher Education and Gracie Mansion, the Mayor's official residence. At the same time, 2,000 marched in Jamaica, Queens, at a Black area, to save York College.

The publication of the new CUNY Master Plan to build facilities for some colleges but eliminate many others that had been promised, helped to unite the schools. At the May 11 march, the Hostos contingent changed its slogans from "Hostos" to "CUNY," as in "CUNY united will never be defeated."

It is clear that the newest colleges—like York and Hostos—opened in the Black and Latino communities in response to the pressures of the 1960s, are to be further crippled or closed as part of the real "master plan" to get minority students out of the higher education system. The students chanted, "Education is our right" and "Hell no, we won't go"—and the old anti-war slogan took on entirely new meaning.

The Hostos occupation is exciting because the students are not only occupying but running the school in new and creative ways. One important feature is the child care center which, from the very beginning, has been open early in the morning 'til late at night. It has been fully equipped and staffed with volunteers, both women and men. (Men work in the kitchen as well.)

This is especially needed at Hostos because 70 percent of the students are women, and students are older than average, many having jobs and/or families.

**Anti-Shah revolts sweep Iran**

Los Angeles, Cal. — Yesterday I spoke with two students who had just come from Iran and they told me of massive demonstrations and mass killings there right now.

The students had just come from Isfahan, one of Iran's larger cities, and reported on workers in the bazaar (central market) closing their shops and demonstrating with students and peasants. In the city of Qum, thousands have been killed and their bodies loaded onto trucks and dumped in a salt lake near the city. There were other demonstrations in Teheran. The latest series lasted for three days. They have been so massive that the Shah has been forced to cancel his trip to Eastern Europe.

This is the same Shah who came to the U.S. last November and was faced by an historic demonstration of Iranian students in Washington, D.C. In response to those demonstrations he said, "My opponents are only outside the country and they are not even Iranians, they are mostly Palestinians or Blacks. They are all Marxists."

Since the Shah's visit to the U.S., Iran has become a battleground. Hundreds of political prisoners went on a hunger strike on March 20, while many have been shot on the streets. Even The New York Times had to say, "Iranians would like more revolution and less Shah."

The flame is all over. Workers, peasants, students, teachers, clergymen are all involved. Armed guerrillas are continuing their struggle. Poets and writers are doing their share to oppose the despotic rule.

—Iranian student

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

# New political ferment emerges from Polish worker uprisings

Ever since the workers' uprisings in June, 1976, that included strikes, barricading railroads, and burning down the Communist Party headquarters in Radom, there has been a resurgence of intellectual activity in Poland.

The most well-known of the opposition groups is the Committee for Social Self-Defense, originally called the Workers' Self-Defense Committee when it was formed to win the release of imprisoned workers after the June 1976 rebellion against food price increases. Since the release of all the prisoners last September, the Committee has remained active and is now exposing cases of brutality and intrusions by police against anyone who openly disagrees with the state.

Equally significant are the many underground newspapers and literary reviews that have started. One of the founders of *Zapis*, a secretly-published

literary review now over a year old, said it was started because the Workers' Defense Committee "served as an example to everyone of the way in which society can defend itself against the State."

A workers' newspaper, *Robotnik* (The Worker), started as a newspaper of the Ursus factory workers who went on strike in June, 1976 and continues with a printing of 3,000 copies per issue. The Committee for Social Self-Defense also leaked the famous "Letter of the Fourteen," written by former Communist Party dignitaries, which blamed the Gierek regime for Poland's economic and political crises and called for genuine forms of local control.

A declaration called "For a Socialist Democracy," published in January, 1978 by a group of workers calling themselves "A Group of Polish Communists," claims the present movement started

with the 1970 uprising against price increases in food, clothing and housing, which resulted in the killing of many workers, the toppling of Gomulka, and Gierek's coming to power. The declaration states:

"Since December, 1970, a consciousness developed that the existing social contradictions, of which strikes are the obvious expression, are not an isolated fact, not a 'temporary breach between the Party and the masses'; but that, on the contrary, it constitutes the essence of the system of production which has been created in Poland and in other so-called socialist countries... The existing system of production excludes a true socialization of power, i.e., the abolition of a state apparatus isolated from the rest of society. And this can be considered one of the regime's foundations. So the existing system excludes all that constitutes the very essence of socialism..."

## India

Police in the town of Pantnagar in India opened fire on a group of workers who had gathered peacefully to protest layoffs on April 14. Hundreds were killed as a small group approached the police, chanting "The police and the workers are brothers." An exact count of the dead was impossible because the police burned and destroyed some of the bodies.

Elsewhere in India, racist upper caste mobs have escalated their attacks on members of the "untouchable" caste who had dared to occupy land ceded to them by the government. In scenes reminiscent of the worst periods of lynchings in the U.S. South, "untouchables" were driven from their homes and beaten to death or even burned alive. The new "democratic" Janata government "deplores" these attacks and admits that hundreds have died in the year it has held power, but it does nothing.

Tens of thousands of other "untouchables" have fled their land after persecutions, and no precise figures exist on how many have starved to death. The alleged restoration of India as the "world's largest democracy," after Indira Gandhi

was defeated in last year's elections, has solved none of the basic problems in India. If anything, the Janata Party in power has shown itself to be the reactionary and caste-ridden structure many had predicted it would be one year ago when it was elected.

## Czechoslovakia

This is the 10th anniversary of Prague Spring—that brief period in history when Alexander Dubcek sought to create "socialism with a human face" and whose efforts were crushed by Russian tanks and troops. The 80,000 Russian troops that remain in Czechoslovakia are a grim reminder that it is an occupied country.

Opposition to the regime is universal but rights to protest are severely limited. The document "Charter 77" which started with 200 signatures now has over 1,000 and those who sign are punished by loss of their jobs. Since they must eat they subsist on manual employment—scholars become stokers, surgeons become porters. But they live and wait.

One foreign resident of Prague for the past 20 years stated, "I have never heard anyone during

all that time defend the existing government, nor heard anyone opposing the concept of a socialist society."

## Nicaragua

Since the two-week general strike in Nicaragua in January against the one-man rule of Anastasio Somoza, the movement has spread beyond the opposition coalition of businesses and labor to the country's urban poor. There have been ongoing demonstrations and daily skirmishes with Somoza's only sustaining force, the 7,500-man National Guard. Dozens of high schools and churches have been occupied.

The occupations began in Masaya in late March and spread to the National Institute of Students, as well as high schools throughout Nicaragua. Students at Ramirez Goyena Institute in Managua were striking in sympathy with the 26-day-old hunger strike of Albertina Serrano de Jaén. She and 100 other hunger strikers are demanding better prison conditions for her son, Marcio, and another guerrilla leader, Thomas Borge, who have been in solitary confinement for the last 20 months.

# Mass European movements oppose racism and nuclear power threats

(Continued from page 1)

national question is not simply one of French foreign policy, but one that demands new revolutionary relationships within France today.

A beginning in this direction might be seen in the French Women's Liberation Movement, where an independent, non-party magazine like *Des Femmes en mouvement*, has achieved a circulation of 200,000, and does not divide the activity and ideas of women on freedom, but includes in its pages articles by "immigrants" as well as "French".

## ANTI-NAZI FIGHT IN BRITAIN

In Britain, too, the question of old colonial relations and not-so-old neo-colonial ones has been brought home to the "mother country" in 1978. In the severity of the British economic crisis, with more than a million and a half unemployed, the question of racialism against West Indian and Asian workers—and the movement against that racialism—have suddenly become the explosive issues of life. On the Right, there is Conservative Party leader Thatcher demanding that the "immigration flood" be stopped, and threatening to make racialism the center of the next election campaign. And there is the neo-Nazi National Front, who have attempted to create a mass basis for fascism out of the current crisis, by running candidates for the elections and by gang attacks on Asians and West Indians.

Throughout the month of April, a series of marches and festivals against the Nazis by "Rock Against Racism" and the Anti-Nazi League brought out thousands. All culminated in the giant march and rally April 30, when the turnout of 80,000, mostly teenagers, Black and white, stunned even rally organizers and showed that British youth were not seeing the expulsion of Black Britain as the solution to the very real problems of joblessness. (See demonstration report, p. 7.)

In the council elections that next week, the National Front's vote dropped sharply. But, in vicious desperation, their gangs murdered a 25-year-old Bangladeshi factory worker, and shot and wounded two young West Indians. New demonstrations have been called to protest the killings, and Black groups are organizing neighborhood protection.

The depth of the Black dimension in Britain today has taken the measure of all—and has meant, for activists in the Black community with whom I talked, and for some white supporters, a new interest in the relation of national consciousness to internationalism, as well as an impatience for the N&L publication of Frantz Fanon,

Soweto and American Black Thought, and a dialogue with its U.S. Black activist-authors.

## GERMANY: DIVERSE, VITAL MOVEMENT

No such Black dimension is present in Germany. Yet here, too, there is a persistence of revolt in all areas of activity.

- There are demonstrations nearly every week against nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons, and it seems that you can't walk down a single street without seeing stickers saying "Atomkraft—Nein Danke!" (Atomic Power — No Thanks!) on cars or in windows.

- In every city and many small towns, the Women's Liberation movement has set up centers and bookstores, and has genuinely involved both working women and students in activity together on everything from abolishing sex-segregated job classifications to legalizing abortion.

- In the factories, where the Socialist Party-affiliated unions try, as in Britain, to restrict all activity to support of the present government, new strikes have broken out anyway, especially among metalworkers and in the printing industry.

- And where fascism has dared to openly appear again, with neo-Nazi meetings and night spray-paintings, they have been met with demonstrations often ten or twenty times larger than the Nazis, as in Cologne on April 22, when 30,000 marched, including concentration camp survivors and—illegally—West German soldiers in uniform, under the slogan, "Never Again Fascism, Never Again War!"

It is precisely because the West German movement remains so vital, so independent of all parties' control, that the Schmidt regime has pursued "Berufsverbot" (job blacklisting) and press censorship with such malicious vigor, under the guise of fighting the "terrorism of the R.A.F." As opposed to the situation in France, in West Germany the majority of the Left has no illusions about the "socialist" nature of Russia or China. Nearly one-third of all Germans live under a one-party East German government that claims to be "socialist", yet from which millions of workers and students have fled since the 1953 revolt, many over the wall.

It is nearly impossible to describe that monument to state-capitalist totalitarianism. You stand in the Kreuzberg working class section of West Berlin, and look across the space of a city block to a similar row of apartment houses in East Berlin. In between stand two high concrete walls, rows of electrified barbed wire, ground planted with land mines, dogs, and—every 50

yards or so—a guard box with "Vopos" armed with submachine guns. Here you are face to face with what the Communists call "socialism", and what the Trotskyists term "a workers' state, though deformed."

The growing Left opposition inside East Germany, and the arrest and exile of so many revolutionary intellectuals in the past year has led to much activity and discussion in the West German Left as well. The campaign to free Rudolph Bahro, imprisoned "system-critic" and author of *The Alternative: Contribution to a Critique of Socialism as it Actually Exists*, has involved tens of thousands in demonstrations, solidarity meetings and petition drives.

All across Europe, a big word now is "reassessment", not only in Germany, but in France and Britain as well. In Britain, the Labor left says that a reassessment is needed in the wake of the loss of the strikes at Grunwicks and the firemen. And in France, everyone from the CP to the SP to the Trotskyist organizations are "reassessing" after the election defeat. But the question is: what do you mean by reassessment? Is it limited to the "tactical" questions of your party? Or does it mean an attempt to re-establish a continuity with Marx—not for Marx's sake—but because without that method, that very concrete dialectic, we will never have the necessary preparation for revolution-to-be.

These are the central questions to which we returned in conversations everywhere. Far from being "abstract", they arose out of, and led back to, the critical issues of the relation to the Women's Liberation movement and the Black dimension, as those movements have illuminated the shallowness of today's revolutionists. Again and again as I was asked to speak on the self-activity of the American miners' strike, in the discussion that followed I was asked more of the history of Marxist-Humanism as it emerged both from the struggles of miners and autoworkers and from a "reassessment" of Marxism that began with Marx's 1844 *Essays* and Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*.

The challenge exists for all of us, on both sides of the ocean, to listen to the new voices in revolt, and to help to create from that movement, a philosophy of human liberation for today. The fact that *Philosophy and Revolution* will appear next year in German and in French is an opportunity to take up that challenge, and together to see to it that this nightmare world, exuding fascism and neutron bombs, is forever ended, and a new, fully human history is finally begun.