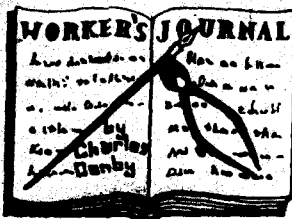


ON THE INSIDE

Draper's narrow view of Marx..... pp. 5-6
Editorial: A. Philip Randolph..... p. 5
Women fight sexual harassment..... p. 2



Administration energy policies breed confusion

by Charles Denby, Editor

The crisis in energy has hit everyone in the U.S., and especially where it comes to gasoline. And everything President Carter suggests seems to put people in a worse position than they were in the day before. He insists that he rejects the idea of mandatory price controls, but goes all out to try to limit the wage increases of workers to seven percent.

Every day something comes out of the White House stressing that wage increases by workers means greater inflation. Every worker knows that far from the measly small increases they get even being able to keep up with inflation, that they keep on going backward in their standard of living. Based on the government's own figures, the average wage increases of workers in contracts negotiated since last October have been only seven and one-half percent, but the profit increases of corporations have skyrocketed about 35 percent — with many oil companies especially racking up their highest profits in history.

FANTASTIC PROFITS

If there was ever any question about who controls this system and administration the response of the president of the Marathon Oil Company, when asked about the company's 82 percent profit increase, told it like it is when he said that that profit wasn't too much, and wasn't enough. He must have had in mind the Occidental Oil Company, whose profits leaped to 170 percent!

Recent financial disclosures of members of Congress show that practically all of them own some oil stock, and many of them have fortunes tied up in them. There's no wonder the oil lobby is so powerful; they've got key people not only in Congress, but in the entire administration, and that includes the Supreme Court, too.

The lack of any serious administration energy program — except for Carter's decontrol of oil prices which will shoot gas prices and profits out of sight — makes the reactionaries feel like they can say and do anything.

VICIOUS HAYAKAWA

A perfect example of this is Senator S. I. Hayakawa from California, who had the unbelievable gall to say on TV that the answer to the gasoline shortage is to let the price go up to \$2.00 or \$3.00 a gallon, and that way the poor people wouldn't buy it, but they didn't need it because they weren't working anyway! People like him, who are millionaires over again, would be able to afford to buy it, and that's the way he thinks it should be.

The fact is that it's the workers' taxes that pay Hayakawa's salary and their labor that makes the profits for his investments. Without the workers, nothing in this country or any country would move.

Some commentators likened what Hayakawa said to
(Continued on Page 3)

Uniroyal strikers fight company, Carter

Detroit, Mich. — After being on day-to-day since the United Rubber Workers (URW) contract ran out April 20, we finally went out on strike at Uniroyal on May 9.

Here in Detroit, we have had a daily picket line. For the first two days, we could still hear machines running inside the plant. Uniroyal was trying to use salary personnel to run production, but every worker knows they can't because it takes three months to learn to build tires. Two strikers were arrested last week at the walk-in gate when a tactical police unit attacked the picketers. The cops beat one man when he was already tied up.

President Carter has interfered in the strike with seven percent guidelines, by which he includes benefits as well as wages. He is threatening to cancel government contracts if the URW and Uniroyal do not observe them. GM is also threatening to cancel contracts, as they want to keep auto workers from getting any more than seven percent.

The three most important issues are the speed of the work, the unsafe conditions and governmental interference. We want to scrap Article 9 in the contract, which gives Uniroyal control over setting jobs standards. Our base pay has not gone up since the 1960s. All the new raises have been based on making 100 percent of the new standards in each contract. That means building

more tires and building them faster.

One older worker was discussing on the picket line how the standard was 27 tires in his department in the early 1950s, when the machines he worked on were new. Now it is 50-60 tires — still working those same machines! Sometimes tires fly off, and when parts begin to break loose, you have to carefully creep around to hit the stop button.

Less than half the rubber workers in this country are URW. Uniroyal's biggest plant, at Ardmore, Okla., is non-union and is working full blast. There are also plants running in Mexico and Ontario, Canada. The Ontario plants are URW. Why didn't the international pull them out on strikes too?

The truth is that the URW has failed to organize rubber workers, especially in the "sun belt" and in "right-to-work" states. There are no union shops at all in Michelin, and it's the fifth biggest rubber company. But it is important that one of the plants on strike with us is a newer one, in the South—the Uniroyal plant in Opelika, Ala.

We do not intend to be driven backward the way Uniroyal and Carter want to do. The main thing is that whether we win depends upon what we do ourselves, and how much help we can get from other workers who will soon be facing the same fight we are involved in now.

—Uniroyal workers

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NEWS

LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

VOL. 24—NO. 5

27 Printed in 100 Percent
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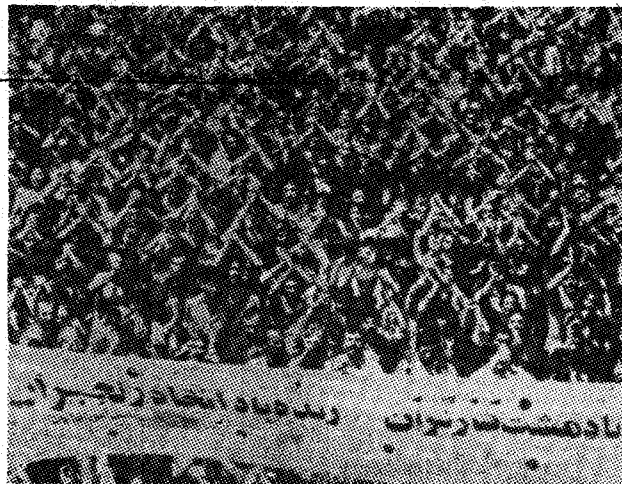
JUNE, 1979

Eyewitness Report

Revolution and counter-revolution in Iran

by Azadkar

Tehran, Iran—The spontaneous shora(s), or soviets, which were considered "dangerous" by the government and ordered dismantled after the February revolution, are now experiencing a new growth among the Iranian masses. "Shora" is the most popular word in Iran today, because they were the real force of the revolution which overthrew the Shah. The most radical of the shora(s) is the "Nationwide Council of Unemployed Workers." We



Workers clasp fists in May Day demonstration in Iran. Banner reads: "Long Live the Workers' Fist. Long Live the Unity of the Sufferers."

have three and one-half million unemployed, and they are everywhere.

The unemployed have organized sit-ins, hunger strikes and demonstrations in most cities, including Tehran, Abadan, Isfahan and Tabriz. Their show of power made its appearance in the May Day demonstrations, where hundreds of thousands came to demand jobs, unemployment insurance, equal rights and wages for working men and women, the participation of workers in writing the new constitution concerning labor laws... and to show their international solidarity with workers throughout the world.

WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' COUNCILS SPEAK OUT

During the four revolutionary months that I was in Iran, I found these spontaneously created shora(s) the only revolutionary phenomena that could provide the real alternative to the present situation. In the shora(s), the demand is for the factories to be nationalized and managed by the workers themselves. This is very important, since after the February revolution, Khomeini's people would send somebody as a factory manager and the shora would reject him. It was then that the government ordered the shora(s) dissolved.

In the unemployed shora, they are saying that they don't want to talk about religion. It is a workers' revolution that they say they want, and they are willing to die for, because "this revolution which is in power now belongs to the bazaar merchants."

During the three months that we have passed through from the February insurrection that toppled the Shah's regime and its final scene, the Bakhtiar government, a cloud of ambiguity has been growing around the "Islamic Republic." The dual character of the ruling powers, Khomeini and Bazargan, has left the "Provisional Revolutionary(!) Government" of Bazargan unable to function even as a mere bourgeois government.

Bazargan is trying, however, to save the bourgeois state and thereby, capitalist relations. Yet up to now his granting of more than \$700 million in loans to private businesses, temporarily lifting the tax debts on the import of commodities, giving credits to the native capitalists and repeated encouragement of foreign investments, has not enabled him to turn the wheels of Iran's crippled economy. Massive unemployment—almost one-third of the work force—is thus what the workers are suffering now.

SIT-IN AT JUSTICE PALACE

At the beginning of April, I participated in a sit-in at the Justice Palace by more than 2,000 unemployed workers. I learned much from this sit-in. It actually began in March at the Labor Department, and it grew more radical every day. The real workers in the sit-in were much more revolutionary than the members of Left organizations who participated. They openly said what they had in their heart. Here is what I heard from speeches made by workers there:

"Khomeini has said that if the government doesn't listen to the workers' demands, they will rebel. We say he is right. We will rebel! We will rebel against anything to achieve everything we want... Our movement is not a religious movement, it is an international movement. To us, Christian, Jew and Moslem is the same. They are our brothers and sisters. Every worker, black
(Continued on Page 7)

WOMAN AS REASON

Women seek freedom from sexual harassment

Members of Women's Liberation-News & Letters attended hearings sponsored by the newly-formed Michigan Task Force on Sexual Harassment on May 9, and were stunned at the outpouring of rank-and-file women workers, Black and white, from factories and offices, who had come to this bureaucratic forum to testify. (See Fleetwood story, p. 3.)

At least 150 women attended both the afternoon and evening sessions which were held mainly as "research" to result in a pamphlet and more hearings later in the year. But the women who came did so not as objects of study but to make their voices heard and to urge others to do so, even though most had already told their stories to every agency available—their companies, union locals and internationals, Michigan Civil Rights Commission and the NAACP—and received little or no help.

Despite condescending reminders, Black women workers especially refused to separate sex discrimination—foremen who kept screaming that they didn't want any women on "their" jobs and who harassed women and gave them the worst and dirtiest jobs—from sexual harassment, which had been defined as explicit sexual language or actions.

Women told of foremen and co-workers putting their hands on their bodies while they were working, telling them if they didn't have sexual relations their raises would be held back or they would be fired. Many had never spoken in public before and one young white woman who had worked for Sentry Insurance Co. said that the quiver in her voice was not nerves but emotion at remembering how her boss had humiliated her, even though it happened four years ago.

One Black woman, who was the first woman in a skilled-trades apprentice program at her GM plant, told how male co-workers constantly tried to break down her machine and how her supervisor continually quizzed her while she was working in an effort to get her out of the program. She said she had actually been raped in a restroom but that not one person would believe her and instead, the company sent her to psychiatrists for her "attitude." She has been on sick leave for over a year, with two small children to support.

Several women's groups including NOW and the Women's Justice Center testified, as did one Black man, a local union president. But what was shocking was the lack of participation by Left groups, showing no concern for the rank-and-file who came, but only their usual insistence on boycotting anything sponsored by the bour-

500 protest admission policy

Chicago, Ill. — On April 29, over 500 people demonstrated in the chilling rain against the Council on Student Recruitment, Admissions and Retention (CSRAR) at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle Campus.

The CSRAR was set up to reimplement the Selection Index at Circle Campus. The initial attempt to implement the Selection Index failed two years ago in the face of widespread student, faculty and community opposition. The Selection Index, now scheduled to go into effect in 1981, is a formula consisting of a person's high school class rank and College Admissions Test (ACT) score.

Today Circle's graduating class is 10 percent Black, 4.1 percent Latino, and 2 percent Native American. While this is outrageous in a city with over 50 percent minorities, in 1967, when ACT scores were the basis for entrance, only 80 Blacks and even less Latinos enrolled at Circle. Several studies have shown that the ACT is a poor indicator of a person's academic ability and/or intelligence because it is culturally biased and geared to middle and upper class white males.

In truth, the Selection Index is a blatantly racist and sexist admissions policy that will effectively screen out those very persons who need a college education the most in order to survive in a capitalist economy.

Our demonstration included mostly women, Blacks, Latinos, Chicanos, Asians and Arabs and we gave a loud and clear message to the "haves" that women, minorities and poor whites refuse to be kept out one second longer. We gave the anti-Vietnam War slogan a new meaning, when we yelled, "Hell no, we won't go!" Our message said that we are students not only fighting for ourselves but for future generations of sisters and brothers.

We chanted, "What do we want? Education! What do we get? Discrimination!" in response to the CSRAR's report. We marched into the Council meeting to voice our anger. We were met by police and we began chanting, "Cops off Campus!"

When I spoke to the demonstrators for the Circle Women's Liberation Union, I compared our fight against the Selection Index to those students in the 1960s who fought against the City University of New York when it attempted to dung-heap its open admissions policy. The New York students won their fight. We plan to win ours. —Participant

geoisie. The two other groups that did come kept their identity and/or politics a secret. They needn't have worried because the workers we talked to were very receptive to the idea of revolution, having exhausted every recourse this decrepit system has to offer.

I testified with stories we had printed in News & Letters from women and men fighting discrimination and sexual harassment during our ten years as a women's liberation committee. We presented leaflets written by workers and distributed at factories and offices as a way of putting pressure on the foremen involved and pointing out the company's ploys to divide workers against each other.

What was obvious from all the testimony was that the backlash against women's liberation is continuing in every area of society but also that women are speaking out in ever greater numbers because they have the support of the women's movement. We went to the hearings not because we expected any results from the bureaucracy, but to meet other women and men who see working together as the only way out of the inhuman relationships generated by our rotten society, and to exchange ideas on what we have done and can do to change it.

—Suzanne Casey

**Renewed Black campus revolt**

by Jim Mills and Peter Wermuth

A boycott of classes at Harvard University initiated by Black students protesting cutbacks in Black studies, financial aid, and a rash of racist incidents at the school kept 50 percent of the University's undergraduates out of classes April 30.

As hundreds of students at a rally the same day demanded that Harvard fully divest its holdings in companies doing business with South Africa, in addition to insisting that the climate of life for Black students at the school change dramatically, protests by minority students against similar conditions were erupting at the University of Massachusetts and at Rutgers University.

Harvard has witnessed one of the largest and most continuous divestiture movements of any college in the nation over the past year and a half, but this time campus matters acted as the spark for the anti-apartheid struggle: students demanded an end to all cuts in Black studies and attacks on Black student organizations; the hiring of more professors; and implementation of a serious plan to attract more Black students.

A week before, 80 Amherst students likewise showed for the anti-apartheid movement that the greatest enemy is always at home by chaining themselves inside an administration building after a cross was burned in front of a Black student dorm. They were also angered at President Ward cancelling Black Student Orientation week and ignoring demands that minority students be given editorial control over a section of the school's newspaper. And later in the month, hundreds of Rutgers University students marched to the office of President Bloustein accusing the school of "institutionalized racism."

"Academic lynching of Blacks"—Dr. Ewart Guinier's description of Harvard's backing down on its commitment to Black Studies — shares a dimension outside the campus, too. The economic realities of racism can be measured by the 45,000 applications immediately received for 8,000 City of Detroit, CETA-funded summer jobs, targeted for Black high school youth. Jimmy Carter's appeal once more to the Black middle class misleaders through a few high level appointments—pure tokenism—cannot cover up these economic realities.

The obscene forms of racism, particularly projected by white college fraternities, are merely the most visible. "It's a fundamental social problem on our campus and in our society — the alienation minorities encounter in an overwhelming white institution" is the way a Black Detroit student at the University of Michigan described the net effect of fewer minority instructors, fewer minority organizations, and a student and faculty population which is indifferent to Black students. Researchers attribute this alienation to the falling percentages of minorities in the major colleges.

Whether it was the demand for expanded recruitment of minority women in the Dartmouth protests earlier this year, or whether it is the internationalism which characterizes the U.S. anti-apartheid movement itself, or the international dimension within the U.S. such as in the ongoing Latino struggles at Hostos Community College (See article, page 6), the question now is will these new dimensions be explicitly recognized as new pathways to even deeper layers of revolt by revolutionary youth, such as those initiating the most recent Black campus revolts.

**women-worldwide**

Jurors in the suit brought by the parents of union activist Karen Silkwood have found the Kerr-McGee Corp. guilty of negligence in the plutonium contamination of Silkwood and her apartment just prior to her death in a mysterious car accident and have awarded her estate \$10.5 million in damages. The decision may be important for others fighting for safe working conditions, such as the four women who have charged American Cyanamid with forcing them to be sterilized in order to keep their jobs.

Maria Antonia Palla is on trial in Lisbon, Portugal for "offending public morals and inciting to the crime of abortion" for the script she wrote for a TV show called "Abortion Is Not A Crime." It was shown in February, 1976. Palla has received widespread support from Portuguese women's organizations, and a 5,000-signature petition protesting the charges has been presented to Pres. Eanes. A group of international journalists has also called for a halt to the trial. Palla faces two years in prison if convicted.

Yvonne Wanrow was sentenced to five years probation on April 26, after she pleaded guilty to reduced charges of manslaughter rather than face the agony of a second trial. Wanrow, a Colville Indian, has fought a seven-year battle in the courts, which had reversed her original murder conviction in the shooting of a child molester who had broken into a house where she and her children were staying, at a time when her leg was in a cast. Washington state intended to try her again under a new statute which would not require proof of intent-to-kill to get a murder conviction.

International demonstrations for reproductive rights were held on March 31 in seven European countries as well as in Canada and the U.S., where 10,000 people demonstrated in over a dozen cities. (See News & Letters, May, 1979.) In Brussels, 8,000 demanded abortion be eliminated from the Criminal Code; 4,000 marched in London, including women from Latin America, Spain and Italy; and in Groningen, Germany, 3,000 demonstrated. In the U.S., a protest is planned against the June 23 "right-to-life" convention in Cincinnati.

(Information from Off Our Backs)

Youth in Revolt

In the largest demonstration in Chile since the fascist government took power in the 1973 coup, 10,000 students and workers marched in Santiago May 1, chanting anti-government slogans and demanding political and union rights.

Harassment of anti-nuclear activists in Texas climaxed April 14 with the fatal shooting of anti-nuke activist and journalist Michael Eakin in Houston. Eakin was researching allegations of faulty inspection procedures at the Westinghouse South Texas nuclear project.

Five thousand French youths marched in Paris on April 3, protesting government plans to cut back the number of university openings for medical students. In Marseille on March 27, hundreds of trade school students demonstrated against working conditions in their shops, chanting also "Down with racism" and "Down with unemployment."

"Don't bite the hand that feeds you," Princeton U. students are saying as they join in support of striking food services workers demanding cost-of-living wage increases, equal pay for equal work, and extended health benefits. Hundreds of student dining hall workers are supporting the strike by not working, and students have picketed with workers, stopping all construction work on the campus.

Student protests in Nepal throughout April finally forced King Birenda on May 9 to release 64 jailed regime opponents. The student protests had become popular demonstrations against the autocracy, as peasants and workers joined in to fight high prices, shortages, and land taxes.

The Black South African students known as the "Soweto 11", organizers of the Soweto Students Representative Council before the June 1976 student uprisings, were convicted April 30 of sedition and terrorism. The pressure of the international anti-apartheid movement was evident in the relatively "light" sentences given: seven received suspended sentences and four were sent to prison for four more years. At the sentencing, the students sang freedom songs and gave the Black Power salute.

Community supports Sudbury nickel strikers

A strike at The International Nickel Company here, involving 12,000 workers, is in its eighth month and the workers have just voted to reject the latest company offer of an increase of \$3.50 an hour in wages and benefits over three years. They are not satisfied with the proposed grievance procedure, pensions which they must wait 30 years to get, and other contract provisions.

The solidarity of the workers during the strike has been remarkable. The wives of the workers have formed their own committee to support the strike and urged the workers to reject the contract, as did the stewards committee. The wives have collected money, sponsored dances, suppers, rallies and picnics, collected clothes for children and, most important, boosted the morale of the strikers.

The entire community of Sudbury is involved in the strike — over 100,000 people. The strikers get \$25 to \$36 a week in strike benefits, and the local merchants, druggists and shopkeepers are cooperating with and supporting the strikers.

The organization of the strike is a model for all

unions to follow. Funds and donations have been sought from other unions all over Canada and the U.S. No cash is handled by the collectors; they insist on checks from the local to the strike committee.

They have raised over \$600,000 in donations while the United Steel Workers Union Local 6500 has put out \$10 million in strike benefits. Among the donations were checks from a miners' union in Wales and another from miners in Poland.

Committees have been set up for housing, heating, health care, mortgages, home repairs, etc. If the worker has any problem, the union has a committee that will help him.

The company has been in a strong position since there is a glut of nickel on the market and their international operations can provide the metal from Australia and other sources. But the workers, when faced with a contract that was not satisfactory, voted by 57 percent to reject it. "We have been out now for eight months and we might as well stick it out until we get what we want," one worker said.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Queen Marie Antoinette of France who said the people should eat cake when they asked for bread. We know what the people of France did in answer to that kind of attitude; they revolted and took off her head! I know that people I've talked to said the same thing should happen to Hayakawa.

REACTIONARY RECORD

In a way, it shouldn't be too surprising that Hayakawa could say what he did so openly. He has always been a racist, and gained his reputation for opposing all of the principles the Blacks and students were fighting for during the 1960s. As a school administrator in California, he expelled many Black and white student activists and ordered the police on campus to attack student anti-war and civil rights demonstrators.

When he defeated Senator John Tunney in the last election, one of the first things Hayakawa said was that the whites in Africa were right in their oppressive treat-

ment of Black Africans and that there was nothing wrong with the apartheid laws.

Many people agree with Hayakawa, otherwise he would never have been elected. And the poison of racism and its effects can clearly be seen in the British election. There is no question but that many white workers voted for that reactionary Margaret Thatcher, who campaigned on a platform of both anti-Black and anti-union. She won, and the working class, and not only the Blacks, will find out the kind of iron fist she and her conservative Tory party are going to rule with.

Every worker I talk with says we're in a bad energy situation here in the U.S., but none of them believes the crisis is as severe as Carter says it is. But one thing is clear, and that is that there is a lot of confusion in the minds of most people.

With this kind of confusion, President Carter can rest assured that the people will not breathe any sigh of relief, because they know the problems will get worse before they get better.

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich.—Everyone here is mad as hell that Chrysler and the UAW International let our SUB fund dry up. It's been underfunded since February, but nothing has been done, even though UAW-Vice Pres. Marc Stepp was supposed to negotiate a stronger SUB in the last contract. Second shift workers from Main Building, Sherwood, and Compact out on the street after the July lay-offs will see very little of their SUB money.

The 2,000 Chrysler Trenton Engine workers who were laid off in the months after the heat walk-outs and wildcats two years ago have used up their SUB. Their unemployment benefits ran out after 26 weeks, and many will have to go on welfare now.

The metal shop here is working nine-hour shifts, even with the lay-offs coming up. With the SUB and overtime, the candidates for union representatives had plenty to talk about. Yet one assembler in Dept. 9171 was offered an inspection job to vote for the United Membership Slate candidate. This kind of vote-buying and favoritism has nothing to do with the serious problems we face.

It is not out of the question that the crisis at Chrysler will result in the kind of shut down we suffered through in 1974-75. Let's start talking about what we can do before we are out in the street.

—Main Building workers

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — Women are being forced out of jobs in factories and other places by harassment and discrimination. As a worker and a woman, my position in Fleetwood has been threatened.

During the first 90 days of my job, my foreman began to harass me because I refused to become sexually active with him. I was put on harder jobs and he made sure that I didn't do it right. There was also the mental anguish of working nine or ten-and-a-half hours a night while being called vicious names. When I became angry

and wanted to get some representation from my committeeman and the union, he told me I couldn't be represented. As my 90th day came close, I was told I wouldn't make it because I wasn't nice, and Black women had to be nice if they wanted a job.

He said just doing my job wasn't enough — but that was enough for me! So I came out fighting. I said, "O.K. You want me, let's go. Tell your wife. And before we get there I must pick up my kids for you to see. I have two and you'll have to support them." I got my 90 days.

I have heard people define harassment and discrimination. To me they are not separated. They are a pattern to force women out of the plants and other jobs. Women are being hired under the affirmative action programs. But after hiring a woman, they see that she never makes 90 days; they isolate her to a department where there is no other woman for support; they give her assignments beyond her physical capacities; they tell her "prove you're equal," and they permit and encourage sexual harassment. I want to end this now, to help other women fight like I have fought.

—A woman who decided to fight at Fleetwood

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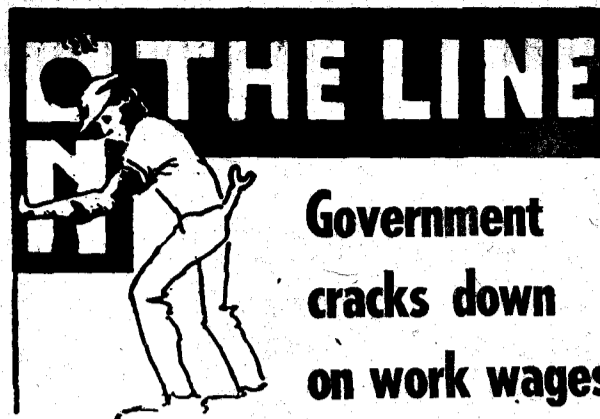
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by John Allison

Contract negotiations for millions of American union members are taking place this year against a backdrop of hard times for workers, easy profits for business and interference from the federal government at the bargaining table.

Industry profits are so huge that businessmen, including auto management, say that business can live with slower economic growth in 1979-80, and wouldn't even mind a "mild" recession. A recession for them is a matter of bookkeeping, of juggling economic factors. For workers and their families, recession means unemployment and even greater hardships than they face now.

Workers on the job every day and getting all the overtime they can, still keep losing ground. While wages are being held back, inflation keeps on climbing. Since last October, food costs alone have gone up at a 16 percent annual rate, while general price increases have gone up 15.4 percent. When you put these living cost rises against Carter's seven percent wage increase limit, it takes no genius to figure out who is losing in this battle.

The federal government says everybody has to make equal sacrifices to stop inflation and balance the budget, but what it does puts the full burden on the backs of workers and their families. Inflation goes through the ceiling and the workers' standard of living goes down the tubes.

One bargaining goal of the UAW is to require mandatory paid time off for all overtime hours worked. This is newest in a long time of demands stretching over many contracts that's supposed to increase employment and keep the production lines working at full strength. None of the previous demands succeeded, and no worker believes this one will either.

A real joker in this demand is the attitude of shop stewards and committeemen. They won't take time off for overtime hours worked for fear someone will get their union post at the next election, but rank-and-file workers need the time off.

Gas crunch hits workers hard

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

Carter's proposed deregulation of oil prices, giving the green light to the oil companies to raise prices and cause the gas crisis, coupled with the President's seven percent wage guidelines, has meant added hardships and more wage cuts for workers.

In the auto industry, each three years between contracts brings more Automation and higher unemployment. At General Motors alone, 30,000 jobs have been lost since 1976. Meanwhile, the government has created make-shift job programs to employ those automated out of value-producing work. This causes an ever-growing government bureaucracy, which in turn is loaded upon the backs of those still working in the form of higher and higher taxes.

Those who are left working are having other problems too. In the Los Angeles area, the lines of automobiles waiting to get gas wind around many city blocks. For example, one woman here entered a two-mile line of drivers at 7:30 p.m. on Thursday, and finally got gas at 5 a.m. on Friday. In San Diego, 3,000 people will be laid off in the next three weeks from lack of tourist trade due to the so-called "gas crisis."

While thousands of people sit in gas lines on their odd or even day, getting angrier every minute, the LA top bureaucrats fill their gas tanks without lines in the basement of the hall of administration, or any of the county gas pumps at fire stations, sheriff's substations and county yards.

Workers, having so little time to call their own after working nine to ten hours a day, must now spend that time in the gas lines. Many are talking about rebellion. One worker put it this way, "I'll be damned if I'll wait in line for gas and then go to work too."

The present situation brings to mind what Karl Marx wrote over 100 years ago when he stated that workers working 24 hours a day and living on air won't be enough to keep the capitalist system going. It seems that time has come.

Readers' Views

ANTI-NUKE STRUGGLES

Thank you for the magnificent coverage of the anti-nuke demonstrations here and in Germany. I learned so much from both the reports from all the participants and from the Editorial. I had been so tired of hearing about solar power, or wind power or whatever as the alternative to nuclear energy and its anti-human dangers that it was really a joy to read someone who comes out and says that the alternative is social revolution. It was also new to me to learn about the statements of nuclear workers at Three Mile Island. I bet that the fact that they had to work 40 days straight of 10 hours a day contributed to what happened. That is the way accidents come about many times in the plant.

Autoworker
Detroit

I really appreciated the Two Worlds columns you reprinted in the last issue of N&L. Sometimes when I go to anti-nuke demonstrations the speakers act like there is no relationship between nuclear energy and the H-bombs. They also seem like the U.S. government is the only one responsible. But what Raya showed all the way back in the early '60s was how Russia and China acted just the same as the U.S. when it came to the bomb, and they were just as ready to use it, even against each other. It is really true what she says that "we live in the kind of world where the madmen in power are the ones who decide what is rational."

Anti-nuke demonstrator
Detroit

THE ONGOING IRANIAN REVOLUTION

We attended the meeting where Kate Millett reported on her experience with the Iranian women's liberation movement. She spoke with great passion because she had just been part of a genuine mass movement that made her "recall what feminism is all about."

But in the discussion, mainly Left men spoke, all trying to tell the women what to think. One woman from the Spartacist League said that only the working class can lead the women. It reminded me of those who act as though the class struggle were the only thing, without seeing that different forces at different times make the freedom movement whole. One woman said that the revolution is only three months old; don't attack Islam so fast. We all thought she was pro-Kho-

meini, but she turned out to be pro-Fedaen. It's the whole idea of the vanguard party. You hide ideas, play politics with Khomeini, hold off criticism. To me, the situation in Iran makes it clear as a bell that a total uprooting is what is needed, beginning with man/woman, labor/capital, teacher/student...

Angela Terrano
New York

I pretty much agree with your estimation of the situation in Iran as well as the analysis in the Political-Philosophic Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya. The struggle in Iran is really just beginning—not only as far as the women of Iran are concerned. I definitely believe that the women in Iran are challenging both the Iranian Revolution and the Women's Liberation movement world-wide.

I think, unfortunately, that they might be more successful in the first challenge than in the second because there is still difficulty developing international solidarity. Everyone concentrates on what is near at hand—except for the few internationally-minded groups such as yours.

Women's Liberation supporter
Tokyo, Japan

East European countries do not try to analyze the Iranian revolution. They provide the usual cliches and seem to have lost any power of analysis. All they are interested in is the flow of oil under a "stabilized" government. And of course they are only allowed to parrot the Soviet press coverage of the Iranian events. The coverage here was extremely "careful" also because a year ago the Shah had been bestowed a honris causa doctorate by Charles University in Prague, and many people were now expressing their amazement as the authorities had to "approve" the revolution.

Correspondent
East Europe

'THE DEERHUNTER'

As a Vietnam veteran (3½ years in the Navy, 3 years Vietnam) I wish to take exception to the review of "The Deer Hunter" by Angela Terrano in May N&L. I think it is one of the best pictures I have seen on Vietnam. There may have been a few scenes where the Vietnamese were not portrayed very well, but for the most part the message comes through. It shows how three steelworkers from a conservative working class town had to cope with new situations, and for this it was a great picture. So I suggest you see the picture again, because you've obviously missed the point.

Vietnam Veteran
Chicago

To think you can separate the right-wing political message from its emotional impact is proof enough that the film, "The Deerhunter," is a slick racist flick. In fact, the widespread protests to the film should have brought anyone to their senses who missed the real point.

But, as a Black person it struck me that the fact that there are some radicals who found nothing offensive in the film tells the sad tale of racism in America today. And as a radical, I saw that if the attitude of some in the Left toward the American working class is that the workers are backward, as portrayed in

"The Deerhunter," then, it can only be said that "the tale is told of you."

Lou Turner
Detroit

BRITAIN'S RACIST ELECTION

Margaret Thatcher's coming to power and her policies of attacking the trade unions will be of benefit only to the rich and powerful. Her appeal, with its promises of lower direct taxation and a crack-down on immigrants, was to greed and prejudice. The Labour party lost the election because it had nothing to offer the working class.

The fascist National Front attempted to use the election to gain a wider audience for their racism. In Southall, where racists had already murdered a young Indian boy, the NF attempted to stage a provocative meeting which they referred to as the "battle of the Khyber Pass." The local Black community responded by calling a half-day strike and a mass demonstration. The police attacked the demonstration, trampling women and children under their horses' hooves. Blair Peach, an anti-fascist teacher, died as the result of a beating he received at the hands of the police riot squad—the Special Patrol Group. Although the NF stood 300 candidates, they polled only 200,000 votes, fewer than one percent of all votes cast. There is now a danger that the NF will abandon electioneering and turn more and more to violence and terrorism.

Terry Liddle
London, England

THE COST OF 'LIVING'

In the lead article of the May issue of N&L it stated that the cost of living last year for all food "has shot up 23 percent, meat 45 percent, hamburger an incredible 110 percent." This reminded me of what a Black worker at my plant was saying: "The declared gas shortage is nothing to what it will be when they do the same thing with food prices. That will be when workers take things into their own hands. And it won't be just Black this time."

G.M. worker
Los Angeles

After the Teamster strike was settled, I saw a truck with a large sign scrawled in the dirt on the rear door, "Fitz — Where's our 58 cents? Fitz is a jelly-fish." A driver explained that when they voted on their contract, they were told they would get 80 cents an hour increase each year, plus cost-of-living. But for the first year, Teamsters president Fitzsimmons is deducting the cost-of-living from the raise—losing the drivers 58 cents an hour.

Electrical worker
New York

MILITARY EXPERIENCE

Now they are talking about bringing back the draft again, as though nobody remembers what it was like during Vietnam. Once you have been in the U.S. military, the experience never leaves you. Army life is so totally different from life outside. I mean the life of the enlisted man. I met an ex-Marine officer, who tried to tell me how great the Marines were. He said he had been a lieutenant. I told him, "if you were a lieutenant, you were never in the Marines."

It isn't just the atrocities like My Lai either. It's the everyday sickness. When

I was stationed on Okinawa the big sport was for the officers to encourage men to drive down the roads trying to swerve and hit Okinawans walking along the shoulder. Or they would throw beer bottles at people from a truck speeding along at 50 miles an hour. Many veterans feel like I do. We will do everything we can to keep the draft from spreading this sickness any further.

Vietnam Veteran
Detroit

'MAN OF MARBLE'

I want to recommend a beautiful movie for everyone to see if it comes to their area. It is called "Man of Marble" by the Polish director, Wajda. It is the greatest kind of art in that it tells the tale of revolt in Poland through the story of one transformed Stakhanovite, and it is self-conscious in that it tells the tale of telling the tale. (It is also the story of the independent woman film-maker's fight with the censors at each step along the way.) The movie ends with the woman rescuing her movie from the censors by convincing a young shipyard worker in Gdansk to expose everything about his father's mysterious death.

Without having seen the movie, we went to the showing with our leaflet and copies of the N&L pamphlet, "Polish Shipyard Workers Revolt Against Communist Party Leaders" (which had been smuggled out of Poland and translated). A Polish emigre coming out of the movie reported that the original version of the film had ended with the events in our pamphlet. We sold over 100 pamphlets to the crowd at the film.

N&L Committee Member
Chicago

TADAYUKI TSUSHIMA

We mourn the death of Tadayuki Tsushima, Japanese revolutionary. One of the leaders of the original Communist Party of Japan, who was imprisoned at the outbreak of World War II for opposing the imperialist war, he developed a theory of state-capitalism. When released from prison after the war, Tsushima worked with a left faction of the Zengakuren youth, encouraging them in their break with the Communist Party and influencing their development to genuine Marxism. A chapter from his book, *State Capitalism and Socialist Revolution* was published in *News & Letters* in December, 1966.

A letter from Tsushima and his colleague, Yoshimasa Yukiama, asking for permission to publish *Marxism and Freedom in Japanese* translation reached the author, Raya Dunayevskaya, while she was in Africa in 1962. Three years later, with the edition off the press, they organized her national tour in Japan, and established the dialogue between U.S. and Japanese Marxist-Humanists that continues to this day.

It is not only the Japanese but the international revolutionary movement that mourns the death of Tadayuki Tsushima whose contributions to both theory and practice will continue to enrich the path to a new world on human foundations.

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EDITORIAL A. Philip Randolph and Black labor's future

The life, the early life, of A. Philip Randolph is what needs to be remembered and what is deliberately forgotten by those who shed crocodile tears over his death and wish to remember only the last years when he had turned against the militancy of the new generation of Black revolutionaries that had been born with the 1960s.

Historically, the genius of A. Philip Randolph, socialist, emerged as World War I ended and the Russian Revolution promised the way to a new, classless world. All that greeted the returning Black soldiers were Ku Klux Klan riots and such barbaric outbursts of lynchings against Blacks moving from the South to the North, that 1919 became known as "Red Summer, 1919." It was a description, not of the extension of the Russian Revolution into the U.S., but of the fantastic number of race riots—no less than 26 in the last months of 1919!

RANDOLPH'S TRUE LEGACY

It was in that period that A. Philip Randolph accomplished three pathbreaking deeds. First was the founding of a magnificent new paper called *The Messenger*. So great was its vision of a very different world from capitalism, and so militant and challenging was his direction for developing a mass movement of Blacks, that no one could stop him—from President Wilson, who called him "the most dangerous man in the U.S.," to the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities that slandered and persecuted him.

What provoked all the anti-Red and anti-Black hysteria of the Government was the fact that Randolph's *The Messenger* fought not only Big Business but the Government, and not only any specific Administration but the very notion of the United States' sham democracy by printing a cartoon of a Black man being lynched, wrapped in an American flag set on fire.

Nor did he let the labor bureaucracy get away with its type of racism. First he organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and not only won labor victories for them against the railroad magnates but then started fighting within the AFL against its bureaucracy. As late

as 1961, there was a confrontation between him, as the only Black on the Executive Committee, and Meany. So telling was Randolph's criticism, that Meany exploded, "Who the hell appointed you as spokesman for all the Negroes in America."

Although, at the outbreak of World War II, A. Philip Randolph was no longer a socialist, he was still



Cartoon, "The Mob Victim," from July 1919 *Messenger*

an activist, and once again broke new ground, this time as President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, by organizing a March on Washington (MOW). He had planned to mobilize no less than 100,000 Black workers to protest the mass unemployment.

This so frightened President Roosevelt that he issued Executive Order 8802 to bar discrimination in war industry. While this small version of the Fair Employment Practices Act did stop the March, it did not stop Randolph from then transforming his March committee into a committee to end Jim Crow in the Army. (See

The March on Washington Movement's pamphlet, *The War's Greatest Scandal! The Story of Jim Crow in Uniform.*)

This still didn't end his magnificent history-making actions. As against the beginning of the war, when their slogan was "The Yanks are not coming," the American Communists made a 180-degree turn when the Hitler-Stalin Pact collapsed as Germany attacked Russia, and outdid the most rabid reactionary in flag-waving, pretended patriotism. The CP first turned against the MOW, then attacked the Committee against Jim Crowism, calling for "a second front" to be opened by the U.S. everywhere except, of course, in the U.S. for Black freedom, or for the right of workers to strike.

They demanded, instead, that the Negro subordinate his struggles to "the fight against fascism"—in Germany. They called A. Philip Randolph a veritable subversive and his movement too belligerent. The Communist Party's vice-presidential candidate had the gall to say that Randolph's movements helped in "creating confusing and dangerous moods in the ranks of the Negro people and utilizing their justified grievances as a weapon of opposition to the Administration's war program . . ."

THE GROUND FOR TODAY

This, too, did not stop Randolph and he did win the end of Jim Crow in the Army. Nor did he limit his contributions to the economic and social sphere, or to America alone. He was instrumental in helping to establish the two-way road between Africa and America that has been a hallmark of the Black fight for freedom.

To honor A. Philip Randolph is not just a matter of remembrance of things past nor even only of clearing his legacy from the deliberate misinterpretation by those—including the Institute that bears his name and that is headed by Norman Hill—who want the public to know only his last years. Rather, it is to build today and tomorrow on the ground he laid as a pioneer of the organization of Black labor and a pioneer of uniting Black with socialism in the battle of ideas.

TWO WORLDS

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

I am turning my column space this issue over to an important review essay by a colleague, Andy Phillips. —R.D.

Hal Draper's voluminous* *Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution* proclaims his goal to be "a full and definitive statement of Marx's political theory, policies, and practices."¹ While the admitted content is Marx's political theory, Draper, aware of the dirty connotations associated with politics today, felt "compelled" to title his work *Theory of Revolution*. In any case, what Draper alleges to be theory of revolution is in fact his narrow view of Marx's political theory.

In his second volume, *The Politics of Social Classes*, Draper presents "Marx's" views of the politics of the working class and the working class revolution, including trade unionism and the principle of proletarian self-emancipation; the historic roles of the bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeoisie, peasantry, lumpen-proletariat and intellectuals.

ARROGANCE AND HYPOCRISY

Whereas Draper claims to disregard all other Marxists to deal strictly with the Marxism of Marx, he immediately exposes his arrogance and hypocrisy by characterizing Marx's rough draft of *Capital*, the *Grundrisse*, as a "non-book."

"The *Grundrisse*," Draper declares, "is a peculiar nonbook," "notebooks kept . . . with no thought of publication," "notes and jottings," "Each sentence . . . a thought that popped into Marx's mind—unreviewed, unrevised, uncriticized, often ungrammatical, and sometimes undecipherable," "often scribbled late at night when Marx was suffering from carbuncles, gastrointestinal illness, headaches and assorted dyspepsias."²

In fact, the *Grundrisse*³ is nothing less than Marx's comprehensive summary of his preceding 15 years of experience and study, comprising an introduction and seven notebooks, and filling over 900 pages. The work, inspired by the economic recession of 1857 and the hope for a revolution, was begun by Marx the last week of

Draper's narrow view of Marx's political theory

August '57. Working almost incessantly, he completed it in mid-March '58, except for a few pages added in May. The book, containing 313 analytical categories too numerous to list, is divided into two "chapters," Money and Capital, including Marx's analyses of the production process, surplus value and profit, circulation process, surplus labor, surplus capital, original accumulation of capital, theories of surplus value and profit.

Upon reading the *Grundrisse* today and grasping the great insight it gives to the development of Marx's thought and analytical methodology, what is most incredible is that this great work was not published until 1939-41—in Moscow and in a German edition at that, which effectively precluded it from being known during the World War II years.

Indeed, it took nothing less than the Chinese revolution of 1949 to pry this work loose from the dusty archive shelves in Moscow for serious study in the 1950s. Ten more years elapsed before the most discussed chapter, "Forms Which Precede Capitalist Production," was published in English as *PRE-CAPITALIST ECONOMIC FORMATIONS*, and only in 1973 did the first full English edition appear, published by the Pelican Marx Library in London.

Draper's supercilious and arrogant assessment of the *Grundrisse* notwithstanding, Marx specifically refers to his notebooks in the first paragraph of the preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*:

"I examine the system of bourgeois economics in the following order: capital, landed property, wage labor, state and foreign trade, world market. Under the first three headings, I investigate the economic conditions of life of the three great classes into which modern bourgeois society is divided; the interconnection of the three other headings is obvious at a glance. The first section of the first book, which deals with capital, consists of the following chapters: 1. Commodities; 2. Money, or simple circulation; 3. Capital in general. The first two chapters form the contents of the present part. The total material lies before me in the form of monographs . . ."⁴

⁴ Marx-Engels Selected Works, Vol. 1, p. 361.

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The monographs Marx refers to are the *Grundrisse*, nothing less than the draft of all four volumes of *Capital*, Marx's greatest work. Actually, the historic sweep of the *Grundrisse* exceeds that of *Capital*, tracing the full development of civilization rather than restricting itself to the precisely logical movement of the capitalist economic system analyzed in *Capital*.

ANTI-HEGELIAN SOUL COMPANION

A popular pastime of some "Marxists" is drawing a sharp line between the "young Hegelian Marx" and the "mature materialistic Marx." Louis Althusser, advocate of "driving this phantom (of Hegel) into the night,"⁵ finds a soul companion in Draper. However, both share considerable embarrassment in the existence of the *Grundrisse*, in which Hegelian philosophic concepts and terminology are so pervasive that any denial of their indispensability to Marx's analyses is patently absurd.

This is not Marx of the 1844 *Philosophic Economic Manuscripts*, a "young" Marx writing totally within the

⁵ Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, Althusser.
(Continued on Page 6)

WHO WE ARE

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

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

*The volume reviewed, *Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution: The Politics of Social Classes*, published by Monthly Review Press, 1978, is the second of an originally projected three-volume work. However, in his foreword to this second volume, author Draper states that the work is being expanded into four volumes.

¹ This quote is from the introduction to the first volume, *State and Bureaucracy*, p. 11, where Draper explains his overall goal.
² *Politics of Social Classes*, p. 3
³ The title for Marx's Notebooks, *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie* (Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy) was given by the Moscow Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute for the first German edition.

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

framework of classical Hegelian philosophy (never mind that precisely for this reason it is the most devastating critique of Hegel's dehumanized idealism). Here you have the "mature" Marx, the Marx who has discovered the materialistic motive forces compelling the development and motion of capitalist production relations and its super-structured, class-confronting society. This is no Marx merely "tinged" with Hegelianism; this is Marx the conqueror of Hegel's dialectical method, using it to disclose the development of civilization from the first forms of social behavior and relationships.

Where Althusser would rid Marx of Hegel by driving him "into the night," Draper seeks to achieve the same end by trying to reduce the Grundrisse to a dyspeptic carbuncular grunt, as well as discounting Marx's 1844 essays as "pre-Marxist," still tainted with the Hegelianism Draper insists Marx discarded when he elaborated his mature, materialistic theories.

The anti-Hegelian fetishism of Draper and Althusser was totally alien to Marx. Indeed, as he was writing the Grundrisse, the "mature" Marx observed in a letter to Engels on Jan. 14, 1858: "In the method of treatment the fact that by mere accident I have again glanced through Hegel's *Logic* has been of great service to me." As noted, Marx considered the Grundrisse as the draft of *Capital*, his most important work; as knowledgeable Marxists have noted, whereas Marx did not leave a *Logic*, he provided the logic of *Capital*. And as Marx himself emphasized, "The Hegelian contradiction (is) the

Draper's narrow view of Marx's political theory

source of all dialectics,"⁶ the materialist dialectic included.

Draper calls his work the result of "excavation," digging into the writings of Marx and Engels, relating their thoughts to objective developments. While merit certainly limits what should be fully elaborated, Draper's treatment of the following two issues reveals his own confined perspective.

In his chapter on trade unions, Draper notes that the "New Unionism" in England, comparable to the rise of the CIO in the U.S. in the 1930s, erupted in July 1888 with the factory organization and action of women matchworkers, followed by similar successful activity of gas workers, activity led by Eleanor Marx. Action by these lower and deeper layers of the previously unorganized workers sparked a movement to organize the unorganized which literally transformed the economic and political face of England.

While the importance of these historic developments is self-evident, they are given an added significance by the current impact of the Women's Liberation Movement. But far from detailing the actions of these English working women in the epochal struggle, Draper gives them no more than the barest passing reference on p. 111. Yet it is precisely this type of organizing of the unorganized by Eleanor Marx which concretized the "Marxism of Marx" in one of his last writings, as he called upon revolutionaries to go "lower and deeper into the proletariat," a phrase Lenin first discovered (Aug. 4, 1914) after the collapse of the Second International.

On the other hand, there is Draper's endless preoccupation with Marx and the peasantry. Correctly pointing out that the myth of Marx having no interest in the peasantry is totally unfounded, Draper proceeds for the next 136 pages to confirm Marx's real concern and understanding of the importance of the revolutionary role of the peasantry. One is reminded of the expression: Using a shotgun to kill a flea.

Of many seriously controversial issues, moreover, there is little or absolutely no reference. For example, Draper devotes considerable research and elaboration to Marx's concept of "revolution in permanence." As Draper is well aware, the person pre-eminently linked with the theory of permanent revolution is Leon Trotsky. But in the 48 pages given to the two chapters on permanent revolution, there is not a single reference to Trotsky.

EVADES MARXISTS

Draper's defense that he is disregarding all other Marxists is evasion pure and simple. This facile disclaimer does not prevent Draper from bringing in other "Marxists" when he chooses to do so. In effect, Draper wants to have his cake . . . and eat it too.

For example, where Draper maintains that the largest portion of Marx's and Engels' revolutionary theory derived from their 13-month experiences of the 1848-49 German revolution, he quotes a 1907 statement by Lenin (irrefutably a Marxist) to buttress his contention. Now 1907 was a very good year indeed, the year of the Russian Social Democratic Party Congress made especially rare by the fact that virtually all tendencies in Russian Marxism were represented, and included Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg, Martov, Plekhanov, as well as the Bund. Indeed, the central debates at the Congress revolved around precisely the impact of the 1848 revolution on Russian Marxists in the 1905 Revolution, and specifically why an understanding of his philosophy of revolution was necessary to grasp the import of the 1905 Russian revolution as well as forge practical revolutionary pol-

⁶ *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 654n, Kerr edition. Draper's consuming opposition to Hegel precludes any understanding of Marx, be it 1844, 1857 or *Capital* itself.

Workers occupy Hostos '500'

New York, N.Y. — Three organizations of Blacks and Latino construction workers occupied Hostos Community College's still unused "500 building" for most of the day May 3, demanding that New York City honor its commitment to hire students and community workers to do the renovation of that building.

This demand was first raised last spring when the same building was occupied and run creatively for several months by students, many of whom are also workers, and some faculty.

As dozens of police gathered nearby, the workers ordered all of the city-contracted personnel out of the building, padlocked the surrounding fence, hung up banners, and chanted their demands. This attracted about 200 students from classes across the street. Women students added a new demand which the workers quickly took up: "Equal opportunity for women in construction!"

"This is a continuation of last spring's action and demands," said one student. "Like all my friends, I thought at that time that our taking over '500' was what we had to do. Now to many of us the meaning of what we accomplished is growing much deeper. We are trying to work out its full significance for ourselves and for the struggle."

—Hostos activist

icies for the future.⁷

Whereas, in general, Draper's "excavations" into social classes appear to follow Marx's class lines on the development of revolutionary struggle, the significance of the 1881 correspondence between Vera Zasulich and Marx on the Russian question is lost on Draper. Zasulich wrote to Marx, referring to the communal features of the mir, the form of Russian rural land ownership and society, and inquiring whether Russia could go directly from feudalism to communism. Marx drafted four letters in his effort to answer Zasulich. He answered her not only in a letter, but most importantly, in his 1882 introduction to the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*. The last sentence of that introduction states: "If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for a communist development."⁸

Draper's blind hatred of Hegel's dialectics and disregard of Marx's dialectics of liberation betrays him at every turn, even to the point of attributing to Hegel what is purely Marx. Draper, referring to Marx's opening of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, quotes Hegel to the effect that: history repeats itself . . . the first time as tragedy, the second as farce. What is Hegel's, however, is only that history repeats itself; Marx added the rest.

That the scholar should not know that little bit—the very first sentence of the work that is so pivotal to Draper—proves but one thing: how totally blind anti-Hegelianism can turn an excavator of the "Marxism of Marx."

Throughout, Draper equates Engels to Marx, and often very nearly ranks Engels above Marx. While the contributions and role of Engels in the relationship are surely immense, attempts to equate the two does damaging disservice to both and can only result in disorienting the revolutionary left.⁹

BETRAYS ENGELS, TOO

Moreover, nobody more than Engels understood and appreciated the importance of Hegelian philosophy to Marx's development. The most convincing testimony of this is Engels' treatise on Feuerbach, which is nothing less than a total defense of Marx's insistence that the Hegelian dialectic is the basis of all dialectics. Written in 1888, when Engels was an old man, the work cannot be labeled an aberration of his youth.

Another observation is compelled by Draper's "defense" of Engel as a non-Hegelian, materialistic Engels. Draper, like virtually every Trotskyist in the 1930-40 period, "grew up" on Engels' treatise on Feuerbach, so ignorance cannot be an element here. Draper's effort to divest Engels of his appreciation for Hegel is nothing short of betrayal of Engels as well. The last sentence in Engels' Feuerbach is: "The German working-class movement is the heir of the German classical philosophy."¹⁰

Draper's work is indeed unfinished—but not because only two of the four projected volumes have been published.

⁷ This is not the place to go into the proceedings of the 1907 Congress. The point is that real revolutionary Marxism which pervaded that Congress is bypassed (if ever known) by Draper, and surely would have illuminated the significance of 1848 much more clearly than the single quote from Lenin.

⁸ *Marx-Engels Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 25.

⁹ Rigorous scholarship and research by Raya Dunayevskaya, undertaken for her book-in-progress, *Rosa Luxemburg, Today's Women's Liberation Movement and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, not only seriously challenges those who would equate Engels to Marx, but in fact discloses profound differences between the two. A chapter of her new book, detailing several important differences, was published as a special supplement to the January-February 1979 issue of *News & Letters*.

¹⁰ Feuerbach, *The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy*, Engels, Frederick; Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1903, p. 128.



Over 100,000 anti-nuke protesters rallied in Washington D.C. May 6 in the largest demonstration in Washington since the anti-war protests of the early 1970s. Significant was the presence of Blacks and workers whose increased participation can help keep self-proclaimed leaders like Gov. Brown, Jane Fonda and Ralph Nader from diverting the movement. (See Editorial, "The alternative to nuclear madness is social revolution," N&L, May 1979.)

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Eyewitness report: revolution and counter-revolution in Iran

(Continued from Page 1)

or white, religious or non-religious, we are one. We are producing the world. We shall own it . . . Moslem capitalism too is our enemy . . ."

At one point, the workers were trying to get the TV to come and film the demonstration. They sent delegates to demand that Sadegh Ghotbzadeh (the man Khomeini named to head national radio and television) send TV camera crews. They told him that if he didn't bring the TV, they would first break all the TV cameras, and then hang him. The cameras came.

Struggles like this were taking place all over the country. In Isfahan I saw Khomeini's soldiers shoot into a workers' demonstration, wounding four and killing one.

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN ARMY

Another shora that played a determining role at the beginning of the insurrection and now is half underground is the "Council of Soldiers and Homafars" (airforce technicians). While the government is trying to "rebuild" the army, this Council is publishing a newspaper called Sarbaz (soldier). They are demanding the elimination of the U.S. trained army and the organizing of a people's army. They are calling for freedom of army personnel to register in political parties, to have freedom of ideas and thought, and the end to blind obedience in army ranks.

Homafars are among the oppressed ranks of the army, between the sergeants and the low grade officers. Even though they're known as the "army intellectuals," they have to obey all of the officers, even the most stupid ones. At Isfahan and Hamedan airbases, where I had a chance to spend a few days with Homafars, I observed great revolutionary potential in them. One group that had just begun reading Marxist books were talking about a total change in the army and the society.

The peasants, too, had a spectacular participation in the February revolution. Yet up to now Bazargan has not even nationalized the land the Shah's family left behind. In Gonbad, near the Russian border, the peasants had five months earlier taken over the land of some of the feudal rich who left the country and planted it. And at the time of harvest they wanted to reap. The Bazargan government, together with some of the feudal rich, attacked the peasants, shooting at them, saying that the law of property had not yet been set.

Whether in the rural areas or among the new unemployed who migrated to the cities, the landless are raising problems that the "Islamic Republic" can not

Outrage at Eula Love murder

South Los Angeles, Cal. — The murder last January of Eula Love, a Black woman, by LA city police has resulted in a large outcry of protest, especially after the police department and the city District Attorney issued reports which whitewashed police conduct, that included firing 12 bullets at Mrs. Love, eight of which hit her.

Shortly after the District Attorney's report was issued, a citizens' tribunal to try the police and city for the murder was held at a high school auditorium in the predominantly Black southside.

Some 1,000 came out to demonstrate their outrage at the senseless crime of murder by two LA Police Department officers. The audience was Black, Latino and white, and ranged from the very young to older people. The tribunal heard testimony that one of the policemen had earlier killed another person while on duty.

One person who testified and was answered immediately by the community was Black State Senator Bill Green. When he made the statement that this is nothing new and he comes into contact with it daily and therefore we should keep cool, the audience got mad.

Eula Love had failed to pay some \$20 on a gas bill and the company sent a man to turn off her gas. She chased him away with a shovel, and went to get a money order to pay \$20 on her bill. Later that same day, two policemen came with another gas man. Mrs. Love came out of her house with a small kitchen knife, and the only thing the police could think of to do was to empty their guns into her.

Now even the Mayor says something should be done. Some have jumped on the bandwagon of a police review board. But that doesn't get to the root of things and can be manipulated. Meanwhile, a 14-year-old Black youth was killed by police a few days ago.

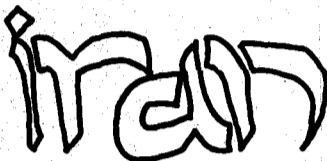
The point is not just a couple of police, but that the whole thing, from Police Chief Gates down to the rookie patrolmen, needs to be changed. There must be an internal change within the whole program that has been set by capitalism. That murder and fear need to survive another decade is very inhuman to us all.

—Watts activist

answer. Their response has been to play divide and rule. And it is here that the peasant struggle is so closely linked to the question of national minorities.

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR MINORITIES

The right to self-determination and autonomy is what the national minorities are fighting for in today's Iran. For over fifty years, Kurds, Turks, Arabs, Turkamans and Baluches have lost their identity under the Pahlavi dynasty. On the first day after the overthrow of the Shah's regime everybody in Kurdistan put on the overall Kurdish dress. Even the Kurdish personnel of the Iranian Army came out the same way. "Kurdish dress, Kurdish language, and Klashinkove submachine guns are made for each other," said a Persian newspaper reporter who visited the Kurdistan city of Mahabad. He quoted a fourteen year-old city guard as saying: "What we want from the revolution is exactly what a Tehrani person wants—freedom, a total freedom. Freedom to us means that for the first time we want to determine our



fate by ourselves, not by anybody else . . . Can you call that a separatist idea?"

The same thing is happening at a slower pace in Khoozestan among the Arab tribes, and in Sistan-Baluchestan among the Baluch people. These nations together make up a border-belt around Iran, and have enough importance and potential to shake up any government.

The majority of the Left is afraid to support full self-determination for the nationalities. They are fearful of being labeled "separationists" and "counter-revolutionary." In this case, Ayatollah Teleghani was one step ahead of the Left. He repeated what Lenin had said about the national minorities (but with a different conception): Let them separate if they want. They will come back to us if and only if we make a good place for Iranian people. But if we are defeated by another kind of despotism, they would be better off if they separated.

FERMENT ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Since the mass demonstrations that started on March 7 against Khomeini's order that all women wear the "Islamic veil," and transformed the celebration of International Women's Day, the women's struggle has gone through a serious discussion of how women can continue the fight without falling into a narrow bourgeois feminism. The ferment is intense. Even before March 8, there were women's organizations being formed very quickly, so many that often two had the same name. There was the Organization of Awakening Women, the Organization of the Emancipation of Women, the Women's Liberation Organization . . .

Yet some argued that women did not need their own independent organizations. Homa Nategh and Simin Daneshvar, both well-known revolutionary petty-bourgeois women, held to this old view. Within a few days they were sharply criticized by many independent revolutionary women and organizations. They argued that "as far as there exists anything such as women's problems in the society, the women's struggle too will exist . . ." Now many women's organizations are taking the cause of the working and oppressed women, and are refusing to limit the struggle to the chador or the divorce laws.

From the women's organizations to the actual armed demonstrations of the national minorities, and especially from the shora(s) of the workers, the unemployed, the soldiers and the peasants, come every week new demonstrations and new expressions of freedom. That the counter-revolution showed itself so early is naturally the most serious threat to what was started by the great mass movement that overthrew the Shah and wanted a totally new society.

Khomeini is today being driven towards fascistic methods for mobilizing Iran's very large middle class and preparing attacks on the Left, the minorities and the struggling working class. In order to restore "peace and order" in the Spring of revolution, he must wither up the flower of freedom! Imperialism, which is being attacked by everybody (even the comprador bourgeoisie) can nowadays only find a safe place under the Mullah's aba (the dress of the religious leader).

MAY DAY, 1979—ONGOING REVOLUTION

Khomeini, Bazargan and the bazaar merchants should not think that they have destroyed the revolution. Proof of that living fact was given both sharply and profoundly in two forms on May Day, 1979. A May Day demonstration was called by the National Confederation of Iranian Workers. The leaflet for the demonstration had no religious references on it at all, and said

that "this demonstration belongs to the workers of Iran." The Left was invited to join, but only if they marched behind. There was another demonstration called by the Islamic organizations, also for May Day.

When May Day came, the turnout at the workers' march was enormous—estimated at 400,000—ten times the size of the Islamic march. All through the demonstration, there were slogans like "Control factories by the workers," "Equal wages for women and men," "No worker laid-off or fired," and "Nationalize imperialist capital." In the entire demonstration, there was only one single picture of Khomeini.

It was at this same time that I also saw a pamphlet that had just been published, specifically for May Day, 1979, called "Discussion on the Workers' Movement in Iran." It included translations into Farsi of several articles and speeches in honor of May Day by Rosa Luxemburg, a work by Lenin on the soviets in the Russian Revolution, and Chapter 4 of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom*, on the 1848 revolutions and the relations of intellectuals to the workers' struggle. Together with that magnificent march, the pamphlet makes it clear that in thought as well as activity, the revolution is still ongoing.

The Iranian revolution through which we are living is showing us again that revolution doesn't go on a straight line to completion, any more than it did with the Russian and Iranian revolutions of 1905-08. The counter-revolution that rushes to emerge brings forth its own opposition. Only this time the opposition is a more developed, fuller stage of the revolution, which is more determined than ever to achieve its aim of a totally new human society.

Iranian student's report: 'Struggle is just beginning'

(We excerpt below another significant report sent directly from Iran to N&L — Editor.)

Tehran, Iran—During the February three days of street fighting, many different committees were formed, most importantly the armed "Committees of Imam." These committees have been the real police force of the cities and villages since. At first, many of the "left" took part in these committees, but were later thrown out. Then the committees came under the command of the "Council of the Revolution", based in Qum. One Mullah was put at the head of the committees in each district. Important to note is that a lot of counter-revolutionary and SAVAK agents took part in these committees from the beginning . . .

Let me give a few examples of the policies of the present regime: Nationalization of the banks is "out of the question"; renewed treaties with the oil monopolies; restoration and reorganization of Savak; suppression of the Turkamans, who tried to distribute land among the landless peasants; hysterical propaganda against socialism; threatening women's liberation, renewing the marriage law, and forcing women employees to wear the veil . . .

There are daily "spontaneous" demonstrations against the Left, chanting "Death to the Communists!" I feel that with the growing economic and political crises of the present regime, and the anti-communist mentality, there is a great possibility for a fascistic movement organized to destroy the workingclass and Left opposition. The signs of such a Falangist movement are already visible . . .

But what about the masses? For the merchants, shopkeepers and the bourgeoisie, the revolution is over, but for the more than three million unemployed workers, and for those still employed, the struggle is still in the beginning. Although they still have some religious tendencies, there are daily gatherings, meetings, demonstrations, strikes, marches, all over the country.

I can see that socialism is coming. Maybe not tomorrow, but it is not far away. In the past week the unemployed workers have marched through most of the important cities and announced their solidarity to each other. Employed workers supported them. This is what I call the real movement, not the movement of the "leftist" leaders who don't have a clear position toward the Bazargan government, or those who, at most, want to only have a voice in parliament.

The bourgeoisie cannot let things go on as they are. They will try to harshly suppress the working class. At this time what I am most afraid of is the growing Falangist movement which has its base among the petty bourgeoisie. In opposition, the present demands of the workers may not be directly seeking the "abolition of human alienation" but they are paving the way for such a demand . . .

I shake your hand and join you in our common struggle to abolish the domination of capital . . .

—Iranian student

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Native Americans fight against destruction of land, lives

We received a critique of the lead article on oil in the April issue of N&L and are very glad to call attention to the conditions that have aroused a wide resistance movement among American Indians, not only against the theft of their lands by the U.S., but the spoliation of the land that remains to them by oil, uranium, coal and water rights to bring profits to General Electric, Peabody Coal, EXXON, Kerr McGee, Gulf and even the T.V.A.

When the Indians were driven onto government-controlled reservations, those lands were at the time the least desirable lands available. Little did the government know that under the lands were uranium, oil, coal and water for hydro-power.

At the same time, recent revelations of the 144 radiation-induced lung cancer deaths among 3,500 uranium miners, which date back to the 1950s and '60s, have disclosed what Native Americans call "America's energy colony." While the anti-nuclear movement has drawn attention to the dangers of the latter stages of the nuclear fuel cycle, of reactors and waste disposal which threaten large segments of the American population, it is only Native Americans for whom every stage of the nuclear cycle means radiation exposure and death.

Navajo reservation lands in New Mexico and Arizona supply two-thirds of the uranium produced in the U.S. and are the "source" of the nuclear fuel cycle, i.e., the mining and milling. Consequently, Native Americans don't have to wait for a nuclear accident to be exposed to high levels of radiation. For those who work at subsistence wages in the mines and uranium mills, or who live near the mounds of radioactive tailings left from the milling process and have their water contaminated by radioactive run-offs from mines, dangerous exposure is an everyday reality.

Exploitation of the uranium resources is not the only thing that attracts 14 of America's largest energy corporations to Navajo land. General Electric operates the largest coal strip mine in the Western Hemisphere on Indian land. The leases negotiated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) — at times without informing the residents on the land — brings the Navajo people 15 cents per ton for coal that the corporations receive \$20 per ton for on the market. The impact of coal stripping on the Native peoples means that many families are forced to relocate.

Though such federally-backed agencies as the

BIA and the Navajo Tribal Council have always been in conflict with local communities, that conflict has never been sharper than when mineral development and lands rights are at issue.

This conflict came to a head late last year in Windowrock, N.M., center of the Navajo Nation, when seven Navajo men were arrested for taking over and occupying the BIA headquarters. After their arrest, the "Windowrock Seven" were removed from Indian custody and transferred to Gallup, N.M., as federal prisoners. Five of the seven men who form the Dine Bii, or People's Coalition, came from Shiprock, N.M., site of the Kerr McGee mine and mill which is responsible for the cancer deaths of 20 Navajo miners.

The struggle of the Navajo Nation over the continued exploitation of Navajo land and life reached a new stage when over 200 Navajos initiated a "mini-Longest Walk" to Windowrock as a continuation of the original protest of the "Windowrock Seven." Rather than having their concerns heard by the Navajo Nation Elective Council, the marchers were met with tear gas and mace, resulting in 20 arrests, including 11 traditional elders. This has sparked preparations for further demonstrations,

Britain

Margaret Thatcher, extreme reactionary leader of Britain's Tories, was voted into office with a majority of some 40 seats in the general election on May 3. Election analysts say that the swing to the Conservatives was strongest in the suburbs and large cities of Southern England, where Thatcher had concentrated her vicious campaign against the unions — especially the "uncontrolled" rank-and-file, and their winter-long strike wave — and against the growing Black and immigrant population. Throughout the campaign, scarcely-veiled hints that her election would mean "law and order," a crackdown on immigration, and support of "traditional British values" were floated to appeal to racism. The glaring truth is that racism did gain her not only many of the middle class, but a section of labor.

And far from the fact that the neo-Nazi National Front (NF) only got sixth-tenths of one percent of the vote showing that barbarism to be dead, the low vote for the NF is actually proof of their sympathizers' "realism." How many of them voted for Thatcher, knowing that she could get more votes than they, while hoping that she would lead to them as Hindenburg led to Hitler? The centrality of the Black dimension to revolution is clearly not just a U.S. question, but more crucial for Britain now than it was when Enoch Powellism arose a decade ago. (See "British Racism, Powellism and the Workers"

by Raya Dunayevskaya in N&L, Aug.-Sept. 1970.)

Where Thatcher and her equally far-right Industry Secretary, Sir Keith Joseph, will quickly find themselves embattled is in their avowed declaration to "break the stranglehold of the unions." The British workers, white and Black, who refused to accept former Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan's five percent limit on pay raises in the face of rampant inflation, have already announced that they have no intention of knuckling under to Thatcher and Joseph's plans. The months ahead are sure to test all, as the new struggles demand genuine re-thinking on the part of those fighting against Thatcher and for a human world.

El Salvador

Mass opposition to the brutal dictatorship of General Carlos Romero erupted in San Salvador on May 10, as 20,000 Salvadorans marched in a funeral procession and thousands more lined the streets, shouting their support. The funeral was for 17 of the 23 persons Romero's soldiers and police murdered when they opened fire on a peaceful demonstration on May 8 outside an occupied cathedral.

Members of the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), an opposition coalition of workers, students, peasants and the unemployed, had seized the cathedral, as well as the French, Costa Rican, and Venezuelan embassies. They were demanding the release

of five BPR leaders being held and tortured by Romero's police.

Prominent in the funeral procession was the Committee of Disappeared Persons, representing 126 people who have disappeared after being arrested. The day after the funeral protest, the government released two of the BPR leaders. In addition to the BPR, three separate guerrilla movements have become more active after recent demonstrations.

An Ecuadorian student who spoke with Salvadorans in Latin America wrote to us: The group most heavily involved in the recent upsurge, the BPR, has demanded lower prices for the fertilizers the peasants use, and more available credit. Last April, they mobilized against the high cost of living and depression of their real incomes. Many Salvadorans see the guerrilla forces as the only available channel for struggle, since "legal" struggle is closed by the deadly repression. The liberal faction of the Church has denounced the repression, and in many cases is helping to organize the peasants.

El Salvador is now under martial law. In nearby Nicaragua, Sandanista rebels briefly controlled Leon, Esteli, and Jinotega in the face of massive attacks by Gen. Somoza's heavily-armed National Guard, while in Panama, 13,000 workers, students and housewives marched in Colon on May 18 to protest a government raise in prices of beef, gasoline and bus fares. As the mass opposition grows throughout all Central America, the illusion is gone that U.S.-inspired dictatorships are invincible.

BLACK-RED VIEW James Baldwin—No Fire This Time

by John Alan

It is strange to begin to suspect, now, that Richard Wright was never, really, the social and polemical writer he took himself to be.

—James Baldwin, *Nobody Knows My Name*

James Baldwin has made another one of his periodic trips from France to the U.S., this May, as a sponsored Regent's Lecturer on the Berkeley Campus of the University of California. He has given a number of special lectures to predominantly Black audiences.

It soon became obvious that Baldwin's audiences expected him to bridge the gap between the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and today. Baldwin failed to make that connection either intellectually or concretely, leaving many young Blacks unsatisfied and confused about his role in the Civil Rights Movement.

Baldwin told us that the race situation in this country has not changed in any fundamental way over the last two decades. Racism was the issue then, and racism is still the issue now. There is no great disagreement with him about this—it is the prevailing fact in Black American life. But when it comes to the problem of understanding and eliminating racism, Baldwin sinks into a sea of ambiguity.

He says racism primarily is a "white state of mind" that came into existence because there was a profound rupture in white history—the non-English speaking whites gave up their various mother languages for English, and therefore they could not speak to their fathers or know their history. According to Baldwin, "white is a state of mind, it's a moral choice. White people are an invention. They came to this country and

found me". How, I wonder, would he explain the rabid racism and reaction now taking place in England, intact with the mother tongue?

What Baldwin is saying is that racism exists because white people don't know their own history, and such ignorance causes them to hate Blacks. This is the reduction of racism to metaphysics. The truth is that for Black people, racism is extremely concrete. Racism dictates their entire economic welfare and employment; health, housing and education; legal relations to the State, the courts, and the police; and finally, their very life expectancy. It is a daily confrontation of major and minor battles for survival, not with a white person per se, but with an organized social system, Capitalism. Within the system of capitalism, racism is defined by a set of actual social relations to which we cannot bring a set of abstract morals or abstract minds.

Baldwin warns us that we can't take to the streets as we did in the 1960s, because it would be "self-destructive": They have guns and will be waiting for us, we must do something else. He suggests, as a starter, we take our children out of schools and off the buses, because the very idea of integrated education, to him, is a conspiracy against the children.

If Baldwin really thinks that such an action, by millions of Black parents and their children, would avoid confrontation, he is very wrong. The very massiveness of such a hypothetical situation, propelled by its own internal dialectic, would move far beyond the issue of education toward the need to completely transform American Society.

In our own recent history we have seen a movement

to end bus segregation in Montgomery, Alabama, develop into the idea of Black Power.

Baldwin is profoundly pessimistic about a very pivotal question: Can there be unity between Black and white in a struggle against a common enemy? He refers to the bitter, nasty opposition by Boston's "poor whites" to school integration as an example of the impossibility of such a unity.

It has long been the American habit, particularly in periods of quiescence, to point to glaring incidents of poor Blacks and whites fighting each other. Yet the whole history of this country shows that, at every crucial moment in history, whenever American civilization moved forward, it was through white labor uniting with the Black masses as vanguard, as touchstone, and opening a new assault on the barbaric rulers of this land.

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