

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION**  
and **Marxism and Freedom**

(News and Letters Committees has received the following letter from Raya Dunayevskaya, who is away working on her new book-in-progress—Ed.)

Nov. 27, 1979

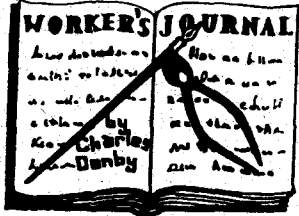
Dear Friends:

Were it not for the Iranian Revolution that was—and may still resume and deepen, as it is by no means over, despite the counter-revolutionary stage now being carried out by the Imam demagogue, Khomeini, whose insanities are being matched by Carter's saber-rattling—this would be the time for saying one thing and one thing only: "A plague on both your houses."

**I. WHERE TO NOW?**

Because, however, of the remembrance of the Iranian Revolution as it overthrew the Shah's barbarous regime backed by U.S. imperialism; because of the remembrance of Women's Liberation's refusal to wear the chador, challenging Khomeini's attempt to turn the clock backward and reduce women to a feudalistic state; and because of the continuing rebellion of the Kurds, as well as the Arab oil workers in Khoozestan against Khomeini, along with the other minorities' struggles for self-determination—it is necessary to take a second look at the new form of the occult which is coming out

(1) See my Political-Philosophic Letter, "Iran: Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in, Revolution," March 25, 1979, published by News & Letters.



**UAW fiddles while speed-up kills workers**

by Charles Denby, Editor

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

I was talking to two workers recently from Chrysler and the GM Fleetwood plant. Both told me how bad things are in the plant for workers and that Doug Fraser's appointment to the Chrysler Board of Directors won't mean a thing so far as they are concerned.

There hasn't been anyone to defend workers in the plant for years. The worker from Chrysler told me he had been driving a hi-lo in 1976 when the production for two men loading frames into a box car was 45 frames an hour. Today they are running 52 frames an hour, and a woman on that job alone must load them in 18 minutes and sometimes less. He went on to say that before the lay-off, practically every job in the plant had as many women as men. The women could perform the jobs as well as the men, but they also had to go through much sexual harassment.

If a foreman tries to go out with a woman and she tells him to go to hell, he finds some way to transfer her to some other job or some other foreman. If she reports it to the steward, he will say there is nothing he can do, and sometimes makes the same pass at her.

This worker told me of a talk he had with his father about the union in his day when grievances were settled by line stewards and very seldom had to go to the chief steward. Back then, wherever a wall separated a group of workers they had a steward. Today, where workers are separated by floors, you only have one steward and he's there to help the company more than the workers.

His father told him that back then workers had some say as to how many jobs they would produce in a day's work. He said that after all that is happening today to workers, working our hearts out, those damn congressmen in Washington say we are not working hard enough. I just wish there was some way to get some of them in the plant for just a week — I bet they wouldn't come out alive. Nothing makes me madder than to hear them say something like that, and see Fraser sit there and let them get away with it.

The worker from Fleetwood told me that he knows of three workers who have fallen dead in his plant from overwork and heart attacks, since they ratified the contract. When the worker asked the committeeman wasn't there something he could do, he said no, everything is done from Solidarity House. The Fleetwood worker said a foreman also died because the company was pushing him to get more production out of the workers. The

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of Khomeini's Iran and calling all others, and not only U.S. imperialism, "mussed fi ai-Ard" ("the corrupt of the earth"). It is imperative to practice dialectics, rather than to act on first reaction, as if tailing Khomeini's opposition to the U.S. is genuine opposition to American imperialism.

Of course the hatred of the Iranian people for that butcher, the Shah, and their opposition to U.S. imperialism, which had put him into power and kept him there, is not only real and justifiable for Iranians, but was real and justifiable for the many Americans who both exposed the truth of the Shah's tortures of the Iranian people and expressed their solidarity with Iranian revolutionaries. Of course the Carter Adminis-

tration was well aware of the opposition not only in Iran but in this country to granting any asylum to the Shah, and for a while—a very short while—Carter was forced to resist the pressures of Nixon, Kissinger and David Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank to bring the Shah to the U.S. But following the tune of that new Pied Piper, Khomeini, against "infidels" and "satanic domination" is anything but struggling either against U.S. imperialism or showing solidarity with the Iranian Revolution.

ALL ONE HAS to do to see the degeneration of the so-called Revolutionary Council in Iran is to see the new "left-covering" given by the current acting

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**NEWS**

**LETTERS**

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx, Capital Vol. III

VOL. 24—No. 10

27 Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

DECEMBER, 1979

**East Europe revolts spread in wake of Czech trials, Polish mine disasters**

by Kevin A. Barry

Since Oct. 23, when four leading Czechoslovak opposition activists were sentenced to jail terms of from three to five years, simply for being members of the "Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Persecuted Persons" (VONS), a new stage has opened in the East European movement for genuine socialism and against Russian state-capitalism and its puppets.

With the trials, 11 years after tank-led troops from Russia and the rest of the Warsaw Pact invaded to crush the Czechoslovak "Prague Spring", the Husak regime hoped to silence its critics. Instead, both within Czechoslovakia and throughout East Europe protests broke out.

One of those sentenced was Petr Uhl, a self-described "revolutionary Marxist" who told the so-called "court" in ringing tones: "I have nothing to do with this court. I do not recognize it, the accusations made against me made no sense . . . all the sentences were decided in advance."



Before their prison sentencing, Czech dissidents attend Charter 77 meeting. Foreground, left, is Vaclav Havel, while background, right, is Anna Sabatova and her husband, Petr Uhl.

Others sentenced included the playwright Vaclav Havel (four-and-a-half years); the former Charter 77 spokesman Vaclav Benda (four years); and the former journalists Otta Bednarova and Jiri Dienstbier, each three years. Anna Sabatova, wife of Petr Uhl, attempted to take notes the first day of the "trial" and was arrested, beaten and held for two days in prison.

While the semi-secret trial took place in Prague, up to 200 mostly young people silently demonstrated at great risk outside, discreetly encouraged by passers-by. At one point 40 protesters went right up to the door of the trial. At night the police took their revenge, arresting and beating seven young people, all under 18. After the verdict, leaflets were dropped into the streets from a highrise apartment which read: "We protest against the unjust sentence. We will carry on—VONS". Die Tageszeitung, Berlin, 10-30-79)

**A NEW STAGE: AN INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT**

Even more remarkable was the organized support displayed under extremely repressive conditions in other East European countries. Polish youth demonstrated—29 were arrested—while expressing their outrage outside the Czechoslovak Cultural Center in Warsaw. In Russia, dissident leader Andrei Sakharov immediately wrote to Charter 77 expressing his solidarity with the Czechoslovak people "without regard to national borders."

In Hungary, over 200 people, mostly intellectuals, signed one of several protest petitions. One, sent by young radical philosophers Gyorgy Bence and Janos Kis, stated: ". . . as citizens of a country which participated in the occupation of Czechoslovakia, we feel especially

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**COMING NEXT ISSUE—**

Draft of Chapter One of Raya Dunayevskaya's work-in-progress, **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.**

For more information, see page 4

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# Men join women workers' fight to end sexual harassment

Detroit, Mich. — A militant strike by 1,400 male workers at Simpson Plywood Co. in Washington state, in support of a woman who charged the company with sexual harassment, represents a new development in the struggle of women's liberationists and women workers in every industry—now being joined by men workers—to demand an end to sexual harassment and to be treated like human beings.

A woman (whose name has not been given) filed a complaint when she was not hired after refusing the sexual advances of a company interviewer. The company then hired her, but fired her when she refused to drop the complaint. Male union members of International Woodworkers Local 3-38 walked out Oct. 8, saying that the company had violated the contract and was trying to intimidate other women workers. The strike has spread to California, with over 3,000 now on strike.

The fact that women workers do not separate sexual harassment from sex discrimination was shown when 3,200 workers held a one-week walkout at a Lynn,

Mass. GE plant, Oct. 29-Nov. 4, in support of women workers' charges that the company consistently sub-rated jobs performed by women. And in Chicago, 100 women steelworkers and supporters from USWA Local 65 picketed U.S. Steel's South Works on Nov. 14, to protest sexual harassment, sex discrimination and lack of sanitary locker and washroom facilities for women and men workers.

These actions are quite a contrast to the solutions proposed at the many conferences on sexual harassment we have attended recently, which stress the accepted procedures of union grievances and court suits, and condescendingly advise women on how to "document" their cases.

At one such conference, held in Detroit, Oct. 27, Lyn Farley, author of *Sexual Shakedown*, even suggested treating men in the same vulgar ways they have treated us, but doing so in front of a group for support. Instead of drawing on the rich history of working women's protest, she deliberately falsified it by stating that the movement against child labor was devised by working men to get women back in the home to care for the children once they were out of the factories!

The salvation of the conference was a Black woman worker from a Ford factory, who told how she had fought sexual harassment with the support of the older male workers in her department. Unlike the conference organizers, she raised it as a question of human relations, which occur outside as well as inside the workplace. She told how she listened every day to male co-workers laughing and bragging about women they had gone out with. When one of them asked her why she always refused to date him, she said, "Because I have no reason to believe that you'll treat me any different than the women I've heard you talking about."

The kind of solidarity she raised—especially as seen in recent strikes—has a potential no conference has yet touched on for really ending exploitative relationships and beginning to establish new ones.

—Suzanne Casey, *Women's Liberation-N&L*



## women-worldwide

During National Abortion Rights Action Week, Oct. 21-29, thousands of women in U.S. cities demonstrated to protect and expand abortion rights won in 1973. In New York, 1,000 women attended a rally at UN Plaza, and in Chicago and Detroit, women marchers protested increasing attacks by members of right-wing organizations which have consistently opposed anti-war, labor, civil rights, and women's movement activities.

In London, an estimated 100,000 marched on Oct. 28 to oppose the Corrie Bill which would make abortion almost totally unavailable to women. The march was so large that the first marchers reached Trafalgar Square before most had left the start in Hyde Park. Leaders of the Trade Union Congress intended to lead the march, but several hundred feminists who thought the march should be led by women and not by male bureaucrats charged to the front with their banners, followed by rank-and-file trade unionists, and the chagrined officials had to march behind them.

(Thanks to Dick Abernethy)

On Oct. 20 in New York's Times Square, 5,000 women held a March Against Pornography to protest the mentality which accepts using women as objects of torture, violence and sexual abuse in the name of "erotica." The marchers jeered at many sexploitation businesses and billboards by "high fashion" designers using violence against women to sell their products.

Feminists in Mexico have begun to work out new perspectives that focus on the problems of poor and working class women. In November they presented a bill to legalize abortion to the Mexican Congress, and they have also set up a clinic for women who have been raped. Marta Lamas, a founder of the Women's Liberation Movement in Mexico City, summed up their new outlook: "Our view is that the enemy is not men, but the system."



## WRITE ON!

Shadd: *The Life and Times of Mary Shadd Cary*, by Jim Bearden and Linda Jean Butler (NC Press Ltd., Toronto, Canada, 1977).

Finally we can read a full-length biography of the great Abolitionist Mary Shadd Cary, nearly 90 years after her death. Where the three pages Gerda Lerner allows for Mary Shadd Cary's life in *Black Women in White America* remind you of her role as the first Black woman newspaper editor, it is only Frederick Douglass speaking about her that is quoted. Here she is revealed as a theoretician active in every debate within the Abolitionist movement, fighting against preachers like Henry Bibb and Josiah Henson on the Refugee Home Society, which she called a "begging society", and demanding that Black children be educated in integrated schools.

Although the authors write in an annoying simplistic style, there are so many quotes from Shadd herself, that you really do get a feel of her life and thought. From her association with John Brown and Frederick Douglass to her women's suffrage activities, Mary Shadd Cary's life gives you a look into all our struggles—then and now.

A women's collective in India has asked us to introduce their journal, *Manushi*, to our readers. *Manushi* carries stories of women's struggles in India and Pakistan against the many practices such as dowry and current marriage laws and "ads" for brides which treat women as male property. Past issues have also had articles against the caste system, genital mutilation of women and on peasant women's history. *Manushi* is available in Hindi and in English from the *Manushi* Collective, A-5 Nizanuddi East, New Delhi 110013 India.

## WOMAN AS REASON Author quantifies E. Europe women

Alena Heitlinger, an East European socialist feminist and sociology professor in the West, raised a number of questions central to women's liberation in her essay, "The Historical Development of European Socialist Feminism" (*Catalyst*, Vol. 10-11, Summer 1977). This article especially seemed to promise a significant contribution to women's liberation (it was to be a chapter in a forthcoming book) because the author opposed the idea that women were liberated in the "socialist" countries she concentrated on: Russia and Czechoslovakia.

I'm sorry, then, to report my disappointment with Ms. Heitlinger's recently published book, *Women and State-Socialism: Sex Inequality in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press/Macmillan Press, 1979), especially so with her original essay which is now Ch. 5, "The Historical Development of Socialist Women's Movements."

As I read that chapter, I was particularly amazed to find that now Ms. Heitlinger has made a special point of criticizing Anne Bobroff, whose study of "The Bolsheviks and Working Women, 1905-1920", showed that it was the militant, spontaneous, independent activity of Russian working women—beginning in the period of 1910 when they were going out on strike constantly over every issue, from wages and winning paid maternity

\**Soviet Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 4, Oct. 1974, pp. 540-567.

leave, to sexual abuse from foremen, to convincing male-chauvinistic co-workers to join their strikes—which compelled the Bolsheviks to start paying serious attention to them as a new force of the Revolution.

To argue, as Ms. Heitlinger does, that the Bolsheviks were always officially, at least "tactically", concerned with the women's movement over and above their fights against the bourgeois feminists, is to reduce the impact of the women workers to only a quantitative one. As a matter of fact, the only point in Bobroff's thesis Heitlinger agrees with is that the increasing number of women becoming workers was one "condition" among several necessary for the Party to begin facing women's issues.

The bulk of Ms. Heitlinger's book is spent on what she considers the issues of concern to women today in Russia and Czechoslovakia, where she has done a lot of factual research for her chapters on "Housework," "Employment, Earnings and Positions of Authority," "Pro-Natalist Population Policies," and so forth.

As I read through the book, I got the sense that Ms. Heitlinger sees women, especially working women, as being backward. In discussing why women's pay is unequal to men's today, she says the first reason is that "women themselves have been inclined to accept lower wages," considering themselves primarily homemakers; and secondly, women's labor productivity has always been lower than men's. I began to wonder what kind of "equality" are we talking about.

The book ends inconclusively: women's liberation "is related to the class struggle, but it is at the same time independent of it." There is confusion in great part because the author never seriously looks at even one single person as theoretician. In fact, while she refers often to Marxist theories, Marxist organizations, and Marxist states, she doesn't discuss Marx's ideas at all. And the select bibliography is so select that not one work by Marx is listed!

If history and revolutions are going to be reduced this way, and if we as women revolutionaries are also going to be so diminished that we are not supposed to pay attention to the imperative need for a theory of liberation, but instead solely concern ourselves with "everyday" kinds of problems within an exploitative, sexist world, then I would have to conclude that women's liberation hasn't advanced at all in the magnificent decade of the '70s, when it became an Idea—whose time has come.

That may be the essence of Alena Heitlinger's assessment, but since I disagree with her view totally, I am sorry to say that her book makes no contribution to women's liberation as we enter the '80s.

—Mary Helmes

**ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 1980s . . .**

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## EDITORIAL **Black workers fight KKK**

In auto factories throughout the country, and especially in the Detroit area, the threat of a resurgent Ku Klux Klan and other racist groups has become a focus of discussion—and of action. The victory by Ford Rouge workers, Black and white, in driving out of the plant a foreman and a general foreman who paraded through the Dearborn Assembly Plant's trim department Sept. 27 wearing KKK hoods has now been followed up by demands for their firings from workers at the Ford plants in Wixom and Wayne, Mich., to which they were quietly transferred.

Where in the Wallace presidential campaign of 1968, that racist's literature and campaign buttons were openly displayed in many auto shops (and his bumper stickers were seen in the Solidarity House parking lot), today's racists have been forced to be a great deal more cautious in the plants.

There is no doubt that the workers' actions have been spurred by the brutal murders of five anti-Klan demonstrators and the wounding of nine others Nov. 3 in Greensboro, N.C. by Klansmen and Nazis, and by subsequent Klan parades in cities from Texas to New Jersey. In the aftermath of the Greensboro killings, thousands of Black North Carolinians marched and rallied, despite the fact that they were no supporters of the Maoist group the Klan had attacked.

Black youth demonstrating against the Klan insisted that it was linked to the police and FBI, citing Greensboro Police Chief William Swing's statement after the murders that the Klan "had every right to be there", and the fact that suddenly no police were any-

where around when the shooting began, though they had been in the area for hours before. Such "lapses" are all-too-well known from the history of the civil rights movement. And one does not have to go back to Gary Thomas Rowe's treacherous FBI career to see the "police with Klan minds" in the wave of shootings of Black youth this year.

It was precisely against such police/Klan repression that 2,000 Blacks marched 74 miles from Chester, S.C. to the State Capitol last month, appealing during the march for anti-nuke protesters who have campaigned against the Barnwell, S.C. nuclear waste facility to join them.

Over and over again in the history of this country, it has been clear that the soul of capitalism in time of crisis is racist. Surely the events of this fall testify to that continuing barbaric truth, and the layoffs in the plants have fallen most heavily on Black America. What the new demonstrations, in and out of the plants, have also underlined is the continuity of the historic role of the Black masses, who, when white labor has been inspired to join them, have been responsible for every forward movement in American history. Whether they were slaves escaping to freedom, or unorganized workers trying to break down the skilled labor monopoly, or in recognizing that the expansion of American capitalism in Latin America would mean even more racism at home, the other, revolutionary, truth about this country remains Black masses as vanguard of the American revolution.

## American Bridge steelworkers reject sellout

Ambridge, Pa.—Nine hundred steelworkers employed in the American Bridge Company plant voted Nov. 16 on a proposal from the United States Steel Corp., the owner of the plant.

The proposal is part of a major drive by U.S. Steel to cut labor costs. It demands that workers remove themselves from the basic steel contract—to be negotiated next year—and accept a three-year wage freeze, or the corporation will close the plant.

The ultimatum—supported by Lloyd McBride, the president of the United Steelworkers—was rejected by more than a 2-to-1 margin. Now the workers await the final decision on the closing that is expected when the board of directors meet.

This attack by a major corporation on the workers of the largest steel fabricating plant in the world is part of a developing pattern in which the capitalist is attempting to force the worker to produce more for less pay—and if we do not submit, they threaten to shut down the industry. The tactic is not new, but the message being given to labor is especially urgent. As

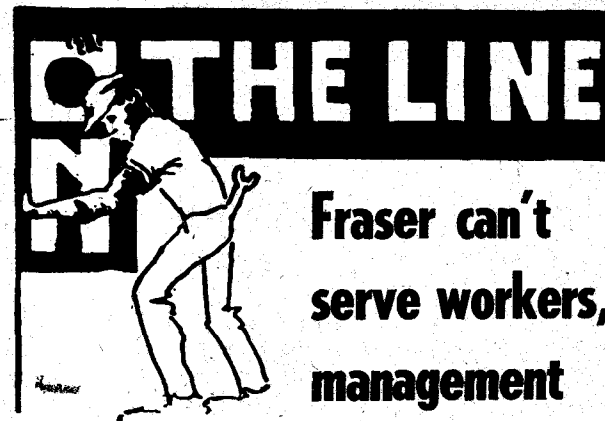
is the case at Chrysler, the unions are backing the companies under the rationale that these drastic measures are warranted to save jobs. However, it is clear that when concessions are made it is the workers' standard of living that is sacrificed for company profits.

The company where I worked for three years shut down in October. The announcement was stunning because nothing was said until workers began arriving early Monday morning for work. We were simply told there wouldn't be any more work and the company was out of business.

At first we thought it was a lock-out because we were in the middle of negotiating a new wage agreement. But the truth soon became evident. The owner was withdrawing his capital because too many workers were suing for compensation for injuries and the company's insurance rate was going up.

The only real alternative outside of the current corrupt and barbaric practices is for direct control of the means of production by the workers themselves.

—Steelworker



**Fraser can't serve workers, management**

by John Allison

Chrysler Corporation and the UAW have become bedfellows in a scheme to save Chrysler from the capitalist system's chopping block. UAW President Douglas Fraser will be placed on Chrysler's Board of Directors, and as every worker knows, the record of what comes out of management's board of directors for the workers is a great big zero.

Every day we hear and see congressmen demanding more and more sacrifices from Chrysler workers. These congressmen rant and rave about Iran holding U.S. citizens hostage and trying to blackmail the American government. But they are doing exactly the same thing to American workers and their families, by holding bankrupt Chrysler Corporation hostage to blackmail Chrysler workers to give up even more than Fraser negotiated away in the UAW-Chrysler contract.

Instead of showing how Chrysler, the eighth largest corporation in the U.S., is an example of the capitalist system's failure that demands the uprooting of the system, Fraser demands to be put on the Board of Chrysler to save the corporation.

We know what will change. Take GM Corporation. Because of Black pressure and the Civil Rights movement, they put the Black preacher, Rev. Sullivan, on their board. He was supposed to change GM policies on holdings in South Africa. This Black minister didn't transform GM, GM transformed him. Be it unions, churches, government, you name it, corporate management always makes the above-mentioned groups support the cause of the capitalist class on the pretext that the insane management people can be changed. It never happens.

UAW local unions already have common stock in Chrysler, which is the lowest stock you can buy. Congress wants Chrysler to offer workers more common stock, so that if Chrysler does go broke, Chrysler's industrial and preferred stock will gobble up all the company assets, leaving the workers with nothing.

This is the way Congress wants to protect the Chrysler workers.

Fraser says he wants to protect the Chrysler workers by being on the Chrysler Board of Directors. But workers know you can't be two-faced, that you can't serve management in the morning and the workers in the afternoon. Workers tell it like it is: that a servant of management is an enemy of the workers. And that's the truth.

## Pizza workers win victory

Long Island City, N.Y.—On Oct. 26, the 170 Greek and Latino workers of Ellio's Pizza House factory won a great victory after months of hard work. Their shop steward and co-worker returned to work with full back-pay after having been fired on July 27 on totally false charges.

In reality she had been fired by both the company and the union, Bakery and Confectionary Workers' Local 3, for being the only steward to constantly fight for the workers on all issues from speed-up to safety, and to not sell out to the company.

On the day she was fired, she had an emergency in her home and was desperate to phone her children. For 40 minutes, she begged the foreman to send a relief to her machine, but they deliberately refused her. Finally she told a foreman, "You work my machine," and she went to make the call. For this she was fired.

She was taken back solely because of the untiring effort of her fellow workers. Men and women, Greek and Latino, got together, even where many did not speak the same language. They wrote up a petition and organized a campaign of letters and hundreds of phone calls to the union. When this forced the union to bring the case to arbitration, the workers collected money to get a lawyer, as they did not trust the union lawyer.

All of this organization was carried out despite harassment by the company and spying by pro-management workers. No leaders were ever identified. All letters and statements were signed "The Workers."

Faced with this unity and perseverance, the company dropped the charges and the steward returned to work amid dancing and singing of her fellow workers.

—Worker, Ellio's Pizza House

## FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

### GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — The plant closed for one week following the Thanksgiving holiday and it doesn't look like it will open at all during the coming new year. The chairman of the Shop Committee says that the J-car contract coming for 1982 will bring back two shifts of production, but rumor has it that all three GM plants in California (South Gate, Van Nuys, and Fremont) will be closed indefinitely.

Even if South Gate opens up by late 1981, the unemployment and SUB benefits of all those second shift workers laid off this past July will have long since run out. For many, SUB has already run out.

The UAW's hand in all of this cannot be denied. While internationally, "strike-breaker" Fraser will sit on Chrysler's Board of Directors, many Local 216 officers have already been "rewarded" for their role in ramrodding the contract ratification.

One former zone committeeman, not even holding a position in the union at the time, was given a special spot by the International reps to sell the contract to the rank-and-file. Less than a month later he is sitting in the position of chairman of the Shop Committee at the new Oklahoma plant.

And there is little doubt that this highly automated midwest plant can and will be used to productively absorb the GM plants on the West Coast, adding another 10,000 auto workers to the ranks of the unemployed army.

—South Gate worker

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — Grievances and paper penalties are being given to workers here at a drop of a hat. There is no respect for employees or their seniority. The problem of union representation has gotten out of hand — to the point where management disregards the union reps.

The Shop Committee's responsibilities toward the workers have become a laughing matter for management. Management went so far as to say "We don't have to settle anything with you. The International will handle it." The Exec Board, Shop Committee, committee members, and zone committeemen went to Solidarity House for assistance. But the meeting turned out to be a discussion on last year's debate concerning "what is a fair day's work?"

Another meeting took place between Fleetwood's Local 15 and Bluestone, who said, "I've seen too much of you in the last couple of years. If you can't get with management and settle these grievances — my rep will." The International won't give us a strike letter because they feel we don't have enough reasons.

With about 3,700 people left after the lay-offs, our union representation isn't worth a bad cold. Now we have five committee members and one zone committeeman for both shifts. We certainly didn't dream of paying \$18 or more a month dues for this!

—Fleetwood worker

# Readers' Views

## LEADERS, RANKS: IN U.S. LABOR

The retirement of George Meany is the end of some kind of an era — a miserable one for labor. Under Meany, the organized labor movement fell to less than 25 percent of the U.S. workers. Non-union preserves grew, and not only in the South. Now his successor is his own handpicked "follow-in-my-footsteps" Kirkland. Will he continue the path to producing more and more with fewer and fewer workers on the production line? Twenty-four years of Meany have nearly killed organized labor. Far less than 24 years of Kirkland would be the end.

Auto production worker  
Detroit

At the "No Nukes is not Enough" conference in the Bay Area, the ideas on workers' self-activity were unfortunately pretty limited. They cited the two workers in Virginia who sabotaged a reactor core there. One woman made a critique of sabotage, however, pointing out that "you can't blow up a social relationship."

Anti-nuke activist  
Berkeley, Calif.

## ... AND IN NICARAGUA

Nicaragua's revolution against Somo-cismo stirred up fresh activity in the Latin American revolutions everywhere, especially now in El Salvador and Bolivia. Optimism of future struggle surely attracted the 300 people from across the U.S. and from several Latin American countries to the Second National Conference on Nicaragua in Detroit on Nov. 17. However, I found the unfinished state of theory of revolution as evident as that of the unfinished revolutions, as Moises Hassan, a member of the Nicaraguan government of reconstruction, answered questions.

He chided the "ultra-left" (whoever they are) for "turning the heads of underdeveloped sectors of the population" by making "impossible demands of the new government." The ultraleftists already seem to be the culprits for the "drop in production" should peasants conduct a "disorderly takeover" of houses and land.

A Salvadorian woman criticized the FSLN from the floor for recognizing the new junta in her country, calling that "creature" a "national bourgeoisie." Hassan replied that the current Salvadorian junta represents the "possibility of change." Is that the goal of the masses of Salvadorians still being slaughtered by army bullets? And how far will "ultraleft" stretch in explaining Nicaraguan mass discontent?

Jim Mills  
Detroit

## BLACK REVOLT AND THE LEFT

I have been very upset since the murders in Greensboro, N.C. When the KKK is so blatant and dastardly it is a sure sign of how far racism has gone. It truly comes down from the highest levels of this society, and the damn press helps the KKK to "respectability." They do everything to blame it all on the Communists. At the same time, I get so angry at the so-called radicals who thought they could go South and take on the KKK without the Black masses. I keep thinking of what Charles Denby wrote in *Indignant Heart* against Stokeley Carmichael's call for Black armed insurrection in Alabama, 1965. That kind of adventuring is not what we need now.

Working woman  
New York

When Charles Denby spoke at San Francisco State University, some Trotskyists demanded to know why he spoke so highly of the Montgomery bus boycott and the civil rights movement as a whole, since it was led by "liberal pacifists" and didn't achieve anything. Denby replied that if they thought that nothing was changed, they should go down to Alabama, get on a bus and tell the first Black person they saw riding up front to move to the back. "You would get your throat cut," he said. That really shut them up better than I have ever seen them shut up before.

Marxist-Humanist  
San Francisco

## ITALIAN TURMOIL

The turmoil in Italy is ceaseless, and by now the entire extra-parliamentary Left is on the defensive. The Communist Party is losing ground, since the workers continue to strike, and thus the powers-that-be realize that the CP has lost its control on the working class. At the same time, the government seems almost incapable of governing. One wonders what will happen next. Perhaps some sort of fascist takeover? If so, it will be a new type. I certainly do not want to make any predictions.

Correspondent  
Italy

Editor's Note: For those who read Italian, a new work just published does illuminate the sources of the present turmoil. Entitled *Le Multinazionali e La Crisi*, Margaret Ellingham's study analyzes economic and political relations in this era of the "multi-nationals." It can be ordered from *Coordinamento della Calusa Editrice, Corso di Porta Ticinese, 48, 20123 Milano, Italy.*

## ON 'TROTSKY: A CRITIQUE'

The critique of Trotsky by Raya Dunayevskaya in the Nov. N&L was devastating. While there still remains Trotsky the "Man of October" and his role in making the two Russian revolutions, there seems to be little left for us today in Trotsky's legacy as a revolutionary theoretician. Perhaps what struck me most strongly was that in the 12 years from the first Russian Revolution in 1905 — where he really did catch something by posing the possibility that Czarist Russia could reach for socialism "in an unbroken chain" — to the great Revolution of 1917, Trotsky never did try to re-organize his own thinking and

## NEXT ISSUE: ROSA LUXEMBURG AND 1905 REVOLUTION

Our next issue will be a very special one, as we are proud to announce, on this 75th anniversary of the 1905 Russian Revolution, that we will print in its entirety the draft of Chapter One of Raya Dunayevskaya's work-in-progress, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. The new chapter is entitled "Before and After the 1905 Revolution: Two Turning Points in Rosa Luxemburg's Life—1898-99 and 1905-07". Because we consider the publication of this chapter in our first issue of the 1980s not as past history, but as theoretic preparation for revolution and counter-revolution present and future, we invite all our readers to send in names and addresses of friends who should receive the chapter as a special mailing. Below we print excerpts from some of the letters we continue to receive on the draft chapter printed in the Jan-Feb. 1979 issue, "Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation: Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted".

I had thought for a long time after first reading the chapter on Marx and Engels on women's liberation that the title: "Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation" meant the relationship to the women's liberation movement, whether the original 19th century movement or our movement today. But after studying the chapter more, and thinking about women in the Iranian and Portuguese revolutions, I see that it might be re-stated "the relation of philosophy and revolution to the liberation of women." When you see it in that light, all narrow conceptions and limitations are thrown aside, and the focus is on the creation of a new world where women — and men — will be free to develop all their talents.

Suzanne Casey  
Detroit

I have been particularly interested in Dunayevskaya's work on "Origin of the Family," contrasting Marx and Engels. In a non-specific way I have always felt Engels' work too much a "popularization" than anything "deep." But like the majority of people, I never questioned that it represented Marx's view, even if superficially presented. That Dunayevskaya has drawn our attention to Marx's own notes—not only on the matter of primitive communism but on the social and sexual divisions, and the family as but one factor in the developmental class process—is important not only as a matter of historical interest but for its implications for today's women fighting for freedom, but not therefore limiting their

work out the philosophic basis of what he had caught. Indeed, it appears now that those 12 years standing somewhere between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks were the practice of organization without philosophy. Looking at the reports on Iran and on the Black leadership in the same issue, can we really say that we have surmounted this problem today?

Not-so-old politico  
New York

Many thanks for the literature. In particular *Philosophy and Revolution* by Ms. Dunayevskaya impresses me, though I have not as yet read it all. The unity of theory and practice is to me a great "discovery" in these days of vanguards divorced from the oppressed peoples — the one needing to learn, the other knowing only how to give orders and to be blindly obeyed. Never before have I seen such a convincing critique of Trotsky and the reasons for "Trotskyist" failures.

New reader  
Britain

horizons to some instead of all the levels of the total society of oppression.

Bob Potter  
Britain

I don't know what influence Draper's work has had on the Women's Liberation Movement. Dunayevskaya's article seems to imply that it has had a pernicious influence, but I cannot help feeling that she is probably doing for Draper what Marx did for Proudhon. But for Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy* who could have known that Proudhon wrote a book called *Philosophy of Poverty*? There is beautiful material in the chapter, but one must first weed out Draper. I would prefer to see him confined to a footnote.

Correspondent  
West Africa

It was a great pleasure to hear that Dunayevskaya will be writing on Rosa Luxemburg. Having learned so much from her essay contrasting Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks to Engels' Origin of the Family*, I am anxious to see how Luxemburg and all her contemporaries — Lenin and Trotsky included — measure up to Marx's philosophy of revolution. If Engels had so much trouble after Marx died, what did those a generation later face? One hundred years after Marx's death, we who call ourselves socialist-feminists have a difficult road ahead to work out a new direction. Hopefully, this new work will be able to help us.

Socialist-feminist  
California

## N.Y. POLICE REALITIES

The anti-nuclear action to "close down Wall Street," Oct. 29, was reported in the daily press as characterized by a nice rapport between the activists and the police. But a woman who was there and arrested and held for four days told me a completely different story. She and others were subjected to threats and "psychological" tactics to get them to follow the absurd police procedure in order to be released. When they refused, the women were threatened with strip searches and warnings of weeks of detention at Rikers Island before their cases would be heard in court. One woman, held in an overcrowded pen, was refused medicine until she had a seizure.

Furious  
New York

DID YOU REMEMBER  
NEWS & LETTERS  
IN YOUR HOLIDAY  
GIVING?

## News & Letters

Vol. 24, No. 10 December, 1979

*News & Letters* (ISSN 0028-8969) is published ten times a year, monthly except for January-February and August-September, by *News & Letters*, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48211. Telephone: 873-8969. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of five or more—6c each.

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## TWO WORLDS

## Grave contradictions in the Iranian revolution

(Continued from Page 1)

foreign secretary, Bani-Sadr, who is trying to institute an Iranian version of Pol Potism. Listen to the interview Bani-Sadr granted to Eric Rouleau in *Le Monde* (11/10/79): "Teheran is a monstrous parasitic city, which absorbs by itself one-half of the national consumption . . . we will empty it of some of its people by creating in the countryside industrial and agricultural production units."

Unfortunately, even the more recognizable Left-Trotskyism—far from practicing any revolutionary dialectics, is busy tailoring Khomeini's Iran.<sup>2</sup> The *Intercontinental Press (IP)* of 11-19-79 and 11-26-79 keeps talking of a "New Upsurge in the Iranian Revolution." It even sees anti-U.S. imperialism in Khomeini's phrase "satanic domination" in the arrogant message Khomeini sent to the equally arrogant Pope, telling the latter that the way the "Christian world (can) redeem itself" is by following Islamic Iran's fight against "infidels." It is impossible not to ask whether there isn't a coincidence between this and the one democratic gesture by Khomeini which allowed some of the banned papers to reappear, including *Kadar (Worker)*, the paper of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS). In any case, the very first issue, 11-17-79, of *Kadar* to reappear cited Khomeini's statement to the Pope as proof of "how anti-imperialist" Khomeini was.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, continued *IP*, the holding of American hostages by the Iranian students (who, not so incidentally, call themselves "Followers of the Imam") "re-emphasizes the people's historic demand for political and economic independence from world imperialism."

In what proletarian revolution, exactly, was the taking of hostages—and not the rulers, but some fairly low Embassy personnel—held to be a revolutionary tactic? Since when has war and revolution been made synonymous? Isn't it about time that Marxist-revolutionaries labeled Khomeini's endless repetition of "we are men of war" "looking forward to martyrdom" for what it is, by citing Marx who wrote that Napoleon, the ultimate counter-revolutionary, "substituted permanent war for permanent revolution"?

IN IRAN TODAY we have a demagogue, openly lying that "U.S. imperialism and its corrupt colony, Israel" were involved in the occupation of the Grand Mosque in Mecca, where no infidel—and all except Muslims are infidels—is even permitted to enter. He kept repeating this brazen lie even after his fellow Muslims, the Saudi Arabian authorities, not only denied any U.S. and/or Israeli involvement, but showed that the sacrilegious act was perpetrated by a fanatical sect of the Muslims whose leader claimed, himself, to be the Messiah. Even then Khomeini proceeded to stress the Big Lie's impact by expressing "great joy" at the fact that the U.S. Embassy in Pakistan had been put to the torch and two Americans killed.

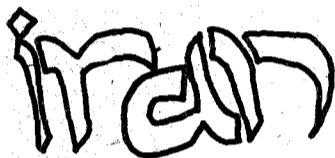
But the Trotskyists continue with their fairly tale Leftism, since they do support the Kurds' struggle for

self-determination. However, what they play up is that some Kurds supposedly supported Khomeini, and what they cover up is that none less than the two most important Ayatollahs after Khomeini — Montazeri and Behesti—called the Kurd leaders "agents of Savak, Zionists and corrupt sources." Since it was just at the period when Khomeini was trying to claim that the whole of Iran was for him, he took to the air and said that this statement by the Ayatollahs was a "personal view." But these "persons" are not just any persons. They hold the positions of President and Vice President of the Assembly of the Experts that has just completed the Draft Constitution to be shoved down the throats of the Iranian people on Dec. 2 and 3. Indeed, many believe they undoubtedly were the two who instigated the occupation of the Embassy by the students.<sup>4</sup>

## II. KHOMEINI'S BLASPHEMIES

What the media has not shown is that during the demonstrations in front of the U.S. Embassy, there was also a storming of the Ministry of Labor<sup>5</sup>, in which the mass of unemployed—and there are no less than two million unemployed in Iran now—were demanding jobs. Nor are they reporting the continuing struggles of the Kurds, much less the fact that some Marxists have gone underground to continue a truly revolutionary struggle against Khomeini's usurpation of the fruits of their revolutionary overthrow of the Shah.

Another of the many events unreported in the mass media at the time it happened (and still kept



from the regional TV) are the bloody riots Khomeini instigated against the present rulers of the island of Bahrain in August, demanding the establishment of a "pure" Islamic government, the abolition of all "Western ways," especially TV, and the re-establishment of the separation of men and women in all public places. The riots were put down by the current rulers, but so worried are they about Khomeini's influence, his ability to foment rebellions against other Muslims who do not wish to unite "as one" against "the West"—and the East — and whom Khomeini then accuses of "crimes against God," that they have hushed up the August riots.

This is only part of Khomeini's own type of imperialism. Besides the claim to Bahrain, he has retained—despite a challenge by Iraq—the Shah's 1971 occupation of the three islands of Abu Musa and Greater and Lesser Tunb. Those islands are situated near the Straits of Hormuz, through which passes nearly half of the West's oil imports.

FURTHERMORE, Khomeini has lashed out against any Iranian who dares to say that he is for Iran first and for Islam second. He calls that "blasphemy." At the same time, when the PLO suggested that the Persian Gulf be renamed as either the Islamic or the Arabian Gulf, Khomeini rejected the suggestion at once. His insistence that Islam—his interpretation of Islam—must always come first, does not in any way mitigate his disdain for Arabs. Not only was he adamant that the Persian Gulf retain its name, but his opposition to the Arab oil workers and any claim for self-determination, is total. Arafat was quickly brought down to size when he tried to intercede for the American hostages. That doesn't mean that either Arafat or all the Arab state rulers meeting in Tunisia had anything to say for Khomeini—with the exception of Libya, and even their pro-Khomeini stance did not take priorities over selling Oil to the West.

And in Iran, itself, the so-called Revolutionary Council is itself faction-ridden with pro-Libyan, pro-Syrian, pan-Islamic factions; and though they each bow to Khomeini now, it doesn't mean that would hold if other Muslim countries act out their dissent. At the same time, Hussein of Iraq has no intention whatever of bowing to Khomeini. Indeed, he has already once threatened an invasion and, is at the moment, arming some Kurds to start a revolt within Iran.

## III. THE MAILED FIST OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

And what, exactly, is being prepared for the Iranian people once this month of mourning, the Muharram, is over? Well, they are to engage in a referendum to approve the Draft Constitution which the Ayatollahs Montazeri and Behesti have drawn up. Anyone who has any illusions that this Constitution bears any resemblance whatsoever to the one that was inspired by the First Russian Revolution of 1905-1907, when the

first Shah was overthrown, or even as the Mullahs amended that Constitution when they brought the Shah back, should take a look at the new institution of the Office of Religious Guardian which has the right to veto over everything and anything passed by the state rulers and is also the supreme commander over the armed forces.

The point is that the Constitution does nothing but try to legitimize Khomeini's usurpation of the victory of the workers who achieved the actual overthrow of the Shah. It cannot solve the crisis in Iran, anymore than staged demonstrations before the U.S. Embassy and the sacrificial use of hostages can stay the hand of U.S. imperialism.

THE GREATEST danger now lies in the momentum gained by Khomeini's demagoguery, which might trigger *Apocalypse Now!* That is the brink at which the world now stands. Khomeini and Carter may not flinch as they prepare for such a confrontation. But the world must do everything to stay the hands of both rulers.

In the imperative struggle against the savage racism in this country against Iranian students, we must never forget that the underlying racism that has always been shown against the Blacks has actually been directed also against revolutionaries and minorities, though in depth it has been differently expressed racially. What I am saying is that not only must we remember the horror of U.S. concentration camps against Japanese-Americans during World War II, at the very time when no such atrocities were committed against Nazis in this country. The case against each white fascist was treated as an individual case. We must remember that the fact that American revolutionaries have long fought this, have long fought U.S. capitalism-imperialism and its wars, does not mean that we accept, as a revolutionary gesture, the opposition to American capitalism by another capitalist or religious fanatic, any more than we accepted Nazism or Japanese military opposition to American capitalism as anything but an inter-imperialist fight.

Of course the mailed fist of Carter must be stopped, and his is also the hand that can release a nuclear holocaust, which would put an end to civilization as we have known it. Revolutionary opposition against American imperialism can be carried through only if we raise a banner of what we are for. And what we are for is not turning the clock back to some form of occultism.

Anyone who tries to gild a neo-fascist occultism, forgetting that the "masses" that Hitler mobilized were mobilized for counter-revolutionary purposes; anyone who tries to say that Khomeini's constant references to the "disinherited masses" is akin to Mao's "Cultural Revolution," should be made to remember that — though Mao was once a revolutionary, and though Mao did labor under the illusion that making Russia "Enemy No. One" (like Khomeini's making the U.S. "Satan") was the way to fight for world socialism — Mao ended by rolling out the Red Carpet for Nixon.<sup>6</sup> As we said then, the "revolutionary" Maoist apologists who were willing to forgive Mao every crime on earth and leave a few blanks for those he might create later, were revealing that one and only one organic trait characterizes them all: tail-endism to a state power. This is the exact opposite to what Marx's Marxism is — the struggle for a totally new, classless, social order, based on totally new human relations. Anything short of that spells out betrayal.

Yours,  
Raya

(6) See both the chapter on "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung" in my *Philosophy and Revolution* (Dell, 1973) and "Mao's Last Hurrah," *Political-Philosophic Letter*, Feb. 27, 1976, published by News & Letters. Since the designation of Russia as "Enemy No. One" is the one Mao legacy the post-Mao leadership is scrupulously following out, see also "Post-Mao China: What Now?" in *New Essays* (News & Letters, 1977).

## IRAN: UNFOLDMENT OF, AND CONTRADICTIONS IN, REVOLUTION

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(4) See *Christian Science Monitor* 11-16-79: "Constitution Gives Clergy Control in Iran" by Geoffrey Godsell.

(5) *Christian Science Monitor*, 11-21-79.

# East Europe revolts spread in wake of Czech trials, Polish mine disasters

(Continued from Page 1)

responsible for all that has taken place there since 1968 . . . we consider your cause to be ours . . . Like many others in neighboring countries, we learned from the brutal destruction of the Czechoslovak experiment that democracy could not be born in East Europe except by the unified struggle of people in this region."

In 1979, that dream of a movement not limited to any one country seems definitely on the horizon in East Europe. In recent years the countries in the forefront of the movement have included East Germany and Rumania, as well as Czechoslovakia. But it is in Poland that the opposition has assumed its most proletarian character, organized the largest demonstrations — and developed as well the most serious contradictions within.

The working-class stamp of the Polish movement in this decade has been shown in the great strike waves against food price hikes in 1971, 1976 and 1977. Even today, the government anxiously awaits the full reaction of the country's 250,000 coal miners to a criminal series of "accidents" which killed over a hundred miners in October alone. On Oct. 5, seven miners were killed and three injured in a gas explosion in Nowa Ruda Mine near Walbrzych; on the 10th, a coal dust explosion in Dimitrow Mine in Bytom killed 34; on the 31st, a methane fire killed 43 in Czechowice-Dziedzice, and trapped 120 (who are now presumed dead).

Miners are saying that "the government had better do something and do it fast. If they don't, we may do something ourselves." The miners have "done something themselves" before; the mining district was among the first to organize the Free Trade Unions. There are reports of the miners' continuous revolt in almost every issue of *Robotnik* (The Worker). The revolt, and the accidents, are the result of inhuman conditions of work caused by the drive for production. As the miners say: "We are being pushed, pushed all the time — more coal, more coal." To increase production the government is introducing a new machine, a moving cutter that digs into the coal and dumps it onto a conveyor belt.

PETER RAJNA

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## Racist deportations continue

Oxford, England — The racist campaign against Black and Asian workers continues. The government's White Paper on immigration rules, published Nov. 14, invokes a complicated set of regulations, the main effect of which is to prevent Asian men coming here as husbands or fiancés of Asian women settled in Britain.

Another proposal is that elderly parents and grandparents would have to show that they were without other relatives in their own country to whom they could turn, and that their standard of living was "substantially below that of their own country" before being admitted to Britain. Imagine being "substantially below" the average living standard of Bangladesh!

The Home Secretary, the aptly-named Mr. Whitlaw, spelled it out quite clearly. The new rules would reduce the number of immigrants from Pakistan and the new Commonwealth countries by up to 4,000 a year.

Here in Oxford, the fate of Ayesha Khatan, the seven-year-old Bangladeshi girl facing deportation, still hangs in the balance. Ayesha is supported by the local Pakistani and West Indian organizations, anti-racist groups, church groups and political groups from the local Liberal Party leftwards. So far, a protest meeting has been held, and a petition organized.

Two Asian women spoke from the platform at the protest meeting, and an Asian schoolgirl read a prepared statement from the floor. Two Asian girls, aged 10 and 8, wrote a protest letter to the Oxford Mail.

Taking the petition round at work, I managed to get 30 signatures. The best response among the whites came from the women workers in the canteen, who actually queued to sign the petition. There are a lot of good developments to offset the appalling race hatred.

—D.A.

One year ago, Polish miners protested speedup and 12-hour days in an attempt to prevent the very disasters which just occurred.

## POLISH MASS PROTESTS

This past year has also seen no less than four separate days of mass protest, all organized by opposition groups, beginning with a demonstration by 4,000 workers Dec. 18, 1978 on the anniversary of the great shipyard strikes in Gdansk in 1971. Most recently, on Nov. 11, 5,000 demonstrated in Warsaw and another 5,000 in Gdansk, plus thousands more in other cities, on the 61st anniversary of Polish independence.

Inside the movement, two of the most important organized tendencies are grouped around the independent socialist "Committee for the Defense of the Workers/Committee for Social Self-Defense" (KOR/KSS), and the nationalist "Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights" (ROPCIO). Publications include *Robotnik* (The Worker), which prints 20,000 copies in various editions in several cities, as well as other journals.

Students and intellectuals have organized "flying universities" to discuss ideas not allowed in the state-controlled universities and high schools. Workers have formed the Free Unions of the Baltic Coast, while peasants, especially women, have formed the Farmers' Self-Defense Committees.

While the Polish movement does today approach or even surpass the mass character of the Czechoslovak movement, at the same time it has revealed most clearly the existence of right-wing—and anti-Semitic—forms of nationalist opposition alongside the genuinely revolutionary forces. Thus, the Gomulka government, predecessor to the present Gierek one, was able to crush an

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## Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

opposition movement in the 1960s through vicious anti-Semitic appeals, while today the new Polish Pope John Paul II represents a possible diversion of the movement into narrow Catholic nationalism.

In Russia itself, the danger to the movement from Solzhenitsyn's reactionary form of opposition grows daily. Recently another Russian exile, Andrei Sinyavsky, who is by no means a Marxist or a socialist, stated the danger quite forcefully when he gave a critique of "Solzhenitsyn and Russian Nationalism": ". . . the Russian sense of self is becoming very assertive, very insistent. It takes on a chauvinistic cast . . . An example of this hostility is the rebirth of anti-Semitism at all levels of government . . . it is new and shocking to find it among educated people." (*New York Review of Books*, 11-22-79).

In contrast to this re-emergence of Europe's most notorious barbarism, other intellectuals have been seeking a new path toward liberation, most especially within that stronghold of Stalinism which harbors ex-Nazis, East Germany.

## OPPOSITION IN EAST GERMANY

The state-capitalist bureaucrats of East Germany were as stunned as the West German social democrats to see the sudden appearance in 1977 of Rudi Bahro's serious and revolutionary Marxist critique of "actually existing socialism", *The Alternative in Eastern Europe*.

After Bahro was sentenced to eight years in jail, massive worldwide protests on his behalf finally forced the East German regime to release him on Oct. 17. He chose exile in the West. At the same time, another socialist critic, Robert Havemann, sent to the West for publication his "Ten Theses" written on the 30th anniversary of the founding of East Germany. He stated that "we must begin here and now to realize the great dream of socialism" (*Die Tageszeitung*, 10-2-79), and was immediately placed once again under house arrest.

Worker opposition has also persisted, from the dock strike in Rostock this summer, to a protest in October by workers in the Theuringen rubber plant, where 17 were arrested for arguing against consumer price increases at a union meeting.

Another intellectual dissident, the novelist Stefan Heym, reported this summer that ever since the regime started attacking him in the press and "fining" him \$5,000 for his critical novels published in the West, his phone hasn't stopped ringing with people offering financial and moral support. "Among them were factory workers who were calling in the name of their factory brigade," he told an interviewer.

When Rudi Bahro crossed into West Germany he immediately linked up with the young independent Left, especially the anti-nuclear youth. At a national gathering of "Greens" or ecology activists, he raised the banner of a new society—different from East or West—by referring to the great revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg. He said: "All democratic socialists and communists in all countries have, in the form of a woman who lived among us Germans until she was killed, a humanist example, under which we can be reunited: in the shape of Rosa Luxemburg . . . so that we can say to people: look at this human picture (of Luxemburg—Ed.) and you will see where we are and where we want to be." (*Die Tageszeitung*, 11-6-79)

The emergence of such a profound expression of the need for totally new paths for the freedom movement is one measure of the deep roots of that movement in both the working class and in the hunger for a philosophy of liberation. As East Europe faces not only the 1980s, but new maneuvers by Russia, the USA and even China, the continuing development and debate around alternatives Bahro and others have proposed becomes ever more critical.

New York readers!

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## Discussion Article: Iran--philosophy and form of organization

With the following excerpts from a contribution written by an Iranian revolutionary activist and thinker, we initiate a new series of discussion articles on the question of form of organization. None represent in any sense an "official viewpoint" of News and Letters Committees; all are intended to help find paths to overcome the separation of philosophy and organization which has again and again proved fatal to revolutions in our time.

—Ed.

by Raha

What is now above all bothering my mind—and has for the past few months—is a form of organization which matches the content of it. The question of organization has long been a matter of controversy, and it is no accident that in Raya Dunayevskaya's "On the Threshold of the 1980s" the same question has been brought up again and again. She emphasizes this matter and defines it as a "burning question of our day . . . the question of form of organization."

I am sure it is no accident that in Iran and in the USA true revolutionaries have once more put this question on the agenda; this above all arises from the same need in both countries, the need to relate "spontaneity and organization."

It is important to note that Marx himself never neglected this question. In fact, he brought it up as early as 1844 when he was writing his Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts. Here he speaks of practice: "In order to supersede the idea of private property communist ideas are sufficient, but genuine communist activity is necessary in order to supersede real private property." It is no accident that right after the matter of practice he brings forth the question of organization. Let's listen to Marx himself: "When communist artisans form associations, teaching and propaganda are their first aim. But their association itself creates a new need—the need for society—and what appeared to be a means has become an end."



by Jim Mills

The rightward shift to militarization in the U.S., and to war, which has been barely hidden in the rhetoric of presidential and congressional candidates in Campaign '80 thus far, has been starkly revealed by the crisis in Iran.

"Commander" Carter is the biggest hawk of all, since all his "peace" overtures in the crisis have been qualified as he refers to "other remedies." That saber-rattling means possible nuclear holocaust.

Sen. George McGovern is now urging "party unity"—a stand behind the SALT II treaty and the \$135.5 billion military budget—and his remarks about attacking Teheran show the hypocrisy of that "peace" candidate against Nixon in 1972.

Sen. Edward Kennedy, too, has not broken Democratic Party ranks on defense spending and the crisis in Iran. And his sponsorship of Senate Bill S1612, a new legal code sanctioning secret FBI actions here at home comes at a moment when hawks wish out loud they had the "old" CIA to handle the crisis in Iran.

Nowhere was Kennedy's reactionary and racist political opportunism more evident than during his campaign visit to a Black Boston high school. Not once did he speak against the racist gang violence and attacks on Blacks in his own home state!

Despite Pres. Carter's own demagogic proclamation that nothing in the last ten years has "galvanized" this country like the Iran crisis, it is Vietnam, the war, which has left an indelible mark on society—one million dead and a stagnating economy. And the military crisis — and revolts — from that war have continued into the volunteer service: a military of unemployed, poor and minorities, and now women.

Earlier this year, local and military police were called into put down a rebellion by hundreds of new recruits at the Great Lakes Training Facility in Illinois. In August, sailors from the USS Alamo revolted against regimental 12-hour shifts by walking off the ship. The Black revolt is measured by the fact that 51 percent of prisoners in military stockades now are Blacks. And women Army enlistees have responded to harassment from superiors as well as male soldiers by forming their own organizations.

Outside the Army, hundreds of youth opposed to a nuclear future—of reactors and missiles—came to a conference titled "No Nukes Is Not Enough" in San Francisco on Nov. 4. The sponsors made a point of showing where they did not want to go by publishing a list of UNinvited guests, including such opportunists as Jerry Brown, Tom Hayden and Ralph Nader.

Their opposition to the imperialist practices and nuclear war brinkmanship of "socialist" Russia and China as well as the U.S. could be seen in one of the conference's convening principles: state-capitalism is a world phenomenon.

MARX SPEAKS OF the necessity of an association, a type of association that does not contradict the "freely associated" society of the future, and is, in fact, itself a model of the future society—a freely associated organization. We can certainly derive a theoretical result from what he defines as an association which itself "becomes an end." That theoretical result is that we should seek a kind of organization which is, at one and the same time, in unity with the philosophy of revolution and with the aim of the proletariat as a class.

So, if we are to abolish hierarchy, our organization (society) should not be based on hierarchy; if we are to abolish all the existing authorities, our organization should not be an authoritarian one; in short, a unity of content and form, subjective and objective, must be what we are in search of.

What we witnessed in the case of Iran was the total separation of spontaneity from organization. Creativity of the masses was such that none of the vanguard organizations could keep up with it . . . Of course, we do not count on Maoists, Stalinists and that sort to criticize themselves and try to learn a lesson from history and the existing objective conditions. No, we are instead emphasizing the new forces . . .

Of all the Left organizations in Iran, the Fedayeen are the strongest. They, as well as most of the Left, not only believe in vanguardism but have such a centralized and hierarchic form of organization that it absolutely matches the content. No wonder that their objective aim is to form a vanguard party! They view the absence of a vanguard party as one of the main factors that led the way to the establishment of the present government.

One other factor is that for a long time they were so busy with their belief in guerrilla warfare (voluntarism) that in reality they totally forgot the masses . . .

IN SPEAKING ABOUT the need for an organiza-

tion one can not neglect the deficiencies of the material conditions and blame all the negative aspects of the present ongoing revolution on the lack of a proper organization. Even with a theory of revolution in hand one should not expect a drastic change in the balance of political forces nowadays existing in Iran. For that to take place, theory must be materialized. We should search for ways through which theory can be materialized, ways which turn theory into a fundamental part of the revolution. In doing so, we should derive the practical essence of theory from its relation to the objective conditions . . .

It is no secret that in Iran capitalism was not developed in the womb of the old society, but rather was introduced from outside. Consequently, the historical processes that the European countries went through, the processes which gave rise to the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, did not take place in Iran. If the process of disintegration of the old European societies was a matter of two or three centuries, it was only a matter of two decades in Iran . . .

I must admit that the Iranian working class fully participated in the overthrow of the Shah and if it were not for the decisive role of the proletariat (especially the oil workers) even the overthrow of the Shah couldn't have happened. But we should not forget that it was not the proletariat who started the revolution. Indeed, they came a little too late on the political scene.

WHEN THE FIRST general strike of the oil workers took place, their first demand was the release of political prisoners and the second was the lifting of martial law . . . Are these demands directly socialist demands, or were they mere reflection of the general demands of society? . . .

No one could distinguish workers from shopkeepers when it came to the matter of street demonstrations. And these are the general conditions that cleared the way for Khomeini and his "holy allies".

Marx points out in "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right" that "no class in civil society can play this part (attaining universal domination) unless it can arouse in itself and in the masses a movement of enthusiasm in which it associates and mingles with society at large, identifies itself with it, and is felt and recognized as the general representative of society . . . It is only in the name of general interest that a particular class can claim general supremacy . . ."

SO IT IS NOT sufficient to say that Khomeini has come to power as a counter-revolution; we should also explain the how and why. It is not enough to say that Khomeini is an elite; we must also describe the conditions under which elitism can play such an important role. Khomeini's rule is not, as he himself thinks, a gift from God, but has its base in the profane world.

In dealing with this matter, we must ask, what is the objective-subjective condition of the working class? After answering these questions we can come to the theoretical conclusion that in the first chapter of the revolution in Iran, it was not the proletariat who was the leading force and it was not possible for them to come to power and begin the total uprooting of capitalism. Even with a philosophy of revolution in the hands of the intellectuals we would have had a similar result. For "it is not enough that thought should realize itself; reality must also strive towards thought." (Marx)

What I have arrived at, of course, does not mean an end. For what appears to be the end is rather a new beginning. The symptoms of the new beginning became visible as we were approaching the end of the first chapter of the revolution. That is to say, in the womb of the movement that was nearing the overthrow of the Shah there was to be seen the emergence of another one which seeks not a mere political emancipation, but a complete, human emancipation. And this new beginning started precisely when the workers demanded full control over production, when they formed their councils . . .

IT IS PRECISELY this objective-subjective achievement right before Khomeini's takeover that set the ground for the next chapter and declared the revolution to be "permanent". Then, right after Khomeini had taken over, we have the revolutionary women pouring into the streets and demanding total liberation for women as well as men. In fact, women's liberationists gave a new meaning to what freedom consists of.

Then we witnessed the struggle of revolution against counter-revolution growing daily. Non-stop workers' strikes, May Day demonstrations, demonstrations of unemployed workers and jobless youth have done a lot to disclose the nature of the new government. And then we have witnessed the class-based struggle of the Kurds for self-determination which was a serious blow to Khomeini's authority.

Out of the actual struggle of women seeking liberation, national minorities seeking self-determination, the proletariat aiming for an end to class domination, has come a totally new concept of revolution. A concept which, although new in Iran, was long before developed by Karl Marx.

### New opposition to war drive



Poster for conference in San Francisco, Nov. 4.

This perspective, along with the rejection of self-proclaimed "leaders", means to me that some anti-nuke, anti-war youth are beginning to give critical thought now to the direction of their mass activities. It can mean that new, revolutionary avenues are opening in the movement to stop the drive towards war.

### Youth in Revolt

Black students from Atlanta Junior College (AJC) won a victory Oct. 25 when all charges, ranging from battery on a police officer to criminal trespassing, were dropped against the "AJC 11." The 11 students had been arrested in June, 1978 at a protest against the state's efforts to deny adequate funding to state-run Black colleges. Also in Georgia, about 1,400 public school students, mostly Black, recently ended their four-week boycott of classes in Americus. The students were protesting racism in the schools and demanding better facilities and curriculum.

Activities in the anti-nuke movement continued nationwide throughout November, from Massachusetts to California. In Arizona, over 1,200 people, including Navajo Indians and Chicano farmworkers, demonstrated outside the Phoenix state capitol Nov. 10, protesting the ongoing construction of the Palo Verde nuclear generating station, 50 miles away. Seventy-one protesters were arrested when they attempted to occupy the Palo Verde site. Meanwhile in Japan, on Nov. 26, anti-nuke demonstrators clashed with riot police outside a Tokyo college which was hosting a symposium on the nuclear disaster at Three Mile Island.

**OUR LIFE AND TIMES**

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

**Big powers, radicals play debating games as Cambodia faces extinction**

The death and starvation of tens of thousands of Cambodians which began with the American bombing of Cambodia, continued through the Vietnam war, and was exacerbated through the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, is now reaching its horrible conclusion with the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia.

The role of the so-called Left in all this is an international disgrace. All they seem to care about is engaging in winning debate points over the fact that it was U.S. imperialism that began this miserable genocidal bombing, with no mention of the truth about the genocide that was practiced by the Pol Pot regime after they had won power; or acting as if Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia was not part of its own imperialist expansion but coincided with Russia's global ambitions; or that the Chinese invasion of Vietnam was just a question of "teaching Vietnam a lesson."

Of all of the "Left," none is more despicable than the Trotskyists who defend the Heng Samrin-Vietnamese regime uncritically without a word about the role of Russia, and the other branches of Trotskyism that still insist that Pol Pot's regime is likewise a "workers' state," though degenerate. Is nationalization of property still considered socialism when the end result that it has achieved is genocide? Clearly the Trotskyists and their splinter followers are, like the imperialists, ready to carry on the war until the last Cambodian is exterminated.

Everyone knows the facts, and no one will forgive Nixon-Kissinger for the genocidal bombing of



Cambodia which paved the way for this state, but what about the victorious "workers' state" led by Pol Pot which bears comparison only with that other tyrant, Idi Amin? Of course, that tyrant Pol Pot had to be overthrown, but should Vietnam's invasion of that country, even though it had some Cambodians helping, make us forget that the present regime allows Russia to militarize Vietnam and itself — potentially transforming it into a Soviet base?

Of course, China was "teaching Vietnam" but one lesson — that its ambitions are as imperialistic as private capitalism's imperialism, and that it is

playing for U.S. imperialism's help in its projected war with Russia. And, of course, U.S. imperialism, though it now tries to help a little, wants to re-establish a military presence in Thailand, but is that any reason to let those refugees die while you, Trotskyist "big radical," speak of Pol Pot's "tiny enclaves"? (Intercontinental Press, 11-12-79)

To talk only of bringing aid to Cambodia via a "road bridge" from Thailand is to try to dominate the whole project of aid without the participation of the Heng Samrin regime in Phnom Penh. Aid must go to all parts of Cambodia and must go via air directly into Kompong Som and Phnom Penh, but not more than 400 tons of food a day could reach Cambodia that way. Barges could be sent along the Mekong River if authorities would consent, and evidently Cambodia is now consenting to some.

All concentration must now be on saving people. Minimal food needed is 165,000 tons during the next six months, as UNICEF, the Red Cross and OXFAM agree, whereas now just 15 tons come in by daily flight. And it cannot be distributed properly since the roads are very poor and military problems still lurk.

Again what is needed is a damned sight more than what the U.S. is giving—\$69 million. What is needed, as minimum, is \$250 million—and that doesn't even take into consideration those refugees in Thailand for whom another \$60 million is needed.

It is high time to begin to tell the truth AND TRY TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT SAVING A NATION FROM EXTINCTION.

**Latin America**

In Bolivia, what was new on Nov. 1 was not that a right-wing colonel, Alberto Natusch Busch, threw out the barely-established civilian government, but that it triggered a six-day general strike in La Paz and massive demonstrations by students. Natusch killed more than 200 in his barbarous action against the demonstrators and strikers who faced his tanks with rocks. Tin miners continued to strike after the La Paz strike ended.

By Nov. 16, Natusch stepped down and the Congress appointed Lydia Gueiler as interim President. While it is unclear whether this government can hold off the military's moves for another coup, the determinant in all the struggles are the actions of the Bolivian workers and students.

In neighboring El Salvador, massive support

for demonstrations and daily skirmishes with General Romero's security forces, including attacks on the presidential palace, caused El Salvador's elite to get rid of the brutal Romero regime with a coup on Oct. 15. Washington immediately announced full support for the new junta which continued the war on guerrillas and murdered unarmed demonstrators, while promising to bring democracy and reach accommodation with the opposition.

On Oct. 24, 1,000 members of the Popular Revolutionary Bloc seized the Labor, Economy and Planning Ministries. They eventually won a 29 percent minimum wage increase for 500,000 farmworkers. The same day, 300 women started a hunger strike demanding to know the whereabouts of their sons who "disappeared" at the hands of the previous regime. Getting rid of Romero appears to be a beginning — not an end, as the U.S. hopes — for the movement in El Salvador.

**Britain**

We have received the following report from Harry McShane in Britain:

The closing down of the American-owned Singer sewing machine factory in Clydebank (a few miles from Glasgow) is a serious blow. A few years ago the closing of John Brown's shipyard — the largest and most famous shipyard in the world — was a heavy blow to the people of Clydebank. This puts Clydebank the most badly hit in Britain for unemployment.

Thatcher is keeping her promises and is boasting about it. She is making war on the trade unions and says no extra money will be printed to meet "extreme" wage demands. Prices are soaring — twice the increases of last year. She is in for serious trouble. I really believe she would give anything to be a war leader.

**WORKER'S JOURNAL**

(Continued from Page 1)

workers were arguing with him that they couldn't do any more and the foreman fell over, dead.

Before the big lay-offs, there were many young workers on the line; after the lay-off the company transferred the older workers to those jobs vacated by the younger ones. Now, there is no way a worker 48 and 50 years old can keep pace with an 18 to 25-year-old. To rush and push older workers to put out the same amount will always cause heart attacks and, in many cases, death.

A worker from Chrysler that retired a year ago said that he had retired before he got 30 years in, because he was afraid after seeing so many people dying in the plant. There were five or six that he knew well that he watched just drop dead in the plant. It frightened him so much that he went in one morning and said he was retiring. They told him he had to work a little longer before he would be eligible for his pension, but he said he would prefer dying at home.

This same worker said one morning a worker punched in and fell dead. A day or so later another worker fell dead on his job. But, what shook him up was when the older worker next to him on the line, who he had just been laughing and talking with, was suddenly lying on the floor. He yelled to the other workers to come and help, and the foreman ran over shouting about the jobs going by and not being welded. When the medics came, this worker said he knew the man was dead, but they took him to Ford Hospital anyway where they pronounced him dead.

When we did have a union, the union and the company had different interests, but today the company's and union's interests are one and the same. What is needed is to take back the union that once was ours and build something from the bottom up where workers once again will have real representation.

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