

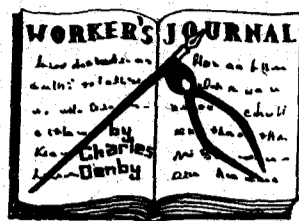
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Racism: an international deadly cancer

by **Charles Denby, Editor**

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

Anyone who has lived in the U.S. knows that racism is a very serious problem. It isn't just this country, it's a problem all over the world, and keeps getting bigger and uglier.

Some people may say that white racism in the U.S. hasn't been so bad since the 1960s, when historic gains were made against racial segregation. It's true that many important civil rights laws were passed by the federal, state and local governments. But passing those laws didn't change the racism in the hearts and minds of many whites, who are trying not only to prevent any further Black advances, but are moving to wipe out the gains that have been made.

MURDEROUS POLICE RACISM

In Birmingham, Ala., some of the greatest victories of the Black Revolt were won in the face of horribly vicious repression. Those victories put a stop to most of the open anti-Black actions by racist whites, until last month. That's when a Ku Klux Klan police officer, George Sands, shot an unarmed Black woman, 22-year-old Bonita Carter, in the back three times. A citizen review committee found the killing to be completely unjustified, but Birmingham Mayor David Vann refused to take any action against the white officer. Instead, he was simply taken off the street and put behind a desk.

No one has to imagine what would have happened if the situation was reversed, and a Black officer had shot a young white woman in the back. That officer would be in prison right now — if not dead.

There are reports that the police threatened to strike if action was taken against Sands. In Birmingham, white police officers make up 90 percent of the force, and Birmingham has a Black population of 50 percent. No one can say that there is no racism in that city — or anywhere else in this country.

CANADIAN BLACK REPRESSION

In a Canadian newspaper, Contrast, I recently saw a picture and article about the death of a young Black man, Andrew "Buddy" Evans, in Toronto. The picture was of a Black man picketing in front of the Coroner's Court during the inquest with a sign that read: "The Beautiful Nigger Hunting Season. Stays Open 365 Days a Year. Apply at Your Local Police Station for Your Club, Gun and Badge." The man picketing said the last words the police officer said to Evans were: "You are one dead nigger."

This is Toronto, Canada, not Rhodesia or South Africa. Toronto, where the beautiful Black tourists from the U.S. go to get relief from racism at "home."

I remembered this when talking to a Canadian work-
(Continued on Page 2)

Herbert Marcuse, Marxist philosopher

The death of Herbert Marcuse on July 29 marks a sad day on the historic calendar of young revolutionaries as well as old Marxists. How great is the void death has created can be gauged from his mature life span which covered the 1919 German Revolution, the U.S. New Left in the mid-1960s, to the very month of his death in Germany — the country of his birth, the land of both Hegel and Marx — where he was preparing a paper on "The Holocaust" to be delivered both there and in Spain. Marcuse's life-span was by no means one upward spiral. But the fact that the mass media, in their obituaries, choose to dwell on his **One-Dimensional Man**, as if that were the focal point of his life, tells a great deal more about decadent capitalism than it does about Herbert Marcuse.

The truth is that, as a young man completing his military service in Germany in the revolution of the revolutionary Soldiers' Council in Berlin. Marx's philosophy of liberation and the revolutionaries, Rosa Luxemburg-Karl Liebknecht, were the real determinants of Marcuse's life. It is true that when the Social Democracy beheaded that 1919 revolution and Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered, Marcuse left political activism for the study of philosophy. It is not true that he wavered in his commitment to Marxism.

In the very period when he wrote his first major work, **Hegel's Ontology and the Foundation of a Theory of History**, which still bore the traces of his teacher,

Heidegger, he penned what remains to this day one of the most profound analyses⁽¹⁾ of Marx's **Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844**, which had just then (1932) been published in Germany. Not only does Marcuse there call Marx's early essays the "philosophical foundation as a theory of revolution," but he adds presciently for our times:

"All attempts to dismiss the philosophic content of Marx's theory or to gloss over it in embarrassment reveal a complete failure to recognize the historical origin of the theory; they set out from an essential separation of philosophy, economics and revolutionary praxis, which is a product of the reification against which Marx fought and which he had already overcome at the beginning of his critique." (p. 10)

JUST AS THE BOURGEOIS press is trying to reduce the historic legacy of Hegel to the writing of **One-Dimensional Man** (to which I'll return later), so the Stalinists and Maoists did everything to slander Marcuse in the 1960s when, by no means a youth, he nevertheless identified with the New Left in the anti-Vietnam War movement, in the Black revolution, in the student move-

(1) In English this essay, "The Foundation of Historical Materialism," was not published until 1972, when it was included in a collection of his essays, **Studies in Critical Philosophy**, New Left Books, London.

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NEWS LETTERS

Human Power is its own end

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Report from France, Germany

Immigrants, youth challenge move to right

by **Kevin A. Barry**

The "cultured" super-reactionary face of France's Giscard d'Estaing government revealed itself in a new form June 28 when the CRS (political police) broke down the doors of none



Several thousand march through the streets of Paris, protesting racist Stoleru-Bonnet immigration laws.

less than the official opposition Socialist Party in the heart of Paris. The raid followed Socialist announcements that they would broadcast from "Radio Libre"—illegal transmitters proliferating in the face of Rightist government monopoly over all TV and radio. Francois Mitterand's voice lasted exactly seven minutes before government jamming cut it off.

To a visiting American revolutionary, the atmosphere of Giscard's France recalls the USA at the height of the Nixon era, from the degeneracy of the rulers, through the abdication of the intellectuals, to the mass unrest that persistently breaks out.

The struggle is sharpest when race is involved. Take the case of Badahoui Ladhari, an Algerian truck driver living in France for 11 years, who was so viciously beaten by white Frenchmen when he brushed against them in a cafe that he lost all use of his legs, and one eye. His attackers got off with very light jail sentences after their attorney told the court: "These things happen because there are a lot of foreigners." Now Ladhari may be expelled from France because he can't work.

This takes place in the context both of France's growing role as Western imperialism's police force in Africa, and the Giscard government's proposed "Stoleru-Bonnet" laws at home. These new codes, scheduled to be voted into effect by the French Senate in the fall, make it possible to expel any "non-citizen" (read: Black and North Africans, especially) without a hearing upon arrest, or for not having proper papers, or for simply being unemployed.

WORKERS VS. THE 'LEFT'

In response, immigrant workers have taken to rent strikes against the sex-segregated dormitories (sona-contras) run by the government, where they are forced to live because they cannot obtain apartments from racist landlords. At Garges-les-Gonesses, outside Paris, immigrant rent strikers evicted late in June camped in a tent city. Working to spread information on the strikes through their own group, the Comité de Coordination des Foyers en Lutte, and sustained by support from other immigrants and some Leftists, they generated tremendous publicity, and inspired Paris demonstrations against Stoleru-Bonnet. But, far from the Left parties challenging French racism, there has been the merest appearance of support for the increasingly militant immigrant workers.

At the same time, the steel workers have been showing great militancy in the face of threatening mass layoffs, despite clear class collaborationism by their national unions, including the Socialist-run CFDT. And the Communists, including the Social of its CPDFT "militancy" in the steel region, used virulent anti-German rhetoric, accusing German workers across the border of "taking away" French steelworkers' jobs. They have stooped so low as to have a slogan "1870, 1914, 1940"—referring to three wars with Germany—followed by the refrain that "the Germans" will not be allowed to "do it again."

In total contrast to this incredibly narrow nationalism, stands the new type of proletariat being born in
(Continued on Page 8)

Report direct from Iran on class struggle

Teheran, Iran—It must be clear by now to everybody that the present (Bazargan) regime in its totality is nothing but a bourgeois one. Bazargan's cabinet is acting as a "functionary" in order to safeguard, not necessarily the interests of individual capitalists, but capitalism itself.

The bourgeoisie, at least for now, is compelled to take good care of its allies. Religious sentiments not only are not a barrier in the way of the bourgeoisie, but are quite advantageous. By quoting certain passages from the Koran, asserting the "legitimacy of private property," the "godly bourgeoisie" has, in religious language, confirmed the "mastery" of capital. Khomeini himself has expressed this view and has called for the "brotherhood of workers and their bosses." It is now clear that playing with people's religious beliefs has been of great help to the re-establishment of bourgeois political power and in the fights against "godless" communists.

The "good bourgeoisie" is using all possible means to suppress the resistance and the growing opposition which, in the main, comes from the working class, small and landless peasants, and national minorities seeking self-determination.

There has been a restoration of "old" laws about "anti-government activities," and the establishment of a "special force" in the factories—using the military

force of armed reactionary groups, "Committees of Imam," "Revolutionary Guards," gendarmes and state police—to arrest and suppress "those elements agitating the workers to go on strike against the national interest" and to attempt to crush the non-stop activities and strikes by the working class and peasants which set forth the future path of the class struggle.

Khomeini may still have some supporters among the working class, but what he fails to understand is what Marx called "the real movement which abolishes the present state of affairs" which "is going on before our very eyes." It is a movement which in its actuality has already called for the "revolution to be permanent."

In the past four months, it has not been the "vanguard" which has been leading the working class. It has been the actual self-conscious struggle of the working class which has guided the "vanguards" and has, to an extent, corrected their views about the so-called national bourgeoisie as the "natural allies of the working class in a democratic revolution!"

The present ongoing revolution has abandoned the Maoist-Stalinist falsification of Marxism. The class struggle in Iran is following a magnificent course . . . but the revolution is not and can not be isolated from that of other countries. Though in different locations, we fight the same way. Let's join and supercede the boundaries and become a unified whole in reality.

—Iranian revolutionary

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

er from the West Indies at the recent UAW picket line around the GM building in Detroit. He said that labor militance and the new Black consciousness were not limited to the U.S. In his shop, he said, racism is so harsh against Black workers that they are fired for nothing or disciplined by being given days off.

He told of how Black workers have to walk home from work together, so if the police stop them, there is a witness to see what happens. And if they are in a Black neighborhood and see a policeman coming, they go into any doorway to avoid contact with them. Another side of the resurgent Canadian racism he reported was the deportation of West Indians back to the Islands.

Like the Thatcher election in England, the conservative victory in Canada unloosed Black harassment and indiscriminate killing by police, firing of Black workers as well as near apartheid segregation and increased control of Black immigrant labor from the Islands.

BLACK RESISTANCE

The response to this is growing Black resistance, in the Black community and among Black workers in his plant. In February, he said, some 200 Black workers in his factory held a sit-down strike in protest against the indiscriminate firing of Black workers. Creative community responses are seen in the massing of people around a Black who is stopped by police to make sure there are no "accidents."

I also talked with a white woman who lives in London, England. She told me about the recent laws passed there, against workers and Blacks from Africa and other countries. She said Thatcher just got a law passed that allows a Black man living in the country to send for a wife if she lives in another country. But a woman cannot send for a husband living in the same country. She said this was racism, but more than that, it was against women's rights, and was therefore sexism also.

Some Black people who are Christians often say "The Lord will provide," that some things are too controversial to deal with. I wonder how many of these good Christians know that when the white man brought us over here in chains and shackles, that he had a gun in one hand and the Bible in the other. He gave us the Bible and kept the gun for himself . . . and has been using it against us ever since. The scripture also says that "The Lord helps those that help themselves." And this twisted racist society needs all kinds of help to set it right.

The cancer of racism is eating away at all capitalist societies. It is a cancer that can be destroyed only by eliminating its breeding ground, the capitalist system, and replacing it with a human society.

Prisoners of race in England

Oxford, England—Farooq Chaudry is a Pakistani who has been working as a porter at the Churchill Hospital here for four years. On July 3, he was seized by police who told him he was being deported as an illegal immigrant. They rushed him to Heathrow Airport without letting him tell his friends or pack his belongings. A fellow porter witnessed the arrest and informed the union branch.

The last Labour government declared an amnesty whereby people who entered Britain illegally before January, 1973 would be free to stay here. Farooq says he entered in 1972, and has witnesses to testify that he was in Bradford that year, but the Home Office won't accept this.

Under the 1971 Immigration Act, the immigration officials don't need to prove their case against Farooq. The burden is on him to prove his legal right to stay.

More than 70 people attended a public meeting on July 14 to defend Farooq Chaudry. There were speakers from the local Pakistani Welfare Association; Oxfordshire Council for Community Relations; the local Labour Party; the Trades Council, and Farooq's union branch. Speakers strongly condemned the immigration laws, but their suggestions on what to do were mainly confined to writing letters to MPs!

A call made from the floor of the meeting for an immediate protest march on the police station was carried overwhelmingly, much to the disgust of one of the Labour politicians on the platform who denounced it as an "adventure". The march called not only for Farooq Chaudry to be set free, but for total abolition of immigrant control.

Immigration controls are oppressive and racist. Those who do get through the official barriers suffer all sorts of humiliation like the Indian woman who was forced to undergo a virginity test. The search for illegal immigrants leads to police harassment of racial minorities.

Farooq is being kept in prison while the Home Office "re-examines" his case—a prisoner of race. Another demonstration in his support is planned soon, and some militant hospital workers are calling for strike action on his behalf.

—Dick Abernethy

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More than 1,000 Detroit autoworkers protest Chrysler's threatened shutdown of its huge Dodge Main plant, on July 19. As demonstrators marched in front of Chrysler headquarters, they were discussing not only the U.S. economy and Chrysler's collapse, but also the narrow view of "strategy" from UAW leaders. Another march followed, on July 27, as 1,500 workers—including Black, Polish and Arab—walked to the gates of Dodge Main, demanding that plant shutdowns and "runaways" be included in contract talks.

Striking farmworkers meet

Holgate, Ohio—As hundreds of farmworkers and their supporters gathered here for the Farm Labor Organizing Committee's (FLOC) first convention on Aug. 4, the early morning quiet was pierced by shouts of "Viva la huelga!" The strike this season in the tomato fields of northwest Ohio has begun to be felt in the giant processing factories owned by Campbell and Libby.

The delegates—73 men and women, teen-agers and grandparents, representing over 1,300 other farmworkers—had made the trip from as far away as Texas and one entire family sat as delegates from Florida.

The convention, conducted in Spanish, began shortly after 8 a.m., and the delegates immediately made it clear that this was going to be a working session. A list of resolutions was voted on throughout the day, including the commitment by the farmworkers to continue the strike and the boycott of Libby and Campbell products; to implement a health project; to support undocumented workers; to work with other farmworker unions; to oppose nuclear power; and to oppose the draft—a resolution which won a round of strong, spontaneous applause.

A high point of the convention was a speech by Cesar Chavez of the UFW (United Farm Workers).

In California four days earlier, Chavez had started out with UFW members and supporters on a 12-day walk from San Francisco to Salinas, where the farmworkers are still fighting to win contracts with the growers. The UFW is continuing the boycott of all United Brands products, including Chiquita bananas.

Now that the first FLOC convention has ended, the farmworkers in Ohio are looking ahead to mass picket actions in the tomato fields in August and September. For more information on working with them, write to FLOC, 714½ St. Clair St., Toledo, Ohio, 43609.

Bay Area transit workers occupy repair yard

Fifty Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) maintenance workers locked themselves in the repair shop at the Concord repair yard on July 30 when BART management threatened to replace all of them with supervisory personnel. They already had refused orders to report to other repair yards and be replaced by supervisors at Concord. All BART workers—shop, office and maintenance workers of Service Employees Local 390 and train operators and station agents of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 1555 have been working without a contract since June 30. The following story is from BART workers who had gathered outside the occupied repair shop.—Ed.

Concord, Cal.—BART accuses us of a maintenance slowdown since fewer cars are going out on the tracks every day. But for years they have thrown "pink-lined"—unsafe—cars onto the tracks. Since June 30, they have been holding them back. They've gone from 360 cars a day in service all the way down to 189. They say replacing us with supervisors will get more cars into service.

The truth is they're trying to force us to strike so that company scabs can run the system if we go out. They think they can get away with a strike now that they've hired 80 Level Three supervisors over the past two years.

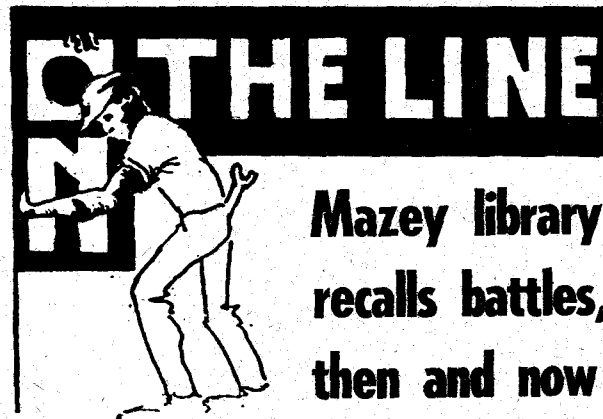
For years, the ATU workers have fought against unsafe cars. Many have been fired or suspended for refusing to ride them. The same is true for maintenance workers who refuse to send out pink-lined cars.

BART hasn't accepted any new grievances since June 30. In the past, BART could suspend a worker, but he or she would still be on the payroll through the grievance hearing—which must follow 10 days after a discipline—and arbitration. We now hear BART wants to make suspensions without pay and to eliminate time limitations on the hearing. And they really want to take away our cost-of-living. We were the first in transit to win one, and now half the ATU nationally has it.

We've gotten plenty of support during the occupation. BART workers on the outside toss food up to the people on the roof. BART cut off the electricity and the water to the Concord shop, but the workers inside are determined to stick it out.

If management replaces us with the supervisors, the train operators will walk out because unqualified people will be working on trains which won't be safe. BART wants to whip up anti-labor hysteria against us. But what they fail to realize is that the Bay Area is full of workers.

—BART workers, Concord repair shop



Mazey library recalls battles, then and now

by John Allison

On Detroit's east side there's the Mazey Library, named after Emil Mazey, the UAW's secretary-treasurer. Among the things featured in the library are many of the anti-labor weapons used against workers when they were organizing, like tear gas bombs, chains and billy clubs. Those were lethal weapons, and many workers were killed in those union drives.

Some say we're more civilized now, too sophisticated for that kind of stuff. But when you think about it, the lethal battles now aren't fought so much on picket lines as they are on the production lines in the plants. That's because the union has bargained away many of the rights workers had won over production.

Take overtime. Many workers are forced to work overtime, while thousands of others are laid off. Back in 1939, we took direct action on the question. As long as there was one laid off worker, the rest of us refused to work more than the 32-hour work week we had established. Local 51 was the one that established the 32-hour week—only to lose it during World War II.

The government and companies said it was our patriotic duty to give up that right for the war effort. The government and companies rewarded our patriotism after the war by giving us, in 1947, the slave labor Taft-Hartley act, designed to crush all unions.

Subsection 14B of that act allows states to have anti-union, right-to-work laws that today are a real stranglehold around the necks of workers in those states.

Just how far we still have to go can be seen from a situation that exploded at the Cagle Poultry & Egg Co. in Macon, Ga. Management there fired 175 workers over the question of going to the toilet. Management ordered that workers would be allowed no more than eight trips a month to go to a rest room. The workers and their union roared back, and the company backed down, and now workers can answer nature's call when necessary.

Uniroyal workers gain few advantages in new contract

Detroit, Mich.—About 200-250 workers came to the ratification meeting for the Uniroyal contract on Sunday, July 28. With the return to work before ratification, the company has already been given all the advantages.

The union promised us 14 sick days, but we didn't get any except for a personal day off on our birthday. So the terrible absentee policy has been left untouched. There is a pay raise and cost-of-living, but there is a question as to whether it's a raise in base pay. If it depends on our percentage production, the company can change standards and take it right back.

There are a few small gains given to the retirees, but with inflation, this money isn't going to mean much. The only good thing in this contract is a neutrality clause for organizing non-union plants.

The contract was ratified by a voice vote. The United Rubber Workers is one of the few unions which denies its members the right to a secret ballot. And URW Pres. Bommarito was worried enough that he was here in person just to make sure it passed.

Right after ratification there was a lay-off announcement, and passing the contract made it easier for the company to do that. Many people laid off will never get called back. Most of them are recent hires, and this cuts a lot of Black youth out of work especially.

There have been cut-backs in larger-size radials, and about half of heavy-service has been shut down for good. These jobs have been moved to the non-union Ardmore, Okla. plant. The union has allowed these runaway shops to exist too long and had better live up to the promises about the neutrality clause.

Just recently, workers in the Firestone Tire and Rubber Plant, near Nashville, Tenn., voted for the right to union representation and won. This shows that with or without the neutrality clause, the workers in those non-union plants won't wait for a "gentlemen's agreement" between union and company.

—Uniroyal worker

Young auto workers challenge union bureaucrats

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

Los Angeles, Ca.—We have just entered our model change-over lay-off, but with no exact call-back date, and with a good possibility that half the work force will not come back and we will be down to only one shift.

With this layoff, all the young people who have been showing up and transforming the after-shift union meetings will no longer be around.

The attendance, debate and vote at the second-shift union meeting held after work on June 20 is an indication of what can occur when workers have the opportunity to speak for themselves and not allow others to do their thinking for them.

Two important motions were voted on and passed unanimously: 1.) To have the proposed contract passed out to the membership, at least two days before the union meeting, to discuss and vote on it. 2.) To send a letter to the plant manager stating that the membership didn't want dogs or foremen sniffing in their lockers, which the workers regard as an invasion of their privacy.

Instead of only a handful who usually show up for a Sunday afternoon meeting, more than a hundred—many young rank-and-file members—showed up.

There was an even bigger turnout at the second shift union meeting on July 19, despite attempts by management and local leadership to discourage attendance by paying young workers time-and-a-half to attend a "Quality of Work Life" meeting scheduled at the same time. Again the rank-and-file outnumbered the leadership and their pork-choppers many times over, so again the motions the rank-and-file put forth passed.

A sharp contrast to this could be seen in the special Sunday meeting the leadership called to reject or accept a local agreement negotiated six weeks prior to the deadline of Aug. 31. One young Chicano member

asked for a show of hands as to how many rank-and-file members were in attendance. Despite shouts of "Out of Order" by the leadership, he continued to speak, saying, "After you negotiated our local agreement, you are over here buying it for us." Going to the Sunday meeting was the leadership's way of controlling the vote. Despite six more weeks time for negotiations, a local agreement was signed, sealed and delivered without the membership's being able to even offer suggestions on what to include.

The young rank-and-file workers want to get control of their local. Now they are saying they will show up to vote down the national agreement no matter what day or time it is set for. They say it is just going to be a con job between corporation, government and the union leadership to keep them in their place.

But, at the same time, we are now faced with this recession and almost depression in auto. It means these same young workers will have to find a way to transform more than this local, if we are really to have some say over our labor and life.

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FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

GM Southgate

South Gate, Cal.—This week the whole plant went through lay-off, and we won't be back until Sept. 4. We've already lost one shift, and it looks like 1,700 will be permanently laid off. Like always, it's the young workers and women who will be the first to go, those trying to raise a family.

A younger worker tries to buy a home today, and can't meet payments with these layoffs. It's getting to the point where a working person can't afford a home anymore. This is not only South Gate, since 45,000 assembly workers nationwide are being laid off this month. These are all young workers being replaced by automation.

Yesterday at the union meeting one young worker took the floor and said he wanted to have a special meeting called on the layoffs, and said he was trying to collect signatures of ten percent of the workers in the plant to have one. If that's a measure of what young workers are doing and thinking, the union and company are going to get some headaches of their own.

—South Gate worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Model change is in full swing with 1,100 workers permanently laid off, most of them women. The union had reported an estimate of 600 people or less. To the surprise of other younger workers involved in taking action against management, the axe was given to them, too.

For the rest of us with seniority before October, 1975, a strike will be waiting on our return Sept. 4, 1979. Fleetwood workers aren't the only ones wondering where will it all end, and how can we continue with our lives toward a better working system for auto workers.

A week before lay-off, the Women's Committee gave a festival which most of the day shift didn't get a chance to attend. But the festival was a good thing as it brought people together.

We're going to need each other like we never have in the months to come, for the people in Fleetwood are tired of being shuffled back and forth from management's greediness to the union's selfishness.

—Woman member of Local 15

Readers' Views

PERSPECTIVES 1979-80: GLOBAL POLITICS AND THE NEEDED PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION

The questions News and Letters Committees are raising on organization have new urgency in light of all that happened this year, from Iran to Nicaragua, to our own country. Right here, in every activity, whether anti-nuke, anti-draft, Black, or Women's Liberation, we are confronted with the tremendous gap between the total solution demanded from below and the capitalist solutions offered by the Left. It is clear that it is the "need for a philosophy of revolution" that compelled the deadline of 1980 for the new book.

**Marxist-Humanist
Detroit**

Our Draft Perspective 1979-80 on a new global recession-in-the-making became reality for thousands of auto workers across the country last week. Women and young male workers will be the ones that will suffer the most.

The young workers in my plant will be getting signatures calling for a special union meeting when they pick up their last checks before layoff Aug. 2 at the plant. If the last two union meetings are a sign of what is to come, and if they succeed in having a special meeting called on these cutbacks, it will be a union meeting that I wouldn't want to miss.

**Revolutionary Worker
Los Angeles**

The power and passion of the struggle to overthrow the Somoza regime was brought home to Los Angeles on July 17, when over 3,000 Nicaraguans marched through MacArthur Park in a victory celebration for the Nicaraguan Revolution which had overthrown Somoza that day. People of every age, sex and background from the Nicaraguan community were involved — from 8 or 9-year-olds to 80-year-olds, to thousands of women who took a leading role in the march. The usual "support" demonstrations put on by Left groups never involve the full range of revolutionary subjects, but this event represented the population to a man, woman and child fighting for freedom.

**Peter Wermuth
California**

Here is how the capitalist class has come out from the 1975-78 crisis. Some 1.5 million men have lost their jobs and constant capital has been heavily devaluated while inflation has diminished the real wages of the workers. Capital is now ready to start a new run of accumulation and China, Algeria, and Russia are ready to accept our goods with deferred payments, allowing the big industry to plan for 4 to 5 years of full work.

The disposal and control of the 1.5

million unemployed workers had been carefully administered by the capitalist class with the system of "Casse Integrazione," by which this particular group of workers has had their wages reduced by 30 percent but still 300 percent over unemployment tariffs.

The Communist Party has offered its cooperation to the Capitalist Party (Christian Democrats) but without result. The proletariat is divided as follows: workers' aristocracy (state enterprises, monopolies); laborers; Cassa Integrazione; unemployed with allowances; unemployed without allowances; the young generation which has never even entered into the production process.

What will come out of this, and when, who knows?

**Correspondent
Italy**

That the rank-and-file priests can be a part of the fight for freedom has been proven in Poland, where village women took an article from *Opinia* (one of the underground papers) to their local priest and asked for advice on how to organize the peasant opposition. Since then the parish has been used as a meeting place for the fighting peasants.

The Pope's visit to Latin America, by defining the role of the church to be limited to "spiritual matters" and very consciously avoiding any mention of priests who were including in their scope of concern the immediate conditions of life (bread and freedom), was a direct attack on Liberation Theology. His recent visit to Poland was another such attack. His vague statements on "human rights" (from whom have we heard those before?) were meant to mislead the opposition movement in Poland by making it appear that the Pope is for freedom. He did not say a word about the priests who have been prosecuted for helping the Marxist opposition.

The Pope is but one more world power leader engaged in the struggle for the minds of men. In this, he very much resembles Khomeini in whose Iran a SAVAK agent can use for defense an argument that the people he tortured to death were "just Marxists!"

**Urszula Wislanka
Chicago**

ANTI-NUKE/ANTI-WAR

The most gripping sentence of the whole Perspectives to me was the statement that there really is an oil crisis — not the one that they would have us believe, that there is a shortage of gas for our cars, but the shortage there would be for carrying out a full-scale war. Of course the oil companies are ripping the public off. But that's not the most serious thing. The preparations for war mark the real crisis. It finally makes sense.

**New Supporter
Detroit**

We are holding the 17th International Anti-War Assembly in Tokyo on August 5, 1979, the 34th anniversary since Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The situation is most grave today. First, for so-called "Socialist States" to go to war with each other in Indo-China is an epoch-making event. Hanoi, shifting the responsibility of its own failure in national economic construction by invading Cambodia, and Peking, attacking Vietnam to recover political prestige . . . are fighting a Sino-Soviet war by proxy.

Second, the Kremlin is building up military bases in Indo-China; and the U.S. imperialists . . . are making frantic

efforts to command the Pacific Ocean. The nuclear arms race has been intensified, despite their deceptive "peace diplomacies."

We consider it essential to protest the nuclear armament race and military expansion and oppose the construction of atomic power stations which bring nothing but disadvantage to people, as proved by the accident at Three-Mile Island, and are inseparable from production of A-bombs . . .

**Kaiho-sha
Tokyo, Japan**

On Saturday, July 21 there was an anti-nuclear demonstration over 80 miles from Chicago at Marseilles, Illinois against the soon-to-be-activated LaSalle power plant. Young women came by themselves or brought their children; there were farmers and their families; high school students from towns 30 miles away; and mothers whose sons in Chicago told them about the demonstration.

While the speakers rattled on about solar energy, as if that was a viable alternative, the feeling you got in talking with the demonstrators was their openness to new ideas. Almost everyone I talked with bought a copy of *News & Letters* and gave donations. There was no mistaking that it was a Left newspaper; the red headline on page one proclaimed: "The Shift in Global Politics and the Need for a Philosophy of Revolution."

**Committee Member
Chicago**

FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL

Inflation has its foot on the necks of the poor and aged and is choking us to death. Blue Cross has gone so high we can't afford it anymore. The utilities are eating us up alive. All our programs are being cut. And food prices are still going up. Governor Milliken and President Carter say they will "look after us," while they are walking the other way. We can no longer believe anything the government says. They are even poisoning us with radiation while they mislead us with false statements.

I would like to appeal to everyone I can reach: Join the fight for survival.

**Nellie Cuellar
Gray Panthers
Detroit, Mich.**

The energy crisis and American "justice system" put a man here in prison for 18 years for stealing 5 gallons of gas!

**Outraged
Chicago**

THE BLACK REVOLT

The struggles of people of African ancestry is taking new forms throughout the world. Walter Rodney, a political activist and scholar, was arrested with seven other activists on July 11 in Georgetown, Guyana and charged with "arson." The arrests came a day after Dr. Rodney had criticized the Burnham government and announced the formation of a new opposition political party by the organization he headed — the Working People's Alliance. The arrested are being held in inhuman conditions and there is fear for their lives and the lives of their families. A demonstration for their support led to an armed police riot in which a Catholic priest, a journalist for the *Catholic Standard*, was beaten to death. It is clear the government is attempting to destroy anyone critical of them as the later arrest of Ali Majeed, a worker and leader of the Organization of Working People, based in the bauxite mining area,

shows. We urge that messages of protest and concern be sent to The Prime Minister, Parliament Building, Georgetown, Guyana. For more information write to:

**Hill
c/o P.O. Box 86,
Dorchester, Ma. 02122**

At a recent reception and seminar for Paulo Friere on the American Black struggle, what predominated was the question of class and race, and Black students really expressed the new Black consciousness begun by Soweto and demonstrated by Decatur. Friere also kept returning to the importance of dialectics as the opposite of mechanical materialism. But what was striking was how the Black dimension and dialectics were kept in two separate realms. I could not help discussing Fanon's break with Sartre on the question of Black and dialectics which poses the two as a single process and shows what rich philosophic ground lay in Fanon's thought for the Black movement. Nor could I refrain from pointing out that this is what John Alan and I tried to recreate in our pamphlet *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought*.

**Lou Turner
Detroit**

TODAY'S EUROPE

Everywhere I go in Europe the truth really hits me: that the gulf between our expression of Marxist-Humanism and all other revolutionists is as great as that between Marx's "New Continent of Thought" and all other tendencies in the 19th century. That's why I really liked the way our organizational participation was brought directly into the Draft Perspectives. It is seen not only in the statement on limits of solar power and all such gadgets by a Marxist-Humanist in the anti-nuke movement, but also where you learn that by no accident whatever Iranian revolutionaries translated and published Rosa Luxemburg and Raya Dunayevskaya for their May Day pamphlet in Tehran.

**Traveler
West Germany**

The demonstration in London to get the troops out of Ireland on Aug. 12 will be the largest held for some years. It has wide support, even including some members of the House of Lords. The situation is almost explosive in Scotland, but despite this, there has been a demonstration for "troops out." There was much bigoted hostility, but it went on. I am arguing that if the American people could bring the Vietnam war to an end, we can make the Thatcher Government withdraw the military forces from Ireland.

**Harry McShane
Glasgow**

I've been following your thought on Thatcher's victory. The racist vote, as you pointed out, went from the National Front to the Tories. The fascists were out in Trafalgar Square last week, protesting the entry of a thousand or so of the wretched, desperate Vietnamese boat people.

The new Tory government is already unpopular. Prices have soared and the Treasury has sent out a report predicting 20 percent inflation and two million unemployed. The unions are starting to make noises of dissent under pressure of the rank and file. Ex-Prime Minister Callaghan says to "respect Democracy, wait five years and put us back in" while he condemns any strike calls. Fat chance!

**Dave Black
London**

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TWO WORLDS

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

The **Letters of Rosa Luxemburg**, edited and with an Introduction by Stephen Eric Bronner, Westview Press, 5500 Central Ave., Boulder, Colo., 80301. \$18.50, pb \$8.50.

The multi-dimensionality and revolutionary internationalism of Rosa Luxemburg is well set forth in this collection of Rosa Luxemburg Letters in the way in which the very first sentence of Bronner's Introduction leads to Rosa's statement: "I, too, am a land of boundless possibilities." That first section of "Reflections on Rosa Luxemburg" began with "There is always a tradition of liberation that stands in opposition to the heritage that a given society preserves and propagates."

It is this other tradition—revolutionary in the most total sense, that is to say, in its opposition both against capitalism and the reformist deviation within the revolutionary movement—that would have been easier to grasp if the readers had not to confront letters from 1894 to 1919 in one lump sum without a single distinction other than the year's date at the top of each page. It is true that Professor Bronner's substantive Introduction situates Luxemburg in the context of her era. But it is only natural that readers turning to **The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg** would want to hear her in her own words and sense the direction of her thoughts, actions, development before they have reached the 200th page of those letters.

'HEROISM OF MASSES' VS. OPPORTUNISM OF LEADERS

Because this book needs to be read by ever wider audiences, let me introduce two divisions into these Letters to enable readers at once to meet Rosa Luxemburg—Polish, German, Russian, international revolutionary. The first half of the Letters could be titled: "Heroism of Masses" vs. Opportunism of Leaders";

EDITORIAL Carter's commandments declare class war

Trailing clouds of glory, he came down from the mountain. Gone was the broadly gleaming smile that had been his trademark. In its place, a grim visage bespoke a new image, the image of leadership that had eluded President Carter so consistently for so long. The substance and practice of leadership, of course, is something else; that he never had, and the prospect of his achieving it is remote indeed.

But he did come with commandments . . . commandments for the broad population of the U.S., for the working class and for Congress.

To the people, he decreed:

Thou shalt believe that there is a real and serious energy crisis. (Forget all that nonsense about the oil monopolists conspiring to make billions of dollars in unconscionable profits.)

Thou shalt believe that the OPEC nations are responsible for our insoluble economic crises. (Don't think for a minute that it is the capitalist system itself which cannot solve the increasing urgent problems we face at home and throughout the world.)

Thou shalt have a hot time — and a cold time. (A hot 78° thermostat setting in the summer; a cold 35° setting in the winter.)

Thou shalt not protest against energy development programs. (No more marches or demonstrations will be tolerated that oppose nuclear or any other environmental pollution resulting from energy plans.)

To the working class, he ordered:

Thou shalt be more productive. (Workers don't have to think twice about this one: It means speed-up, speed-up and more speed-up.)

Thou shalt stay within my low wage guidelines. Never mind that business profits rose by over 25 percent, that the inflation rate is more than 13 percent and that the cost of necessities, food, housing, transportation and energy, went up by 18.5 percent.)

Thou shalt sacrifice. (The words declared all will sacrifice, but it's unmistakably clear that those who will suffer the most under his new "leadership" will be workers and their families—both in rising unemployment and reduced standards of living for those employed.)

Of Congress, he demanded:

Thou shalt give me gasoline rationing power. (This power will assure a supply of gasoline to the military-industrial complex, with workers getting left over.)

Thou shalt create an Energy Mobilization Board. This board to have special extra-legal powers to guarantee that demonstrators, environmentalists or any other opposition groups do not interfere with administration energy programs.)

His last commandment he saved until later in the week, and delivered it to his Cabinet:

Thou shalt all resign. (And five heads rolled — in-

A review of 'The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg'

and the second half: "From Theory and Anti-War Agitation to Prison and Revolution."

It is true she used the expression, "heroism of the masses", to describe the magnificent actions of the Warsaw workers in the first Russian Revolution, 1905, whereas this collection of letters begins in 1894, with a letter of Luxemburg to her colleague and lover, Leo Jogiches, in which she complains that his letters are wholly devoted to the "Cause" and tell her nothing of him personally or of the organizational and factional differences with the Russians. But it is even more true that, from the very start of her break with bourgeois society—when she was only a teenager, yet was already under police surveillance and had to leave Poland for Switzerland, where she met her life-long collaborator Jogiches—"the heroism of the masses" was precisely what won her commitment to the revolutionary movement. She never veered from that for a single moment.

However, whereas that 1894 letter from Paris spoke so personally and very nearly "obediently", all one has to do is read the very next set of letters, as she reached Germany in 1898, to see a quite different Luxemburg. Not only does she take issue with Jogiches' advice, but she reaches such immediate heights theoretically on the most burning question raging in the German Social Democracy—the very first appearance of reformism—that it is her analysis, Reform or Revolution, that is the most comprehensive and profound answer to Bernstein. It becomes a standard for all revolutionaries, and has remained so to this day.

Not only that, Luxemburg's Letters disclose something still more extensive: the vision of a genius anticipating capitalism's development into modern imperialism before the word had been "invented". Listen to Luxemburg telling Jogiches about "Shifts in World Politics" ever since Japan's attack on China, 1895, and Russia's and England's attack on Persia and Afghanistan: "From that, the European antagonisms in Africa have received new impulses; there, too, the struggle is breaking out with new force (Fashoda, Delegoa, Madagascar).

cluding the heads of some who were too "independent" or unable to tolerate the arrogance of Carter's newly appointed Chief of his White House staff, Hambonehead Jordan.)

WAR—AGAINST AMERICANS

Biblical lore has it that Samson slew the Philistines with the jawbone of an ass, but the more the jawbone of this ass worked on that Sunday night TV address, the more it became clear that President Carter had moved from his energy crisis "moral equivalent of war" of two years ago, to an outright declaration of war against the American people.

Those who scoffed that there was nothing new in Carter's speech, labeling it as no more than the old stuff warmed over, are totally mistaken. Even Carter's bitter critics admitted the speech was the most forceful he's given since he assumed the presidency. The grim determination in his voice dispelled all doubt about what he meant when he asserted that if energy requirements called for the building of pipelines, that "they will be built."

He did more than serve notice of his own opposition to protestors, nuclear and otherwise; his call for an Energy Mobilization Board with extraordinary powers emphasized his determination to crush anti-pollution demonstrators, even if it means subversion of their legal rights.

Carter's desperate bid to establish his national leadership failed miserably, not because his TV energy crisis speech wasn't forceful enough, and not because he massacred his Cabinet, many of whom, like energy czar Schlesinger, were total abominations in their positions of power.

MORE UNEMPLOYMENT, INFLATION

Rather, the reason lay in the harsh realities behind the economic data, also revealed in that fateful week, disclosing that we are officially in a recession (which workers had long known), that inflation nearing 14 percent doubles the administration's predictions for the year, and that unemployment, far from the projected reductions, will climb to 8.4 percent by year end. Under Carter's leadership, conditions have become progressively worse.

No week of presidential dramatics could overcome that record, as reflected in the polls showing Carter to have the lowest approval rate, 23 percent, of any President in U.S. history.

The question now is: where will the leadership come from? Congress has demonstrated, if anything, even less capacity to lead than Carter. In the 1930s, when the nation teetered on the brink of collapse, masses in motion provided the leadership. That kind of leadership is needed today more than ever before.

— Andy Phillips

It's clear that the dismemberment of Asia and Africa is the final limit beyond which European politics no longer has room to unfold . . . the European powers will have no choice other than throwing themselves on one another, until the period of the final crisis sets in within politics . . ." The letter was dated January 9, 1899! (p. 72)

THEORY, PRISON, REVOLUTION

Naturally, no book review, much less sub-headings, can do justice to the multiplicity of topics and years (1894-1919) covered in **The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg**; the first subheading made no such claim. It did, I hope, help point a direction, both as to the objective situation and the subjective developments in Luxemburg's life. She no sooner set foot in Germany than she began the fight against reformism. Her "German period" ended long before World War I broke out and revealed the betrayal of the German Social Democracy. Ever since the first Russian Revolution, 1905-06, when Luxemburg was still close to Karl Kautsky, she began to "speak Russian" as she described the "heroism of the masses": "in all factories, committees, elected by the workers, have arisen 'on their own', which decide on all matters relating to working conditions . . . the organization advances indefatigably. In spite of martial law . . . the work is being carried out just as if political freedom were already a reality." (pp. 114-115) By 1910 she broke completely with Kautsky.

As she generalized her experience into the analysis of General Strike, Trade Unions, the Party, and worked to apply it in Germany, Karl Kautsky's abstract revolutionism and his "theory of attrition" horrified her. She

(Continued on Page 6)

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

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

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

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

WOMAN AS REASON

Marx's 'Capital' vs. dualism in women's theory

Having recently finished a women's studies seminar at the University of Illinois on current women theoreticians, I was struck with the fact that though the writers we discussed, such as Ann Foreman and Zillah Eisenstein, claim to make Marxism more complete, they actually want to "repose," "restructure," "radically reconceptualize," or "look beyond Marxist theory." Many of them claim that women have two separate fights, one against patriarchy and another against capitalism, and that their theory will unite them.

As opposed to this dualism, Marx reveals so beautifully that capitalism transforms everything it comes in contact with. Every previous form — slavery, feudalism, oppression of women — is made more horrible under capitalism. While many women theoreticians see capitalism and patriarchy developing separately, Marx shows that with the introduction of large scale machinery, which dispensed with the need for muscular power, "The labor of women and children was therefore the first result of the capitalist application of machinery!"

When Marx introduces division of labor, he states that it has two opposite starting points: 1) "... a division of labor, caused by differences of sex and age, a division that is consequently based on a purely physiological foundation"; 2) "... where different families, tribes, communities, come in contact."

What deepens these divisions of labor is capitalism

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

sensed his opportunism which would lead to betrayals. She called it "the servility of the theoretician" back in 1910. Just as her total break with Kautsky, four full years before the outbreak of war, long before anyone else, Lenin included, sensed any defect in the then most outstanding revolutionary, so her anti-war agitation in 1913 led the Kaiser to cite her "for treason" before there was actual war.

Prof. Bronner has caught the character of Rosa Luxemburg as prisoner beautifully: "It is easy to forget how drab and debilitating prison life can actually be. Rosa Luxemburg's letters serve as a reminder . . . Rosa Luxemburg reacts against the drudgery of prison life . . . She searches for beauty in the cracks of existence, and in response to the boredom of isolation, she watches insects, feeds her titmice, and observes the manifold diversity of nature."

That was very far from all she did in that hellhole. Not only did she continue her leadership, theoretical and political, of the anti-imperialist war, and also produce a minor masterpiece of literary criticism of Korolenko (not to mention the constant flow of magnificent "personal" letters, especially to Mathilde Wurm, when she suddenly calls upon Penthesilea, the queen of the Amazons). No, she is also involved in strict theory, the phenomenal Anti-Critique, directed against the critics of her greatest* theoretical work, Accumulation of Capital: they are, in fact, a single work.

Unfortunately, as her letter to Hans Diefenbach discloses, her rage was directed not alone against those she called "Marx's epigones," who took issue with her critique of Volume II of Capital, but even against "the famous first volume of Marx's Capital, with its profuse rococo ornamentation in the Hegelian style." (p. 185)

None of this, however, diverted in any way from what dominated her whole life, in theory or practice, in or out of prison: REVOLUTION. Even in criticism, for example, her praise of the Russian Revolution and the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky "who dared" was unequivocal. Above all, there was the unending preparation for, and finally actual participation in, the German Revolution which finally freed her from prison. Because revolution was her life — or, as she expressed it: "The Revolution is magnificent; all else is bilge" — the then ruling Social Democracy wanted her dead. Where the Kaiser hadn't succeeded, the freikorps was incited to brutally murder her and throw her body into the Landwehr Canal.

The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg ends with a letter in which she enclosed the first issue of Rote Fahne, organ of Spartacus League, transformed into the Communist Party, and calling for all power to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. It was dated January 4, 1919. Within 11 days she was dead. But they could not kill her ideas. Her revolutionary legacy lives on; for no other generation does her life's work bear as much relevance as for ours.

*The designation "greatest" means it is Luxemburg's most important theoretical work, not that I agree with it. Elsewhere I have taken issue with it. See my "Analysis of Rosa Luxemburg's Accumulation of Capital", included as Appendix to State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism, available from News & Letters for 50¢ plus postage.

transforming human beings into abstract labor power. The "physiological" is never lost; the division of labor "exploits every special advantage." To see how capitalism has "sorted" women, one need only read Marx's section on "The Working Day" in Capital, Vol. 1 — and one would also discover one of Marx's sources of theory — statements by workers in public hearings.

In the June issue of News & Letters, a Black woman auto worker writes about testifying at a sexual harassment hearing: "I have heard people define sexual harassment and discrimination. To me they are not separated. They are a pattern to force women out of the plants and other jobs." She is not Black one day, a worker another, and a woman yet a third. If we work, or our husbands or lovers work — if we live in this society — capitalism affects our human relationships.

The whole issue of sexual harassment and racial discrimination make it obvious that in the work place, we have to fight against capitalism, racism and sexism. What is totally missing from the theories that come spinning from the heads of today's women theoreticians is just these movements from practice that reveal Black and working women as Reason.

Marx never veered from the laborers' struggle to become whole human beings — a struggle which illuminated all the analyses and laws of capitalism. The women theorists, by starting with their dualistic analyses instead of women's struggle to be whole human beings, miss not only what is new in today's Women's Liberation Movement, but also the Marxism of Marx and the Reason emerging from Black and working women's fight for freedom.

— Terry Moon



Nine hundred members of the United Garment Workers of America intend to continue their strike against the Maryville, Tenn., Levi Strauss plant until the company stops its efforts to dismiss Norma Jennings, president of their local, and other workers identified as leaders of the June 15 walkout over harassment by a supervisor.

In Ireland on March 10, women from Dublin, Belfast and other cities held a Women's Conference which resulted in a call for a 32-county federation of women's groups to be linked by a national newsletter. The question of the partition of Ireland and the total ban on contraception were seen as part of the struggle of the Irish women's movement against both British imperialism and the Catholic Church's attitude toward women and the family.

In Tokyo, women activists have organized to protest "sex package tours" in which all-male groups of Japanese "tourists" are flown to Seoul, Manila and other areas once occupied by the Japanese Army. In leaflets distributed at Narita airport, the women compared the male "tourists" to imperialist assault forces and ended, "Let's find a new way to live together with Asians."

Hard strike at nursing home

Detroit, Mich.—Northwest Care Center, the nursing home we are striking, fired all members of Local 79, Service Employees International Union, who walked out on June 25, after working without a contract since March 1. A few days earlier, 70 inexperienced people had been hired. Management bused them in and out, guarded them, and, of course, told them nothing about our union or our strike. We think someone leaked word of our planned walkout.

On the picket line, one man was stabbed three times in the chest and one woman had her arm twisted by a guard. Former employees are not allowed inside the nursing home, not even to inquire about their jobs. The first week, the owner, Mrs. Carson, said: "You can have your old jobs back, with no changes, or get lost."

Women with eight to nine years seniority make \$2.95 per hour. But we also have bad working conditions. Dishwashers are broken and all those dishes have to be washed by hand. After a recent state inspection, they rushed to fix a few things, but the state is still on their backs.

After we had been out a month, the union told workers at the Allen Dee Home, also owned by Mrs. Carson, to walk out. Their demands are much like ours. We have talked to some of the new hires at Northwest Care and many have quit since they found out the real story.

Decade of British occupation cannot crush Irish revolt

1969—1979

IRELAND — TEN YEARS ON

DEMONSTRATE IN LONDON
SUNDAY AUGUST 12

Dublin, Ireland — I enclose further material for News & Letters which I am now receiving, as the post strike is over . . .

The protest by upwards of 400 Irish Republican prisoners in Long Kesh continues into its third year in appalling conditions. For the summer, the windows of their dark, filthy cells were boarded up, though during last winter, broken windows exposed prisoners clad only in blankets to the most severe cold for a generation. They owe their very survival to their revolutionary solidarity and firm belief in the justice of their cause — a free, socialist Ireland.

As well as these men in Long Kesh, there are also women prisoners in Armagh jail — similarly convicted by non-jury courts and mostly by statements extracted under torture and brutality. One I know well is Lorraine:

Lorraine was 18 when arrested in 1976. Her parents, when they saw her after a few days, were shocked by her bruised condition. She was forced to sign a statement saying she had carried a gun, otherwise she would be charged with murder, and was told that fascist gangs would take it out on her family. At court, she was told the charge had been changed — to murder of a policeman.

At her trial some months later, a doctor gave evidence that Lorraine had been abused. The police special branch denied this. Their word was accepted. The judge said in his summing up that he knew she did not kill the policewoman, but gave her two life sentences plus 31 years all the same. Lorraine is at present on protest for political status . . .

Meanwhile, in southern Ireland, dissatisfaction with the neo-colonial nature of the state has found recent expression in industrial action. Postal workers sustained an incredible 20-week long national strike until June, 1979.

But at the time of writing, an equally long strike of workers at snack-bars owned by U.S. multinational McDonalds is being organized by the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. The latter represents 80 percent of workers, but management refuses to negotiate with the union. Employees are mostly youngsters — some have been under-age — paid a pittance with no overtime hour or bonus rates for night and weekend work.

— Eibhlín Ní Sheidhir
Irish Civil Rights Association

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London, N1, England

NEW YORK READERS NOTE!

News & Letters Committees meet every Sunday, 7 p.m., at the Workmen's Circle hall, 369 8th Avenue (corner of 20th Street), starting Sept. 9.



No more Hiroshimas!

The following are excerpts from a speech by Suzanne Casey, the Marxist-Humanist speaker at the Aug. 4 rally in Detroit calling for "No More Hiroshimas! No More Harrisburgs!" That same day, Japanese freedom fighters gathered in Hiroshima with international delegates 12,000-strong to oppose nuclear madness. We further express revolutionary solidarity with the 30,000 who gathered Aug. 6 in Tokyo's Peace Park and the millions of Tokyo workers who brought the city to a halt for one minute of silent remembrance for the victims of atomic devastation.—Jim Mills

I have brought with me today an appeal for international solidarity, sent to News and Letters Committees by the 17th International Anti-War Assembly being held today in Tokyo on the 34th anniversary of the U.S. dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The statement expresses a new feeling of urgency because of both the Three Mile Island (TMI) disaster and the so-called "socialist" countries of Russia and China on the brink of war in Vietnam this year . . .

One of the groups participating in this assembly, the Japanese student organization, Zengakuren, so forcefully opposed U. S. imperialism in 1960, that they transformed the traditional Japanese snake-dance into a series of street protests that prevented Pres. Eisenhower from making his scheduled state visit to Japan.

In 1965, when Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairwoman of News and Letters Committees, was speaking at Japanese universities around the publication of the Japanese edition of her book, *Marxism and Freedom*, a delegation of Zengakuren from Hiroshima University asked her to speak as an American revolutionary, at their commemoration of Pearl Harbor Day; they were protesting not only U. S. imperialism but the imperialism of their own country, Japan.

What we want is to uproot our society, which is so anti-human that it allows a tragedy such as Hiroshima; that it forces soldiers to witness nuclear bomb tests and then won't even pay medical benefits to the hundreds who now have cancer as a result; that as late as 1976, it forced soldiers to "clean up" radioactive plutonium waste left by U. S. bomb tests in the Eniwetok atoll in the South Pacific.

If we are to totally uproot this system, we too, like the Japanese students, must reach out for other movements for human freedom—whether it is the Black movement, Women's Liberation, anti-nuke or anti-draft.

Congress is now trying to reinstate the draft because they are not satisfied with the "volunteer army." What they are not saying, in so many words, is that since so many young Black men have gone into the army because this society will not give them jobs or an education, that the government cannot count on the troops' "reliability."

We want to create a new society based on new human relationships between all human beings: men, women, children.

We will not allow another Hiroshima!

The making of a Sandinista

New York, N.Y.—The recognition on the part of the adults in Nicaragua for the struggle of the youthful Sandinistas is great.

My brother is said to have died in a clash between the FSLN and the National Guard in Nicaragua in 1972. My brother hated injustice from a very young age. He always resented the Guard's absolute control over every facet of life.

One day he said he was going to Managua for a baseball game. He left on the bus with only the clothes on his back. Otherwise the Guard would have stopped him. He even left his wallet and I.D.

My mother was able to hide his absence from the neighbors, and the Guard, for two weeks. Later we received a letter from him saying that he was with good people, and that he was reading and learning many things. That was the last we heard from him.

There are also many women fighting with the FSLN. A neighbor's family all left to join them after their grandfather was tortured and castrated by the Guard. Every time the Guard abused one Nicaraguan, many more Sandinistas were born.

In September, 1978, during the first general strike, we did not realize how important and big what we were starting was, or the international connections. It seemed a small thing, the first time, to say we will all stay home. Everyone was very scared.

Now the most important thing has been the development of the people. They want to put an end to misery and oppression, and their reason for being is to live to future generations a free Nicaragua.

Herbert Marcuse, Marxist philosopher

(Continued from Page 1)

ment which rose to a climax in May, 1968, in Paris.

What those state-capitalist practitioners, calling themselves Communists, don't explain is why they chose the mid-1960s to pre-occupy themselves with "exposing Marcuse's role" of working for the U.S. Government two decades earlier, in World War II. What they hide is that while Marcuse, even then, did not compromise with Marxism as theory, they have totally revised Marxism both as theory and in practice. The reason is two-fold: First, by the 1960s, for different reasons, both Russia and China refused to approve any but their own method of opposing U.S. imperialism — that is to say, actually carrying out secret negotiations with it to make sure there would be no successful social revolution in their own lands. Second, Stalinists and Maoists alike hoped to make the "expose" of Marcuse so slanderous that none would want to look at what Marcuse had published in that crucial year of 1941.

That was the year *Reason and Revolution* appeared. In that seminal work, Marcuse established the Humanism of Marxism, and re-established the revolutionary dialectic of Hegel-Marx, for the first time for the American public.⁽²⁾ It is impossible to forget the indebtedness we felt for Marcuse when that breath of fresh air and vision of a truly class-less society was published — and we were actively opposing that imperialist war. It was the year I embarked on the study of the nature of the Russian economy and the role of labor in that state-planned economy, and came upon Marx's *Humanist Essays* and the famous Frankfurt School. While I deeply disagreed with these German refugees who were under the illusion that one way of fighting Nazism was to work for the U.S. government, I felt a kinship to those opponents of Nazism. One thing that distinguished Herbert Marcuse, a theoretician in that famous Frankfurt School, (officially Institute for Social Research), was that he did not hold himself apart from the people in the country in which he now lived; and his friends were not the rulers, but the revolutionaries.

THUS AT THE HEIGHT of McCarthyism, when the Humanism of Marxism about which I was writing in *Marxism and Freedom* — its American roots as well as its world dimension — was hardly the most popular theory to propound in these United States, Marcuse volunteered, when I sent him the manuscript, to write the Preface to it.⁽³⁾ He also tried to find a publisher for it. Neither in private nor in public did we ever hide the sharp differences that divided us. But that did not keep him from practicing his strong belief in a continuous, open, serious battle of ideas as more than mere bourgeois democracy. As he was to put it in that Preface:

"The Marxian insistence on democracy as the preparatory stage of socialism, far from being a cloak, or 'Aesopian language' pertains to the basic conception and is not minimized by the equally strong insistence on the difference between 'bourgeois' and socialist democracy." (p. 11)

Fairly recently (Nov. 1, 1976), the differences surfaced in a new form as Marcuse had not only moved away from any belief that the proletariat was the revolutionary force, but bestowed that revolutionary role on art. Here is what he wrote would be my attitude: "You will laugh, when you hear I am working on Marxist aesthetics: 'Doesn't he have other worries?' But perhaps

(2) It is true that Marx's *Essays* themselves were not published in English until I included them as Appendices to *Marxism and Freedom* in 1957. But analysis of them, as well as the attitude to the Hegel-Marx dialectic as revolutionary, set forth in *Reason and Revolution*, sent many students who knew other languages to seek them out.

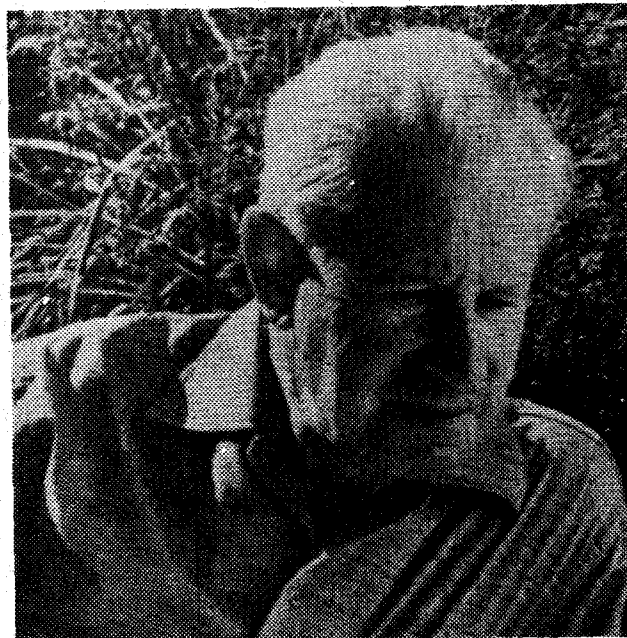
(3) It was also the period when he had just finished *Eros and Civilization* and, while I had kept my distance on the whole question of trying to combine Freud with Marx, I did turn the book over for review to a Marxist-Humanist physician who held that "It is to the great credit of Marcuse that he clearly and persistently points out the dynamic revolutionary core of Freudian psychoanalysis: that the life instincts . . . required not compromise but rejection of the present society, not sublimation but confronting the sickness that is disturbing modern life." ("A Doctor Speaks," *News & Letters*, Feb. 5, 1957.)

Youth in Revolt

Four thousand Blacks reaffirmed the new stage of Black consciousness in the U. S. by marching on July 20 through downtown Birmingham, Ala., protesting the police murder by George Sands of 20-year-old Bonita Carter on June 20. They promised to boycott local businesses in a fight against Mayor Vann's whitewash of the incident and the frequent violent KKK forays into the neighborhood where Sands killed Carter.

On Sunday night, June 29, nearly 400 sailors fought with police in a park near the Great Lakes Training Facility in North Chicago, Ill. The sailors were angry over the beating of a sailor that afternoon after which the civilian attackers were released by police, though several sailors were detained. On Monday, 300 sailors battled base and city police for two hours. In the disturbance, sailors overturned a police car near the base and damaged buildings.

Enlisted Times



HERBERT MARCUSE

we will meet again sometime, somewhere, for a good discussion and disagreement."

THE DETERMINING DIVISION between us, of course, came in 1961 with the publication of *One-Dimensional Man*. As against the Marxian concept of labor as the revolutionary force and reason for transforming society, which Marcuse had held not only in his 1932 essay on Marx but also in his 1941 *Reason and Revolution*, and as a departure (or development if you wish) of the 1957 Preface to *Marxism and Freedom*, when Marcuse began questioning the role of the proletariat, he now pronounced nothing short of capitalism's "integration" of the working class in mind as well as body — and even, a la Sartre's analysis of automation, in sexuality. I held, instead, that, far from the proletariat having become one-dimensional, what the intellectual proves when he does not see proletarian revolt, is that his thought is one-dimensional. I sent him my review, and when next we met, what happened discloses how great is the philosophic void that his death brings and how hard it will be to fill that void.

He laughed at my review⁽⁴⁾ and called me a "romantic." Those gentle eyes of his had a way of smiling even when he was theoretically shouting at you—as if he were saying: "It really is good to have one who still believes; for, without revolution, what is there?"

This was the attitude I sensed again as he suddenly engaged me in a discussion of a phrase Marx used in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*: "labor, from a mere means of life, has become the prime necessity of life." When he asked what I thought that meant, it need hardly be stressed that Marcuse knew very well what Marx meant. He wasn't asking for any sort of definition about how different from alienated labor under capitalism would be labor as self-activity and self-development when, with the abolition of "the antithesis between mental and physical labor," the new society could write on its banner: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

No, what he was saying was: since we "cannot know" when labor will become creative as united mental-physical, any more than we can know when the state will "wither away"—and we are surely living in a "repressive monolith," be it the U.S. or Russia—what can we, "a very tiny minority," do? If you think it is more than the Great Refusal — well!

MARCUSE ALWAYS HAD a strong streak of pessimism in him. I don't mean pessimism in any "psychological" sense — he enjoyed life too much for that. I mean this constant veering between loving utopias and not believing in them; some sort of cloud was always appearing at the very moment when he thought he saw farthest. Ah, there goes that smile in those gentle eyes. Oh, no, he is dead!

One final, personal word. Last year when I saw him in California, where I was on a lecture tour, we of course disagreed again; and again it was on the nearness or distance of revolution. Suddenly he asked me why I didn't stop "running around," (that is, being active), and concentrate instead on finishing the manuscript on *Rosa Luxemburg and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

When the news of Marcuse's death came this July 29, just 10 days after his 81st birthday, and I remembered the last discussion, I thought: the 1919 German Revolution and Marx's philosophy of liberation were precisely the points of the birth of Herbert Marcuse as Marxist philosopher. How sad that he is gone! How great that the revolutionary legacy lives on!

Detroit
Aug. 2, 1979

—Raya Dunayevskaya

(4) See "Reason and Revolution vs. Conformism and Technology" in *The Activist*, Fall, 1964.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Roumanian workers form union, Czech dissidents face trials

While the attention of the world was diverted by the smoke screen of the Pope's parade through Poland, the Czech police conducted a crackdown on dissenters of the Charter 77 opposition to the Communist dictatorship. A wave of arrests took place on May 29 in an attempt to break up the civil rights movement in the country.

Among those arrested was Petr Uhl, a revolutionary Marxist, editor of the Charter Information bulletin. Charged with "subversion" under Article 98, he faces three to ten years in jail. He already served four years, between 1969 and 1973, for his part in the resistance to the Russian takeover of the country.

Dana Nemcova, Jiri Dienstbier and Vaclav Benda, reflecting the views of the cultural underground, were also arrested. Jiri Dienstbier was a prominent Communist journalist who worked for Prague Radio in 1968, and was expelled from the Communist Party and lost his job for opposition to the Russian invasion. Dr. Benda is a Catholic philosopher.

Josef Danisz, the courageous lawyer for the Chartists who would defend these people in court, has been expelled from the official Lawyers Association, equivalent to the U. S. Bar Association. The expulsion makes him ineligible to defend his

clients in the new frame-up trials being planned by the Communist regime.

At the same time, the working class of Roumania, oppressed and terrorized by their Communist regime, have formed the Free Trade Union of the Working People of Roumania (SLOMR). Formed in February in Bucharest and in the industrial town of Turnu Severin, the union is rapidly gaining mass support and becoming the center of the struggle for human rights.

The unofficial Trade Union of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers of Mures County was formed on March 4, 1979, claims 1,478 members and is discussing joining forces with the SLOMR. They have a 24-point program of demands whose introduction states, "We, who are many throughout the country, are suffering, live badly and in need, while the few live well, have everything, go in want of nothing... We are always promised, from one five-year plan to the next, that we shall live better, but in fact we live worse and worse."

Among their simple demands are: "The worker must be free to move from one factory to another, wherever he thinks that he can live better..."

"We should all be brothers, creators of a dignified, free and happy life on our planet—the planet of human beings, not beasts in the forest."

These trade unionists are appealing for support from the free trade union movement throughout the world. Outside of support from two French trade unions, they have heard nothing from the American or British trade union movement.

The Roumanian dissident movement, now rooted in open class struggles, is but the latest of those magnificent struggles in East Europe which marked a whole new world stage of freedom that began with the death of Stalin and have persisted for a whole quarter century up to now. Therefore, though I don't generally review books, I do wish warmly to recommend a book that has just come to this country: *Political Opposition in Poland, 1954-1977*, by Peter Raina (Poets & Painters Press, London, 1978).

It has the most comprehensive analysis (unobtainable anywhere else) of the actual documents of Polish dissidents of all varieties. The flavor of the book can be seen from the author's dedication to "Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik who were chiefly instrumental in awakening the consciousness of dissent among Polish youth. This book is dedicated with great affection and esteem and in memory of Stanislaw Pujas, a student of literature who died on May the 7th, 1977, in Krakow while defending human rights in Poland."

China

More than 100 African students openly demonstrated against the Chinese government in Peking on July 18. Marching with signs that read "Down with racism" and "We want to go home," the Africans were protesting the injury of 21 fellow students when they were attacked by Chinese students at the Shanghai Textile Institute.

The African students demonstrated at the Moroccan Embassy to tell Ambassador Abderrahim Harkett, who is the dean of the African diplomatic corps, not to send any more African students to China. Such racism is nothing new as Chinese refugees in the mid-1960s told of African students in Mao's China being ghettoized in housing as well as socializing.

There has also been a lot of activity for self-determination among the Tibetans—a national minority within China. Though China calls Tibet "an autonomous region," a majority of the Party officials and the Party First Secretary are Chinese while the lower echelons of the party are all Tibet-

ans. Over 120,000 Chinese were forced to immigrate for a tour of work in Tibet after a revolt there in 1959. In addition, over 150,000 Chinese soldiers are stationed in garrisons throughout Tibet.

Nicaragua

The revolution in Nicaragua has deposed the 46-year-old regime of the Somoza family, which was imposed upon the Nicaraguan people by the U. S. Marine Corps at the point of bayonets.

The advance guard of the Sandinistas entered Managua through a crowd of 250,000 cheering people to the newly-named Plaza de la Revolucion. Even the statue of St. Peter atop the National Cathedral held a guerrilla flag.

The revolution was led and carried out by the Sandinistas, a coalition of various revolutionary and democratic political organizations opposed to the dictatorship. They were supported by almost the entire population, including the businessmen, who found it impossible to live with the greedy and brutal Somoza.

The Somozas had dominated and controlled every phase of Nicaraguan life, from the banks down to the used car dealer. They had amassed a fortune estimated as high as a billion dollars, safely hidden in foreign banks. Somoza carried off the national treasury with him, and left behind a \$1.5 billion national debt.

The Sandinista coalition consists of two groups calling themselves Marxist, and a Social Democratic group. The future of the country will emerge from the five-man junta, the 33-member State Council and the 18-member cabinet.

The July 27 issue of *Barricada*, the new organ of the Sandinistas, carried the headline "To Organize Ourselves Is to Make the Revolution". It called for all the working people in every factory and plant to meet immediately in assemblies to form Sandinista Workers' Defense Committees. If this means workers' control of production and the state, then the revolution's success assures also the success of economic reconstruction on truly new human beginnings. The American masses extend solidarity and will fight to keep the hands of U. S. imperialism off of free Nicaragua.

Immigrants, youth challenge move to right in France and Germany

(Continued from Page 1)

the heart of Europe—one for whom Marx's phrase, "the proletariat has no country" is the most urgent reality. Here is how a North African worker reacted to the plan to bring Indochinese refugees to France: "They have no country. They'll replace us in the dormitories. And in 10 years, they'll be expelled."

YOUTH AND WOMEN VS. MOVE TO RIGHT

It is also a proletariat that is increasingly unemployed. In France alone, over a half million youths are seeking work, and in Italy that figure is 1.5 million. When the steelworkers took their struggle to Paris, tens of thousands of youth joined them, and police made mass arrests. The Communists refused to defend those arrested until a general strike of Paris high schools in support of the victims forced a change in the Communist position.

Women have been prominent in many factory occupations, including the world-famous Lip watch factory in Besancon and the SPLI in Brittany, where activist women who challenged sexism in the home as well as at work were branded "ultra-leftist" by the local Communist union leadership. Women's Liberation groups all across France are now opposed by a new right-wing campaign against abortion rights led by Jacques Chirac and the bishops of the Catholic Church.

The truth is that whether it is on race, on youth or on women's liberation, French society is showing a willingness to move far to the right in its fear of genuine revolutionary forces. That this is so evident among French intellectuals, especially former Left intellectuals, reflects their failure to recognize that 1968 was an end—and that a new beginning demands the most thorough re-organization.

All Left groups are losing members. One professor, with whom I spoke, used the word "decomposition"

to describe the effect of Solzhenitsyn-inspired "New Philosophy" on the French Left. This anti-intellectual "New Philosophy" today condemns Hegel, Marx, Lenin and all revolutions, opting instead for a mystical solution as shown by the title of Bernard-Henri Levy's latest book, *The Testament of God*. And even those opposing them now write that the task is to go "beyond Marxism."

THE WEST GERMAN LEFT

The French student and intellectual fascination for the "New Philosophy" and other anti-Marxist fads is not so evident in West Germany, where the Left, ever since 1945, has had to contend with Stalinism in power just over the Wall. Thus, the imprisonment of Rudolf Bahro provoked in West Germany not a disintegration of the Left, but a series of mass meetings and discussions around his book, *The Alternative*. Over 1,000 attended the international Bahro conference held June 30-July 1 in Marburg.

It is not that West Germany has avoided the shift to the right. On the contrary, with the nomination last month of demagogic, ultra-rightist Franz-Josef Strauss to be the Christian Democratic candidate for Chancellor against Helmut Schmidt, battle lines have been drawn in Germany not seen since the end of World War II. Already Strauss has blamed the German "drift" and "malaise" on universities supposedly filled with terrorist sympathizers, and promises that if he is elected he will go in and "drain the swamp". And the Schmidt government continues its own McCarthyite "Berufsverbot" persecutions against anyone suspected of Left inclinations.

Yet, there is not the kind of "decomposition" of the Left as seen in France. Instead, there is a growing youth movement in the late 1970s—especially against neo-fascism and against nuclear power—which may open up new possibilities for the future. For the youth,

the furor over the TV showing of "Holocaust" was a focal point. For the first time since the Dachau concentration camp exhibit opened at the beginning of this year, visits of Germans outnumbered those of non-Germans, and the massive attendance of German youth made the difference.

And when today's Nazis dared try to make the anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East Berlin workers' uprising "their" day, by again scheduling a march in Frankfurt, 20,000 youth took to the streets in protest, ignoring a ban by right-wing Mayor Walter Wallmann. At the "Rock Against the Right" concert that followed, it was clear that not only the Nazis were being opposed, but all the political parties, Schmidt included.

A NEW DIALOGUE BEGINNING

For many, it was a continuation of the huge anti-nuclear march after Three Mile Island, where 140,000 expressed their international solidarity with U.S. protesters, chanting "We all live in Pennsylvania." Part of this international solidarity is also expressed in the new daily paper, *Die Tageszeitung*, begun three months ago by the independent Left in Berlin. It is a serious paper, and when we discussed the struggles within the Second America, they wanted to know more about the type of paper N&L is, with its principle of worker-editor and its refusal to separate the daily struggles in the shops, and in the Black, women's and youth movements from the development of a Marxist-Humanist philosophy of liberation.

The urgency in this conversation was expressed many times in both France and Germany. The degeneracy of the Giscard regime and the threat of Strauss' rule make clear that not only has capitalist society long outlived itself, but that nothing less than a total uprooting in thought as well as in daily life will bring us to the beginning of a society that is truly human.