

marxist- humanism

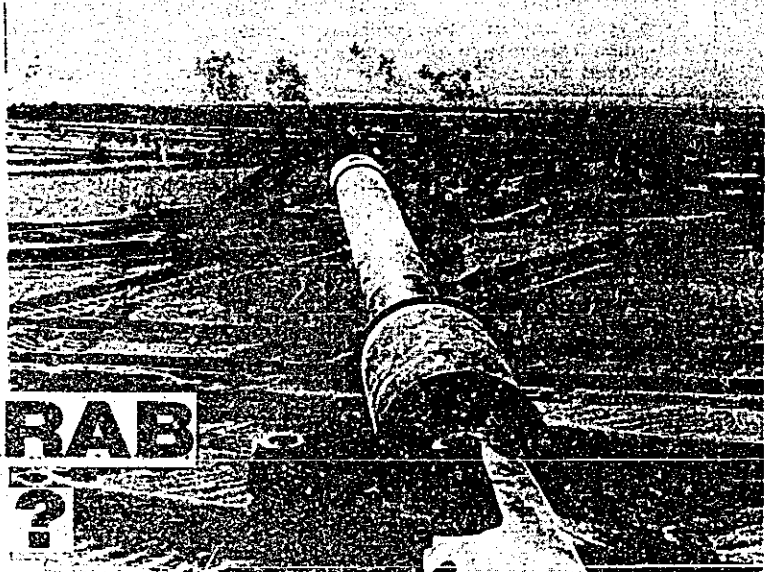
FEB/MARCH '82

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30p

HUMAN POWER IS ITS OWN ENEMY - Marx

Shift in Politics Between the Two Nuclear Superpowers? ANOTHER ISRAELI-ARAB CONFLICT?



by Raya Dunayevskaya

1 Begin rewrites history

No sooner was the world preoccupied with the counter-revolution in Poland on Dec. 13 as the Polish rulers unleashed martial law against the Polish masses, focussed on Solidarity, than Begin leaped out his hospital bed into his wheelchair plus limousine. In six short hours he rammed through the Knesset the approval to annex the Israeli-occupied Syrian territory- the Golan Heights.

This is not the first time that Israel has taken advantage of the world's preoccupation with an immediate counter-revolution to carry out its counter-revolution in the Middle East. Back in 1956, when Russian tanks had driven into Hungary to destroy that revolution, the Israeli army, with the connivance of British and French Imperialisms, invaded Suez. In 1981, by unilateral action, Israel battered down what had been agreed to by all, including Israel - UN Resolution 242.

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The haste with which Begin, in 1981, embarked on his headlong aim to "legitimise" the Israeli booty from the 1967 war skipped the six days that had intervened in 1956 between Russian tanks rolling into Hungary and Israel's invasion of the Suez. On the very day that the Polish rulers imposed martial law, Begin (seemingly helter-skelter, but actually planned long ago) annexed the Syrian Golan Heights.

The violent dash against time was not a mere difference between six hours and six days. No, it was an undermining of any attempt by anyone, including its benefactor - US Imperialism - to pressure Israel to give up any of its war booty, come April when the return of Egypt's Sinai is completed and serious talks on 'self-rule' (I) on the West Bank and Gaza Strip are to begin. The fact is that this did throw everyone off balance. Thereupon the amateurish Reagan not only voted for the UN resolution which condemned Israel's unilateral action, declaring the annexation "null and void", but suspended the 'historic' Memorandum of Understanding between the US and Israel for Strategic cooperation. Begin hit back by cancelling the statement altogether. Both rulers violated their own statement, (which did indeed mark an imperial, global strategy for war), which stipulated that it could be terminated by either party only after a six month notification.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Begin's vitriolic statement against Reagan makes it altogether too tempting to dismiss it, as if it were something off the top of his head due to extreme "provocation", at Reagan's suspension of the memorandum of Understanding. Nothing however, could be further from the truth. The fevered rhetoric, like the helter-skelter appearance of the rush to annex the Golan Heights, was not "provoked". Nor did it suddenly issue off the top of Begin's head. It was a calculated, premeditated, and long-ago planned act. How long ago? More importantly, how far backward does Begin intend taking Israel to its pre-Israel founding?

At that time, in the forties, Begin worked, not so much against British, much less US Imperialism he has since followed, as against the the Jewish masses, whether they were fighting for a socialist republic of Arabs and Jews, or Zionists, who were anxious to establish a homeland for the Jews in a part of Palestine. Begin's reactionary, fanatic ideology for "Ersatz Israel" (Land of Israel), as biblically interrupted by him, contin-

ued to terrorise those Jews. Because that is the issue, we must probe deeper into that Dec. 20 statement read to US ambassador Samuel L Lewis.

The scheming and crafty statement begins with a reference to a period of six months during which the US "punished Israel". This it seems, is the third time since June 6, when the US criticised Israel's bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, and again on July 17 when Israel bombed the heavily populated civilian neighbourhood in Beirut. Begin cries a river that he "saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of citizens" when, in fact, the bombing in Lebanon killed many innocent men, women and children. Israel's violation of air space over Iraq was an imperialist act that, far from deterring nuclear exploration, has strengthened the Arab drive for an "Islamic bomb".

★ ★ ★

Begin next rolls history back nearly 4000 years! "The people of Israel have lived 3700 years without a memorandum of understanding with America and will continue to live without it for another 3700 years". Not satisfied yet with situating his act, in general back 3700 years ie at the beginning of Jewish history, Begin creates still another amalgam. He raises the imperialist annexation of the Golan Heights to the stratospheric level of "not rescinding faith" during the inquisition: "There are those who say we must rescind the Golan Heights law...to rescind is a concept from the days of the inquisition"...higher still is his specific ideology of the 1940s. There the rewriting of history was clearly not so much against the US or British Imperialism, as against the Jewish people who escaped the holocaust.

When the UN was debating the right for the establishment of Israel, all Jews in Palestine for the acceptance of the Territory designated for the State of Israel. Whereupon that reactionary underground terrorist, Menichen Begin, as head of the Irgun, together with the Stern gang, bombed the King David Hotel without any regard as to which Jews would be killed, and with but one aim, and that was to undermine this move. Ben Curion and other leaders of the movement worked hard to not only disassociate themselves from these gangs but finally to convince the UN that indeed, a majority of Jews would accept the UN resolution.

Here, however, is how Begin is rewriting history: "In 1946 an English general named Barker lived in this house. Now I live here. When we fought him, you called it terrorism". It was 'nt Reagan who call-

ed the Irgun and the Stern Gang terrorists. The Jews of Palestine called them that. It is they who suffered from those terrorist acts.

Lies never bothered Begin, and he certainly isn't letting them stand in the way of his attempts to create a new myth of the past and to transform that reactionary ideology into present state policy of the State of Israel.

Begin is bent on accusing anyone who disagrees with him of anti-semitism. In the Dec'71 statement, he was thinking about the debate over the AWACs. He was anxious to stress the "ugly anti-semitic campaign" during the debate on the sales of AWACs to Saudi Arabia.

2 FOCUS:

counter-revolution/revolution

No doubt what Begin saw in the AWACs sale was so great a tilt towards Saudi Arabia that it assumed the form of a global shift in US policy. That that had an element of truth in it was clear from the fact that US Imperialism had indeed other interests in the Middle East than defence of Israel "in and for itself". What is pivotal for US Imperialism is, first, the struggle with Russia over single monopoly control of the world and, above that anti-revolution.

Heretofore, Israel had no doubt that because it was the most industrialised militarised nation in the Middle East and was anti-Russia besides.

US imperialism considered it the strategic kingpin in the Middle East. With the AWACs sale, the Fahd Plan, and possible secret courting of the PLO, Begin's Israel considered US Imperialism so arrogant and conceited as to think it could carry on a war against Russia in the Middle East so long as it had bases, and they may have entertained illusions that Saudi Arabia was not only as good as Israel for US bases, but they would have the advantage of someone more pliant than Begin.

What happened to "inspire" Reagan-Haig-Weinburger's new outlook on the Middle East - that they could do well without Begin who never did follow the Reagan pre-occupation with Russia as Enemy number one - led to a rather mild flirtation with the Arab lands, especially with Saudi Arabia and Fahd's plan. The truth however, is that neither the Arab lands, nor Israel, are as preoccupied with Russia as they are with each other. The slight tilt towards "the moderate Arab lands" was based on the alleged fact that the Fahd pl-

an included a recognition of Israel's right to exist. Though there was no such expression in the plan, the Reagan-Haig-Weinburger triumvirate felt that they could both make others believe that's what was meant, and thus turn foreign policy around even as they initiated retrogressionism at home, and continue that policy for their "sphere of influence" - the propping up of El Salvador's genocidal war against its own people.

No doubt, there will be some modification of Begin's statement and a much greater retreat on the Part of Reagan so that once again some deal or double cross can be worked out as to Israel's predominance in the Middle East. But that is hardly the question for Marxist-Humanists. What is the issue is that, on the one side, with the 1979 Revolution in Iran, the whole Middle Eastern Question turned from one totally immersed in the Arab-Israeli conflict and, of course, Oil,

to that Revolution. With the current counter-revolutionary turn in Iran, however, what we saw arising everywhere is national-fanaticism instead of national liberation. and that so-called "fundamentalism" was further tainted with religious bigotry. Whether its Khomeini's Shi'ite religion, or Begin's unholy alliance with the Rabbinate: whether its Reagan lean-on Falwell's moral majority, or the Catholic Church in Poland - all of these manifestations of the sudden "rebirth" of religion are signs of the degeneracy of the capitalist imperialist nuclear stage of world development. It is putting a question mark over the very survival of civilisation as we know it.

Ever since Egypt's nationalisation of the Suez Canal, we have focused on the contradictions in nationalisms. Thus, though in 1948 we were for the establishment of Israel and have continued to be for its right to exist, we stressed that the struggle now must be not only against the major imperialists, but that "not much more can be said for the Israeli government... Israel is a sick society... not primarily because of outside factors, but its basic economy is established on the capitalist principle of growth: demanding ever more sweat and production from its workers in return for less" (News and Letters Jan 8 1957)

* * *

Despite the fact that at that moment Eisenhower was opposing British Imperialism, we pointed to the fact that this was not for any purposes of national liberation... but for the US's own Imperialist interests... against all proletarian revolutions. We therefore ended the lead by saying that

at this stage the US had much to gain from Russia's brutal suppression of the Hungarian Revolution.

The same thing is true all over again today with the focal point being in Jaruzelski's Poland, on the one hand, and Begin's Israel on the other.

...the world changed in 1979, the Iranian Revolution did that, though it itself is now in the grip of counter-revolution, initiating the regressive movement from within. Indubitably, the greatest enemy is at home, always at home. That is why the class struggle is so decisive. Extended, that is what revolution is. Because that is hardly the goal of world imperialism, beginning and ending with the two nuclear titans - Russia and the US - it is trying to make the unthinkable - nuclear war - thinkable. There can be no resolution to any of these conflicts other than by a total social revolution.

Raya's article above is an edited version of the full text which is available from News and Letters Publications 265 Seven Sisters Rd London N4. E1.

Harry McShane Interview: Marxism - Yesterday and Today

"... Leibnecht in Germany, Adler in Austria, Maclean in England, such are the best known of these isolated heroes..." LENIN

John Maclean's economic classes for workers started in 1916. As a matter of fact, during World War One it was declared that John Maclean's classes were the biggest in Europe, they were tremendous. Now that they're being pulished, I'm trying to show in a preface I'm doing that he could get bigger classes than the Universities.

Of course nowadays every one is talking economics including Mrs Thatcher but it was remarkable to see the workers who attended those classes - thousands of workers - to see about 200 students in the hall dressed in their blue suits, looking quite respectable, on a Sunday Afternoon listening to John Maclean's lecture.

Later he and I organised the 'unemployed and we used to hold meetings every Tuesday afternoon at the City Hall which held 1300, and we got the hall free of charge... we would have the usual agitation around unemployment and now and again John would talk

economics. He'd divide the roof into segments and he'd have them all looking up at the roof to explain categories... he was exceptionally good at it.

The point I want to make though, is that economics is not all there is to Marxism... you get this connection with philosophy in Marx's 'Capital'. But most 'marxists' have got stuck, the old experts in economics. For many, including many workers, the big thing was to be able to concentrate on the early Chapters of 'Capital' on Surplus Value and class Struggle. If you got that... it took alot of doing for ordinary workers. Harold Wilson couldn't do it, he gave up a two pages. These were workers who could go to the factory and argue surplus value. The first speech I ever gave in 1909, I was asked at a speakers class to prepare a talk showing how the workers were exploited. I remember reading a Pamphlet called 'Summary of Marx's Capital' every lunch time and evening until I grasped it.

THE MOVEMENT TODAY

That some party has the Gospel from A-Z is just nonsense. At the same time it is the workers who will save society and therefore it is not a matter of being opposed to parties. We have to unite all the elements of the movement into one big mass so that the proletariat is united in a political way, firstly against the government in power but more importantly to overthrow capitalism and establish a new society. That is the most important thing. That is the reason for our existence and we Marxist-Humanists, those of us that pay attention to it are the best informed Marxists. Raya Dunayevskaya has done a tremendous job, there's not one to equal what she has done, but I don't we've been able to get the full message across to the extent that we want to. There is the issue of the workers being the body who will save society and its not a question of any particular party or parliament. We've got to emphasise the Industrial workers. The fact that there are people (on the left) who are thinking elsewhere doesn't mean that the Marxist element has been buried or thrown to one side. It hasn't.

Now I've done more public meeting than an one and I've argued up and down the country that we Marxists must not talk as if we're ashamed to be Marxists. Let the Thatchers and all that crowd denounce as a crowd of bloody hooligans; in actual fact we are they the only ones who point to a future for mankind. Every where we go we should challenge the other schools of thought to put their cards on the table they will lose out.

British Leyland :

management and unions

versus workers

— By a worker at B.L. Unipart, Cowley.

In BL's Unipart division at Cowley we will have lost upwards of 500 jobs out of a total of 1,100 by March, through 'natural wastage' and voluntary redundancies. Another Unipart plant at Eynsham, Oxfordshire has been closed and one at Cardiff will close in March the loss of 250 jobs. This is the result of BL's drive for competitiveness which involves higher levels of Automation, closure of smaller plants and concentration of production in large ones.

A new computerised system for lifting and moving parts about, means that one person can do work that used to take 12. Productivity is up 60% but BL are not satisfied. They reckon to get another 5% by clamping down on people coming in slightly late, going home slightly early or taking a few extra minutes over their tea breaks.

People are coming to feel that it is unbearable to work for the company, which keeps piling demands on the workers to increase production in all sorts of ways. We're very angry about the uncivil attitude of management and supervisors. Although some of the supervisors are reasonable themselves they have been told by higher management to put the screws on.

There has been a big change on the last 4 years or so in the balance of power on the shop floor. We used to be in a stronger position in negotiations and could call the tune on a lot of things like 'movement of labour'. Now management are in a position to dictate and demand, and 9 times out of 10 they get what they want. There's a recession and mass unemployment, Leyland has a stockpile of unsold cars, and if you take industrial action they'll send you a letter saying if you don't return to work by a certain date they take it you have terminated your employment.

The senior stewards have become like partners with management in disciplining the workers. This is because they agree on the need for productivity and belt-tightening to keep Leyland afloat, and are prepared to trade off jobs for bonuses under an incentive scheme that is so complicated that neither management nor senior stewards could tell us in advance what we would get from it, as it all has to be worked out by computer.

RACISM :

This year BL has been found guilty of racial discrimination in 3 separate cases. Since September, Black workers at BL have been under heavy surveillance by the security department. Black people were watched on the line, many were heavily grilled about their spare time and activities. The reason given was that Black workers were suspected of causing a lot of wild-cat stoppages and sabotage. A Black Workers Rights Committee has been formed inside BL to oppose this racist harassment and I'm trying to build support for it among other workers.

The union officials will not defend worker's job security, wages and conditions, unless they are really pushed into a corner by the whole workforce. We need better rank-and-file links between the different plants to stop BL from playing one off against the other. The company purposely uses divide and rule tactics to get workers resenting each other. Solidarity between different plants and different grades is urgently needed to fight for workers basic rights.

BL STRIKERS IN BATHGATE RESIST REDUNDANCIES

Workers in BL's tractor plant in Bathgate, Scotland are mounting pickets after a court order to end the occupation which has prevented tractors and plant being moved. The strike marks a new stage in the fightback. 3,000 workers are involved

revolution and counter-revolution in poland

The Polish worker's struggle represented and still represents, the potential for a free socialism, a break out from the old exploitative systems of both East and West. What could be more frightening to the Tories than the spreading of class struggle Polish style, to Britain? A new union which grew to the size of ten million in just a few weeks, Solidarity engaged in continuous mass strikes and plant occupations. The drive for better wages, hours and conditions was closely linked to the campaigns to remove corrupt or dictatorial managers and officials, for an end to censorship and police harassment of activists, and for control of the media, to counter the lies and make possible an informed democracy. The ceaseless activity of Poland's workers and students, farmers and intellectuals was challenging not only the one party state, but the very separation of managers and managed.

The high revolutionary point reached in activity was not yet matched in theory as the Roman Catholic Church, always a force for conservatism in Poland, retained a powerful grip on people's minds. Pictures of the Pope and the Madonna could be seen on the gates of the occupied shipyards and factories. With a Polish Pope in the Vatican, the Church has sought political influence in the role of mediator, pressing for power sharing arrangements between moderates in Solidarity and reformists in the party and itself holding the balance.

In opposition of these retrogression -ist forces is Poland's independent left. In an important speech at Solidarity's first convention in Gdansk last September, Eduard Lipinski, who is 93 and a socialist since 1906, refuted the government's claims to stand for socialism. He said: "This socialism of waste, of prisons, censorship and police has been destroying us for thirty years as it is doing with some other nations. It is their socialism which is anti-socialist and anti-revolutionary".

General Jaruzelski who once enjoyed a relative popularity on account of his pledge that Polish soldiers would never again open fire on Polish workers, now has the blood of workers on his hands. We do not know how many; but we know that

there have been many murders. Thousands of Solidarity activists and prominent intellectual sympathisers have been rounded up into prison camps. The government is forcing through enormous price rises of up to 400%. Workers are being faced with the

choice of renouncing Solidarity membership or getting the sack. All this repression is carried out on the orders of the national state capitalist ruling class. The Russian army is not involved although their presence, in bases across Poland or at the border, is a major support of Jaruzelski's counter-revolution.

Severe as the repression is, a grass roots workers organisation with supporters in every factory, farm and office is difficult to destroy. To adapt the words of the Polish anthem, Solidarity is not yet lost so long as workers are alive. Resistance continues in the form of go-slows and industrial sabotage. Illicit news sheets are circulated, even in the prisons.

The spirit of Solidarity has inspired people in other Eastern European countries. A group of Hungarians have launched an appeal in Budapest to aid the children of Polish workers who are in difficult situations or in prison. Their appeal says:

"The Polish people have been struggling for a year and a half in the hope of democratic renewal, now face a winter of suffering with many injured or mourning their dead. It would be the final step in renouncing our friendship and common national tradition if we Hungarians now failed to express our solidarity with our Polish brothers and sisters. Let us at least help their children!"

We in Britain should declare our internationalist solidarity with the Polish freedom movement. We need to develop an internationalism of ideas, a creative dialogue between East and West, not only to destroy the existing system, but positively how to create a new society where freedom is truly the keynote.

-Richard Bunting-

MARXIST-HUMANIST ANALYSIS OF POLAND

COUNTER REVOLUTION DRIVES THE REVOLUTION UNDERGROUND; THE RESISTANCE CONTINUES.

by Raya Dunayevskaya

- i) In the stealth of the night
- ii) The many voices of revolution
- iii) Another fang of counter-revolution: Anti-Semitism
- iv) Lodz and Warsaw - the movement from below and the planning from above
- v) What now? The voices from the underground.

Excerpt from part iv)

In Lodz as early as October, local unions had won some control over food rationing. They followed this in November and December with the concept of the 'active strike', in which the workers would take over the enterprises and run them. The

plan was considered 'ultra-leftist' by some of the leaders...The key issue was working class control over food distribution...As Jacek Kuron has openly stated, the rank and file have constantly been to the left of the Solidarity leadership, and nearly every strike and political action for more freedom has originated from the grass roots. Indeed, all talk of confrontation has been sparked from that movement from practice...

This long essay article will be printed in the February edition of 'News and Letters'. We will be reprinting in pamphlet form for our readers.

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Nicaragua and women

In-person report

BY ANNE MOLLY JACKSON

From Nicaragua, which is trying to deepen its revolution in spite of economic strangulation by the U.S.; to Peru, where the government's new repressive measures only highlight the contrasts between the law and the continuous mass revolts; to Mexico, where liberal foreign policy cannot mask either the exploitation or resistance of everyone from peasants to intellectuals -- Latin America sizzles with revolutionary activity and thought.

Everywhere there are new and growing organizations of industrial workers and domestic workers, neighborhood organizations and peasant groups, women's and youth organizations. And everywhere they are discussing such questions as: What is the relationship between international capitalism and our conditions of life? Can we not only overthrow the old governments and kick out U.S. imperialism, but also build a new society based on human needs and creativity?

It is not possible to know a country from a few days spent in and around the capital city, but in Nicaragua, the people are so full of revolutionary spirit and purpose that even Managua is beautiful. "Even Managua" because at first the city shocks: the downtown area destroyed by the earthquake in 1972 has not been rebuilt and many housing accommodations are flimsy

shacks or the rubble of destroyed buildings. People are very poor but full of hope and concern for one another. Without seeing the agricultural areas where perhaps the most change has occurred, it is still clear from talking with workers, teachers and housewives that the Revolution is very much alive.

Most impressive are the grass-roots organisations of women and youth who are trying to deepen that revolution by working out new economic and social relationships. The Pre-Cooperative Nueva Nigragua, for example, began over six months ago when five neighborhood women with sewing machines organised by the Sandanista womens' organisation AMNLAE, began to plan, buy, and make and sell clothing collectively. In an interview they discussed not only their increased income, but what they learned about their work, their participation in civic affairs, the changes in their home lives, their library and plans for a child care centre. As one woman said "Everything is different now - the children are happy". (See my interview in 'News and Letters' Dec 51).

Such forceful campaigns are the backbone of the current health campaigns, which have already eliminated three major diseases. Last November malaria pills were given to every person on the same three days so that the cycle of the disease could be broken. One saw what mass participation means. Last years Literacy campaign, which lowered illiteracy from 50 to 13 percent laid the basis for continued mass mobilisations. Under the slogan "Literacy is Liberation", 180,000 volunteers were sent out into the countryside. The feeling of living history pervades the small museum which house posters and charts, letters of appreciation from those who learn-



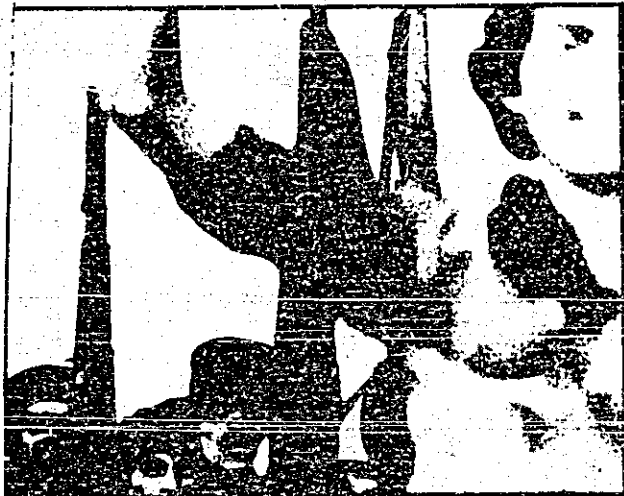
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ed to read and write and personal effects of brigadistas who died from accidents and diseases in the literacy campaign.

ADLFA organises in groups as small as two to five in factories and plantations, rural and urban communities, centres of study, state and private institutions, markets and hospitals. It backs union of domestic workers which has succeeded in changing the law to limit their hours of work to ten hours a day and raised pay and benefits. There is also an active organisation of Youth, including young children. Now all children go to school, but as there are not enough facilities, many are on double shifts. There are a few child care centres, which take infants as young as one and a half months, and in many families there is increased participation in family responsibilities by men and boys.

The terrible poverty makes one wonder whether the present policy of walking a tightrope between private capitalism and any kind of socialism can succeed. One yearns to see the full release of the human creativity that made the revolution. At present the threat of US intervention and the dire state of the economy have everyone worried. Since the government assumed Somoza's national debt in order to get credit from international banks, and since the US cut off economic aid, the US can manipulate the economy as it did in Chile and as it does daily in Latin America.



A scene from Nicaragua: Free Homeland or Death

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BUSINESS

Bankers fear loss of all Polish loans

SPORTS

clubs brought to account

Jaruzelski unveils new signing

FA put squeeze on

and their fans

United vote to annex

Colan Heights

Chelsea expected to keep Walesa in

remote monastery

SPORT?

Big leaguer Schmidt wins applause in Washington

Ex-footballers deny bribery allegations

Gromyko, Breshnev hope to regain control



The future of the 1982 World Cup is in doubt after calls by Ron Greenwood and Ron Reagan for F.I.F.A. to remove Poland from this year's competition. Football in Poland is believed to be in a grave financial state, many clubs are facing bankruptcy and so Western backers see little chance of a return on their investment.

There is also fear that Polish fans, unhappy with the state of the national game, will cause trouble and threaten the stability of the present leadership. Fans have alleged that the game is in such an appalling state due to corruption and bureaucracy, have called for sweeping changes. Ron Jaruzelski has condemned these criticisms, and dismissed as baseless, rumours that most fans have to queue for months for match tickets, while the party leadership enjoy best seats at all games. "These fans are a disgrace to the national game. Our country is on the edge of an abyss because of their behaviour."

Ron Reagan, newly returned to Washington after visiting the new site for the Israeli national stadium on the Colan Heights, was quoted as saying, "How the hell can we stand by and watch freedom of expression stifled from the Polish game. If it was not for Communism these clubs wouldn't be in their present state. That's why we moved into El Salvador."

BRIBERY ALLEGATIONS

Unconfirmed reports from Warsaw last night claim that Wojciech Jaruzelski, twin brother of national team coach Ron Jaruzelski

has declared a state of martial law. He is quoted as saying, "The Military Council of National Salvation is resolute in ensuring internal calm and safety of the country."

RON SUSLOV DIES

Ron Suslov for many years coach with the Soviet national team has died. Tributes from coaches and managers world wide have been pouring into Moscow.

"He was a hard bugger to outwit but very fair" said Ron Reagan, U.S. team coach.

Amongst other tributes was that of Helmut Schmidt, "No-one in the West quite understood Ron, nor knew of his quiet work he did organising games for dissidents in Siberia."

Suslov first came into prominence under Stalin and the great team of the thirties. He is famous for his comments on the Hungarian Uprising, when he said tongue in cheek,

"As far as football is concerned you can forget dialectics."

STOP PRESS

Ron Reagan vigorously denied claims by Leonid Breshnev, today, that he and Helmut Schmidt had offered Breshnev money to concede a penalty in the final of the Helsinki cup.

DEPTFORD MASSACRE one year on

January 18 of this year marked the first anniversary of the firebombing in New Cross, South London, which resulted in the deaths of 13 black youths. A meeting, organised by the New Cross Massacre Action Committee was held at Deptford Town Hall to acknowledge the anniversary, and essentially to voice the demand for a thorough enquiry into the deaths; in effect exposing the heavy handed attempt by the System to cover-up the evidence and dismiss the whole matter. The meeting was a reminder that the issue has not been dropped and that the Black Community has again revealed the racist nature of British Society.

There was not an empty seat in Deptford Town Hall at the meeting and many of the mostly young, almost entirely black crowd sat in the aisles.

Several parents of the victims spoke briefly of their year of anguish and the continuing struggle. Three members of the Committee spoke, outlining their perspectives, but the total responsiveness of the crowd was displayed throughout the powerful speech delivered by Darcus Howe, Treasurer of the Action Committee. Howe described the police cover-up and perjury at the inquest, the awesome fabrication of facts by the press, the blatant bias and intimidation of eye-witnesses by the coroner - and to all of this the crowd yelled "Yes, We Know!" Howe expressed the need to pursue the case, that it involved every Black person in Britain, and that there is Movement which was evident on the historic March the 2nd Day of Action last year, when ten thousand black youth from all over Britain marched on London. Howe also recognised the unity of organisational ideas and the great, spontaneous surge of the masses, and the Deptford massacre has proven to be a critical issue for Blacks in Britain, a fulcrum for black revolt.

Before the meeting was drawn to close, the idea was cast forth to march, there and then, down to Deptford Police Station and then on to 439 New Cross Rd, where the fire happened. The several hundred that poured onto New Cross Rd quickly grew close to a thousand, turning back traffic as they marched, solemn yet volatile, through New Cross at ten thirty on a Monday night. Their voices, as they chanted "Thirteen Dead and Nothing Said", "Freedom and Justice!", could be heard across Britain.

The Times confronted the the firebombing with the conclusion that "the matter is best forgotten" and the Tories have evidently taken that as sound advice. The

10

Black Community, however has not forgotten and it is committed to reminding the State that it is not prepared to live under threat of racial violence and complicit indifference by the ruling class.

BY ANDREW WALTER MURDOCH

SOUTH AFRICA

A War of Repression

1981 witnessed South Africa raising the pitch of its impossible and many fronted war for white supremacy and dominance in Southern Africa. Militarisation has been stepped up in the war against the Front Line States and the weight of repression is increasingly heavy in the war at home to meet the accelerating movement of the masses. In August 75 prior to SA's CIA-backed military undermining of the MPLA's leadership in Angola, the SADF already occupied points in Southern Angola including the Ruacana Power Station. In Oct 75, troops entered Angola, occupying Bebuela and the Port of Lobito and attempted to set up a UNITA/FNLA Client government in Luanda. By 1976 the SADF had been driven back by MPLA forces and withdrew in March 76; when the UN condemned SA's aggression against Angola in Resolution 387 and called for \$6.7M compensation. Between then and June 79 however, Angola suffered 291 military attacks with damage estimated at \$293M. 1,383 people died. Over half the casualties were in refugee camps. In mid-79 the war was stepped up by SADF and the onslaught continues into 1982. British Buccaneer planes and French Mirages have been used in numerous air-strikes. By the time of the major assault of Aug 81, there were 11,000 SADF in Angola. This was followed by another UN Resolution of condemnation which was vetoed by the US with Britain abstaining.

Since its independence, Mozambique has been under attack from Smith's Rhodesian forces and SADF to undermine her support for the Zimbabwean liberation struggle. With Zimbabwean independence in 1980, SA inherited Smith's war against Mozambique. SA directs the anti-FRELIMO group, MRN.

SA has invaded Zambia and attacked Botswana. Tanzania has suffered economic sabotage and subversion and SA has had designs on Lesotho and Swaziland for some time. Training is in progress also for war in Zimbabwe.

SA's role in Namibia requires an article in itself. Here the purpose is to show

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that South Africa is fighting Imperialist War all over Southern Africa.

Crucial to the question of SA's militarisation is the growth of its Nuclear capability. In 1979 a test sight was set up in the Kalahari and in 1979 the S Atlantic saw a SA nuclear explosion. Technical assistance and investment from the US and the West are paving the way for Nuclear Reactors and help finance the enormous Rossing mine in Namibia and the Uranium enrichment Plant at Validaba. SA is now frantically preparing its Nuclear Arsenal.

The Schools Boycott of 1980 and the Anti-Rent Strikes in Soweto and the Bus Boycotts in Northern Transvaal in 1981 show us the absolute struggle for freedom and a new society by the oppressed Black masses. We have seen the solidarity and determination to reject the conditions of life imposed by the apartheid regime, despite the devastating violence of the State and the betrayals of the Bantu Councils. Roseinnes Phahle, in her superb report on the Schools Boycott in "SOLIDARITY No.4", entitled, "We Don't Want No Education", wrote,

"In the four months preceding the pupils' action, at least 30 industrial strikes by black workers took place in various parts of the country. In the course of the schools boycott, there was even more intense industrial action: the meat workers in the western Cape and the active support they received from the black consumers, the bus boycott and the June 16th stay-at-home in Capetown, the strikes in the motor industry in the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area, by textile workers in Durban, sugar workers in Johannesburg and mineworkers in Stilfontein...

"The ideological apparatus of the state in the form of the government, the police and the Bantustan functionaries were loud in their claims that the pupils lacked the support of the black oppressed. It is unthinkable for children whose age is averaged 15 to sustain a schools boycott for more than three months without at least the tacit support of their parents and other adults members of the community. In many areas where the boycott was strong, committees of parents, parents and pupils, or university students were formed to express support for the pupils. The reference by both Buthelezi's Inkatha and Prime Minister Botha to "those behind the uniform of school-children" was in fact an admission of the support the people were giving to the boycott."

Thus the students' movements, the Black Civic Associations, Soweto's Committee of 10, and particularly AZAPO and the Black Consciousness organizations have thrust the revolutionary struggle for self-determination into the foreground of the South African question. Roseinnes concludes,

"Revolutionary class consciousness is something we have to fight for through our active intervention in ongoing struggles which take place under very definite conditions - conditions which in our special case affect the black working class in a particular way and give rise to a particular consciousness."

These struggles are universal and relate directly to the fight against racist, sexist, exploitative capitalism the world over.

As Charles Denby points out elsewhere in this issue, Fanon says,

"The consciousness of the self is not the closing of the door to communication... National consciousness, which is not nationalism, is the only thing that will give us an international dimension."

Andrew Walter Murdoch

Racism = discussion

In Marxist-Humanism, April '81 we said that 1981 had already been an historic year for Black resistance, putting 'British Civilisation on Trial', which erupted against the state over the New Cross Murders and the introduction of the South African style pass law Nationality Act.

The 'July Days' '81 not only showed the geographic breadth of youth who hate Thatcher's government and the police but the depth of that hate which is not just anger but contains the Reason, the thought that this grey, decrepid society has to go, and be replaced by one in which they have control over their lives and their futures. Not living day to day hassling on the street for the next meal. This is why the 'Riots' cannot be simply 'carbon copies' of the sixties USA simply because of the development of the Black freedom struggle worldwide - and that must involve the idea of Black Consciousness. The struggles that became known as the June '76 uprising in Soweto marked a high point in the development of a philosophy of Black Liberation that was not allied to either the East or West power blocs or tied

RACISM- Revolt and freedom

1981 1982

to the concept of nationalism which did not do away with the class system and its process of production. The philosophy of Black consciousness is seeing Black not as a 'particular' in the class struggle but as a whole, real being; as Biko points out, black not as an extension of a broom or additional leverage to some machine. Kehla Mthembu, President of AZAPO has put it more recently, "Black Consciousness identifies the oppressor and the oppressed, the dominant and the dominated, the exploiter and the exploited, and thus refuses and rejects acceptance of the myth that we are fighting the white government ONLY... Black consciousness seeks to establish an open and egalitarian society. A society free of exploitation of man by man, a society which will hold human interest and dignity above profit inspired motives."

It is this idea of freedom, that has electrified Britain. Those voices that have been quiet for too long suddenly came alive against the legitimising racism of the Nationality Bill (Green paper of the last Labour Government), the New Cross cover-up and the trumped up police/state charges against the 'Bradford 12'; has shown 1981 to be a year for Black Resistance that 1982 is already following. The crisis affecting humanity and the reality of two nations in every country has been made more sharp and stark.

It was youth, especially black leading white into battle with the forces of the law that put BRITISH CIVILISATION ON TRIAL challenging not only the Rulers, Henchmen, and Scoundrels who rule this British 'society' but also the chauvinist mentality of those who wanted to bring the struggle under the umbrella of the TUC. The Black movement, however, has shown its spontaneity and organisation (seen clearly by the Asian Youth's mobilisation against the Fascists in Southall, London), and its independence and vitality.

Scarman, and the liberals, see the formula to the problem in terms of 'community policing' which maybe a solution to the 'problem of policing' but no solution to the problem of society. Community policing means nothing more than another form of information gathering and control (the bobby on the innercity beat infiltrating local community cent-

res, youth clubs, social clubs and so on. With the backup of riot shields, guns and armoured cars.

We are not interested in the form of policing but rather the form of society. In the eighties as capitalism concentrates into ownership and control by fewer and fewer hands, the industrial reserve army of labour is made up increasingly of youth, of whom black youth are proportionately a large part. The government hankering after cheap labour are making YOP work compulsory, at a measly £15 for 35 hours drudgery a week. Those youth who are 'workshy', militant and undisciplined are those who are moved on by the security in the innercity shopping centres. They are the ones who criticise the values of this society which sees everything in terms of Production, as it eats up more workers in machines, produces more weapons, more militarism (and more militarised lives, the dole queue or the short, sharp, shock of the detention centre). In this decade the distortion and perversion of humanity by the alienating machine of production and social control has become greater. But it is the youth with their idealism, in the best sense of the word, who are making the idea of free-concrete, not abstract but a question of life and death. They believe they can change society, the bourgeois academics call this alienation, by that they mean some sort of mental sickness of those who actually don't like 'our great British system'. The truth is much more straightforward. The concept of Alienation is not mystical or therapeutic, society is not above people's heads but it is made by them; alienation is centred in the way people's labour becomes alien to them. It is not the activity of self-development but it is just an appendage to a machine.

Marx placed 'the free and full development of the individual' in place of the alienation of labour. As Raya Dunayevskaya says in her new book: "Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution",

"While in the 1844 analysis of the concept of alienation, alienated labour is central, that is so not only because labour is exploited but also under capitalism, labour itself has become an alienated activity instead of being the self-development

activity that develops the labourer. So all pervasive is alienation that it permeates even the most fundamental of human relationships-Man/Woman."

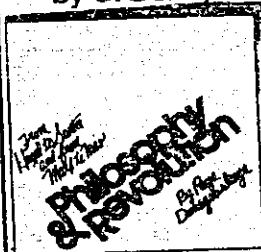
That is, the relationship between Man and Woman, the alienated relationship, is the litmus test to how dehumanised this society is, and how deep the uprooting of it has to be. Now the Women's Liberation movement is a reality, criticising the sexism both of the white left and the black movement—as one black woman said 'You can't be a woman three days a week and a black the other four',—the movement will accept nothing but totally new human relations.

The reality of Worker, of Youth, of Black, of Woman, the recognition of the forces of revolution must never be allowed to be divided from the idea of making Freedom a reality. This is the human endeavour for our age.

ED GOLDMAN

THREE CLASSICS OF MARXIST-HUMANISM

1. **Philosophy and Revolution AND**
2. **Marxism and Freedom**
by Raya Dunayevskaya
3. **Indignant Heart**
A black worker's journal
by C. Denby



all at £2.50

AUTHOR OF
INDIGNANT HEART
DISCUSSES
BOOK



Stevenage, Herts.
Dec 2 1981

Dear Charles Denby,

Thank you for your book. I have learned much from your accounts of past struggles and from your ideas. Your clarity about class interests and, and in particular, the ghostly nature of middle class radicalism is a welcome change from the gospels of hopeful leaders. In England we have experienced may sellouts by leaders of the 'left'. This is very apparent now as undemocratic M.P.s jostle to keep their seats. Private gain pushes policy into the background and personalities are given more importance than revolutionary goals.

The words from Steve Biko helped me understand a difficult problem. 'By Black Consciousness I mean the cultural and political revival of an oppressed people.' The problem is that of 'race or class?' You present two arguments that are helpful:

i) "(claiming there is no black question) What that does is blind you to the fact that blacks have many problems that blacks are necessarily forced to fight on both race and class lines."

ii)—"skin colour doesn't mean anything where the capitalists and working class are concerned. Just as a black foreman or black businessman can oppress and exploit the workers, so do the Africans in power oppress their own masses."

The first trap allows white liberals to ignore the needs of black people and leads to marginal improvements for elite groups of the working class instead of fundamental demolition of privilege and oppression. The second trap allows white Liberals to appear on the side of oppressed black people by doing down their black bosses. (This has been common in England through 'enlightened' legislation used to attack black landlords and employers).

If you agree with my interpretation so far you may wish to consider my conclusion: that class liberation is the revolutionary goal but the emancipation of all members of the working class is part of the process...

I look forward to receiving any comments on this assertion which is meant to cover all members of the working class with special recognition of the severe oppression experienced by black people; women; and people with physical impairments. Some people argue—for example—feminism is more important than class struggle thus putting down sexist working

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class men while other argue class struggle is more important thus belittling feminist demands. I believe that the class struggle is the fundamental one but any failure to seek emancipation for oppressed groups within the working class is a failure to seek class liberation. It is heading in the wrong direction. It is talking about freedom whilst practicing slavery.

The other point I want to share concerns health and safety at work. Your discussion of these issues is excellent but you do not go beyond the dangers of automation and unification to the positive benefits. When the working class both owns the means of production and controls the management of production then automation will liberate people from the greater abuses of toxic environments and dangerous machinery... Automation without common ownership and workers' control is oppression but otherwise it has the potential to enhance our lives. In England many left wing trade union leaders support common ownership but not workers' control which threatens their own authoritarian leadership. Also many liberals support workers' control in a watered down version but wish to retain a mixed economy meaning compromise to the whims of the market instead of democratic socialist decision making.

I am a working class man who has been duped and misled by a liberal, middle class education. Your book has helped me understand something of the nature of my oppression. Many thanks for your work.

Yours fraternally,

Tom Hulley

Detroit
Dec. 17, 1981

Dear Tom Hulley,

...What you say about race and class is especially important to me. This is because the Left and capitalist society have both done much to confuse people about this question. As you say, either they are blind to the race question entirely, as most Marxists have been ever since Marx died, or they give everything over to race, and think because you are Black, that you, the Black worker, have the same interests and ideas as Black foremen or Black businessmen and politicians in power. That is why I was glad to hear you say that Steve Biko helped you understand this difficult problem. Biko did bring out a whole new view of Black consciousness, and traced it back to the great revolutionary thinker and activist Frantz Fanon. When Biko quotes Fanon that 'the

consciousness of the self' is not the closing of a door to communication... National consciousness, which is not nationalism, is the only thing that will give us an internationalism, is the only thing that will give us an international dimension, he is bringing out a new view of world revolution and change in all human relationships.

I have spoken at some leading universities and colleges here, and I always conclude with what Steve Biko brought out. It is still exciting to hear it coming from England after last summer's rebellions by you, Black and White.

...I know for myself that workers all over the world have had many of the same experiences that I have seen. Leaders sell out, just to stay in power, whether they are from the left or the liberals. They refuse above all to accept the masses as Reason, as thinkers. Many workers I know say that if our union had gone the way we organised it to go, with workers running it, we would have a different society today. I hope that in England you can in the future develop the new view that you say in your letter.

Yours very warmly,

Charles Denby

For too long the left has tried to incorporate the problem of race by economic determinism. Race is pushed to the periphery. Blackness is seen as nothing more than an extension of the proletariat. The plethora of vanguard parties have failed to grasp the significance of the back struggle against racism. For all their different views on how to incorporate race, the very fact that they use the outmoded party-to-lead theme points to the inherent problem in their politics.

What has been emerging within Black British communities has been a realisation that what is required is an assertion of their own definitions on the situation in to develop a new theory to the practice of fighting racism as they experience it, and no longer to accept the judgements of vanguard parties. The struggle of Blacks in Britain has only emerged in mainstream left politics as a matter of political necessity, in which little more than lip service has been given to the Black struggle.

Summer 1981 proved that the Black masses can no longer be seen as a minor part of the struggle against this racist, sexist, exploitative system. They are at the front. There have been many independent Black parties in Britain for a long time (The Indian Workers Association since before WW2). However some groups derive their ideologies from existing vanguardist theories.

All attempts to incorporate Black Liberation by economic determinism and vanguardism have failed and have contributed to the lack of unity on the left, both black and white. Rather than act for the Black Community, the left should let Blacks themselves define the situation in their own terms. What we are then calling for is the free development of Black Consciousness, unburdened by the existing left order. There is nothing new in this line of thought. Both Franz Fanon and Steve Biko arrived at similar conclusions. Fanon in "Wretched of the Earth" wrote:

The elite will attach a fundamental importance to organisation, so much so that the fetish of organisation will oft-take precedence of a reasoned study of colonial society. The notion of the Party is a notion imported from the mother country.

Fanon's analysis of colonial Africa can be compared to the failure of the 'party' in Britain. The party, far from being able to lead blacks to freedom, inhibits the struggle for Black Consciousness.

Paul White, Birmingham.

from the US

Dear British Marxist-Humanists:

There has been a lot of discussion on the July days of revolt in Britain here in the US, especially among Blacks. People were discussing Britain that were never before interested in your country. It all points to what we have learned in the past - that out of mass activity for a new world comes a new element in thought internationally.

I wish you could hear the affinity many youth and workers have expressed about what is happening in Britain. Black high school students were comparing it to conditions in Detroit, with the police, the school system, and the unemployment. One young woman told me: "When the revolts broke out, I really felt proud.. to know that young people are really fighting and trying to change things! Before the revolts, we hadn't even thought about blacks as living in Britain. People as different as Black welfare rights activist in Michigan, and a white auto worker in California wrote to us about their feelings on the struggle you are waging against Thatcherism. They know that Thatcher, like Reagan, isn't taking government off the backs of the people. Far from it they aim to add a new oppression in economics and in thought and in the military.

There is a lot in common today between Britain and the USA and not just Reagan and Thatcher. Just as in Britain you are fighting against this Nationality Bill (The 'White-law'), here we are fighting to stop a bill the right call the 'Family

Protection Bill'. It is just another way to try and put women back in the home, to take away her history, to force her to bear children and teach their ideology. And just like you have the BM and other Nazi-type groups, the US every KKK member thinks their day has now arrived. In Georgia, the last year has been filled with shotgun blasts into homes, cross burnings and hate letters against Black activists. Black and white teenagers who date together are attacked and forced to leave school.

Unemployment is still nearly 20% for Blacks and we make only 57 of what whites make when we do get a job. And the newspapers wonder why we are pessimistic!

What gives us hope is the way everyone can see the Black Dimension is Worldwide. And Black women are in the forefront of it. Recently I heard that many of the workers on the buses and subways in Britain are Blacks. Well, I am a bus driver myself, and I drive for a public bus system that runs between the the suburbs and Detroit. Not too long ago, there were very few Black bus drivers and very few women on this job. But after the civil rights movement and pressure for affirmative action we began to get hired. Right away one problem could be seen. It was in the way suburban school children began to abuse Black women bus drivers. Finally this year one driver was fired after she refused to drive abusive children off and they lied about her. Before this happened the union would rarely do anything, let alone call a protest. Now they called called demonstrations to defend the driver, and many workers joined in. Quite a few of the white drivers participated, because they felt the company was unjustified. How long would this racism been swept under the rug if Black drivers were not hired and a Black woman didn't stand up and fight?

To the bosses we the lowest of the low. To many of the radicals we are "new" and "not politicised". They want to organise us, but the consciousness that we will gain will be consciousness they provide, not thoughts from our own experiences. When I read about groups like the Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent (OWAAD) in Britain, I wondered about the attitude of the Left toward them. Or the attitude of Black men also. Are they considered just another group to help build a bigger march, or is anyone interested in what thoughts they have had about what kind of changes are needed in the movement? Maybe some of your readers could tell us?

BY TOMMIE HOPE-BUS DRIVER, DETROIT

Readers Writes Readers Writes Readers Writes 16

Dear Comrades,

You will appreciate the difference between a dilly or weekly paper and a monthly and a quarterly. In a quarterly you cannot deal easily with the politics of the day, the production and selling period and the gap of time make this impossible. A quarterly is for philosophy and reflection.

To deal with politics you need at least a monthly paper.

Your costs have been too high. It would be better to work at a duplicated monthly, which you could organise regularly. The workers will find a duplicated mag quite acceptable - they know the difficulties as well as you. And it helps your own organisation to produce some thing with monthly regularity....much better to start small and friendly and get the co-operation of all your supporters to build it up.

I believe that the need for large scale propoganda of communism can be met in only one way. We cannot compete with the capitalist press. So we must turn to FREE leaflets.

Well organised, this can put the working class point of view into thousands of homes. A striking leaflet, short and snappy on one side; explanatory one the other. Get all members to shove 500 each - or more - through the letter boxes on a saturday-sunday. Count it up, 20 active people could put your point of view into 10,000 homes - and you could do it every month, every week.

Where we are here we get commercial leaflets shoved in every week, sometimes twice - expensive coloured leaflets by paid canvassers. If it pays the other side to do this, that means people read them. Your leaflet would even reach the telly nellies!

It is essential to stir up and keep alive the class spirit and this requires constant propoganda in the simplest form to reach as many people as possible. This is a job of hard slogging without any quick results but it is basic.

I only need add that if you do produce any leaflets, I'll do my stint....

FRANK MAITLAND, HASTINGS.

...I just wanted to remind your readers about a bit of parliamentary hypocrisy that is going down in Islington. The mafiosa and opportunist right wing of the labour council, that held power, has left the Labour party to form a local SDP, that now controls the local council. To me it just shows the bankruptcy of our parliamentary system. You vote labour, you get labour, then over night the right wing labour councillors freak out at what the left is doing and are able to take power, and make recommendations for extensive cuts in social services, without re-election. In Northern Ireland Bobby Sands is elected MP and then denied the right by the passing of a new law in parliament. The whole thing a farce...

But when it comes to Islington council why do the Labour group see the problem in terms of rate increases versus cuts? I don't want rate increases, and I don't want any more cuts.

PLAYWORKER, ISLINGTON

Dear Marxist-Humanism,

Over the last few months various journals of the left have attempted to challenge male revolutionaries sexism. Achilles Heel, Big Flame and the Leveller have all been giving space to the development of 'men's groups'. While I think that it is certainly about time that the left accept what the Women's Liberation Movement has been saying for the last ten years - 'The personal is political', I am dubious of the 'form' this 'self criticism' takes. In the current analyses of 'patriarchy and how to fight it' there seems to be agreement that the way forward is through psycho-analysis. 'Sexual politics' becomes isolated from the world outside, putting emphasis on how emotionally unbalanced, brutal, Macho, selfish, etc, men are, and seeing the only way out through 'Consciousness raising groups'. Whilst I am not against consciousness raising groups for themselves I cannot see them as the whole answer. Within this idea of CR is an elitism that those who have had their heads shrunk can now go off and form some commune and be the living 'future in the present.'

Whilst I think that it is very important to have good open and free relationships between people, especially those who call themselves socialists; what the Women's Liberation Movement has been saying to us is that you can't change one part of your life, sexual relations, without changing life itself.

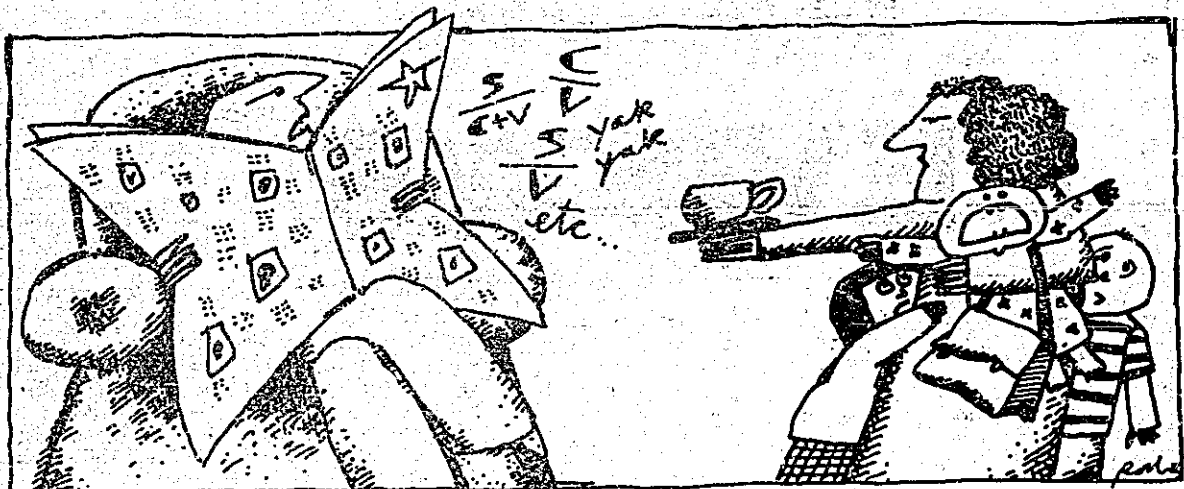
Marx made the relationship between Man and Woman the ground for seeing how alienated society is. He criticised those who thought Communism was just a change in property relations between private and public by saying that this was nothing more than communal prostitution - the woman held as common property. One can see the similarity between this and the 'free love' idea of the sixties. Women are still seen by men as things, possessions, property, she is still a shadow and 'an easy lay'. Obviously this a dead end for women.

For anti-sexist men, I think the whole debate on sexuality looks too inward; looking for individual, personal solutions not political ones. The challenge of the WLM was to make the personal political, taking outside of the isolated psychiatrist's couch or double bed and bringing it out into the open, challenging sexist society. The future of anti-

sexist men's groups must depend on this, the challenging of sexist society by the vision of a free human one. That is not to say give up trying in the short run,

but to see the distorted man not as an individual problem but as a human one. What do other readers think?

Nigel Quinten LONDON



TAKEN FROM SOUR CREAM VOL. I

POLAND:

IN DEFENCE OF SOLIDARITY'S LEADERSHIP

Dear Marxist-Humanism,

...Although momentarily halted, the story of Solidarnosc is yet another affirmation of the ability of ordinary working people to chart their own road to freedom. Looking back on the development of the free union, one cannot be impressed by the careful and yet purposeful path which was taken. In contrast to previous movements in Eastern Europe, which attempted violent insurrection at the first step, the working class leaders of Solidarnosc had learned that the industrial might of Poland's workers lay at the cornerstone of every advance. By the discriminate use of the strike weapon, they were able to wrest political concessions which were unique, and which force us to reconsider the role of revolutionary syndicalism in the age of state capitalism. Whilst always proclaiming the pre-eminence of economic questions, Solidarnosc gradually came to embody the whole range of demands which are the first step towards the elimination of authoritarian 'Communism' and its replacement by self-governing socialism. The tapes released by the government of a Solidarnosc meeting shortly before the declaration of martial law show that the leaders of Solidarity were under no illusions as to the likely outcome of their demands, and show Lech Welesa in a far more favourable light than the self-proclaimed socialist experts in the west could have allowed. We see the 'moderate'

line of Welesa did not allow for permanent compromise with the rulers, and are made aware for the first time that he never believed that violence could be avoided. The bravery of this 'man of iron' is made ever more clear as he holds out against the mental torture of total isolation demanding resistance to martial law, and refusing negotiations without the release of the rest of the union's leadership. 'MAN OF IRON' - LECH?

...The Polish movement has given us a great deal of material for understanding the feelings of its people, and most notable of the artistic productions anywhere in the world last year was the humanist epic film, Andrzej Wajda's Man of Iron. Recalling the great days of early Soviet cinema, Wajda managed to break down the barriers between documentary and fiction in presenting a comprehensive and yet personalised account of the state of mind of the Polish people embarking on their mammoth project, the liberation of their minds from the lies and half-truths which pass for history in the Stalinist states. Any reader who has not seen this film should make every effort to do so now, bearing in mind that Wajda languishes, along with his entire nation, in the concentration camps which are Jaruzelski's only answer to the truth. The time for us to act decisively to build a broad solidarity campaign is now, and Wajda gives us a marvellous start in our battle.

-Solidarity with Solidarity!-

Jon Murphy

BOOK REVIEWS

REVIEW I
PORNOGRAPHY : MEN POSSESSING WOMEN
By Andrea Dworkin. Womens Press. £4.95.

After the showing of the TV documentary, "Police", during which cameras observed the intimidation and interrogation by two policemen of a rape victim, Newspapers and the Media once again turned their attention to Rape. Police spokesmen argued that the interrogation shown to millions of viewers was not typical, whilst Rape Crisis Centres countered that their contact with rape victims suggested that the police officers disbelief and bullying tone were all too common. None of this came to any surprise to women who are accustomed to continual sexist harrasment from men, ranging from the annoying to the terrifying, all of which they're expected to tolerate. Nor will women be surprised that the other recent cause celebre; the Scottish woman whose case was dropped by the Prosecuting body because of the mental health of the victim, the incontrovertible fact of her slashed and scarred face roused enough public sympathy and belief in the story to embarrass Nicholas Fairburn out of his job as Scottish Chief- Prosecutor.

These two cases demonstrated anew that women face disbelief and scepticism when reporting a rape. The police feel justified in their disbelief that the woman has not 'given her consent', and finally even in the event of injuries which will help prove her story, the onus of proof falls to the victim. Many women are dissuaded from pursuing their case in the absence of injuries, even then a case may be dropped as if it were a civil affair.

PORNOGRAPHY

An explanation for this response can be found in Andrea Dworkin's angry book "Pornography; Men Possessing Women" Womens Press. 1981.£4.95.

In this book she demonstrates that

rape is a punitive measure used by men against women. Rape is about humiliation. It is used for sexual domination of men over women, a reminder to women of who it is who really controls their bodies. Women are sexual slaves to men who think that women are sexually available. Statistical studies in the USA reveal that a woman is raped every fifteen minutes and a wife is battered every fifteen seconds.

Women are after all, in common mythology the provokers of any sexual attack. Dworkin quotes Kinsey:

"There is a certain masochistic streak in many women: their occasional desire to be overpowered and treated a little roughly. It is after all, very ego-satisfying for the female to feel that she is so sexually attractive that the male cannot maintain social restraint and reverts to caveman tactics..."

"Objective scientists and pornographers agree: she wants it hard and she wants it rough she provokes it because she likes it. Even the sexual empathy deposited by Kinsey simply establishes another reason to disregard her will, because an assertion of will on her part is, by definition; a refusal - a misrepresentation of her own sexual nature that is fulfilled when she is sexually used by the male to satisfy him especially in coitus".

In her book Nancy Dworkin argues that women's bodies have been sexually colonised by men and that pornography is one of the institutions of control. Pornography means - the original Greek definition, 'graphic description of the lowest form'. Pornography, she argues is not pictures of nudes or writings about sex. It shows in fact, the objective and real evaluation of women.

The humiliation, the force and terror shown in pornography are the real humiliation, force and terror of real women who must "exist with and live with constant reference to the boundaries of

this definition".

Women as viewed by men are provocative objects to be used by men. "The female is never entitled not to want sex", writes Dworkin, "force used against her when she refuses is always warranted because she is never either justified or serious in not wanting sex. No authentic idea of bodily integrity is never hers to claim or to have. Force does not violate her or victimise her because force is nature's way of giving her what she really wants".

Left-wing defence of pornography is rooted in the collectivisation of woman. Women are seen as a natural resource to be used by many rather than owned by one. "Freedom is mass marketing of woman as whore. Free sexuality for woman is being massively consumed. Denied an individual nature, denied any sexual sensibility other than that which serves the male".

"Capitalism is not wicked or cruel when the commodity is the whore: profit is not wicked or cruel when the alienated worker is a female 'piece of meat'."

The anger of the book moves and hurts. In an afterword she writes of the profound impact of the nausea, isolation and despair she suffered whilst researching her book. The book has shock value: especially the dissection of pornographic works. This was her aim, to shock and disturb women, to make them see just what men think of them.

The book includes a critique of De Sade which will perhaps forever prevent him or his work being hailed as that of a revolutionary.

In the chapter on Force, she shows how racism uses sexuality to express an antagonism covertly and how sexism makes possible racism by giving force a metaphysical, sexual significance.

CELIA KERR

REVIEW II

KARL MARX: INTERVIEWS AND RECOLLECTIONS
Edited by David McLellan.

This book brings together descriptions and reminiscences of Karl Marx by those who knew him: Jenny Marx, who abandoned her aristocratic background for the hardships of life as a revolutionary emigre; daughter Eleanor Marx; Wilhelm Liebknecht, a pioneer marxist but one who nevertheless began diluting Marx's philosophy in the name of socialist unity; adversaries such as Mikhail Bakunin, the theorist of anarchism who descended to the pits of anti-semitism in his attack on Marx; a Prussian police spy; an English liberal statesman, Grant Duff; and many more.

What is important about this collection is the illumination it throws on the new world of thought and revolutionary activity that Marx opened up. How did the philosopher of human liberation live his own life and relate to those around him?

Marx's favourite maxim was nihil humanum a me alienum puto - I consider that nothing human is alien to me, and the proof of this is in the amazing breadth and depth of learning he acquired. Maintaining that 'a foreign language is a weapon in the struggle of life', Marx was fluent in German, English and French and could read Italian, Spanish, Rumanian and Russian.

Marx would plunge deeply into any subject. According to his son-in-law

Paul Lafargue, he knew Heine and Goethe by heart, and every year Aeschylus in the Greek original! He took keen interest in new developments in the natural sciences, particularly Darwin's work on evolution.

The piece by Stephan Born is significant in that it points to the difference between Marx and Engels, in Engels' own words. Born writes:

"The most bitter complaints about Marx came from Engels. 'He is no journalist' he said 'and will never become one. He pores for a whole day over a leading article that would take someone else a couple of hours as though it concerned the handling of a deep philosophical problem. He changes and polishes and changes the change and owing to his unremitting thoroughness can never be ready on time'."

Even if this complaint was made in half jest, the point is that Engels (and other post Marx Marxists more so) did not share Marx's insistent digging to get to the philosophical heart of every problem. 'Official' marxism after Marx's death was therefore a devitalised marxism. We find W. Liebknecht congratulating himself on the success of the 1874 compromise with the followers of Lassalle (the Gotha program), undertaken against strong opposition from Marx. The elder Liebknecht, who died in 1900, could not see that this was an early stage in a long process of degeneration that would fall in line behind bourgeois millitarism in 1914.

Family in the Marx household was a far cry from Victorian patriarchy. the atmosphere was libertarian, loving and resiliently cheerful in spite of periods of poverty and sickness and the early deaths of four of the children.

Eleanor Marx recall her childhood, with "Moor" decorating her hair with convolvulus flowers, Moor being ridden like a horse. Moor as a teller of tales, Moor

reading aloud to her Homer, "Don Quixote" and the Arabian Nights and discussing them as he went along, and of course Moor explaining political and social questions. The same humanism that pervades Marx's writings is revealed here in the care he took for the all-round development of his daughters.

RICHARD BUNTING

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