

# NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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## American youth challenge draft, racism, poverty jobs

by Kevin A. Barry

President Carter's sudden attempt to reinstate the draft and whip up a war hysteria has brought thousands of American youth into the streets to protest in the weeks since his dramatic State of the Union address on Jan. 23. In its wake, the new anti-war movement has forced America's leaders to take another look at the realities of life for youth, 1980. It is true that the protests have been largest in the historic centers of the anti-Vietnam War movement, such as the San Francisco Bay Area and New York, but what stunned the smiling warmonger in the White House was the unexpected depth and breadth of the youth opposition.

Not even Carter's flag-waving picture session with Heiden and the Olympic athletes was immune. Olympic star Heiden handed Carter a petition from athletes opposing his boycott of the Moscow Summer Games, and he also indicated their opposition to the draft. Carter, the consummate actor and deceiver, honed by years of Georgia politics (where he once ran for governor simultaneously as a liberal and as "the large Wallace candidate"), kept smiling, but didn't answer the young athletes on the points they had raised.

National Security Adviser Brzezinski did not let his arrogance and his anger show another day when he was thrown out of the room after student government leaders gathered at the White House made it clear they

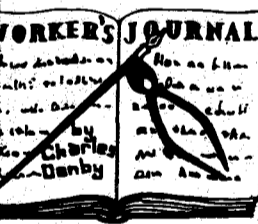


30,000 protested Carter's war drive in Washington, March 22.

opposed the draft and wouldn't volunteer for an imperialist war either. Although the meeting had been called to convince students not to worry about the draft, since it was "only" registration, Brzezinski let the cat out of the bag by losing his temper when the students weren't exactly eager to volunteer. He snapped that that's why we need registration.

### OPPOSITION ON AND OFF CAMPUS

But the youth Carter selected for display at the White House were only the tip of the iceberg. On the campuses demonstrations were followed by mass teach-ins as students sought a comprehensive view of the situation facing them. For example, at New York's Queens College "Teach-In on the Draft" held Feb. 28, topics discussed included "Lessons of the 1960s", "Women and the Draft", and "Political Responses to the New Cold War". Called at extremely short notice by the Queens College Coalition Against the Draft, the crowd of more than 500 students overflowed the small auditorium the organizers had reserved.



## Coleman Young courts bosses, forgets masses

by Charles Denby, Editor

Author of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

There is quite a bit of discussion among working people, and especially among poor Blacks and poor whites, about the question of inflation. People want to know what we are going to do, not if it goes up any more, but how can we continue to exist if it stays there it is today.

No one can convince me that something is not wrong with this system. I got two gas bills last month. They were for me owing the gas company \$160, and last month for one of the mildest winter months we've ever had in the entire history of Detroit. I went down to the gas company's main office, and to my surprise, the place was full to capacity with people, all for the same thing. The gas bills were as high as \$250, and all were poor working class people.

There were two older women, 80 years old, living in senior citizens' high rise apartment, who wanted to move to any place they could move. They only get \$287 a month and were told that their rent, which is already going up again next month. They exist just on the money they have left. That is the life many older people are existing on.

There are a few Blacks who have made it, mainly because of the Civil Rights Movement of the '60s, who have their backs completely on those that are faced with this crisis. What Vernon Jordan said seems so true: Black people are boat people without a boat—and, would add, without a paddle.

What is somewhat puzzling is the attitude our leadership has towards the Black masses and the poor in this crisis. I have heard some people say after going to a meeting about increases in their property taxes, that he

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Over and over, the turnouts and the spirit surprised the organizers:

• "No Blood for Oil" was the slogan on many signs as 3,500 marched in Eugene, Ore. on March 1.

• The nuclear weapons research center, Livermore Labs, was the target of protestors at Madison, Wisc. Feb. 29. When the lab sent recruiters to the University of Wisconsin campus, students marched on the building where interviews were being held.

• And in Flint, Mich. on March 15, high school students, many of them young women, predominated in the anti-war crowd that gathered outside the offices of U.S. Senator Riegle.

(As we go to press, 30,000 anti-war protestors converged on Washington, D.C. March 22, in the first mass national demonstration against militarism since the Vietnam War era.)

That the opposition to Carter's war cry was not limited to the campuses alone was clear to all who cared to listen. At one low-wage metal products plant, a young Black worker spoke for many: "I wouldn't fight for this country. Anything I get, I get through my own effort; the only thing the Army would give me is a bullet."

Concern over such resistance had its repercussions even in the Congressional committees assigned to implement the Carter proposals. First a House Armed Services subcommittee killed the plan to register women. That was followed by a stream of conflicting and often embarrassing testimony on all registration—male and female. A 1979 study by the Congressional Budget Office predicted that if the draft were brought back, as many as 100,000 draft-eligible youth would fail to register. By mid-March, with legislation bogged down, the Carter administration finally began leaking evidence about the "unreadiness" of the current so-called "all-volunteer army", admitting that its "composition" was a major factor in bringing back the draft.

### 'VOLUNTEER ARMY'—AND REBELLION

Not only does such a focus on the "all-volunteer army" immediately reveal the revolt within its ranks, but it demands a closer look at conditions of life and labor for all American youth today.

Today's U.S. Army is fully 30 percent Black, with a large Latino percentage as well. Concentrated heavily

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## WOMAN AS REASON

(The following excerpts are from the introduction to a new pamphlet published by News and Letters Committees, Women as Reason and as Force of Revolution, a Farsi translation by Iranian women in the U.S. of Raya Dunayevskaya's works on women's liberation. Ed.) by Neda

Over 70 years ago, the 1907 revolution in Iran witnessed the active participation of all women in struggle. . . . Facing the parliament's president they pulled out their pistols from their sleeves and demanded that the representatives of parliament abide by the constitution and not surrender to foreigners under any circumstances, to not abolish the constitution and the parliament. . . .

During the '78-'79 revolution against the Shah the Iranian women once again took to the streets. They had long been suppressed under his regime and helped to overthrow him.

LATER, THEY BEGAN an entirely new phase in protesting the new retrogression that Khomeini was trying to impose upon them. On March 8, 1979, International Women's Day, women's liberationists took to the streets under the banner "In the dawn of freedom we have no freedom." They thereby opened chapter two of Iran's revolution. They did this at the moment when the Fedayeen, who had criticized Khomeini earlier, let themselves be persuaded by Arafat, Khomeini's friend, to call off their march to Khomeini's headquarters and

## Women in Iranian revolution

instead held a rally at Tehran University. . . . For five straight days the women continued their marches, and not only against Khomeini, but against Prime Minister Bazargan. . . .

Then in November, 1979, when the women attempted to hold the first Women's Convention, they were forced to do so under candle light as the opposition cut off their electricity. The women as well faced a competing rally by the Fedayeen at the same day and hour they wished to start their meeting. Despite the women's demand, the Fedayeen refused to change the time of their rally. . . .

The women. . . demonstrated that their struggles for liberation of women and uprooting of the male chauvinism in Iran would not be subordinated to a political party's stand. . . . Rather, they wish to benefit from the fruit of their revolution—liberation—not only because they have sacrificed so much, but because their struggle for a new social order envisions totally new human relations for men as well as women.

Because new human relations require a world scope, most especially in the Muslim world, I wish to turn to other countries and show that even so great a writer as Frantz Fanon had not, in his day, dug deeply enough into the question of male chauvinism. Our Algerian sisters' experience showed how narrow nationalism

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# Thousands celebrate International Women's Day from Iran to New York

Three thousand women met in Tehran, Iran, in celebration of International Women's Day, March 8. One group, the Anjumeni of the Liberation of Women, issued a statement on the struggle of women since the overthrow of the Shah, which was communicated to a women's day celebration of Iranians in the United States. Below are excerpts from this statement:

To commemorate March 8 International Women's Day once again we repeat our unity with you, revolutionary sisters, in the struggles against oppression and exploitation. Today, it is a little more than a year since the great revolution of the people of Iran . . . We Iranian Women participated actively in all the phases and layers of the struggle . . . But all of a sudden we found that the self-anointed authority had pushed aside the leadership of the revolution and had put power into its own hands.

**WITH GREAT SPEED** it started suppressing the most oppressed people of society. And of course it was obvious that these were the ones with the highest potential and revolutionary activity, that is the oppressed classes. Women and the masses were the two sections where the reactionary system triggered its offenses.

What happened to us was an incredible oppression because it came from the ideas of the new leadership which regarded women as an entity within relationships of 14 centuries ago . . . As against such a view and the reactionary acts which emanated from it, the awareness of the women in our country and their protests grew.

Our hatred is of the institutions which apparently

## WOMAN AS REASON

(Continued from Page 1)

does not lead to socialism. This woman who was behind the veil, helped pass information, arms, medicine, helped prepare surprise attacks, took up grenades and sub-machine guns, and climbed the Djabal (mountains). She succeeded as Frantz Fanon noted to "crack the double oppression of women, social and sexual," during the course of revolution.

**BUT ONCE THE REVOLUTION** was over, she witnessed statements such as "We are all for liberation of women, except maybe for our own sisters," by the men. A great revolutionary like Fanon, so beautifully explains the gradual process of her liberation . . . But seeing that the colonizer stressed the issue of the liberation of the Algerian woman to try to drive a wedge into the liberation struggle against French colonialism, Fanon . . . writes, "The much discussed status of the Algerian woman, her alleged confinement, her lack of importance, her silent existence bordering on quasi absence and the 'Muslim Society' as having made no place for her . . . The Algerian woman, in imposing such a restriction on herself and choosing a form of existence limited in scope, was deepening her consciousness of the struggle and preparing for combat."

Have we not witnessed the end result of such limitation, whether self-imposed or imposed by the male-dominated, incomplete revolution in the status of Algeria today? And, not alone for women, but for all Algeria.

Now then, the truth is that for the struggles of women's liberation to materialize, it needs to parallel the freedom struggles of all the other oppressed forces of society. This liberation is not a "gift" to be handed to us by men on the day "after" a revolution. Rather it is a right for which women themselves must struggle in the course of revolution. Without such a struggle, it is not only the liberation of women which is at stake, it is the liberation of all of society . . .

A new generation of women's liberationists who call themselves Marxist-Humanists is no longer seeking the goal of "reaching the men in society." They see that the men under capitalism or the other version of it, state-capitalism which calls itself Communism, are alienated and far from liberation themselves . . . Rather they seek a society which establishes this most fundamental of all relations on a human basis. A society which takes full responsibility to assure the full and free development of women . . .

**AS AN IRANIAN WOMAN** who herself has tasted the bitter oppressions of the male-dominated society of Iran, once I was in the U.S., I could trace a continuation of such a separation between "thinking and doing" within the Left organizations here. In my search to resist such a division and to find a new and total philosophy of liberation . . . I finally encountered the News and Letters Committees and its founder Raya Dunayevskaya . . .

The translations . . . are chosen from her lectures and short essays with regard to the woman question from a genuine Marxist perspective. I hope during this tumultuous period of the revolution in Iran, they could serve as a guide for all Iranian brothers and sisters who seek a truly human society for "every man, woman and child."

want to divide the society into two segments — men and women, Muslim and atheist, Fars and Kurds. Behind all these degrading divisions is hidden the polarization of society into oppressor and oppressed.

**OUR HATRED** for all of these became more and more intensified. And our understanding of the necessity of the organization and the awareness of women increased. Understanding that without an independent and organized movement of women, without their consciousness, the fundamental struggles to uproot oppression and exploitation toward men and women is not possible.

Today after a year we can bravely say that the starting seed of the organized and conscious movements of women is quickly growing and flourishing. Sisters, in this year we have learned a lot from the present revolutionary situation in our society and our struggles against the present dominant situation which has totally crushed the most basic rights of women. We have learned how the struggles for the liberation of women are inseparable from the struggles of masses for self-determination, the struggles of the whole society for democracy and liberation, and the struggles of working people for their true rights.

—Anjumeni Raha Zan  
(Soviet of Liberation of Women)

**Detroit, Mich.**—Both women and men braved the heaviest snowstorm of the season here to participate in Women's Liberation-News and Letters' very unique kind of celebration of International Women's Day (IWD) on March 8. The informal meeting was planned to make everyone who attended feel like a participant, while never losing sight of the concrete history we were celebrating.

Suzanne Casey, chairwoman of Detroit WL-N&L, began with a brief history of IWD, its origins in the struggle of American garment workers, and the continuing activities of women since that day it was first celebrated in 1913. The truly international nature of the day came with a telegram of solidarity from French women's liberationists, "des femmes en mouvements."

The revolutionary ideas and struggles of women then and now were represented in our displays including: our literature, newspapers, magazines and letters from all over the world; our IWD table with the three draft chapters of Raya Dunayevskaya's book-in-progress, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*; our newest pamphlet translated by Iranian sisters in California, *Woman as Reason and as Force of Revolution*; and the symbolic use of roses to represent the creativeness of the human spirit and the continuing desire of women to be total human beings, as expressed by women mill workers in the 1912 Lawrence, Mass. "Bread and Roses" strike.

The discussion was most exciting as each person expressed something uniquely individual about IWD, women's liberation and revolution. One man spoke of IWD as a "letter to the future", although its founders did not know the profound effect it would have on women today, just as our thoughts and actions today will touch future generations.

—Detroit Women's Liberation-News and Letters

**San Francisco, Cal.**—Six thousand women and men celebrated International Women's Day at a rally sponsored mainly by NOW at San Francisco's Civic Center.

The narrow conservatism of NOW was not allowed to prevail. A woman OCAW (Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers) worker made a rousing speech against the oil companies, and a woman comic, Robin Tyler, attacked NOW for having neither lesbians nor minority

### WOMEN AS REASON AND AS FORCE OF REVOLUTION

A Farsi translation of writings on women's liberation by Raya Dunayevskaya



Appendices:

"Women's Suffrage and Class Struggle"  
by Rosa Luxemburg

"Thoughts on March 8"  
by Ding Ling

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New York marchers celebrate International Women's Day at one of the sites of its origin—the scene of Triangle fire where 146 workers, mostly women, were killed.

women on their National Committee.

The wish for a more radical and comprehensive philosophy of liberation was expressed by many women who came to our literature table, and was articulated most beautifully in the button worn by several women which said, "Feminism is Humanism".

There was also a rally, on March 9, at Laney College in Oakland, sponsored by the International Women's Day Coalition. A variety of women's, Third World labor and community organizations were represented. Guerrilla theater performances and workshops expressed both a radical and a concrete recognition of the needs of women, and minorities struggling against oppression. —Marxist-Humanist

**Lima, Peru**—For the first time, several Leftist political groups united together this year to celebrate International Women's Day. While the emphasis almost exclusively on class, it was at least a beginning of women's voices.

The demands on the IWD leaflet included: equal work and equal pay; child-care centers for working women; the right to literacy and free education; unionization of domestic workers; sanitary, medical and maternal-child services in the neighborhoods for working and peasant women; the right to use contraceptives; the legalization of free abortion; and the freedom of organization of working women.

We are members of a feminist group, Alimuper, we have just published *Toward a Feminist Socialism*. We are working at deepening our own feminist consciousness, and elaborating a feminist theory for the reality of Third World women. For more information write: ALIMUPER, Apartado 2211, Lima 100, Peru —Two Peruvian feminists



## women-worldwide

Eleanor Bowen, age 22, is the second woman known to have died in an underground U.S. mine. She was killed March 11, when her head became pinched between two machines—one of them a continuous miner reportedly not in operation at the time. Ms. Bowen had been fighting a sex discrimination suit against the coal operator she worked for. Women in U.S. coal mines have been filing such suits with increasing frequency as they face harassment along with the horrible conditions.

In Malaysia, women factory workers, many in electronics factories of multinationals such as Intel and Texas Instruments, have been able to shut down factories for days at a time through spontaneous breaks of possession by "spirits." During periods of intense pressure for high production, a "demon" sometimes appears to one woman, who becomes "hysterical." The hysteria quickly sweeps the factory and spreads to other plants. (Thanks to MANUSHI, Delhi)

The UNO Women's Conference originally planned to be held in Iran, is now scheduled for Copenhagen July 14-30. Danish feminists are organizing an alternative conference and trying to raise funds for Third World women to attend. Contact: Kvindernes-Union, Kobbemagergade 671, tv, DK-1150 Copenhagen (From COURAGE, W. Berlin)

On March 4, Native American members of Women of All Red Nations charged that contaminated drinking water is causing cancer, miscarriages and birth defects to women on the Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota. The women said that already 90 percent of Indian women have been sterilized and is a continuation of the government's genocidal policies. They demanded an immediate investigation and delivery of safe, clean water to the area.



# Wildcat strikes preview coming coal struggle

Morgantown, W. Va. — The wildcat strike of coal miners in northern West Virginia against Consolidation Coal Company is a preview of things to come when the UMW contract expires next April.

The strike began on Feb. 18 at Consol's Four States mine in northern West Virginia, when it passed over a known militant entitled to a job to pick its own man. This is a clear contract provision which Consol has often violated — and often with the same strike result. The one-day strike, supported by the local union president Mike Zemonick and two mine (grievance) committeemen, led to the firing of all three by the company.

Miners in 14 other area mines, some 6,000, came out in support of the fired miners. After striking for 12 days, and following orders from newly-installed UMW President Sam Church to return to work and federal court threats to fine the local \$9,000 a day and \$600 a day against local union officers, the miners agreed to return to work to await an arbitration ruling.

The arbitrator upheld the firing of the president and suspended the two committeemen for 30 days. And that was thought to be the end of it — until 2,000 miners spontaneously walked out on another wildcat strike on Monday, March 17 to protest the arbitrator's decision, and again to challenge Consol and the UMW leadership.

Consolidation Coal Company, now controlled by oil interests determined to break the power of the United

Mine Workers union and the rank-and-file miners, gave notice last year when it pulled out of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) that it was out to break the UMW. Consolidation Coal Company, which had been the largest commercial coal producing corporation for many years and now ranks second in the nation, had always played a leading role in the BCOA.

When the energy crisis developed and coal loomed more important in the future as an energy source, the oil interests, which controlled virtually all other energy sources, moved to take over all coal reserves. In addition to buying up all available coal reserves in the West, the oil companies bought controlling interests in existing coal companies, including Consolidation Coal Company.

In matter of fact, it was the oil companies, not the coal operators, who were calling the tunes for the negotiations with the UMW during the 118-day strike in 1978 in which the miners lost so much because of then UMW President Arnold Miller's total inadequacy to represent the miners.

And the new bureaucracy has no ability to provide the kind of militant leadership the miners demand to protect their lives and livelihood.

The UMW contract expires next April, and the stage is being set. This wildcat strike is a part of the feeling out process. Consolidation Coal Company, now out of the BCOA and powered with billions of dollars from oil, has served notice it will not be bound by any BCOA agreement, and indeed will negotiate with the UMW on its own terms. The rank-and-file miners are giving their notice, and are saying to hell with Consol, the courts, the government and even the UMW if it is not ready and willing to fight for them and what they believe to be right.

More lines will be drawn between now and April 1981 when the UMW contract expires.

## Last story from Uniroyal?

Detroit, Mich.—This may be the last story from Uniroyal, now that everyone is sure the plant is going to close. It's just a matter of when—most think it will be before the end of June. At our March 9 union meeting, Local President Cecil Hogan read the list of all the benefits the company wants us to give back. They are asking us to give up everything except our underwear, and they may ask for that too, since they said "there will be more."

They want reduced wages and pension; holidays eliminated; no more wash-up time; a six-day work week with compulsory overtime; no more S.U.B.; COLA as part of an incentive system, and more! At one point, Pres. Hogan suggested (without the company's influence), that we pay to use the parking lot.

Already, the company has been putting added security and all sorts of barriers around the building, which means they must be worried about the wage workers. Right now, we have a two-week layoff from March 17-31. Discipline has become so severe, especially on absenteeism, that it seems as if they are trying to fire as many people as they can.

This looks like a permanent change all over the country—many of us may never see a factory job again and may lose our standard of living for good. But even though the plant will soon close, this isn't the last you'll hear from Uniroyal workers!

—Art Steel worker

—Uniroyal worker



by John Allison

The new Chrysler Corporation has destroyed forever the notion that might is right. Chrysler now and always has had its authority in capitalist production relations, where the workers are paid the minimum with Chrysler getting the maximum of labor power from them.

That fact has been established and hasn't changed, whether it's the new or the old Chrysler Corporation. The game is the same, and yet the UAW has surrendered the workers' rights to the increased tyranny of management over labor.

This sacrifice by Chrysler workers had its origins in a scheme concocted by Chrysler management, the federal government and the UAW. The divine agreement was: "Save the workers' jobs at all cost."

However, Chrysler workers were deceived by all parties to that agreement. Look at what has happened—Dodge Main is closed for good, Chrysler Jefferson and another plant in Windsor are closed down for change-over, the Lynch Road plant is slated for closing. Some of these may re-open, others will not.

During this episode of Chrysler being saved by the government and labor, unemployment has been rising like flood waters throughout the country. President Carter, to show his concern for the working class, was all for saving Chrysler.

Now comes another look at the workers and Carter. He plans to lay off government workers to balance the budget, but a lot more than government workers will be out of jobs before his budget juggling act is through. A part of it is also to dry up money in the capitalist system insofar as the working class is concerned. It all means a depression.

Will labor be able to save Chrysler? That's not the real question. The real question is: is there enough money in the entire world to satisfy the greed of the capitalist class? Their greed is so great, that some where, some time, they will destroy us all if they are not destroyed. With the circumstances of our troubled times, maybe now is the time.

## Harvester workers strike

Chicago, Ill.—Workers at International Harvester have been on strike, nationally, since November, 1979. The press is saying the issue holding up a settlement is whether they can introduce forced overtime to Harvester workers—14 weeks of it. At Deere and Caterpillar, the union gave up the right to refuse overtime.

One of the strikers on the picket line, in Melrose Park, said that Harvester had a provision in the previous contract which gave them the right to force workers to work a certain amount of overtime, but it was never enforced. He went on to say that, "when the present contract ran out in October, the company started this mandatory overtime and the union went along. That's when people refused and worked less than ever, because we wanted the right to choose. For six years, we've had voluntary overtime."

"They're also trying to take away other things, like seniority rights. We're not getting any information about the negotiations. No one on the line knows what's going on. I feel something isn't right and that the union is pulling something."

Local News & Letters Committees can be contacted directly in the following areas:

- DETROIT: 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Rm. 316  
Detroit, Mich. 48211 (873-8969)
- SAN FRANCISCO: PO Box 77303, Station E,  
San Francisco, Cal. 94107
- LOS ANGELES: PO Box 29194  
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- FLINT: PO Box 3384  
Flint, Mich. 48502
- LONDON: Rising Free Bookshop (Box NL)  
182 Upper Street,  
London, N1, England

## No limits to production drive

South Bronx, N.Y.—Hardly a week goes by here at Art Steel File Cabinet Co. without a general work stoppage occurring on the day-shift, which has many workers with years of seniority and experience. A sign from this shift appeared in Spanish, this week, in a place where all the workers from both shifts could see it, which said: "We produce more than is expected and everything just goes on. We produce a normal amount and all we get are insults from the supervisors."

The night shift, only seven months old, has many younger workers, mostly Black and Latino, with families. Although general work stoppages have not occurred, the explosive situation was shown back in September, when, in response to unexpected lay-offs, the workers began to tear up the plant.

The management's line from the very beginning has been, "to produce extra hard and you won't have to worry about lay-offs." The night manager, Ken Robinson, went so far as to say that his middle-name is "Production." The fact that lay-offs did occur, regardless, has not been forgotten.

A couple of weeks ago, Robinson paraded through the entire plant with a sign, stating, "We can do it. You will make 415 tonight!" He was referring to the production of cabinets—an almost impossible feat for any living human being. In the first weeks, we used to respond good naturedly to such actions. This time, he was totally ignored. Later that night, a worker asked what the limits were to this drive for production. Another worker replied, "The sky is the limit, or we are the limit."

Although the contract here runs until November, 1980, you can already feel the beginnings of a great confrontation with management in the thoughts and activities of the workers.



## Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — Most of the workers are unsatisfied with the recent settlement by the International on the 78s (speed-up grievances). There are three to four more workers added to each floor to relieve the work load. But this really adds up to nothing. With 150 workers left on every floor, there is still too much for each job. The only reason we have this "settlement" is because the company offered and the union took it.

There are 3,000 workers producing 52 jobs an hour — that means 832 cars are built in one day. Now the plant is shutdown for two weeks, but we will face more problems when it reopens.

There are government "inflation-fighting teams" investigating the Ford Motor Co. right now. They are saying Ford has too much in its contract. What that means for the workers at GM is that we have the same contract as Ford has. Will we be next on the inflation teams' hit list?

—Fleetwood worker

## Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich.—Around 100 people came to the March 9 Local 140 general membership meeting. Many were laid-off people who came to hear the latest news about their jobs.

The local's International service rep Willie Stovall talked about recall rights to Dodge Truck for us, but didn't say a word about why so many Chrysler workers are out now. No reps in the local or the International want to talk about what they'll do about Chrysler pouring its government loan money into Jefferson Assembly to pay \$60 million for 100 robots, while we gave up \$4,000 per worker in the second contract.

What has anyone heard about what the local will do about Dodge Truck raising production from 25 to 29 trucks per hour for each final line? Ever since they set it at 25—after second shift was gone—it's been a job-and-a-half for everybody. It was when I got outside the local hall that I heard two Compact Building workers say they couldn't take their situation much longer, that "something is going to break, maybe a revolution!"

—Laid-off Main Building worker

**EDITORIAL****Black unrest heightens as U.S. economy staggers**

Unemployment among Black workers in the U.S. is officially reported to be over 12 percent, more than double the 6.2 percent national rate. Black youth unemployment is incredibly higher, officially reported to be at 28 percent in February, compared with a reported 14.1 percent unemployment rate for youth as a whole.

The youth data, however, is grossly understated according to the *New York Times* (Feb. 29), which reported secret government figures showing actual youth unemployment to be 19.3 percent, while Black youth unemployment hit 38.8 percent.

Even this, as explosive as these rates are, is only part of the truth. In urban areas such as Detroit, Black youth unemployment is reported to be between 60 to 70 percent.

**ECONOMIC GAP WIDENS**

What these figures reveal is that the economic gap between Black and white Americans is greater than it was 20 years ago, before the Black mass revolt which erupted in the 1960s to eliminate racial discrimination and to create equal opportunities for Black Americans. For a brief time, in the late '60s, the economic gap between Blacks and whites narrowed slightly, but all of those Black gains have gone down the drain — and more.

The future looks worse, much worse, for all American workers and their families who will bear the brunt of the weight of the staggering U.S. capitalist economy. Meeting in panic sessions when the inflation rate hit 20 percent last month, followed by the same high incredible prime lending rate and mortgage rates climbing not far behind, President Carter and administration leaders mapped anti-inflation strategy.

The answer to the problem, they all agreed, was to

balance the national budget—and proceeded to lop off \$13 billion from the national budget, the same budget put forward by Carter a mere two months ago as the "answer" to the economic crisis in America. In addition, Carter ordered the Federal Reserve Board to take steps to slash consumer borrowing and tighten loan activity by financial institutions, primarily banks, which have been making loans to business in unprecedented amounts.

**TAKE AWAY HELP FOR POOR PEOPLE**

Programs earmarked for the biggest cuts by Carter are those that help the poor and unemployed. Over \$1.5 billion will be cut from federal pension payments to workers and from food stamp programs which feed poverty stricken families of unemployed workers. CETA job-training programs, as pitiful as they have been in the face of the massive and still growing unemployment, will be cut by \$500,000, with another \$400,000 slash in child care programs. Federal government state revenue sharing funds which support critical social services are to be cut \$1.7 billion, which will wipe out entirely many desperately needed social services. Another step is the firing of 20,000 federal workers.

Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker admits that big business will be hurt the least, if at all, by the credit tightening moves, but that small business and ordinary consumers will be hurt most. Workers and their families, who have to borrow to survive from pay check to pay check, will be taking it on the chin.

In the past few months, plant closings and layoffs in auto, steel, rubber, mines, and construction industries have added a half million to the unemployed army. Carter's latest moves will guarantee adding several millions more to the jobless rolls.

The collapsing economy will take a horrible toll on

the entire working class, but nobody will be crushed more than Black Americans. Although Black workers in union industries have a little seniority protection, the "last hired, first fired" condition of Blacks, already clear at many plants, will become an increasingly harsher reality. Black unrest, already at the flash point, threatens to explode at any time.

**BLACK LEADERS FIZZLE**

In this atmosphere, the Black Leadership Caucus met in Richmond, Va. during February to map Black strategy for the 1980s. Detroit's Black Mayor Coleman Young's magnificent contribution was to urge support of the person primarily responsible for the present economic crisis, President Carter (see "Workers Journal" p. 1, and "Black-Red View" p. 12).

Perhaps the true measure of how much these so-called Black leaders are seen to represent the aspirations of the Black masses can be shown in the fact that not a single presidential candidate attended the Black conference—though all had been invited.

National Urban League Director Vernon Jordan, referring to the worsening economic conditions of Black Americans, said, "We're boat people without boats." It is true that many Blacks in the U.S. are destitute, and in that sense might be compared with the Vietnamese refugee boat people.

But it is not true that American Blacks are as helpless as the boat people. We saw in the 1960s that not only was Black beautiful, but more importantly, that Black was revolutionary.

That is the dimension that will become more evident as the economic disaster deepens. It is that revolutionary dimension, allied with the white working class, that can provide the answers to the crisis threatening to destroy the livelihood of everyone in this country.

**Knei-Paz on Trotsky's thought: a critique**

*The Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky, by Baruch Knei-Paz; Oxford University Press, 1978, \$27.50 by Michael Connolly*

In the three months since the previously closed portions of the Trotsky Archives at Harvard University were opened to researchers—nearly coinciding with the 100th anniversary of Trotsky's birth—a stream of books and articles has underscored the continuing attraction of his life and work. More are certain to follow from the new studies. As an analysis of Trotsky as thinker, however, none of the recent efforts have approached in scholarship, meticulous citation of texts, and independence of view Baruch Knei-Paz' massive (over 600 pages) work, *The Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky*.

Prof. Knei-Paz is surely no Trotskyist. Indeed, his work is not only highly critical of a portion of Trotsky's legacy, but in the course of tracing his voluminous work, reveals quite a few of Trotsky's errors.

It is clear that for Knei-Paz, the contradictions within Trotsky's thought are central. And it is to them that we are led immediately: "Trotsky's 'ideas and aims' were 'betrayed' not so much by others—as he was prone to believe—as by the contradictions of his own intellectual preconceptions. In a sense, this study is an attempt to trace the origins and evolution of such contradictions and, thereby, to throw some light as well on the immediate and subsequent character of the Russian revolution." (p. viii)

"The originality of Trotsky," claims Knei-Paz, "lay in the fact that he was able to break out of Marx's historical framework as well as out of Marx's European self-centeredness . . . He refused, even if not in a fully declared way, to remain locked in Marx's suppositions . . ." (p. 104)

Leaving aside for a moment the charge of Marx's supposed "European self-centeredness," was it Knei-Paz' evaluation of Trotsky's "originality" as "independence" from Marx that encouraged him to relegate Marx's concept of permanent revolution to an appearance of exactly six pages, which don't begin until p. 154?

It isn't that Knei-Paz doesn't know of Marx's development of the concept of permanent revolution in relation to Russia. He quite correctly refers to the Preface to the 1882 Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto* as Marx's last expression of permanent revolution. Yet when he returns to this subject in an Appendix on "Marx on Backwardness and on Russia" a thorough misunderstanding of Marx results. The "Asiatic mode of production" becomes the point at issue, as Knei-Paz declares that "for Marx, as for Hegel before him, the Orient was 'unhistorical', or simply lacking in history, since its experience was a uniform, monotonous repetition of the same thing." Knei-Paz then makes the fantastic assertion: "this clearly negated Marx's very philosophy of history."

Here is evidently the proof of Marx's "European self-centeredness." Never mind that it was precisely this Asiatic society—China—that Marx praised for its magnificent Taiping Rebellion at the time when Europe was sunk deep into reaction. Never mind that it is this Rebellion that Marx brings into nothing less than the

concluding section (on Fetishism of Commodities) of Chapter One of Capital.<sup>1</sup>

The attitude to Marx, not only of Trotsky, but also of Lenin, is what interests Knei-Paz here. And it is Trotsky's attitude that is noted approvingly:

"If one compares the writings of Trotsky, on whatever subject, with those of many other Russian Marxists, and not least Lenin, one is immediately struck by one obvious difference of approach: while they continuously quote Marx . . . Trotsky almost never does so . . . Trotsky generally avoided resorting to the authority of texts because he grasped Marxism as a tool, not as a 'completed system.'" (p. 86-7)

**ANTI-LENINISM'S INFLUENCE**

Over and over, we are shown Trotsky the original, independent thinker, one for whom Marx was not to be simply "applied" to the Russian conditions, versus Lenin who, according to Knei-Paz, had "nothing to do with the social theory of Marxism . . . which he merely harnessed to his own theory of the revolutionary party."

Here Knei-Paz has revealed the overpowering influence of his anti-Leninism. He forgets that the question is not whether Lenin supposedly "harnessed" Marx to his theory of the party. The question that becomes key is the objective situation 1914, which all Marxists, Lenin and Trotsky included, faced. World War I had broken out, and far from the socialist movement preventing it, the established leadership of the movement is asking German workers to shoot Russians. It is an unprecedented moment in socialist history. Yet Knei-Paz offers no serious treatment of World War I. Indeed, it is hardly covered at all.

The fact is that when the war breaks out Trotsky and Luxemburg and Zetkin begin organizing an anti-war movement. Lenin insists that the only way to stop the war is with a social revolution, and he proposes the slogan, "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war!" None of them will go along, convinced as they are that

(Continued on Page 10)

1. In the bibliography, *Capital* is not listed among Marx's works relevant to Knei-Paz' thesis.

**Who We Are and What We Stand For**

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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."

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# THE BREAK WITH KAUTSKY, 1910-1911:

## From Mass Strike Theory to Crisis over Morocco— and Hushed-Up 'Woman Question'

by Raya Dunayevskaya

(A draft chapter from a new work-in-progress, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.)

### SPONTANEITY AND ORGANIZATION

ONCE SPONTANEITY HAD TAKEN the form of an outright revolution, Luxemburg's usual sensitivity to the phenomenon took on the dimension of a universal, the method of revolution. She had written to Luise Kautsky early in 1906, soon after she landed in Poland in December, 1905: "The general strike alone has ceased to play the role it had. Now nothing but a direct, general fight on the spot can bring about the decision . . ."

By mid-August, as she was working on *The Mass Strike, The Political Party and the Trade Unions*,<sup>2</sup> it was clear that, far from the pamphlet being restricted to the issues in the title, she was, in fact, beginning to question just the conservative trade union leadership, but her relation of Marxist leadership to spontaneity. She always been highly responsive to proletarian acts of spontaneity. What was different this time was that the Russian Revolution had disclosed a totally new relationship to Marxist leadership. The most excitingly new phenomenon was that the so-called backward Russian workers proved themselves far in advance of those in technologically advanced countries, Germany particularly. Moreover, the Russian Revolution was not just a national happening. In the impact both in the East and the West, it had displayed an elemental force and scope of world scope. Luxemburg at once began working out its application to Germany.

In a word, spontaneity did not mean just instinctive action as against conscious direction. Quite the contrary, spontaneity was a driving force, not only of the revolution of the vanguard leadership, keeping it left. As Luxemburg expressed it in her pamphlet:

"The element of spontaneity, as we have seen, plays a great part in all Russian mass strikes without exception, be it as a driving force or as a restraining influence . . . In short, in the mass strikes in Russia, the element of spontaneity plays such a predominant part, not because the Russian proletariat are 'uneducated', but because revolutions do not allow anyone to play the schoolmaster with them."

In working out the dialectic of the mass strike, Luxemburg moved from her characteristic search for the cause to concentrating, instead, on the interrelationship of cause and effect. History had shifted the position of the general strike from its anarchist non-political "origins" to its genuine political nature. The Russian Revolution actually revealed, Luxemburg maintained, "the historical liquidation of anarchism." Marxist leadership of the general strike signified the unity of economics and politics.

She traced through the strikes in Russia from 1896 to 1905 and concluded: "Throughout the whole of the year of 1905 and into the middle of the summer there raged throughout the whole of the immense empire an uninterrupted economic strike of almost the entire proletariat against capital . . ." Nor was it only a question of the general strike embracing the entire proletariat. For the first time she was impressed even with the element she disliked most—the lumpen proletariat. The Russian Revolution irradiated the genius of all people, and the revolutionary masses in motion, "even knocked at the doors of the military barracks."

Luxemburg proceeded to show the effectiveness of mass strikes: how the fight for an 8-hour day meant its immediate institution, even before the outbreak of the

revolution in January, 1905. The oil workers in Baku won the 8-hour day in December, 1904; the printing workers in Samara in January, 1905; the sugar workers in Kiev in May, 1905. By the time of the October Days and the second general strike, the economic struggle formed "a broad background of the revolution from which, in ceaseless reciprocal action with the political agitation and the external events of the revolution, there ever arise, here and there, now isolated explosions and now great general actions of the proletariat . . ." Naturally, the question of the soldiers' revolts in Kronstadt, Libau, Vladivostok were singled out to show the breadth and depth of the revolution; "Within a week the 8-hour day prevailed in every factory and workshop in Petersburg . . ."

Once one recognizes that this was the essence of what Luxemburg considered to be the genius of revolution, then it is clear that—with her specific historic examples of how many mass strikes, what duration they ran, and how they were transformed from an economic to a general political strike which led to "a general popular uprising"—she was actually developing a strategy of revolution. Moreover, she was developing it not only on the basis of Russia, a "backward" country, but also with eyes fixed on technologically advanced Germany. Clearly, it was no longer a question just of experience, much less just a national experience, but a universal phenomenon that was so little separated from any national boundaries that it eliminated the difference between national and international as well as the difference between theory and practice.

In dwelling in detail on the mass strike in October, November and December, Luxemburg not only emphasized how "the workers threw themselves with fiery zeal into the waves of political freedom," but stressed especially the fact that the proletariat's intellectual development was boundless: "the most precious, because lasting, thing in this rapid ebb and flow of the wave is its mental sediment: the intellectual, cultural growth of the proletariat." By the time Luxemburg came to the question of organization, of daily political meetings, of formation of clubs, she dealt with the question of trade unionism as something the new force of workers had "immediately taken in hand." What is especially striking about that new force "taking unions in hand" is that it was concerned not only with the organized but with the unorganized workers.

Put differently, Luxemburg was against the trade union leadership not only because they were conservative, but because they were concerned only with organized workers, whereas the unorganized workers, she showed, were every bit as revolutionary and important. And just as she included even the lumpen proletariat as likewise affected by the storm of revolution, so she drew into the totality and genius of spontaneity everyone from the lumpen proletariat to the artist as being in this great whirlwind of revolution. What, amazingly, was not singled out to the point of making it a universal was the soviet form of organization. However, the whole question of organization—be it the small Marxist organization that became a mass organization literally overnight, a mass organization, or totally new forms of organization like the soviets—had henceforth become inseparable from mass activity.

From 1906—and all the way until the break with Kautsky, 1910-11—what Luxemburg singled out was the general strike—the interrelationship of economic and political work which "formed a broad background of the revolution . . ." The point of the historical tracing of strikes from 1896 to 1905, and the detailed examination of the actual 1905-1906 revolution, led her to the conclusion that the mass strike is:

"The method of motion of the proletarian mass, the phenomenal form of the proletarian struggle in revolution . . . in a word: the economic struggle is the transmitter from one political center to another; the political struggle is the periodic fertilization of the soil for the economic struggle. Cause and effect here continually change places



Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin walking to the 1910 Magdeburg Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party.

Finally, the events in Russia show us that the mass strike is inseparable from the revolution."

Finally, she approached the question of applying the lessons of the Russian Revolution to the German scene: "A year of revolution has therefore given the Russian proletariat that 'training' which 30 years of parliamentary and trade union struggles cannot artificially give to the German proletariat." No doubt she did not then (1906) know that her climactic ending—that "the masses will be the active chorus and the leaders only the 'speaking parts,' the interpreters of the will of the masses"—was actually laying the ground, not alone for her usual fights with the trade union leaders, but for one with the established German Social-Democratic—that is, Marxist—leadership. But, in fact, this was what happened in 1910. And since in that concrete period and place we will best see both the ramifications of her 1906 general strike thesis, as well as her sensitivity to the smell of opportunism in the highest levels of "orthodox Marxism", it is to 1910 that we now turn.

### II UNIFIED REVOLUTIONARY THEORY —PRACTICE VS. "TWO STRATEGIES"

LUXEMBURG CONSIDERED THE interaction of economic strikes and political demonstrations to be a pre-revolutionary situation. 1910 was the year she felt it opportune to begin applying to Germany the lessons of the General Mass Strike she had drawn from the Russian Revolution. Not only was it a year when a new wave of strikes broke out in Germany, but on Feb. 4, when the government published the draft of the so-called electoral "reform" bill, with its three-class tier voting limitations, there was mobilization of mass opposition. Every single Sunday during the months of February and March there were massive demonstrations for equal suffrage. At the same time, the waves of strikes that began the year continued and expanded.

(Continued on Page 6)

From letter to Luise Kautsky, Jan. 2, 1906 included in Rosa Luxemburg: *Letters to Karl and Luise Kautsky*, edited by Luise Kautsky and translated from the German by Louis P. Lochner (New York: Robert McBride & Co., 1925).

This 1906 pamphlet, *Messenstreik, Partei und Gewerkschaften*, included in *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. 2 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1974), pp. 90-170. The pamphlet was first translated into English by Patrick Levin (Detroit: Marxist Educational Society, 1925). For those passages which were quoted by Rosa Luxemburg in her 1910 article, "Theory and Practice," I have used the translation of David Wallf.

# THE BREAK WITH KAUTSKY, 1910-1911: From Mass Strike Th



In August, 1903, 8,000 (mostly women) textile workers in Crimmitschau struck for pay raises and a ten-hour day. The strike was strengthened by the solidarity of the German and international working class, despite attempts to break the strike by state intervention and the decree of limited martial law. Their banner says: "The 22nd week of the 10-hour day struggle—remain in solidarity."

(Continued from Page 5)

Carl Schorske shows that no less than 370,000 workers were involved in work stoppages that year.<sup>3</sup>

In mid-February, Luxemburg had written an analysis of the current situation in relationship to the principle of the General Mass Strike. She entitled it "What Next?"<sup>4</sup> and submitted it to the Party paper, *Vorwärts*. It was returned to her with a note saying that the "Executive" had instructed the paper not to carry on agitation for the mass strike at present when what was most important was the electoral campaign. Luxemburg, on the contrary, thought that it was precisely the present situation, both on the question of the struggle for electoral reform and on the question of strikes, that made discussion of the General Mass Strike relevant. She resubmitted the article, this time to the theoretical organ *Neue Zeit*, of which, in name, she was deputy editor. Where, heretofore, Luxemburg considered the prestigious Party School and her theoretical work in it to be so important that she allowed nothing to divert her from it, this time the priority went to the need for agitation. She took two months off from teaching at the Party School to go barnstorming throughout Germany. Her talks both on suffrage and on work stoppages naturally included the idea of a General Mass Strike. The opposition to Luxemburg that had opened in the top echelons of the German Social-Democracy (GSD) was revealed in some curious ways. Thus, while all the papers in Frankfurt, for example, were reporting Luxemburg's speeches one way, *Vorwärts* struck out one sentence of the report, to wit: "The speaker evoked the enthusiastic approval of the participants when she advocated propaganda for the mass strike." Luxemburg, meanwhile, was doing her reporting to Luise Kautsky. One letter dated March 15, 1910, described how many meetings she addressed, how large they were, and how enthusiastically she had been met by the last one which had numbered 1,500.

At the end of the two months' lecture tour, Luxemburg returned to Berlin. There she found a note from Kautsky, as editor of *Neue Zeit*, that said her article was "important" and "very fine," but he suggested that the paragraph propagandizing for a republic be cut. Meanwhile, he was polemicizing against her views. She at once saw to it that her article was published in *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. As for the paragraph on the question of a republic, she had developed it into a separate article, and had that published as well. Which didn't mean that she would let Kautsky off the hook for not publishing her article, much less for starting a

polemic against her views without having published them.

Kautsky had opened up the floodgates of a dispute with Luxemburg which was to take up no less than one-fifth of the space of the most prestigious journal in the German Social-Democracy, which in this case meant established world Marxism. What it presaged was the birth of a new wave of opportunism that soon led to the break with Kautsky. Luxemburg was out to expose that it was not just the trade union leaders and reformists who were opportunists. She was out to show that opportunism was eating at the very vitals of the Marxist leadership: the German Social-Democracy.

To this day, even those revolutionaries, who, armed with hindsight, do see that the dispute between Luxemburg and Kautsky first exposed the abysmal opportunism at the top which was to lead to nothing short of the Party's betrayal, still act as if Luxemburg's prescient stand was "accidental." The truth is that Luxemburg sensed opportunism four years ahead of all others, Lenin included. The truth is that long before the Party's outright betrayal at the outbreak of World War I, Luxemburg saw in the Social-Democracy's slavish parliamentarianism so great a diversion from the revolutionary road that she felt compelled not to let go of the "tactic" of general strike until all those who opposed it were shown to be opportunists. To try to deflate the dispute as if it were a mere "personal matter," and say that it was simply a question that Luxemburg felt "insulted" at Kautsky's refusal to publish her article, is to blind oneself to just how historic, what a great determinant for world Marxist development, was Luxemburg's break with Kautsky.

Luxemburg's writings in that period demonstrate that, far from the "Luxemburg affair" causing the disturbance in the GSD, it was the objective situation, both the actual strikes and the actual struggles for electoral reform, that caused the crisis. Her position rightly was: why let anyone, even if he were internationally recognized as the "greatest Marxist," gild the lily of parliamentarianism with "heaven-storming theory" when, in fact, that theory was nothing but a rationale for opportunist actions?

As was his wont in any debate, Kautsky was trotting out a brand new theory. The so-called "strategy of attrition" (*Ermattungsstrategie*) and "strategy of overthrow" (*Niederwerfungsstrategie*), culled from ancient Roman history, were now used with a great show of erudition—but in a very different form than those "two strategies" were introduced first in 1907 in Kautsky's *Social Revolution* and in 1909 in his *Road to Power*. Now (1910) in his "Theory and Practice" article, said Luxemburg, these same theories which had been used in favor of the 1905 Revolution, had become "a frightfully fundamental revision" of the 1905 Resolution passed at the Jena Congress which recognized the general strike as the method of revolution and not only for Russia.<sup>5</sup>

Luxemburg hit back with everything she could, entitling her article the same as Kautsky's.<sup>6</sup> First quoted from her own pamphlet on the mass strike:

"So the mass strike shows itself to be no specifically Russian product, arising from absolutism, but a universal form of proletarian class struggle resulting from the present stage of capitalist development and class relations. From this standpoint the three bourgeois revolutions—the great French revolution, the German March revolution, and the present Russian one—form an onrunning chain of development in which the prosperity and the decline of the bourgeois century are reflected . . . The present revolution realizes, in the special circumstances of absolutist Russia, the universal results of international capitalist development; and in this seems less a final posterity of the old bourgeois revolutions than a forerunner of a new series of proletarian revolutions in the West. Just because it has so inexcusably delayed its bourgeois revolution the most backward land shows ways and methods of extended class struggle for the proletariat of Germany and the most advanced capitalist lands."

Then she quoted Kautsky in 1910 portraying her "chaotic" the peasant uprisings of 1905 were and her "inapplicable" they were to Germany. She contrasted these 1910 statements to what he had written in 1907 holding that it was a reversal of the truth as to both facts and theory.

Kautsky, she continued, had written in his "Theory and Practice" article that he was re-establishing the Marxist dialectics "against the distortion of the dialectic totality through an over-emphasis on the limited and purely political aim." Luxemburg exposed Kautsky's claim as follows:

"The picture of chaotic, 'amorphous, primitive' strikes by the Russian workers . . . is a bloom of fantasy . . . These strikes, from which as bold creation as the famous Petersburg Council Workers' Delegates was born for unified leadership of the entire movement in the giant empire—the Russian strikes and mass strikes were so far from being 'amorphous and primitive' that in boldness, strength, class solidarity, tenacity, material gain, progressive aims and organizational results, they could safely be set alongside any 'western European' trade union movement."

In fact, Luxemburg insisted, the so-called two strategies of "attrition" and "overthrow" for which Kautsky was making that "crude contrast between revolution in Russia and parliamentary Western Europe" was "nothing but a rationalization of Kautsky's refusal to favor a mass strike." Furthermore, she continued, spontaneity in the Russian mass strikes was not lacking in rational strike leadership as Kautsky now claimed, but in fact, both as rational leadership and as spontaneous strikes, the General Mass Strike in Russia achieved more, concretely, for the Russian proletariat, than a "plan" of the GSD.

In her "Theory and Practice" article, she stressed that the so-called "two strategies", far from being "historically" justifiable, were a total deviation from the burning questions of the here and now—the 1910 strikes and demonstrations, as well as the preparations for the 1912 election. Not only was the real issue whether or not the GSD should, under the concrete circumstances of the day, agitate for a General Mass Strike, but was Kautsky the whole relationship of theory to practice was thereby made very nearly irreconcilable:

"Heaven-storming theory — and 'attrition' practice; most revolutionary perspectives in the clouds—and Reichstag mandate as sole perspective in reality . . . It seems that 'theory' does not merely 'stride forward' more slowly than 'practice': all from time to time it also goes tumbling backward . . . Reichstag elections and mandate—that is Moscow and the prophets!"

Finally, with her article, "Attrition or Collision?" Luxemburg moved in, if not for the kill, certainly the denouement of Kautsky's "history culling". Supplanting, she wrote, that we would see something relevant for our day in those two strategies in ancient Rome it still would remain a fact that the way Kautsky took

<sup>3</sup> Carl E. Schorske, *German Social Democracy 1905-1917* (Harvard, 1955).

<sup>4</sup> "Was Weiter?" *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. 2, pp. 288-299, is variously referred to as "What Next?" by Nettl; "What Further?" by Schorske; and "The Next Step" by Looker. It was Robert Looker who finally published it in English in his *Rosa Luxemburg: Selected Political Writings* (New York: Grove Press, 1974), p. 148. To complicate things still further, one of Karl Kautsky's articles in opposition to Luxemburg is called "Was Nun?" ("What Now?")

<sup>5</sup> It was this Resolution that she used as proof of German proletarian solidarity with the Russian proletariat, in her greetings to the 1907 Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP). See Appendix for my translation of the entire speech.

<sup>6</sup> Rosa Luxemburg, "Theory and Practice", *Neue Zeit*, July 22-29, 1910, is found in *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. 2, pp. 378-411. The first English translation of this article by David Wolff has been published by *News & Letters* and can be ordered for by writing to 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48211.

<sup>7</sup> Rosa Luxemburg, "Attrition or Collision?" is included in *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. 2, pp. 344-377. A translation of the article on Fabius Cunctator is included in the N&L publication "Theory and Practice" (see fn. 6).



# Crisis over Morocco—and Hushed-Up 'Woman Question'



Nama and Herero guerrillas resisted German imperialism in German S.W. Africa (1904-07). The center figure (seated) is the great Nama guerrilla leader — Jacob Morenga, who was murdered by the Cape Mounties in the Kalahari Desert, 1908.

history, it is totally false. The great historian, Mommsen, has long since shown that the inventor of the theory of attrition, Fabius Cunctator, became "famous" for his "masterly inaction" theory since, far from winning any battles against Hannibal, he earned such infamy that the Romans decided not to suffer any longer from his generalship and had him replaced.

As she had already shown in both her "Theory and Practice" and her "Attrition or Collision?" articles, this stretching into Roman history—which was supposedly more relevant to the 1910 dispute than were her articles on General Mass Strike—was not only irrelevant but totally false. All it did was to lead Kautsky into glorifying German history as a "century of Prussian glory." As she pointed out in "Our Struggle for Power":

"And now let's take a look at the wars which Germany has fought in the meantime. The first was the 'glorious' Chinese war, whose slogan ran: Prisoners will not be taken, etc. Then in 1904 came the even more glorious Herero war. The Hereros are a Negro people who for centuries have clung to their native soil, and made it fertile with their sweat. Their 'crime' lay in this: that they would not spinelessly surrender themselves to the rapacious robber barons of industry, to the white slave owners; that they defended their homeland against foreign invaders. In this war as well, German arms richly covered themselves with—renown. Herr von Trotha issued the well-known general order: every Negro found armed will be shot down—no quarter will be given. The men were shot; women and children by the hundreds were hunted into the burning desert, and the wreath of their parched bones bleaches in the murderous Omaheke—a glory garland of German arms!"<sup>8</sup>

### III "THE MOROCCO INCIDENT"

EVER SINCE SHE HAD LANDED in Germany, back in 1896, and plunged into the debate against reformism, the question that kept cropping up was what we now call the "Third World." No matter what the year, no matter what the place, no matter whether it was a question of theory or of practice, her hawk's eye kept following advanced capitalism's extension into imperialism. As we saw in the first chapter, she had written to Jogiches in 1899 (and, in fact, it was published in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* on March 13, 1899) that a new shift in global politics had been taking place ever since 1895, when Japan attacked China. Moreover it wasn't only a question of Japan's imperialist intrusion. There was the German imperialist venture, the Anglo-Boer war, the U.S. intrusion into Latin America.

And here we were in 1910 and she found no one less than Kautsky lauding a "century of Prussian glory" as if it wasn't personified by Wilhelm II's exhortation to the German soliders in that "Hunn campaign"<sup>9</sup> to emulate their ancestors the Hunns and teach the Chinese a lesson in "frightfulness." The Chinese didn't forget. But they remembered it as an anti-imperialist popular uprising that broke out in northern China in 1899!

In 1900, at the very first Congress Luxemburg attended when she became a German citizen, she had

already projected a need for anti-colonial action. On May 15, 1902, she had an article in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* on imperialist maneuvers worldwide, specifically Martinique. In 1905, with the first "Morocco incident" she at once raised questions of anti-militarism and anti-imperialism.

As we see, prescience of the deep opportunism in Karl Kautsky, when all still considered him the authoritative voice of Marxism, was by no means limited to the question of the General Mass Strike, much less that of the question of suffrage, but was integral to the very concept of what is a proletarian revolution.

No doubt the GSD leadership thought they had brought her down to size when the Congress that year rejected her resolution "that the fight for suffrage in Prussia can be waged to victory only through great determined mass action in which all means must be employed, including the political general strike if necessary." But the 1910 battles with Kautsky and Bebel had no sooner ended than it once again became clear to her that the question of fighting opportunism was not only a matter of domestic policies, but of international policy.

On July 1, 1911, the German gunboat Panther sailed into Morocco. The first letters of the International Socialist Bureau that Luxemburg received as a member of that Bureau showed that the leadership was a great deal more concerned with the electoral battles going on in Germany, than with Germany's imperial act. Indeed, not only was no struggle against their government proposed at the moment, and not only was the news presented as if peace rather than war was in the air, but it was clear that the only thing that worried the GSD was that any opposition might harm the electoral

victory they counted on for the 1912 elections.

Luxemburg published the "private" letter and her own analysis in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* of July 24, 1911. When more letters and leaflets, each one more ambivalent than the one before, continued to flow her way, she wrote the sharpest of all critiques, "Unser Marokko-Flugblatt," which appeared in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* of Aug. 26, 1911 — after the executive's manifesto had been published in *Vorwärts* of Aug. 9, 1911. What she castigated was the pusillanimity, not to mention belatedness of their manifesto for any serious struggle against the war-mongering bourgeoisie. Instead of a serious Marxist analysis of a burning issue, she said, they were getting "Social-Democratic political twaddle." By now the question was more than "an international policy in general, and the Morocco affair in particular." What was imperative for German Marxists was an expose as to how the "Morocco affair" was related to the "internal development of German militarism . . . and Germany's urge for world power." She concluded:

"Let us add that in the whole of the leaflet there is not one word about the colonized nations, not a word about their rights, interests, and sufferings because of international policy. The leaflet several times speaks of 'England's splendid colonial policy' without mentioning the periodic starvation and spread of typhoid in India, extermination of the Australian aborigines, and the horse whip on the backs of the Egyptian peasants."

Whereupon, all the furies descended upon her for "breach of discipline," for "disloyalty" and "indiscretion" for having published a letter that had been meant only for the eyes of the ISB.

By the time the 1911 Congress opened in September the Executive Committee tried reducing the question of what she did, and when she did it, as if it were only a question of making public what had been sent to her in "private." Yet so great still was the name of the GSD, and so far distant and unrelated to organizational growth was the question of imperialism, that the leadership did succeed in diverting attention from the political analysis to the question of "a breach of discipline."

### IV TONE-DEAFNESS TO MALE CHAUVINISM

IN THE PROCESS OF THE DEBATE on the so-called "breach of discipline," male chauvinism had raised its ugly head, as we will shortly see. That it was not only male chauvinism's ugly head, but that of

(Continued on Page 8)

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" . . . it seems to me that what matters is not merely to portray revolutionary struggles and their outer course in theoretical abstraction—that is, in Never-Never Land—and to project their general schema: it is equally a matter of giving, at the same time, those slogans in the practice which will release the maximum of the proletariat's revolutionary energy and drive the situation forward the farthest and fastest."

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<sup>8</sup> Rosa Luxemburg, "Our Struggle for Power", *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. 2, pp. 530-541.

<sup>9</sup> On May 29, 1913, in an article called "Die weltpolitische Lage" ("The World Political Situation") in *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, she wrote: "Then came the Hunn campaign in China, to which Wilhelm II sent the soldiers with the slogan: Quarter will not be given, prisoners will not be taken. The soldiers were to wreak havoc like the Hunns so that for a thousand years no Chinese would dare cast squinting, envious eyes on a German." *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. 3, p. 212.

# THE BREAK WITH KAUTSKY, 1910-1911



Karl Leibknecht addressing an anti-war demonstration in 1910.

(Continued from Page 7)

imperialism which the German Social-Democracy was not up to confronting, as Luxemburg rightly insisted, is seen clearest at the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau in Zurich, on Sept. 23, 1911, the week following the Congress in Jena. There, with international representatives like Lenin present, they withdrew their motion to censure Luxemburg; but managed, with the support of others, like Plekhanov, to contain the discussion over the Morocco crisis. Thus, when Lenin came to Luxemburg's defense, Zinoviev reported, "the thunder and lightning descended upon him as well. Vladimir Ilich appealed to Plekhanov . . . but . . . Com. Plekhanov replied that the ear should not grow beyond the forehead, that we (Russians) should keep silent; that when we had millions of members as the German Social-Democracy had, then we should also be considered. But for the time being we were merely 'poor relations.' After listening to Plekhanov, Vladimir Ilich slammed the door and left the meeting."<sup>10</sup>

The Minutes of the GSD Congress in Jena<sup>11</sup> the week before tell the whole story; it was there where the male chauvinism dominated the discussion over what they called "the Morocco incident."

It isn't that there wasn't also some humor in the discussion, for as Luxemburg put it: "When the party executive asserts something, I would never dare not to believe it, for as a faithful party member the old saying holds for me: *Credo quia absurdum*—I believe it precisely because it is absurd." And later she turned to Bebel, whom she accused of hearing only with his "right ear" (i.e. from the most conservative benches, where the Baden delegates sat): "In all my life, I have never seen a picture of such pathetic confusion. (Laughter. Bebel shouts: Now, now!) This is why I am not cross with you for your accusations. I forgive you and offer you the fatherly advice (Bebel: The motherly advice. Great amusement.): do better in the future."

Even when there were hisses for Luxemburg's attitude to Bebel, there was also great applause for her anti-militarist stand. Clearly, there was a deep anti-militarist and anti-colonialist feeling in the German Social-Democracy. As Ledebour (who was no friend of Luxemburg's) put it, rising to her defense:

"As I prophesied, a trap was set for Rosa Luxemburg out of the publication of the letter, and they made use of the truly unjustified over-haste with which she criticized the leaflet. All that is being used to disguise the real heart of the matter. Com. Luxemburg has frequently come into conflict with me . . . we will come into conflict even more often . . . (but) the mass demonstrations against war and the war-mongers such as have taken place are not the achievement of Muller and the executive . . . but of Com. Luxemburg, through her critique."

It wasn't for lack of awareness about the pervasive male chauvinism that Luxemburg acted tone-deaf. But so determined was she that nothing should divert from the political issues in dispute that she allowed the leaders to hush up the matter, though it involved her own leadership. It had been her principle always to ignore any sign of male chauvinism, not even letting the word pass her lips. It isn't that she wasn't aware of its existence but she held that since it was due to capitalism, it could be abolished only with the abolition of capitalism. Just as she had learned to live with an underlying anti-Semitism in the Party,<sup>12</sup> so she learned to live with what in our era has been challenged by name—specific-

ally, male chauvinism. She took no issue with it, though it stuck out from all over that the polemics against her, now that she disagreed with the core of the orthodox leadership, had an extra sharp edge which no male opponent had to suffer. Here, for example, is a sample of the letters that passed between Bebel and Adler:<sup>13</sup>

" . . . the poisonous bitch will yet do a lot of damage, all the more because she is as clever as a monkey (*blitzgescheit*) while on the other hand her sense of responsibility is totally lacking and her only motive is an almost perverse desire for self-justification . . ." (Victor Adler to August Bebel, Aug. 5, 1910.)

" . . . with all the wretched female's squirts of poison I wouldn't have the party without her." (Bebel's reply to Adler, Aug. 16, 1910.)

Male chauvinism was far from being just a creeping phenomenon in the established revolutionary socialist movement. Much less was it characteristic only of some rank-and-file members. In a well-documented thesis, "Clara Zetkin: A Left-wing Socialist and Feminist in Wilhelmian Germany,"<sup>14</sup> we see that, on the very same day that Bebel wrote the above letter to Adler (Aug. 16, 1910), he wrote to Karl Kautsky:

"It is an odd thing about women. If their partialities or passions or vanities come anywhere into question and are not given consideration, or, let alone, are injured, then even the most intelligent of them flies off the handle and becomes hostile to the point of absurdity. Love and hate lie side by side, a regulating reason does not exist."

The virulent male chauvinism permeated the whole party including both August Bebel, the author of *Woman and Socialism*, who had created a myth about himself as a veritable feminist, and Karl Kautsky, the main theoretician of the whole International. Thus, after Luxemburg's break with him in 1911, when Zetkin also supported Luxemburg's position, and as they faced an approaching Party Congress in 1913, Kautsky warned Bebel: "the two females and their followers are planning an attack on all central positions." None of this changed the standing of that fundamental text of the socialist women's movement, *Woman and Socialism*, which had gone through innumerable editions.

The myth very nearly continues to this day, and in

<sup>13</sup> Peter Nettl, *Rosa Luxemburg*, 2 vols. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1966), p. 432.

<sup>14</sup> Karen Honeycutt, Doctoral Thesis for Columbia University, 1975.

any case, in the 1910-11 period, both the authority of the GSD in general and Bebel in particular on the "Woman Question" was unchallenged everywhere in the world at the very time he was co-organizing the campaign against Luxemburg. It is high time to turn to this question now. This is not only because the hushed-up phenomenon of the "Woman Question" is totally unacceptable to women liberationists today, but because it is only today that Marx's very different concept of women's liberation is first being grappled with. It is no accident that only in our own day — 100 years after they were first written — has Marx's very last research, the *Ethnological Notebooks*, been published.<sup>15</sup>

It is therefore only now that we can see that it wasn't only that the "young Marx" in 1844 raised the Man/Woman relationship as a most important pivot in that new continent of thought he was discovering—a "new Humanism"—but that the mature Marx in the very last years of his life, 1880-1883, was engaged in the latest research in ethnology as well as in answering the sharpest question raised on the concrete scene of Russia and on the concrete relationship between the "West" and the "East", that is between the technologically advanced and the most backward countries. That this is also the most relevant question of our day is clear from both the emergence of the Third World and the new questions of world revolution.

The relationship of theory to revolution was a pre-occupation of Luxemburg long before the debate leading to the break with Kautsky. Just as both in 1908 at the Nuremberg Congress where she identified opportunism with hostility to theory as she spoke on the need for the Party School to continue, and in 1910 she related opportunism both to inaction and lack of revolutionary theory, so in 1911, there was no doubt whatever that Luxemburg considered theory the lifeblood of the movement in general and the leadership in particular, but held that the established leadership was quite anemic on the question. She decided that the new crisis caused by the phenomenon of imperialism had to be probed further, much further.

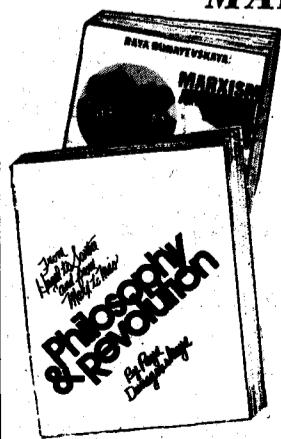
Here is what she wrote to Konstantin Zetkin in November, 1911: "I want to find the cause of imperialism. I am following up the economic aspects of this concept . . . it will be a strictly scientific explanation of imperialism and its contradiction."

Her characteristic confidence in the masses and their spontaneity had, as we saw, so deepened with her experience in the 1905 Revolution that she considered leaders simply to be the ones who had "the speaking parts". Since "any mass action once unleashed, must move forward", the masses will also succeed in pushing the lackadaisical leadership forward. And what in the years 1910-11 did the leadership's role turn out to be? We aren't given the answer. Only one thing is clear beyond the shadow of a doubt, and that is that the break with Kautsky and Bebel was irrevocable, though there was no organizational break; the unity of the party remained to her unchangeable. But she kept her distance from the leaders who practiced leadership as if they were government rulers, though they did not have state power.

<sup>15</sup> For a full analysis, see draft chapter published in Jan.-Feb. 1979, *News & Letters*.

## Two Major Works of Raya Dunayevskaya

### MARXISM AND FREEDOM: from 1776 until Today



"The German Social Democracy was indeed the most elaborately organized socialist movement the world had ever seen . . . They began to believe that their organized strength, in and of itself, would make capitalistic war impossible . . . Missing from their picture of organized capitalism and no "great wars" was the dialectic of the "minor incidents," from the imperialistic carving up of Africa to the Balkan cauldron." —from Ch. 9, "The Second International, 1889 to 1914."

### PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION: From Hegel to Sartre, and from Marx to Mao

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<sup>10</sup> Quoted by Olga Hess Gankin and H. H. Fisher in *The Bolsheviks and the World War* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1940), pp. 24-25.

<sup>11</sup> The quotes which follow were translated from *Protokoll . . . Jena, 1911* (Berlin: Buchhandlung Vorwärts, 1911).

<sup>12</sup> On the question of anti-Semitism as well as the whole question of how the Dreyfus affair affected the GSD in general and Rosa Luxemburg in particular, see Daniel Guerin's Introduction to *Rosa Luxemburg: Le Socialisme en France* (Paris: Editions Pierre Belfond, 1971). For an English translation of Luxemburg's article, "The Socialist Crisis in France," see *New Internationalist*, July, 1939.



# Readers' Views

## CARTER'S WAR DRIVE—AND ITS OPPOSITION

It was very helpful to read your article on "Carter's Drive to War," especially the part about Afghanistan. I think very few people know about the history of the revolution in that country, only what they read in the newspapers. So when I went to a meeting on Afghanistan, and there was a journalist speaking who had been "behind the lines" over there, it didn't surprise me to hear him building up Sayed Ahmad Gailani as a great hero. I had already learned in N&L that he was the owner of the Peugeot dealership in Kabul!

Anti-war activist  
New Jersey

From Britain I want to say that I feel solidarity with you, who face the spectre of "anti-communism" perhaps rising again internally in the U.S.A. Here the Labour Party Left wing, (although no alternative to capitalism, (in the sense that it preaches true state-capitalism) needs to have cover from the Left, and thus has been quite effective in stopping the McCarthyism inside the Labour Party. What if anything is being done to stop a new McCarthyism in the U.S.A.?

Reader  
Wales

I was astounded at an anti-draft meeting recently when the national secretary for C.A.R.D. (Coalition Against Registration and the Draft) proceeded to relate the history of the anti-draft movement in this country. He began the history of the anti-draft movement with the 1863 New York anti-conscription riots which consisted of anti-Black lynch mobs who cheered Jefferson Davis while thousands of Blacks were beaten, burned and driven from their homes.

For socialists to equate the American Civil War, which Marx considered a revolutionary upheaval that remains unfinished, with the situation that the anti-draft/anti-imperialist movements face today, is to understand neither the nature of imperialism nor the forces gathering along the lines of the anti-war movement for the American revolution-to-be.

Lou Turner  
Detroit

The Queens College anti-draft coalition voted at its very first meeting not to discuss why each person there was against the draft. But the objective situation has its magnetic pull, and by the third meeting a whole debate broke out when the group was to vote on the wording of a petition — whether to be specific as to what they are against, or narrow it all to just being anti-draft. The group voted on narrowing, but ten minutes later voted again and decided that they must include positions on anti-war and militarization of the economy.

## A NOTE ON OUR NEW LOGO

Regular readers of *News & Letters* will have noticed that we are trying out a new logo on page 1 of this special issue. With it, we continue a period of discussion and experimentation on the make-up of our paper—the voice of Marxist-Humanism. We invite not only your comments, but drawings and sketches of your own ideas as well.

What all of this reminded me of is the 1907 London Congress of the RSDLP, discussed by Raya Dunayevskaya in "Before and After the 1905 Revolution," where Lenin and Luxemburg wanted to talk about the nature of the ongoing revolution, and no others wanted to. And yet when it came right down to it, all were compelled to speak on the subject. I sure can understand the chapter better now that we are actually involved in a situation which in certain ways resembles that 1907 meeting.

Bonnie Mullaney  
New York

## ROSA LUXEMBURG: AN ONGOING DISCUSSION

It was with much interest that I read Raya Dunayevskaya's chapter on Rosa Luxemburg in the Jan-Feb issue of your paper. In spite of her incorrect analysis in *Accumulation of Capital*, I consider her to be the only real Marxist theoretician of the first decade of the twentieth century. There was much that was new to me, in particular Rosa and the "woman question." I think her conception of organization and class consciousness is most important for today as a good antidote to vanguardist substitutionism.

One criticism. In attacking Bernstein, Rosa was not really attacking the problem. Bernstein's revisionism flowed naturally from the nature of the SPD. The Erfurt Program which she defended was not a Marxist document, and neither was its author, Karl Kautsky. There was no "golden age" of Marxism in the SPD, which was always rather more Lasallean than Marxist. I do not know why socialists persist in maintaining the myth that the German Social Democracy was a Marxist party . . .

New reader  
British Columbia

As an Iranian woman I saw great relevance in Dunayevskaya's study of the 1905 revolution for the 1980s. During the 1979 Iranian revolution, the so-called Marxist Left, far from being an intellectual arm to help the proletariat, gave support — critical and non-critical — to the clergy. All of this permitted the clergy's transformation into a strong, reactionary party. But contrast that to what Lenin said after the 1905 revolution, that "practice does not erase differences, but enlivens them."

Iranian woman  
San Francisco

I found much direction in the way Raya Dunayevskaya traced the relationship of Rosa Luxemburg to Leo Jogiches in Chapter One of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. You see their relationship as a more important measuring rod than ever before. Under the pull of Luxemburg's encounter with the objective situation, with masses in motion, with Marx's philosophy of revolution, she developed a new attitude towards her former leader, Jogiches.

It shows that the relationship of man to woman is measured not by attitudes to the "woman question," or man/woman in isolation, but by attitudes to revolution in which women, women as revolutionaries, women as theoreticians, play a central role. This is so because social revolution and the process revolution-

aries engage in to achieve it, entails so total an uprooting that all relations are transcended and recreated on new grounds.

Eugene Walker  
Los Angeles

## THE USES OF OIL

Carter's latest proposal to drive up the price of gas about 10c with a new tax is getting a lot of opposition, as well it should. But really, can't the news media see that the decontrol passed last year is already a tax on working people 10 times bigger? Last night I paid \$1.38 a gallon for no-lead gas. Where will it stop?

Working woman  
St. Louis, Mo.

We had an unusual demonstration here in Chicago. It was consumer groups and striking Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) members rallying in front of the Standard Oil building. One of the banners really struck me as catching the essence of the present situation. It read: "The Oil Sham Crisis. OCAW Held Hostage. Day 4752."

Reader  
Chicago

## PETR UHL IN SOLITARY

All readers of N&L should know that Petr Uhl, the Czechoslovak human rights fighter and revolutionary socialist, who was sentenced to five years in prison in October, 1979, has now been confined to solitary in the maximum security Mirov prison. Uhl was sentenced along with Vaclav Benda, Otta Bednarova and Jiri Dienstbier simply for being a member of the "Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Persecuted Persons" (VONS). His present condition is unknown. Letters of solidarity can be sent to him by writing: Petr Uhl 8-10-1941/PS 1/7, 789 53 NVS MS, Mirov, Czechoslovakia.

Supporter of Czechoslovak freedom  
Frankfurt, W. Germany

## WOMEN'S INTERNATIONALISM

"Merci beaucoup" for the beautiful International Women's Day issue of *Des Femmes en mouvements hebdo*. You don't have to read French to appreciate the many messages of solidarity from women's groups all over the world — including one from Women's Liberation News & Letters—in their own languages as well as French, and the many beautiful photographs of women in freedom movements the world over. To subscribe, write: *Des Femmes en mouvements hebdo*, 70, rue des Saints-Peres, 75007 Paris, France.

Women's Liberation, News & Letters  
Detroit

## BRITISH STEEL STRIKE

There have been some setbacks in the current British labor struggles. While the British Steel Corporation workers are still holding out strongly after 10 weeks on strike, a back-to-work movement has arisen among workers at private steel plants (who had walked out in support of those in the nationalized sector). And although on some days, mass picketing has closed down private plants like Hadfield's in Sheffield —

sending the daily press into fits of hysteria, with headlines like "Anarchy Has Won!" — as soon as the pickets moved elsewhere the workers came back and the plant reopened.

One bright note has been the reception accorded Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary for Industry, and a Milton Friedman disciple, by striking workers in South Wales. When he suggested that the reason for high unemployment was immigration (surprise), he was shouted down and pelted with eggs and tomatoes. The fight is definitely not over.

Dick Abernethy  
England

## ECOLOGY ACTIONS

I thought you might like to hear how Indonesian farmers in West Java staged an instant rectification of an environmental problem in a country ruled by a very repressive regime. Drawn by the sound of drums, they converged on a factory which for three years had been destroying their fields and drinking water with its toxic wastes. The factory, United Chemical Industries, owned by the Indonesian government, was burned to the ground.

Observer  
Chicago

I loved the Readers' View last issue on labor trouble at the "alternative energy" windmill factory in Berkeley. You could really see that in this society the greatest energy doesn't come from either conventional or alternate "energy sources," but from workers.

Chrysler worker  
Detroit

## 'RENAISSANCE MAN'?

The reference in the conclusion of Dunayevskaya's critique of Marcuse's *One-Dimension Man* (N&L, March, 1980) to the "Renaissance Man" intrigued me quite a bit. I agree with her that the time of the truly well-rounded person is still to come, that it was not lost with Leonardo da Vinci. The quest for human individuality that links up with all the rest of the world's individuals is to me a subject that needs more treatment in N&L.

Teacher  
New York

## POST-OLYMPIC PRISON

Now that the hoopla over the Winter Olympics is over, I think people should know about the movement to stop the government from turning the Olympic athletes' housing into a medium-security prison for 500 youth. Their protests at the Games were joined by Mohawk Indians from upstate New York, demanding that their sovereign rights be respected by the state. Many of the youth prisoners who would end up at Lake Placid's new prison would be Native Americans.

It makes me furious to think that under capitalism "the development of human power which is its own end" is only "funded" when it can be turned into its opposite — the complete waste of human potential that a prison perpetuates. Is that why the Olympics were held? I thought it was supposed to have something to do to the development of beauty and grace.

Susan Van Gelder  
Detroit

## Baruch Knei-Paz on Trotsky's thought: a critique

(Continued from Page 4)

the broad unity of the movement be maintained. Here Trotsky writes his Zimmerwald Thesis, in which he even opposes naming Karl Liebknecht as a symbol of the anti-war movement, contending that this would be "a personification," making it more difficult to get universal support.

Throughout those critical years 1915-17, under the impact of the greatest crisis since the 1905 Revolution, one would think that Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution would develop new life. The fact is there is no indication from Trotsky's writings in that period that it was anywhere in the forefront of his thinking.

### FROM WORLD WAR I TO 1917

For Lenin those three years were far different. And

even if one wished, as Knei-Paz does, to dismiss Lenin's 1914-15 study of Hegel's Science of Logic as "jottings" (p.476), that break with his own philosophic past led directly to the writing of Imperialism, to his position on national self-determination, and to State and Revolution (which is, by the way, full of extracts from Marx's writings). Most of all, Lenin's break in 1914-15 was the ground for his April Theses, putting an end to the "bourgeois democratic revolution" and raising instead the platform of "All power to the Soviets."

Here, exactly here, is when Trotsky returns to Russia, still arguing with Lenin. And then, when the counter-revolution is attacking the Bolsheviks, Trotsky courageously joins the party. But who joined whom? Trotsky would later be convinced that it was Lenin who

had come over to his position on permanent revolution and not vice-versa. At least that is what has to be concluded when Trotsky reproduces, in 1922, his 1908 article "Our Differences" which foretells (!) that Bolshevism would betray once it attained power, or "in the event of victory," as Trotsky put it.

Whatever Trotsky's reasons for such a viewpoint Knei-Paz' analysis of Trotsky's move to the Bolshevik party stands history on its head: "While it is true that Lenin never identified himself directly with Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution, in effect his Theses were tantamount to an acceptance of the theory." (p. 173). We are further advised that Lenin's "approach to theory in 1917 was opportunistic."

### THE NATURE OF STALIN'S RUSSIA

So far is such reasoning from the actual history that if that is where Knei-Paz' mind has led, it emphasizes all the more that an independent, non-Trotskyist scholar can nevertheless reveal a thoroughly Trotskyist mentality. Nowhere is that sad conclusion more evident than when Knei-Paz differs with Trotsky's work in his last decade.

There is no doubt that Trotsky never made a serious study of dialectics. Nor can one possibly attribute to his 1939-40 writings much success in linking Marxist analysis of the objective situation at the outbreak of World War II with dialectic method. To conclude, as Knei-Paz does that Trotsky was betrayed by his "passionate, dogmatic attachment to 'dialectic materialism' is simply absurd.

The truth is that what was breaking up the Trotskyist movement after the Hitler-Stalin pact was the question of the nature of the Russian state. It was that that Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution did not tested — and without Lenin. What Trotsky failed to see was that a new capitalist stage had been inaugurated in the Great Depression — the stage of state-capitalism.

Preferring to see Stalin's Russia as "a new, unique form of collectivism," Knei-Paz may feel himself superior to Trotsky. He may perhaps even imagine his view the more precise expression of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, while Trotsky himself was too caught in his own contradictions to see the bureaucratic collectivist "reality."<sup>2</sup>

### A FALSE CONTINUITY

What had startled this reader right in the Table of Contents, was the title of Part Three: "The Permanent Revolution Betrayed." It is as if Trotsky's theory, rather than the epochal events of Russia, 1917, was what Stalin's counter-revolution was determined to reverse. By the end of the book, it turns out that that is indeed what Knei-Paz meant to say. "Stalin's totalitarianism," he informs us, "was rooted in not only the conditions of the October Revolution, but in the very aspirations of the latter." To make his position fully clear, Knei-Paz adds that Lenin's "dictatorship" and Stalin's were "of the same pedigree; though their progeny differed, the difference was one of degree, not kind." (p. 434)

That Knei-Paz has here reached a dead-end in the falsest kind of continuity hardly needs elaborating. There are simply too many missed points in his 600 pages which might have provided not only genuine continuity, but comprehension.

The gaps in Knei-Paz' good comprehensiveness to much about the narrow prism which filters the thought of intellectuals of today, who think "originality" lies in "independence" from Marx. Thus, Knei-Paz, instead of simply repeating the myths about Marx's view of the primitive commune as "unhistorical," might have done well to look into Marx's 1880-82 Ethnological Notebooks which profoundly deepened his understanding of development and contradiction within the primitive commune. Knei-Paz seems not to know of the Notebooks' existence. Thus, if, instead of limiting all discussion of the 1900 Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party to one single page, Knei-Paz had seriously analyzed that pivotal Congress, where all tendencies were gathered, he might have seen that it was Trotsky who there refused to discuss the "character of the present moment of our revolution."

Too often, throughout the book, we are led very far indeed from an understanding of the origins of the concept of permanent revolution in Marx's vision of total uprooting of the old society; an uprooting not only of its anti-human mode of production, but of relations in the family between man and woman, parent and child, an uprooting that revolutionizes thought as dialectics and recognizes the inseparability of that new method of cognition from method of revolution. Baruch Knei-Paz has, nevertheless, given us an important contribution to the history of revolutionary ideas. It is a book that well worth reading.

2. Here Knei-Paz urges us to read Daniel Bell's once-popular book *The End of Ideology*, for a "survey of various theories" on the nature of Russia. Yet it is precisely this work which so evades the question that in its "survey" state-capitalism is not mentioned at all.

3. For a full treatment of Marx's Ethnological Notebooks as they trace the social and sexual division of labor within the "primitive commune", see Raya Dunayevskaya, "Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation: Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted", N&L, Jan.-Feb., 1979.

## Erich Fromm, Socialist Humanist

The March 18, 1980 press wires carried the sad news of Erich Fromm's death. Although this was but 5 days short of his 80th birthday, and he had been ill for several years, Fromm was both intellectually and emotionally so alert and active that he was at work on a new book. In praising him only as a "famous psychoanalyst," the press, by no accident at all, failed to mention that he was a Socialist Humanist. Moreover, in writing Marx's Concept of Man (which succeeded in introducing Marx's Humanist essays to a wide American public), in editing the first international symposium on Socialist Humanism, he did so, not as an academician, but as an activist. In inviting me to participate in that dialogue between East and West as well as North and South, he stressed that "it took quite a bit of courage on their (East European) part to write something for this volume, for no matter how diplomatic the language, they were open attacks on the Soviet Union."

Erich Fromm was an original. In attempting to fuse Marx and Freud, it wasn't so much the audaciousness of such a move in the 1920s that needs to be stressed, but the fact that even when he was a most orthodox Freudian, it was social psychology that interested him; his use of psychoanalytic mechanisms were as a sort of mediating concept between the individual and the social. In any case, as he moved away from orthodox Freudianism to elaborate his own version, it was clear that he was breaking not only with Freud but with the famous Frankfurt School and its "Critical Theory" and that, not because he was moving away from Marxism, but coming closer to it. Here is how he put it in his intellectual autobiography:

"I consider Marx, the thinker, as being of much greater depth and scope than Freud . . . But even when all of this is said, it would be naive to ignore Freud's importance . . . his discovery of unconscious processes and of the dynamic nature of character traits is a unique contribution to the science of man which has altered the picture of man for all time to come." (Beyond the Chains of Illusion: My Encounter with Marx and Freud by Erich Fromm.)

On Fromm's initiative, (and to my great surprise since I kept far away from any psychoanalysts even when they laid claim to Marxism), I received a congratulatory letter from him on the publication in 1958 of my *Marxism and Freedom*. The period of the 1950s was a most difficult one for Marxists, what with McCarthyism as well as nuclear bomb development permeating the land. Dr. Fromm had helped organize the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy in 1957, but that was not what he wrote to me about. Rather, the subject that then aroused his passionate interest was the restoration of Marxism in its original form of "a new humanism," cleansed of the perversion of Russian and Chinese Communism. So magnificently an objective human being was he that he refused to be deterred either by the fact that I let my hostility to psychoanalysts show by telling him that workers in Detroit shops referred to them as "head shrinks," or even by the fact that I criticized his own essay on "Marx's Concept of Man" as abstract. Here is what he answered me:

"As to your criticism of my essay that it is too abstract and does not discuss the humanism of Marxism concretely, I cannot offer any argument . . . As to the substance of the points you make about the concrete nature of Marx's humanism, I naturally entirely agree with you. Also about what you write of the role of the plant psychoanalyst and Daniel Bell's position."

Our correspondence continued for two decades. It also gave me rare glimpses into the whole subject of the famous Frankfurt School, of which he was, after all, one of its most famous personages, the one who

\*In another letter Fromm wrote: "My relations with Commentary are not good. Years ago Mr. Podhoretz rejected something I had written because it contradicted majority opinion of American Jews. I wrote him a sharp letter about his concept of freedom . . ."

influenced them all on the "integration" of Psychoanalysis into Marxism. The lengthy unabating, sharp debate with Herbert Marcuse in the pages of *Dissent* over 1955 and 1956 was not the main issue. He retained too much regard for Herbert Marcuse's *Reason and Revolution* as the seminal work it was. No, what did arouse his ire most was the duality of Adorno's and Horkheimer's departure from Marxism on the one hand, and the attraction that that held for the "New Left." Here is how he summed it up in a letter to me dated November 25, 1976:

"I get quite a few questions from various people who study the history of the Frankfurt School. It's really a funny story; Horkheimer is now quoted as the creator of the critical theory and people write about the critical theory as if it were a new concept discovered by Horkheimer. As far as I know, the whole thing is a hoax, because Horkheimer was frightened . . . of speaking about Marx's theory. He used general Aesopian language and spoke of critical theory in order not to say Marx's theory. I believe that that is all behind this discovery of critical theory by Horkheimer and Adorno."

Fromm's eyes always were on the future and a new class-less society on truly human foundations. Least known of his multi-dimensional concerns was the relationship of Man/Woman and by no means on just a psychological scale. Rather it was the need for totally new human relations in the Marxian sense: a global vision of the future meant also a look back into the past. Thus, he found Bachofen's studies into matriarchal society very congenial, not because he believed in the existence of matriarchal society, but because it, at least, allowed one a vision of an alternative society to this patriarchal, class, alienating society in which we live. In relating patriarchy to class domination, he had invented the magnificent phrase for it: "patricentric-acquisitive."

Far from remembrance of things past being a question merely of memory, it brings into view the unity of Man/Woman; the human being as a totality, being not just a quantitative measure, but something, dialectically, showing movement, a movement forward. It was what Fromm stressed when, in creating an international forum for his Socialist Humanism, he emphasized that Humanism was not just an idea, but a movement against what is, a glimpse into the future. Listen to what he wrote me when he heard I was relating *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*:

"I feel that the male Social Democrats never could understand Rosa Luxemburg, nor could she acquire the influence for which she had the potential because she was a woman; and the men could not become full revolutionaries because they did not emancipate themselves from their male, patriarchal, and hence dominating, character structure. After all, the original exploitation is that of women by men and there is no social liberation so long as there is no revolution in the sex war ending in full equality . . . Unfortunately I have known nobody who still knows her personally. What a bad break between the generations."

That letter was written on October 26, 1977. It is now March 19, 1980, and Fromm is dead. And I say, dear Youth, let's not let another "bad break between generations" occur. To prepare for the future one must know the revolutionary past. Getting to know Fromm as a Socialist Humanist is a good way to begin.

—Raya Dunayevskaya

### NOTE TO READERS:

In next month's issue of *News & Letters*, we will print one of Erich Fromm's last writings, his Preface to the forthcoming German edition of *Raya Dunayevskaya's Philosophy and Revolution*.



# American youth challenge draft, racism, poverty jobs

(Continued from Page 1)

in the lower enlisted levels, Blacks especially have been in constant revolt against the military system and its racism. They have battled the KKK and the commanding officers who turn a blind eye to Klan "recruiting drives" on bases. It is a measure both of the racism and the revolt that some 51 percent of those in military prisons today are Black.

Women soldiers, recruited in the last two years in large numbers, have begun to challenge the daily sexual harassment in military life.

In the current crisis-ridden capitalist economy, youth unemployment is, by anybody's standards, at Depression levels, from 20 to 60 percent (See Editorial, p. 4). And what few jobs are available, are those at poverty wages. One young Black man with "nothing else to do" was going to join the Marines. When he was talked out of it, he finally wound up with a job—at McDonald's!

Yet even those non-union, \$3.10-an-hour fast-food shops are now experiencing a newly rebellious work

force. A union organizing drive last month resulted in the first-ever victory at one of these "hamburger heavens", as a downtown Detroit Burger King voted to join the Detroit Fastfood Workers Union. Youth there emphasized that, while they wanted better wages and benefits, the most important thing to them was the right to be "treated like a human being."

The severely limited youth job "market" that includes fastfood joints and car wash establishments makes little distinction between them and CETA jobs—where you can be "trained" in how to mop floors—or the armed services, where you are promised money for college and a skilled trade, with war unmentioned.

### REAPPRAISAL FOR THE MOVEMENT

These realities of life for youth are now being forced into the discussions in the anti-draft, anti-war organizations, as new participants question the "leadership" of the elitist Left parties. A Marxist-Humanist youth described for me such a confrontation:

"At Queens College a young activist was asked to draw up a manifesto of reasons for opposing the draft.

He said that one reason was that it would only increase repressive measures against dissidents in Russia. One Latina said she thought that was a very good reason, but that in order to include it, one would have to first list the relationship of oppressed minorities in this country to the draft. Rather than seeing the beauty of that flowering of thought within the discussion, he immediately withdrew his manifesto, agreeing with the professors who told him not to stray away from one point only: End the draft."

The truth is that there are all-too-many such "single-issue" types trying to lead the anti-war movement, from the Left parties vying for "control", to the traditional pacifist organizations. At meeting after meeting they have both attempted to declare "off-limits" any criticism of Russian imperialism—as in its invasion of Afghanistan—and turned aside questions of racism in today's military as "diversionary".

That an "anti-war" attitude also means opposition to the escalating police war on Black America has evidently not entered the minds of some of those who wish to lead. Yet the fact is that the Black dimension has ever been central to all opposition to America's rulers, as demonstrated right now in the protests against police killings of Black youth all across the country, from Miami, Fla. to New York City.

There has also been the continuing activity of Black students at such schools as University of Tennessee-Knoxville, where a class boycott was launched in late January against the school's attack on the Black Cultural Center. Throughout the Black student movement, the victory last month of the Zimbabwean freedom fighters over the entrenched white colonial regime has had an impact. The predominance of youth there, as organizers, as guerrilla fighters, as election workers, struck a responsive international chord.

It is time that today's youth movement, now recognizing itself as "anti-nuke, anti-draft, anti-war" go on to see all the manifestations of itself that are emerging out of this "American experience". Something of that kind of a reappraisal may have begun within the preparations for a new anti-nuke occupation at Seabrook, N.H. planned for May 24. At the most recent planning conference, the question of Black and working class participation in the struggle became pivotal, as was a report on the Black Hills struggle, where Native Americans developed an alliance with local white ranchers against the big energy companies.

Whether the would-be "leaders" of the new youth movement will end up stifling the varied voices that are suddenly being heard is something only time will tell. What is crucial now, in the face of Carter's continuing determination to press his war plans—and Brezhnev's reciprocal escalations—is to help the growing movement develop not only its numbers, but its ideas, ideas of total opposition to this capitalist society that finds ever new ways to abuse its youth—as cannon fodder, as minimum wage workers, or as targets for police bullets. That society has got to go—and soon.

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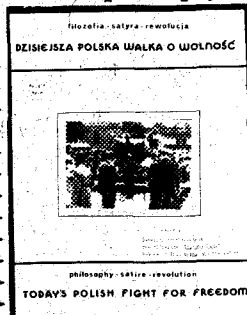
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## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

just shrugs them off and tells them to sell their homes. If they tried to sell, they couldn't get anything.

I've known Coleman Young for a long time, I was as happy as anyone when he was elected. We had our first Black mayor, and some of us remember where he came from and what he used to stand for. Now, there are those who may ask why am I attacking the mayor? I do not consider this an attack—just telling the truth. All I am doing is showing where Mayor Young was at one time in his life, and how he has changed today. Max Fisher and Henry Ford are his associates today.

Coleman Young doesn't want anything to get in the way of his drive to make Detroit a "renaissance city" for all the big corporations. Originally, Black Detroiters supported his election because of his stand for affirmative action, especially in the skilled trades. Now, he's done nothing but stand in the way of the Human Rights Department's attempt to force the white racist contractors, doing business with the city and receiving federal funds, to hire Black workers and contractors on the building projects around the city.

The case now being brought before the courts by the white contractors to dismantle the Human Rights Department has from beginning to end revealed Young's complicity with the contractors he's hired to build his "renaissance city." Thus, the mayor's attorney in the case conceded defeat to the contractors when he said the city has no defense. In other words, the white contractors don't have to hire Black workers or sub-contract out to Black contractors.

It is no wonder that Coleman Young was nearly booed off the platform at the recent Black leadership conference held in Richmond, Va. a few weeks ago—Coleman Young was not speaking about Blacks and their needs, but about President Carter, and how much he has done for this city.

Coleman is the complete opposite of what he once was. So much so that the Detroit police recognize it. Currently they are carrying out the vicious attacks on Blacks they arrest for minor crimes. They are using electric cattle prods on prisoners to try to revive them after they have beaten them into unconsciousness. Then they leave the prisoner there dying.

We have heard of the police using cattle prods on people during the civil rights struggle in the South in the 60's, then the government outlawed their use. Now Young, under public pressure, has fired the five policemen responsible for the recent cattle prod incidents, but until one prisoner died most people didn't know they were being used at all. And it's all happened under the administration of Black Mayor Coleman Young.

## CETA job a farce

I am. This is fundamental. I resist any and everything that would negate me in all my unique, universal, and personal realities.

The fact that I am Black, poverty-bred and poverty-stricken, a CETA-employed janitor-trainee, carries extreme discomfort for me, and for those responsible for my discomfort. The biological fact that I am a member of the socially-defined Black race, whose lot it is to bear the brunt of mental, material and social oppression, of America 1980, calls forth tears of rage that drench my being.

On a personal level, I react with the same anger at the refusal of all the major Presidential candidates to meet and deal with the issue of Black misery, as I do when I'm told by my immediate supervisor that I should be "thankful" to the government for being trained as a janitor, as a washer of commodes! This is so absolutely absurd that I question the logic, and ultimately the sanity, of the economic order that pays some people to create death at a rate hundreds of times higher than it pays those of us that help sustain life on the basic level of destroying germs in public urinals!

The assertion—"I am"—flies in the face of the American way of life; it flies in the face of the message I get from my boss and from the Presidential candidates. Within my own process of becoming, I embrace the economic, philosophic, historical and practical tools that are the legacy of Marx. Utilized with my personal experiences, they form a valuable weapon in my self-assertion at the expense of those that would violate my humanity.

—John Wesley

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

**Robert Mugabe's landslide Zimbabwe victory shocks colonialists**

The Zimbabwe African National Union, party of Robert Mugabe, has won an overwhelming victory in the British-supervised elections to decide the future of Zimbabwe. While his majority was sufficient for his party to govern alone, he immediately invited Joshua Nkomo to join him in the building of the new nation.

The election came about only after it became crystal clear that the guerrilla forces of Mugabe and Nkomo, especially Mugabe, were the ultimate victors in the freedom struggle for independence that has raged for 20 years in the British colony of Rhodesia. The Black majority has received military and financial aid in their struggle from neighboring African countries as well as Russia and China, after the U.S. and the European countries refused aid.

The new regime openly proclaims itself to be socialist. It was elected on the basis of 13 fundamental rights including: freedom of speech, strike action, religion, rights for women and rights to personal property. The new cabinet includes two white members and Nkomo.

The class-compromisist backward step that Mugabe took however, was to ask General Walls to



remain as supreme military commander, with Rex Nhongo, the guerrilla commander, as his chief of staff. The two armies are to be "integrated" into a single national army. Will the revolutionary guerrillas really accept that?

"We are not looking for enemies", Mugabe said. "South Africa is a geographical reality, it's also a historical reality for us. We cannot get away even if we wanted to." South Africa has in the past slaughtered the guerrilla forces, including

women and children, by air and land raids into their camps, even into neighboring Zambia and Mozambique. And this they will no doubt continue, under whatever camouflage.

The new government has said it will join the non-aligned nations on foreign policy, leave the present banking system undisturbed, institute free education for all, establish a social security system and a free national health system, and improve the basic industries.

The capitalist press has accused the regime of being "Marxist", which today is a loose term used both by the capitalists to define their enemies, and by scoundrels to cover up their crimes against the working class. Mugabe sees it this way: "There are certain principles that we derive from Marxism. But others derive from our own traditions, communal land ownership for example. The Marxists believe in it, but I don't think that the Nigerians, who have nationalized their land, are Marxists in any way."

If the imperialists keep their hands off, the opportunity for this African nation to develop its own future and its own resources is bright. Imperialist intervention will be met with stiff resistance.

**Iranian Jews**

While we are given daily reports on the fate of the 50 American hostages held at the Embassy in Tehran, nothing is being heard on the fate of the 100 Iranian Jews in Paris who claim they are being held hostage by Carter's State Department.

The Iranian Jews, who fled from Tehran fearing persecution at the hands of Khomeini's rabidly religious followers, are awaiting permission to come to the United States as political refugees. Carter's special Iranian crisis team has given the word that they are not to be admitted, "so as not to offend Khomeini."

A State Department spokesman stated, "Human rights interest—to let them in—is not part of our national interest." Neither was it part of President Roosevelt's when he let Hitler continue his holocaust.

In Tehran the airport guards have a list of Jews, which states that any attempt to leave the country means immediate arrest. The Jews who fled did so without funds or property and are penniless, depending on the charity of Jewish refugee organizations while they remain pawns of the U.S. State Department policy. They fear for the fate of their family members who had to be left behind.

**Yugoslavia**

President Tito's imminent death has lit up the hungry eyes of the imperialist superpower leaders—Brezhnev, and now Carter, who will be sending arms to Yugoslavia. What Tito represents as foun-

der of the non-aligned movement is galling to the big powers whose field of competition is the domination of the world.

Already Bulgaria, one of the most brutal and blatantly pro-Russian of the East European states, is intensifying its claims to Macedonia, one of the national regions that make up the federation of Yugoslavia. The imperialistic claims to Macedonia are based on a deal the previous Bulgarian regime made with Hitler. Bulgaria denies the existence of its own Macedonian minority by simply counting everyone as Bulgarian and imprisoning anyone who claims otherwise.

There is, however, a yearning for something new within Yugoslavia itself where Tito from the beginning cracked down on opposition to his single party rule. The opposition included a grouping around one of the most original and truly internationalist Marxist journals, Praxis. What is needed to keep the Balkans from again becoming a flash-point for world war is saying no to big power manipulations, and a working out of new, independent ways to freedom.

**Oil Profits**

Congress has finally decided how to cut up the estimated one trillion dollars that you will pay over the next ten years to the oil companies for higher gasoline and oil prices. The oil companies will get \$221 billion more in profits (after taxes), over what they are now extorting. The federal treasury will take \$358 billion, state and local governments will grab \$119 billion.

The so-called windfall profits tax will amount

to \$227 billion to be distributed back to the capitalists as follows: \$136 billion to reduce corporate income taxes, \$57 billion to help welfare recipients pay the gas and oil companies their increased prices, \$34 billion for rapid transit, highways and railroad repair.

This leaves nothing for a synthetic fuel program, not even a windmill. It returns all the money to the capitalists and leaves the one-trillion-dollar bill to be paid by the workers without producing a single drop of new oil. It is a cruel joke being forced on the workers by Carter and Congress.

**Japan**

Shipbuilding workers at Sasebo Heavy Industries went on an 11-day strike in February, the fifth strike since December and the first major strike in Japanese industry in 25 years.

The workers won back heavy pay cuts the company had forced on them two years before, when the company was facing bankruptcy. At that time, workers took a 15 percent pay cut and an end to extra payments like bonuses, which make up about 40 percent of the average worker's pay in Japan. They were left with less than welfare subsistence payments. Also, 7,000 jobs were eliminated in the shipyard and 3,750 in shipyard supply shops.

The Japanese economy is stagnating as the world has entered what today's economists call "the era of low growth." Other serious battles loom ahead. The illusion that the Japanese economy is somehow immune to serious strikes and labor troubles is fast being shattered.

**BLACK-RED VIEW Black Agenda conference: growing tensions ignored**

by John Alan

It is very clear that President Carter and Congress are determined to balance the 1981 budget by trimming from that budget some 13 or more billion dollars. These cuts are going to be made in those programs that benefit minorities, the poor and the working class, and not in the bloated defense budget, which is expected to rise above the three percent increase that Carter has included in the budget.

Balancing the budget isn't simply the need to apply some economic principles of Benjamin Franklin to national spending. The federal budget of a super-capitalist state, like the United States, embodies in it all the class, race and sex antagonisms of that society. So the question always is: for whom and what is the national budget being balanced? This is another way of saying: what class will benefit from the national debt?

The class/race antagonisms in the U.S.'s federal budget are reflected in the expenditure of funds that are needed by the working class and the poor in the form of cheap housing, education, programs to relieve the rate of unemployment among youth, welfare, social security for the disabled and the aged, etc.; as against those expenditures for the accumulation and protection of capital in the interest of the capitalist system, for example, the military budget.

It was against this economic/political background of budget balancing that Black leaders met in Richmond, Va., in March to draw up a Black Agenda for the 80's.

This conference is bound to go down in history, not because of what was achieved there by the Black middle-class leadership, but because every Presidential candidate rejected an invitation to address that Conference. This was a gathering of "the most powerful Black leadership from across the country"—people like Vernon Jordan of the Urban League, Coretta Scott King, Rev. Jesse Jackson, Black mayors, leaders, and members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

This unthinkable rebuff of Black leaders, by all of the Presidential candidates, cannot be taken lightly or glossed over, as some of the Black leaders have chosen to do. Neither can it be "left to the voters" as Mayor Richard Hatcher, of Gary, Ind., has suggested. First, because this universal rejection of an invitation to discuss the future of Black people in the United States for the next decade has brought forward the real race/class attitudes that capitalist politicians have toward the depression-like unemployment and poverty that exists in Black America, most particularly among Black youth, where unemployment is an estimated 52 percent!

Second, by rejecting the invitation to appear before a Black leadership conference, the Presidential candidates have given their estimation of the impotence of Black leadership in the overall sense of American capitalist politics. The word impotence is not being used lightly. That word was precisely on the minds of the Black leaders in Richmond when Jesse Jackson stated: "We will not be convinced of our impotence by their

absence."

The question remains, how are they going to prove that they, the leadership, are not impotent as long as they have chosen to "fight" by either supporting Carter, who is committed to bringing down inflation by raising unemployment, or Kennedy, who has come forward with the price/wage freeze concept, which is favorable to capital in the long run.

In fact, no group of capitalist politicians or their tinkering with the economy, can change the progression of the present economic crisis, short of a self-destructive war.

The problem that confronts us is not who is going to be in the White House next year, but when can we begin to think about an alternative to capitalism? How can this system of capitalism be transformed into a truly human system—a society that isn't racist or exploitative? Both the desire and the need for a new society is already present.

Contrary to what Black politicians may believe, there is no evidence that Black workers and youth are flocking either to the Kennedy banner, or supporting Carter or any of the Republican candidates. There is a great deal of evidence that there is growing tension between unemployed Black youth and the police departments of the large cities—tensions which are building toward a major outburst that all the Presidential candidates are pretending doesn't exist, and for which they have no solutions.