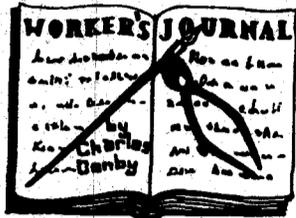


## A trip South: Black freedom at crossroads



by Charles Denby, Editor

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

I have just returned from a visit to my former home in Lowndes County, in Southern Alabama. I was surprised at the changes that have taken place there in the years since I was a young man. In my younger years it was a rural area, strictly farming. Every family had their own farm, whether they owned the land or rented it. That was the way you lived.

But today there are no such things as renting or working land that one owns. Most of the land is in pasture for the purpose of raising cattle. The only farms that one can see are those large mechanized farms that are cultivated by those automated machines, machines that operate six or seven rows of crops at a time.

Most of the people who are living in Lowndes County today are going to Montgomery and to Selma for employment in some factory or mill there. They have to drive anywhere from 15 to 50 miles a day to their jobs. There is only one plant, in the southwestern (Continued on Page 4)

## Eyewitness report on Solidarity

# Polish workers' new form of organization

by Andy Phillips

Some two dozen people — young, middle aged and elderly, men and women, coal miners and white collar workers — jammed the two-room office of the Solidarity union at the Thorez mine in southwest Poland when I went there the first week of January.

The people jamming the office were there for a variety of reasons. Several workers were there to sign up and join the new independent union, others to complain about unsafe conditions in the mine and other work grievances. One elderly woman demanded to know when she would get her promised flat; another protested clogged water pipes in her flat that created a variety of problems.

### NEW UNION PROVIDES ANSWERS

Staff members of the union, including the president, answered questions, advised on the best steps to be taken to get problems solved, and promised action in areas of their own jurisdiction.

"It's like this all the time," the president told me about an hour later when the crowd had thinned out. "There is very much to do because many problems that

the people and workers have had were not taken care of before. They expect us to help them, and we are doing it."

He went on to explain that about 80 percent of the 200,000 coal miners in his region had joined Solidarity, the same proportion as the nation as a whole. He also noted that much work remained to be done to establish a cohesive organization that would unite the miners who had acted independently and ineffectively before, and whose efforts had been thwarted by the Communist Party official trade union leaders in the past.

One especially significant point the president emphasized is that the union agreement with the state operators of the mine stipulates that the union members have the right to stop work at any time they feel their work place is unsafe. I was especially impressed by this, because during my 10 years of work in U.S. coal mines American miners had always wanted this kind of provision in their contract to save the lives of miners so needlessly killed because of unsafe work conditions.

On the other hand, the Polish Solidarity union is not limited to just the workers. Mine bosses are also members, so when a miner has a grievance against his boss, it isn't a matter of the union fighting for the miner against the boss, it is the union trying to represent both the boss and the miner. And while the official line of the union leaders is that they invite everyone to join because it will take the cooperative efforts of all to raise the standard of living of the Polish people, it is also clear that there are a number of different tendencies at work in the mass Solidarity movement.

Indeed, the overwhelming fact that has raised so many serious problems of form of organization is that no one, absolutely no one, anticipated the depth of the revolutionary spirit of the Polish workers, and nothing more clearly demonstrates that than the fact that 10 million poured into Solidarity in the unprecedented short time of three months. The practical problems of organization are enormous, and they must be tackled on every level—plant, region and nation.

KOR\* intellectuals I interviewed, as well as labor leaders and ranks, are very conscious of the importance of creating a form of organization that will not remove the power from the rank-and-file workers.

Trade union elections have been held throughout most of Poland, and one measure of the success of Solidarity is how many of the official state party trade union officers have been replaced by Solidarity members. Apparently the greatest organizational progress has been on the local plant levels, and especially in the larger metallurgical plants where the sweep of Solidarity candidates has been almost complete, and the power of Solidarity effectively consolidated.

### LITTLE REGIONAL ORGANIZATION

On the regional level, however, there has apparently been little or no organizational progress. The problems on this level are very complex, involving Solidarity relationships not only among workers in different industries, but also with regional party and other state administrative bodies. Every relationship, almost without exception, is directly affected by the existence of Solidarity. Lines of political, social, and economic responsibilities have often not even been identified, let alone reached the point where Solidarity can negotiate with regional government bodies.

On the national level, there is a committee of some 60 persons representing most or all occupations, but this

\*KOR (Workers' Defense Committee) was created by Polish intellectuals after the 1976 uprising to fight government reprisals. They continued afterwards to support workers in their everyday struggles.

(Continued on Page 5)

## LATIN AMERICA: REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION, PP. 8, 11



Young freedom fighters in El Salvador



Demonstration in San Francisco

## WOMAN AS REASON

### Russian feminist arrested

# Urgent appeal for Vera Golubeva

We have just received this urgent communication: The new hedgehog tyranny (Yezhovshina) or the usual Fascism, from Tatyana Mamonova, exiled Russian feminist, primary editor of the Almanac *Woman and Russia*.—Ed.

by Tatyana Mamonova

At the end of December, 1980 Natalya Maltseva was arrested in Leningrad. Publicist, unmarried mother, she offered immediately to work for the Almanac *Woman and Russia*. She was published at once in the first edition, though she was living in Archangel and working there at the television office. Her enthusiasm and activity was so great that I insisted that she take a pseudonym. Natalya Maltseva became Vera Golubeva. She told me that feminism had become for her the reason to live, and that she discovered herself at last in the fight for rights of the women-mothers.

She was born in Siberia, but she wanted to see the big world and devote her life to a big action. Living and searching, exceptionally compassionate, she spoke with pleasure to various women, inviting them to a

common action in the movement of women for the defense of their rights. She worked for the Almanac almost a year-and-a-half (since its beginning), and travelled to Leningrad especially for this, leaving her job as assistant at the television office in Archangel. She began to work at the Northern Radiance factory to feed her daughter and also because of the conspiracy: she might be accused of "parasitism" . . .

If our society was authentically socialist and realized the ideas of the revolution, Vera-Natasha wouldn't have had to demonstrate that the equality of the woman and the man exist in the Soviet Union only verbally. As an unmarried mother, she got five rubles (less than eight dollars) every month and she related to me with bitterness the humiliations she had to endure because of these trivial state alms.

A gifted young woman, born in 1951, Vera-Natasha dared to give life to a child without being married to the father. How many torments she had to endure because of this! Her daughter Yonochka, is eight years old. They are both like a line: thin and large eyed. Already now the daughter defends her mother like a real Amazon.

When neighbors of the common flat attacked Vera- (Continued on Page 2)

## ON THE INSIDE

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## WOMAN AS REASON

(Continued from Page 1)

Natasha, Yonochka told them: "Don't touch my mother, she has poor health, has tuberculosis, and she has important business to do, it not like you."

When Vera-Natasha worked for the Almanac she sometimes stopped women directly in the street and interviewed them. I begged her to be more prudent, but she answered constantly: "There is nothing criminal in my action, nothing anti-soviet. They say that we have a real socialism, let them actually demonstrate it."

She was against "christianization" of feminism because she felt that the orthodox church would not liberate woman. She believed in the possibility of democratization of soviet society. "I write what everyone knows in our country," she said, "the other side of the coin." In her article in the first issue of Woman and Russia she merely revealed the situation of unmarried mothers in the Soviet Union, about the conditions in the kindergartens, in the abortion clinics.

I have known Vera-Natasha for ten years . . . We worked together for the Almanac. The fidelity of Vera-Natasha to our common labor was without any reserve. Her luminous soul always served to actively involve women of any age, conviction and nationality in our publishing work. One day she arrived with an older Kazakh woman, the next day with a young student in blue jeans, and the next day with a foreign painter.

### FOLLOWED AND ARRESTED

One month ago Vera-Natasha told me that someone was beginning to follow her, the same way those who have contacts with foreigners are followed. "But foreigners are the same people we are, why do I have to step aside from them? By the way, the Declaration of Helsinki exists, why do I have to hide our reality from anybody?"

She was picked up while she was going to one "conspiracy" meeting. A letter was discovered on her (a proof!) They reached the room in which she lived with her daughter. They confiscated a typewriter and feminist documents. They arrested her. They threatened her with Article No. 70, a harsh article concerning "treason of the fatherland."

Our senile dying government is beginning to take into its convulsions fragile women and to deprive children of a mother's care. But sending all the women who discover the living source of feminism to camps or prisons or expelling them from the fatherland, is impossible, since suffering women represent half of the population of the Soviet Union.

## Women organize against rape

Ann Arbor, Mich.—In the December 1980 News & Letters, I found a sentence in the youth column about "the women in Ann Arbor, Mich. who marched through the town pointing out 150 places where women have been sexually attacked, painting the message 'A Woman Was Raped Here.'" I felt a need for a fuller experientially rooted account of the action so I'm writing to share my story as a participant.

Last year there were three brutal murders of single women who lived alone in apartment complexes in Ann Arbor. As well, an average of one rape occurs every five days in this college town of 100,000. In public meetings, authorities said they could do nothing to solve the problem of lack of safety for women.

The male-dominated student government proposed a male escort service as a solution. But women knew that such a proposal would only reinforce the concept of women as property of men (and therefore requiring men's physical protection). The seriousness of the situation and the blatant sexism of the proposed solutions called for a feminist reaction.

The force was initiated in a casual conversation between two creative undergraduate feminists. They went to the police department and were refused information on locations where women had been sexually assaulted. Relying on newspaper reports and other women's accounts of rapes they knew had occurred, 150 sites were identified.

Fourteen affinity groups were organized and each group was assigned a geographic area with eight to 10 sites. The groups met and developed their own strategy. Between 11:30 and 12:30 p.m. on Nov. 13, 70 women worked in their groups painting the town red.

The next morning, we heard stories of women who had been surprised and angered that their "safe" neighborhood and walking routes were so dangerous. Students in classes spontaneously started discussions about the action. Participants received long distance phone calls from friends and relatives who had heard our story on national radio.

More actions are being planned to target examples of oppressive ideology and practice concerning rape and women's safety. We support feminist solutions which encourage women to autonomously strengthen themselves in mind and body and which encourage women to resist trivializations of the problem by asserting their demand for a world without rape.

## Mamonova appeals for Int'l Feminist Union

We will not allow the ferocious Stalinist cruelties to soil Russia again. The world has heard a lot about it. It will be impossible for the hardened philistines, faithful subjects of the patriarchy and its violent ways, to turn the wheel of history backward. Pseudosocialism and pseudodemocracy cannot hide their true essences.

We have to obtain the liberation of Vera-Natasha while the period of interrogation is still going on. After this period it will be too late because of the state of her health. Vera-Natasha will not be able to support herself in exile. More distressing on her nerves will be the threat of her daughter being an orphan.

The address for the Defense of Repressed Women in the USSR: c/o Tatyana Mamonova, 76, boulevard Voltaire, 75011 Paris, France.

I would like to inform you that I have been the main editor of the Almanac Woman and Russia, and for this reason have been exiled from the USSR.

The Almanac was and is still the first free feminist book edition in the Soviet Union. Almanac No. 1 and 2 (Rossijanka or Russian Woman a cover name deliberately changed for safety reasons) were also published in French in Paris, at the beginning of this year.

Now, back in Leningrad, Vera Golubeva (having written the article "The Back of the Coin" for the first Almanac) is acting as my substitute, as other authors do in different cities of the Soviet Union . . .

We should like to create an International Feminist Union which would bring about control over totalitarian regimes and offer active help to the women of Eastern Europe and to all struggling feminists in the world.

In particular, we are concerned about the fate of ten Soviet women, some of whom have disappeared and some of whom are known to have been arrested. Seven of the endangered women are in Leningrad. They are Natalya Lazareva, a painter who has been arrested; Irina Grivnina, a physician; Galina Grigoriyeva, a psychologist and mother; Natalya Lesnichenko, a trade union organizer; Sofiya Sokolova, a Jewish rights activist; Natalya Diukova, a writer; and Ludmila Dmitriyeva, a translator. All of the Leningrad women were involved in the "samisdat." In Moscow, the endangered women are Tatyana Velikanova, a mathematician; Malva Landa, a 60-year-old woman in internal exile; and Tatyana Osipova, who was arrested and threatened with treason in May, 1980.

I would like to beg your support for the Women's Movement in the USSR, and ask you to help us in acting against the political manipulation which serves to disinform people about the Women's Movement in the USSR and actually supports the "Christianization" of the Movement. This mendacious concept in fact only furthers disorientation of women in the Soviet Union, who still remain in almost total isolation from the global Feminist Movement.

November, 1980, Paris

Tatyana Mamonova

## Detroit, SF clerical workers fight 'The Blues'

Detroit, Mich.—It has been a long struggle to become unionized for the employees, mostly women, of Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Michigan. In 1978, workers voted on whether to be represented by the Teamsters.

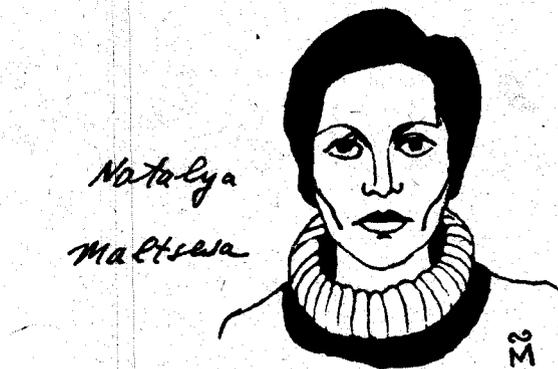
The company carried on an anti-Teamster campaign and the bargaining unit was never clearly defined which caused additional problems. The election ended with a large number of challenged votes and it took months before the National Labor Relations Board to determine that the Teamsters would not be the union at "The Blues."

In spite of all this, employees' desire to be represented by a union did not decrease. This month, some of the workers will have the opportunity to vote again, this time for or against the UAW. The bargaining unit has been better defined and the general feeling among the workers is that the UAW will win well over 51 percent of the vote. The company is carrying on a pro-company, anti-union campaign, but the workers don't seem to be listening.

Those voting will include all full-time and regular part-time clerical and technical employees, including computer operators, payroll clerks, trainers and production control analysts. This is where the heaviest pro-union support lies.

After the Teamster election, the company promised changes that would result in more uniform treatment of employees. One of the major changes, however, caused much resentment. The new sick leave policy was viewed by the majority of workers as restrictive, confusing, and punitive. In spite of opposition, the policy continues.

There are also other problems. In spite of high representation of minority and women workers, upper management is still 100 percent white male. High production standards, overtime policies, and merit raises are also issues. All in all, an important decision will be



We have turned over much of our page this month to the above communications from Tatyana Mamonova not only so that our readers can hear her own words on the situation for women, especially feminists, in so-called socialist Russia, but in hopes that circulating these letters will begin a much needed dialogue among feminists.

As revolutionary feminists who have witnessed the suppression of women revolutionaries in Iran, both from within and from without the revolutionary movement, and the new anti-woman climate accompanying the Reagan election here, we hope that this will spark the kind of serious exchange of ideas among women that is sorely needed in this time of crisis for the Women's Liberation Movement.

Mamonova's call for an International Feminist Union demands a response from feminists both here in the U.S. and in other countries. As Marxist-feminists, we were reminded of Flora Tristan's call for an International Workers' Union in 1843, one year before Marx himself called for one.

As Women's Liberation-News & Letters, we support Mamonova's call for an International Feminist Union. The basis of such a union must be the most serious discussion of the problems confronting today's women's movement. Our own period has demonstrated how crucial women's liberation is to the transformation of all society. Does not the condition of women in Russia as Mamonova's describes it expose in actual practice this false socialism? And did not the oppression of women in Iran first signal the incompleteness of that revolution?

With women's liberation as such an objective force, we need to work out ways to make women's liberation become a pathway which will help us achieve a revolution to end this oppression once and for all and allow us to begin establishing new human relationships.

We hope to devote space in future issues to a discussion of these and other questions and we invite your ideas and participation.

Women's Liberation—News and Letters

made by workers here on Jan. 22, 1981. The outcome will not only impact the employees in question, but could extend to many other female and clerical employees in the area. In this time of crisis for all unions, especially the UAW, this could also show whether the unions still have the workers' confidence.

San Francisco, Cal.—Members of Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU) Local 3 have been out on strike against Blue Shield insurance company since Dec. 8. The 1,100 clerical workers, mostly women and minorities, were forced out when Blue Shield's final contract offer took away their cost of living adjustment clause and refused to deal with other major issues such as work standards and health and safety issues.

The workers claim that a new computer system installed by Electronics Data Systems (EDS) in November, 1978 is the source not only of productivity/cost problems, but work standards and health and safety problems as well. One woman explained, "There have been lots of bugs in the system and the work really began to pile up because we couldn't process it properly. Now we are getting blamed for the decrease in productivity when it's the system that doesn't work." The union also wants the company to consider the health risks in working with Cathode Ray Tubes (CRTs) for extended periods of time.

Another striker summed up her attitude toward the strike, "An outside company, EDS, is setting the production standards, and is constantly bringing in new systems and equipment like the CRTs. All of this is just a way to speed us up so they can get out more production. We've been working hard trying to get this system to work, so we deserve the cost of living increase, and I'm going to stay out until we get it. It's EDS that should be eliminated."

—Strike supporter

# Scabs, cold can't stop Arnold's strikers!

*Editor's note: In sub-zero weather, small groups of striking members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 876, nearly all women, are picketing 34 Arnold's Drug Stores in the 18th week of their fight for a living wage. Here is what they told News & Letters:*

Mt. Clemens, Mich.—We went out on strike Sept. 15 because Paul Borman told us we had to accept a two-year wage freeze. He is the owner of Farmer Jack's Supermarkets and Fotomat also, and is not exactly starving. But just last week he sent all 400 of us a letter saying that we would have to help him out the way Chrysler workers help out Chrysler Corporation. All we asked for was \$1.10 an hour over three years. That does not even keep up with inflation.

As soon as we went out on strike, Arnold's hired scabs to do our jobs. They can't do them very well, since we are each cashiers, stock handlers, snow shovelers and janitors all rolled into one. The scabs are young and they get minimum wage and no benefits.

Borman has tried everything to break the strike. He thought we would give in when it got cold, but we built these shelters ourselves, got a stove and put up signs saying "we need wood" on the side of the road.

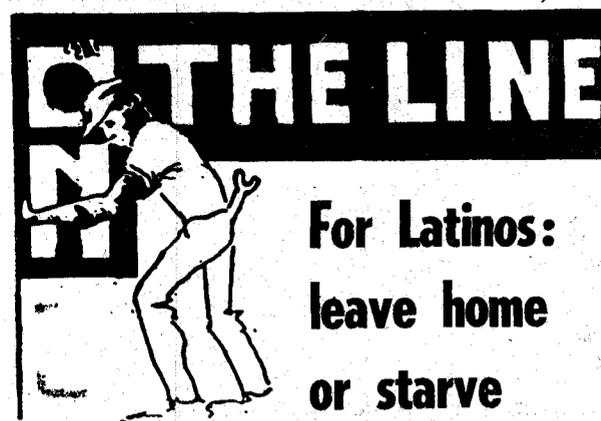
At several stores the management burned or destroyed the shelters, but we just rebuild them. Maybe he thought women couldn't do that.

In November they offered us a contract based on bringing in all future hires at the minimum wage. They wouldn't get benefits for two years, or regular wages for three years. We all voted to turn it down because we knew that under that set-up management would try everything to fire us, so that we could be replaced with new, cheap employees. Besides, young people need money and benefits as much as older people.

The 34 stores are all over the state. In Northern Michigan they have a different local, and Borman offered them a better contract, but they turned it down because he still wouldn't bargain with us. We are united.

What we want from all union members and supporters in the Detroit area is a total boycott of Arnold's Drug Stores. Stay out! Tell your friends to stay out! And if you can bring some firewood to the picket lines, please come and visit us.

—Arnold's Drug Store workers



by John Marcotte

Last month I wrote about the near-slavery conditions of Latin American and Caribbean workers in the U.S. But their story begins before they ever get here.

That Haitian refugees would have preferred to remain stranded on a desert island of the Bahamas, or meet death at sea, rather than be returned to Haiti, speaks louder than any words of the conditions of life and labor they face at home. Emigration is often the only way for Latin Americans to keep their families alive.

But it is not only the Haitians or the Cubans who cannot leave freely. The racist and anti-poor policies of the U.S. Immigration Department mean that a Latin American worker can almost never obtain a U.S. visa. I know a South American who, though a U.S. citizen, has already spent two years and \$750 trying to get her sister a visa just for a visit. She has gotten nowhere.

### DESPERATE MEASURES

The desperation is such that we see the tragic deaths of 22 Dominicans aboard the Regina Express freighter in September. They died when the ballast tanks they hid in were flooded with sea water. Each one of these impoverished workers and peasants had had to pay \$3,000 to their smugglers.

Felix Tavarez, the father of six, was a carpenter out of work for five years. He mortgaged the family home for his passage. Rafael Flores, a poor peasant, sold the family farm, cows and house to pay for his. His parents had died, and he wanted to help his brothers, sisters and children, said his wife.

A Colombian worker told me that in his home city the minimum wage is about \$50 a month. Unemployment is 50 percent, and inflation 30 percent.

### U.S. GOVERNMENT TO BLAME

He also told me that in the eyes of Latin American workers, the U.S. is very responsible for these conditions. From the Reynolds Aluminum and Pepsi-Cola factories in his city, to the very movies and pop music, everything is "made in USA," including the U.S. armed and trained military which patrols every street, factory and university.

When he visited his home two years ago, a student had just been killed — shot in the back on campus by soldiers. There were notices everywhere of people who had "disappeared" at the hands of the military.

In the face of this nightmare reality, it is no wonder the poor of Latin America are often forced to enormous sacrifices to make the trip here, against all odds. And we can all better understand why every man, woman and child in Nicaragua became involved in fighting the Somoza dictatorship, as is now happening in El Salvador.

## No more bikes for Mr. Schwinn

Chicago, Ill. — The strike at Schwinn, which began in October, is still going on with the company stalling on giving us a contract. In all the plants there are only 35 people working, but I don't think the union has the active backing of even 50 percent.

If we all got together everything would be all right. In a union, you are the union. It's not just the big people who run it. If we are not together, I don't think we'll make it for a good while.

The union should have called a strike as soon as they got in last March, instead of waiting all that time when the company called a lot of people back from lay-off. They really hurt those people.

I've been working there for nine years and I'm not any further ahead than when I started. That's the way it is. Mr. Schwinn owns the place, but we run it. He gets up to the top, but he wouldn't have a single bike unless the workers made it. The supervisors in there don't know what they are doing. They can't even operate the machines and yet they are the ones who tell you what to do.

It is true that the union helps a lot with certain things, but with some unions you'll have a grievance and nothing will happen for ten months. The union should be run by the workers, not people from the outside. It should be run by people who are in that place because they are the only ones who know what's going on.

— Schwinn striker

# FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

## GM South Gate: looking for scapegoat

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

Recently workers who have been laid off at General Motors South Gate received an unprecedented letter from Bill Harden, plant manager, three months in advance of the March, 1981 call back to inform us that "absenteeism will no longer be tolerated at South Gate." Most workers I have talked with said GM is the biggest cause of absenteeism and the truth is the corporation has caused 3600 of us, through lay-offs, to be "absent" for anywhere from a year to 18 months.

Harden went on to say "a lot of high level decisions these days which have direct impact on our lives and our future are being made based on cost, quality and efficiency — absenteeism being one of the main contributors to losses in these critical areas." These "high level decisions" involved no less than the UAW local where, for over two years, shop committeeman Steve Suhar and his Quality of Work Life committee has been railing against absenteeism and warning that if workers don't improve the "quality audits" with hard work they will be out of a job. This backwardness on the part of union leadership has laid the ground for Harden to use absenteeism — which is the workers' answer to speed-up and overtime and unsafe working conditions — as a gigantic cover-up.

### REAL CAUSE OF QUALITY LOSS

This "high level decision," in which no doubt Suhar directly participated, is really a cover-up for the 30 to 35 percent reduction in the labor force. This reduction of workers is being brought on by the introduction of a new style of mechanized labor — the robots of unimation. As Karl Marx showed over 100 years ago, accumulated labor in the form of machines ("dead labor") replacing workers at the point of production reduces the actual exchange value of the commodity produced (though the quantities of that commodity increase). And since it's a commodity's use value which makes possible the realization of that exchange value, quality declines accordingly. Productive technology is designed

to produce more in less time, but what is actually created is less in terms of total value. So who is responsible for "losses in cost, quality and efficiency?" Certainly not workers' absenteeism. GM's Bill Harden would like us to believe that, just like they always wanted us to believe our wage demands caused inflation.

### IMPORTS NOT THE PROBLEM

GM (as well as Ford and UAW president Doug Fraser) would also like to scapegoat the problem of unemployment and inflation on foreign imports. How can capitalists in Europe and Japan bring on a capitalist crisis in America, Russia and China? Workers know that the economic crisis is a world crisis. Are the corporate and union bureaucrats so backward that they don't know this? Or is this dual attack on absenteeism and foreign imports a prelude to war — a war against workers here trying to change impossible work conditions and a war against workers abroad in similar struggles. In short, World War III.

The threats from GM and the new rightist government show that the labor of America needs a way to counter the "high level decisions" of those such as Harden, Reagan and Fraser. They represent everything hateful in this exploitative society. If we can be enslaved for eight to ten hours a day on the job, we can give a couple of hours a week to get together and try to work out a solution to change a system that allows people like Harden, Reagan and Fraser to make decisions for us. It is only by beginning our own discussions and seeking our own solutions that we will find a way out.

## Chrysler Jefferson

Detroit, Mich.—The union is right now talking with Chrysler about renegotiating the contract. They want us to give up our identities. But it's not right for us to give up our benefits. We can't really give up any more. I'm against any more concessions on the contract.

I've been on lay-off since September, I have eight years seniority, but I don't buy the idea that it is the Japanese to blame. I have a right to buy any car I want to, it doesn't matter who makes it. These cars have been coming in for years, but the problem now is that Chrysler is too high on the cars—they cost too much. As an inspector I have seen the invoices and sales slips on cars, and know how much Chrysler marks up over their costs.

Volkswagen will be opening up a new plant in Sterling Heights, but they have already announced they won't be hiring UAW workers. That's not right either. But the UAW has its own way of discriminating against its members. They took away dental and medical benefits from laid-off workers as of October, but they are still taking union dues out of the little bit of unemployment that we might still be getting. Why are we paying union dues if we get no benefits? They already have frozen benefits. We can't give anymore.

—Laid-off Jefferson worker

## News & Letters

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**THEORY / PRACTICE****China's 'Gang of four' trial charade and the so-called Cultural Revolution; media and the global crises**

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

A good way of making sure that one understands absolutely nothing about what is going on in China, is to read everything that is printed in the newspapers and shown on TV. What has happened? Could it be that the reason why the U.S. media is brain-washing itself, repeating what is dished out in Peking, is that the truth behind the Chinese amalgam of the "Gang of Four" with Lin Biao (Lin Piao) would reveal the connection between the Mao-Lin struggle and Henry Kissinger's presence in 1971 in Peking, plotting Nixon's trip to China? It is a fact that — at the same time that China's policy was completely reversed to transform the nuclear superpower, U.S. imperialism, into Friend Number One — the reactionary China Lobbyist, Richard Nixon, anointed Mao's China as the "new global power."

In a word, nothing short of a shift in global power lies behind the story of the bizarre relationship of the U.S. media and the trials staged in Peking by Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping).

**WHY THE AMALGAM OF JIANG AND LIN?**

Let's take a look at the simple incommensurability of the dates in the two trials suddenly turned into a single amalgam. First came the 1971 Mao-Lin dispute, which ended in the death, or murder, of Lin. Jiang Qing (Chiang Ching) was in the forefront of the campaign of calumny against Lin that followed. What followed in immediate post-Mao China was that Jiang was arrested by the top cop, Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng) who helped give the present 1981 ruling clique the appearance of "legitimacy," since he supposedly had Mao's blessing to become Chairman. Where is he now? It was nearly four years between the arrest and the trial of the so-called Gang of Four. And the one who did the arresting is now nowhere around.

Does anyone doubt that it is really Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) who is on trial? Ah, there's the rub. Those in power now, like those who stand accused now — including Mao himself, are the ones who, at one and the same time, both initiated and destroyed the Cultural Revolution.

What remains absent from all reports is any view of the objective world situation, be that in 1966 or in 1971; in 1975 when Mao was still alive or in the immediate post-Mao China, 1976, when Jiang was arrested. If, however, we hold fast to the objective world situation, it will not be too difficult to unravel all the plots and counter-plots which developed during the so-called Cultural Revolution.

They came to a climax, not in any sort of "uninterrupted revolution," but in Mao's counter-revolutionary rolling out of the red carpet for Nixon after Nixon finished the mad bombing of Cambodia. That was followed by Nixon's tilting to Pakistan—which was bloodily attempting to stifle the new-born nation of Bangladesh — in order to get Mao's approval for Kissinger's trip to meet Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) and plan for that super spectacle: Nixon's trip to China.

**JIANG QING ON THE STAND AND IN ACTION**

By the end of the current trial, considerable sympathy was extended to Jiang Qing because she alone, of both the so-called Gang of Four and the military adherents of Lin Biao, displayed some strength of character not only in opposing the accusations against her, but in calling the judges "counter-revolutionaries," whom she challenged to behead her: "Revolution is no crime. To rebel is justified," she shouted. Glaring at the presiding judge, Zeng Hanzhou, she continued: "During the war it was I, the only woman comrade, who followed and accompanied Chairman Mao to the front. At that time, where were all of you hiding?"

To say, as the prosecutor put it, that she was invoking the name of the Great Helmsman only to save her skin — an accusation that *Business Week* (Nov. 24, 1980) repeated — is both to miss the point that it was Mao who did the commanding and Jiang who obeyed unquestioningly, and to try to deprive Jiang of the dignity that a belief in your principles gives you — no matter how wrong those principles may be. It is this which in her two-hour defense also enabled her to be sarcastic of the

1—Actually, the first in the series of arrests following the army's suppression of the Cultural Revolution was that of the genuine Leftist, Chen Boda (Chen Po-ta) who was the head of the whole Cultural Revolution Group. Chen Boda had been Mao's political secretary ever since the mid-1930s in Yanan. Indeed, there is no doubt whatever that many of Mao's speeches were written by Chen — whereupon he was the very first one Mao arrested and started vilifying.

entire charade that was going on, which featured her, as she put it, as if she were "some kind of devil with three heads. . . . Tell the Monkey King to come and teach me how to grow several more heads, is that it?"<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately neither the courage, nor the sarcasm, nor the fact that she certainly didn't plot any assassination of Mao, can in any way clear her of the responsibility for the horrors of that so-called Cultural Revolution. The 20,000-word indictment charged that no less than 727,420 Chinese were mercilessly persecuted, and that 34,272 died. But the only grisly proof of Jiang's "direct crimes" was the constant display of a picture of the bruised corpse of the former Coal Minister, Zhang Linzhi, whom, it was charged, she had ordered to be beaten to death.

What preceded all of this and intensified the differences between Lin and Mao was the question of relations with U.S. imperialism. It wasn't that Lin disagreed

2—The *Manchester Guardian* of Jan. 4, 1981 explains that "the reference is to a mythical figure who could grow as many heads as he chose, who would need to help her if the court had its way."

**WORKER'S JOURNAL**

(Continued from Page 1)

part of the county, that employs not over 150 workers. It is called **Dan River Mills**, a national textile company with all non-union plants. Some Blacks are saying another mill is supposed to move into the county soon, but these plants will not be unionized either.

It is like what I have just been reading in an article about what working conditions are like at the **Perdue Chicken processing plant in Accomac, Va.** There are about 1,000 workers — 80 percent are Black and about 75 percent are women. One day a Black woman at the plant got a call saying her three-year-old had been hospitalized because of high fever. She told her supervisor she would have to leave work early. He replied: if you do you will be punished.

Over 200 workers have been fired in the past two years, due to company anti-union tactics. Now the union has gone to a new way to support the organizing drive, calling for a boycott of **Perdue Chickens**. They say that since this is the way J. P. Stevens was made to listen to reason, it may work on **Perdue Chickens**.

Many of the same conditions are true today in **Lowndes County, Ala.** Some of the white farmers are now buying up land owned by Blacks. Often this happens when Blacks owe money to whites and are not fortunate enough to meet their payments when they are due. Then the land is lost to pay the debt. Many just have a small lot from an acre to five acres, just enough for a home. It is a great change from the old days, and it will mean greater changes in the future as the industrial life comes to even the most rural areas.

One thing that has not changed from the worst days

**'Damn lies' at Norris**

Los Angeles, Cal.—The eight to twelve cents an hour pay cut Norris workers were greeted with last month, due to "the cost of living going down," is a damn lie. The union and government and Norris are all against us. I don't see how anyone can honestly claim that the cost of living has gone down.

The union was passing out a bulletin at the plant gate last week, and the Norris guard made sure every worker got one. Along with telling you to wait until the next contract negotiations (1982) to improve working conditions and wages, it suggests we not make "snap judgements" on the new president, but wait and see what he does. Is this "wait and see" just an excuse to let the union turn its back on what next will be taken away from the workers?

The bulletin continued with an explanation of how the Consumer Price Index works. The truth is that in the end we lost eight to twelve cents an hour of our wages which we will never be able to regain, as everything from now on will be computed on the lower wage. Yet all you need to do to know how the cost of living really works is go out and buy some food and you know it's gone up and up and up.

The workers themselves are going to have to get together, take matters in their own hands and change conditions on the job. Just look at what the workers in Poland have done in not only protesting what they're against, but demanding what they are for. That's the only way we're going to defeat this pay cut.

—Norris worker

about relations with Russia; he was in the forefront of calling Russia **Enemy Number One**. But his position was that not only does Russia's "hegemony" have to be challenged, but so does U.S. imperialism's. To the extent that both the U.S. and Russia were held out as the enemies of the masses, Lin was as adamant as Mao against Russia. There was no difference between Lin and Mao either in the initiation of the Cultural Revolution or in suppressing it when it began to have a momentum of its own.

Again Jiang marched to their tune, adding a few vicious persecutions of her own in the arts. Whether she did or did not, by then, sprout some "wild ambitions" of her own<sup>3</sup> is not what brought on the crisis in China.

(To Be Concluded Next Issue)

3—The expression is supposed to be Mao's in a letter to **Hua Guofeng**, whom he allegedly designated as his successor. This period of vilification is briefly reported in **Comrade Chiang Ch'ing** by **Roxane Witke**. It is a quite superficial work, but since it is the only biography extant, one should read it. See also my critique of it in **Sexism, Politics and Revolution**, a News & Letters publication.

**Black freedom at crossroads**

of segregation is the system of so-called "justice." I had a discussion with **John Hulett**, the Black sheriff of **Lowndes County**, as to white juries turning loose all the whites that have killed Blacks in recent months across the South. I am not sure I understand how it is done, but he said that they put names in a box, and draw the names of jurors out, and they are reasonably sure they will be whites.

I told him that it seems the whites have the juries the way they had it before the civil rights struggles of the 1960s. It makes no difference what the facts are in the case; if a white man killed a Black person, they are being set free.

One of the worst cases was one reported in the **Washington Post** (12/23/80) about a trial in **Charlotte County, Va.** It told how a white man killed an 18-year-old Black youth because he caught him in his daughter's bedroom. The jury acquitted him of first degree murder charges and agreed with his claim of self-defense. But the boy was unarmed and was shot in the back, after the daughter pleaded with her father not to kill him.

The whole question of Black and white relations in the South today is not easy to explain. There is no getting away from facts like the all-white juries and the new KKK activity. But you also see many whites who are not supporting the Klan, and Blacks are saying that whatever happens, we are never going back.

One thing that I believe was learned in the civil rights struggle was not to spend our money where we won't be served like human beings. This really had an impact, and is still having an impact, on whites, too. I know a white farmer who owns a store and sits every day in the back of it, while his wife works at the counter. She had a real attitude against Blacks. One day recently a Black man bought something, and she threw his change on the counter. It fell on the floor. The man slapped her, and she yelled for her husband to come with his gun and take care of it. But what he said was that he had watched her attitude to Blacks for a long time. What she didn't understand was that Blacks will boycott this store if they are treated second-class. He said that if she couldn't hand the money back properly, she shouldn't take it in the first place. And he picked the change up off the floor, and handed it to the Black customer.

The point is that we are at a crossroads in the struggle today. It can go forward or back. And many are determined that it will never go back again.

**A series of discussion classes on  
MARXIST-HUMANISM: IN MASS  
MOVEMENT; IN THE BATTLE OF IDEAS**  
beginning

**DETROIT:** Sunday, Feb. 1, 3 p.m. 2832 E. Grand Blvd.  
Room 304

**SAN FRANCISCO:** Sunday, Feb. 8, 6 p.m., 37A 29th St.

**NEW YORK:** Sunday, Feb. 15, 7 p.m., Workmen's Circle, 369 8th Ave. (corner of 29th)

**CHICAGO:** Sunday, Feb. 1, 6:30 p.m., 220 S. State, Room 1326

**LOS ANGELES:** Sunday, Feb. 1, 7 p.m., People's College of Law, 660 S. Bonnie Brae

## LABOR

by Peter Mallory

For the first time in history, the much vaunted auto industry has fallen to No. 2 behind Japan in auto production for 1980. Two hundred fifty thousand former auto workers are out of work, boiling mad and wondering if they will ever have their jobs again. The leadership of the UAW under Doug Fraser, joins with the capitalists in advocating restrictions on Japanese imports and ever greater concessions in pay and working conditions from the workers.

Who is to blame and what are the facts?

Everyone can see the obvious, that ever since OPEC, with the willing cooperation of the U.S. oil giants, quadrupled the price of gasoline from 40c a gallon to \$1.30, the crisis has reached an impossible stage. Not quite so obvious is the fact that people are not fully aware that the groundwork for the demise of the industry began back in the 1950s when the workers began battling automation (see *Workers Battle Automation* by Charles Denby). Workers who battled automation then, posed

## Solidarity: Polish workers' form of organization

(Continued from Page 1)

group has seldom developed a consensus, and some feel that the group is too large as well as too inexperienced to deal with problems requiring a national perspective. A problem on the regional and national levels appears to be that some leaders are preoccupied with getting the privileges of the former party trade union officials rather than dealing with the more serious and demanding problems of organization and worker representation.

As a result of the uniqueness of the nature of the mass Solidarity movement in Poland, labor organizations throughout the world have been invited to send information on their own organizations. I was asked to contribute an article on my mine union experiences for the workers' paper *Robotnik*. All of this information will be studied to see what may be adapted by Solidarity to help assure control by the workers.

Another example of the hunger for new ideas came in a discussion I had with one woman. I referred to the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism, and she said she thought the two words were incompatible and couldn't be used together. When I insisted that not only were they "compatible" but their unity was urgent for our age, the direction of the discussion changed. Her interest in the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism was shared by several people who had never heard of the ideas before, but were excited about learning more about them.

Everybody, absolutely everybody — the workers, Solidarity leaders, the Polish government and most especially the Kremlin — knows perfectly well that the most powerful economic, social and political force in Poland today is the 10 million workers in Solidarity. But what is also oppressively clear is that the power base of the ruling Polish Communist Party is in the Russian army poised and ready to strike upon orders from Russian Communist Party Chairman Brezhnev.

### WORKERS WANT REAL SOCIALISM

It is undeniable that the Polish workers would resist such an invasion with all their power, which is quite considerable, to say nothing of the big question mark of what the working class in the other eastern satellite countries would do if Russian troops invaded Poland to crush the independent trade union movement.

The public utterances of Solidarity leaders and other dissident intellectuals that the union is not seeking political power and is not challenging the Polish Communist Party for national leadership, are based on the fear that such a challenge would trigger the invasion signal from Moscow. Apparently the hope is to gain time to put Solidarity on a solid organizational footing, and this is indeed a walk on the razor's edge.

This explosive dynamic is obviously generating a variety of tendencies, some ready to compromise the workers' interests completely, others seeking their own power bases in a safe bureaucratic structure, as well as those who are being driven by the mass sentiment of the workers that cannot escape the question of power. In this situation there is a great hunger for new ideas capable of articulating what the workers are for, not just what they are against. The workers have already demonstrated their rejection of the status quo by their creation of Solidarity. The question now is whether or not Solidarity can match the workers' aspirations.

The workers obviously can no longer be fooled, if they ever were, by the rhetoric of working class control that the Communist Party leaders are always so glibly claiming. The differences between the words and deeds were beyond credibility. What the workers are demanding is certainly not a "return" to capitalist relations. That is patently absurd. What they are demanding is the reality of socialism, a reality that cannot contain the uncertain relationships as they now exist in Poland, a reality that will assure their needs as human beings.

And on this level the workers engage in continuous

the basic problems of "what kind of labor should workers perform." The automation of the '50s is today's unimation and robot production. The question then, as it is now, was one of the capitalistic division of labor into mental vs. manual. The crisis is in production and becomes manifest in the market.

As the price of gasoline rose, and the government failed miserably to control price gouging of the oil giants, U.S. car manufacturers continued to produce 8-cylinder gas guzzlers because there is four times the profit in a Lincoln than there is in a Pinto. The 4-cylinder market was taken over by the Japanese.

Ford, as late as April, 1980, was still trying to make computer-controlled 8-cylinder engines, which they could not sell. Faced as it was with the demand for fuel efficient 4-cylinder cars, the industry was forced to re-tool for the production of these vehicles. The cost runs into the billions and they tacked it onto the selling price which averages \$8,000. Unemployed auto workers cannot buy at these prices.

Chrysler, the weakest of the Big Three, is to all intent and purpose, bankrupt. It has closed plants, laid

off thousands of workers, demanded and got loan guarantees of billions, and lost \$1.5 billion in 1980. Now it is not only looking for another 500 million to keep afloat for the next year, but cutting workers wages.

State capitalism without its demise bringing down with it, like dominoes, many other industries and the whole capitalist system. They therefore must band together through the medium of the government and the labor bureaucracy, to bolster up dying capitalism to save their collective skins.

The greed for profits has caused the industry to replace workers on the production line with robots. Here again the Japanese were ahead of them, employing over 10,000 robots on their production lines in contrast to the 3,000 employed in the U.S.

The role of the labor "leadership" has been that of complete cooperation with the capitalists. They seek, and obtain, seats on the boards of directors, the better to understand the capitalists' problems, not to represent the workers. They utter no protests to the introduction of robots to replace workers, demure ineffectively at plant closings, support tax incentives for the industry, beg for new loans, support industry-sponsored boycotts of Japanese cars (but not European imports) and seek legislative help for the industry while abandoning the picket line, its most effective weapon.

The labor bureaucracy which has long since forgotten about the class struggle, is now becoming the outright spokesmen for management, both within labor ranks, and as denigrators of foreign workers. The UAW now sponsors radio commercials that sound like those of the auto companies.

The irony of their anti-foreign labor attitude is that it ties the American workers to management in a joint gung-ho campaign to boost production of "their" so-called world cars.

The concept of the world car, as advanced by Ford, is the production of cars like the Escort, with parts produced in various countries throughout the world. Thus the Ford bearing a "made in USA" label will have an engine made in Brazil or Mexico, transmission made in Japan, engineered in Germany, parts from Spain, England, Germany and who knows where else.

Capitalism is international in scope and in its operations. It buys labor where it is cheapest; builds its products in the country where it can make the most profit; when it fails, calls on its government for protective barriers and financial assistance.

The auto industry is financially, in effect, that their profits be guaranteed by the state, that same state whose reactionary nature will be sure to deepen the crisis now that Ronald Reagan and his corporate business cabinet are taking over the White House.

## WORKERS' BOOKSHELF

### Toyota worker's journal

*Toyota, Factory of Despair, Journal of a Seasonal Worker, by Kamata Satoshi. (Published by Gendaishi Shuppan, Kai, Tokyo, Japan, 1973. Not available in English.)*

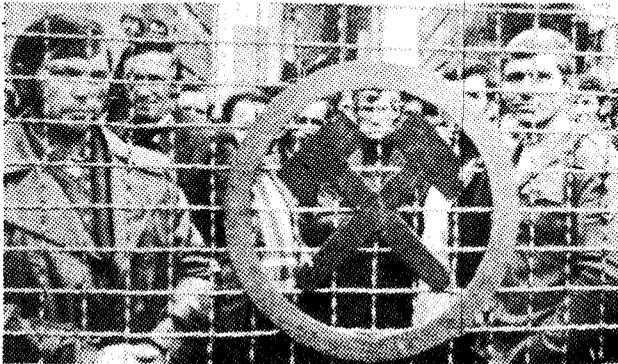
The American labor bureaucracy which is trying to pretend that Japanese auto workers are taking advantage of American auto workers should read this book.

It is a day-by-day account of the life of a Japanese worker at Toyota, and it tells a tale of death and human destruction as hair-raising as anything at Ford, GM, or Chrysler. Not only is the work at Toyota deadly, but it is considered a "privilege" to have status as a permanent worker: a full 3/4 of the workers there have only "seasonal" status so that they work the harvests the rest of the year.

Though some conditions have changed since 1973, with the introduction of the horrors of unimation, conditions are even worse at Toyota today. As this book states clearly, there is no "mystery" to the phenomenal success of Toyota; it lies in the terrible, grinding exploitation of its workers.

The most serious insult of the American auto propaganda, though, is the racist conception of the Japanese as a mass of docile, obedient ants. This book is full on every page of the revolt of these workers, so deep a revolt that extreme forms of repression are needed by their overlords to keep them in line.

Japanese and American workers have a lot in common, and the more they can learn from and about each other, the closer we'll be to a new society. This book could be a powerful step in this direction, and it's unfortunate that no one has bothered to publish it in English so that American workers could hear this story. An exchange of ideas would shatter the propaganda immediately, and bring to full light the truly international character of the crisis. —Berni Gardner



In Silesia: Striking Polish miners shook up Party leaders.

conflict with the ruling Communist Party. Many forces in Poland are at work attempting to convince the workers that they must not provoke the government, and one voice growing louder in this regard is that of the church. It is true that many Polish workers have supported the efforts of the Catholic Church to enjoy greater freedom from government restraints, and have included such provisions in their strike demands.

Despite the fact that Catholic Church clerics have openly attacked some dissidents, and are now singling out a growing number by name, there is evidence that some intellectuals are making apologies for the Catholic Church. What seems to be happening is that when a cleric — from Cardinal Wyszynski to a parish priest — makes a statement that produces a strong reaction from the workers, the church releases a statement "clarifying" what was "really" meant. When the workers' reaction has been strong enough, the church has disassociated itself completely from the offending statement and even censured the offender.

### SEEK TO DIVIDE KOR, SOLIDARITY

However, the statements have been given national exposure, reflecting serious efforts now underway to try to drive a wedge between dissident intellectuals and the working class. Certainly the Polish Communist Party is aware of how important this KOR-Solidarity alliance has been in the nurturing of the free trade union movement, and how important it is to break that alliance in order to re-establish totalitarian control over the workers.

While there is no question that the mass workers' movement has loosened the choking grip of the Polish Communist Party, there should be no illusions about the harsh reality of the police state that exists there and is marked by phone tapping, harassment, interrogation, detention and confiscation. It is happening today, and should be known by everyone seriously involved in the Polish movement for freedom.

In the meantime, the workers themselves are taking actions demanding responses from their leadership. Another episode at the Solidarity office of the Thorez miners illustrates this. At several points during my discussion with the union president, the phone rang and he answered.

"No," he shouted into the receiver. "That's already been settled. Saturday is ours and we're going to take it. There's no question about it at all. It is not a point for negotiation, it has already been decided."

I did not know it at the time, but when I got back to the U.S., the next day the news was full of the reports of Polish workers throughout the country who simply took Saturday off, despite the threats by the government of economic penalties. The development stemming from that action is still unfolding, but it is clear there is more, much more, to come. We have seen only Act I in the powerful creative drama of human liberation now underway that only the future will decide.

## USA 1981: CONDITIONS OF LABOR AND LIFE

The conditions of life for American workers are going downhill — and fast. I am talking about the conditions in the shop, at home, and in the stores. On my block everyone is unemployed or is threatened with a layoff. Now Carter's advisers have suggested that the government stop trying to help the cities in the North and Northeast, and "encourage" people to move to what they call the "sunbelt." Well, let me tell you, this is what is already happening, with or without these experts. In the last month two of my neighbors have packed all their belongings and moved, looking for work — one to Texas, one to Alabama.

If I didn't know better I'd almost think the bosses planned the whole thing as a way to get the workers to the new plants at no cost to themselves.

Unemployed worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

I have made a scrapbook of clippings from the last two years of N&L on labor struggles and workers' ideas. I clipped "Worker's Journal," "On the Line" and "From the Auto Shops," and when I finished, I felt that I had a fine grasp of what was happening with the U.S. working class recently. Your paper should be commended.

Labor archivist  
Detroit

\* \* \*

What happens to a poor unmarried Native American, welfare mother in this society's courtroom? I found out in a very personal way, when my sister was sentenced to 40 days in jail for "welfare fraud." Her "crime" was that she tried to get money for food for her child, and not giving information about the baby's father for fear of being beaten up.

While she is serving time in jail, her child is to be put in a foster home with strangers. The court is absolutely unconcerned about how this will effect the child emotionally. She had no job training because she had no one to care for her child even if she could get a job. What I want to know is what kind of system this is that separates a mother from her young child? What was the child's crime?

Native American  
Anaheim, California

\* \* \*

N&L readers should know that even before Reagan gets into office, the federal Mine Safety and Health Administration has delayed mandatory emergency oxygen-generating "self-rescuers" in American coal mines. All mines were supposed to have the self-rescuers by December 21, 1980. Now the final decision is up to a Reagan appointee. The fact is that the delay comes exactly ten years after 38 miners were killed in a coal dust explosion in a Hyden, Ky. mine. When will this society put an end to the willful murder of miners, murder that is callously called "part of life" by coal industry spokesmen?

Furious  
West Virginia

\* \* \*

I believe every word of what John Marcotte says in the last issue of N&L about the conditions of undocumented workers. It is a story as old as the nation. And I mean every nation. The worker from another country is always second-class or lower, and the capitalists try to make workers go along with that idea. Sometimes they even try it when the workers are still living in their home country, like today with the campaign to convince autoworkers that their enemy is Japan.

The worst offender in all of this has been the union (the UAW), not the companies. They have banned foreign cars from the Solidarity House parking lot and put disgusting radio commercials on the air boosting U.S.-built cars and

U.S. car companies. You would never know the commercials were written by a union.

What is so sad is that it isn't Japanese car sales that is causing the big layoffs; it's the attempt to catch up with Japanese automation. "Our own" U.S. car companies are the ones putting U.S. workers out on the street.

Not fooled  
Michigan

\* \* \*

One new feature in N&L would be very helpful. I wish there was a section entitled "Workers' Bookshelf" or "Workers' Library" in which books or magazine articles of interest to workers would be briefly discussed. The items might relate to some aspect of working class life or history. Each month the column might discuss a particular theme, like job safety, self-management, or union democracy . . .

Mark W.  
Cleveland, Ohio

(Ed. note: See page 5 for the first "Workers' Bookshelf".)

## ONGOING POLISH FERMENT

Culture took on more life in Poland, not just with art auctions for Solidarity and Andrzej Wajda's projected new movie "Man of Iron" (continuation of the "Man of Marble", which left off in Gdansk in 1970), but with actual release of a movie "Workers of 1980" about the Gdansk strikes, for which the workers' self-activity is not only the subject and the audience, but the pressure on the government to release the movie and allow it to be seen.

The celebrations include one by NOWA (un-censored publishing house) of its 100th publication and an open lecture at Warsaw University by the Flying University. Even the New York Times stated that: "The changes in national life are occurring at a dizzying pace and at times it seems that Poland has become . . . 'one big university coffeehouse', with everybody talking and nobody working."

Urszula Wislanka  
Chicago

\* \* \*

A curious phenomenon is happening all over Poland. Wives of policemen are coming to the stations, carrying the gun and the uniform of their husband and

## TWO VIEWS ON RICHARD WRIGHT AND BLACK REALITY

Although I was happy to see a review of the latest biography of Richard Wright — Addison Gayle's *Ordeal of A Native Son* — by John Alan (in December N&L), I was puzzled by a few statements that Alan makes concerning the nature of Wright's attitude to the CPUSA, and vice-versa.

I think it is a disservice to Wright to say that " . . . all of Wright's 'political naivete', 'paranoia' and ambivalence to the Party, was around the single issue of the so-called Negro question." Richard Wright, during that period of his life, had a two-fold loyalty to both his writing to the CP, but was there ever a time that Wright considered himself to be a writer, second? When Wright decides not to resign the Party but to organize around the high cost of living campaign, it is with full cognizance that he was sacrificing his writing.

To me, the greatness of Richard Wright lies in the utter seriousness in his approach to his writing and his belief that writing could not be separated from the struggles and aspirations of the Black masses. However, it was the Party that forced him into making a 'choice' — which was due not to their attitude on the Negro question or to culture, but to both. I believe that Wright's profound and lasting bitterness to the CP resulted from such misdirection . . .

Teru Ibuki  
New York

# Readers' Views

saying: "I've decided that my husband is not going to work for you anymore."

Feminist  
Chicago

## WOMYN'S BRAILLE PRESS

We are six blind womyn. Some of us are lesbians; all of us are feminists. We have all felt extreme frustration because we cannot readily read feminist and lesbian material available to those who read print, and we are all committed to doing something about that. We have formed Womyn's Braille Press, Inc. We plan to begin offering *Off Our Backs* and *Sinister Wisdom* on 4-track cassette by February.

Subscribers will pay a sliding fee between \$5.00 and \$15.00 and receive: (1) the quarterly newsletter in large print, braille, or 4-track cassette; (2) the loan of taped or brailled material on request. The newsletter will keep subscribers up to date on services available through the collective, inform them of other sources of recorded or brailled feminist and lesbian literature, and provide space for womyn to submit announcements and articles of interest. Donations of funds and volunteer readers are also needed. For more information write to:

Womyn's Braille Press, Inc.  
Box 8475  
Minneapolis, MN 55408



Unemployment here continues to get worse, with a November figure of 2,162,874. People are losing jobs at the rate of 3,000 a day. What is good to see is that some workers are now taking action to resist getting sacked. The success of the Gardner's occupation in Manchester was a boost in this respect. Here in Oxford, nurses at the Long-

worth Hospital are picketing the place to prevent the Area Health Authority from moving out patients and closing down a geriatric ward, which they see as the first step towards a complete shut-down of the hospital. A lot of new labor action is now being seen all over Britain.

Dick Abernethy  
Oxford, England

## PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

Thank you for sending the new Volume II of Dunayevskaya's "Political-Philosophic Letters," and for publishing this selection in the first place. I can say that the letters helped me greatly during my move away from the SWP and towards Marxist-Humanism, as Raya's accounts seemed so relevant, and went into things in such a truly dialectical way. I hope that the dislike of "foreign" literature here will not keep people from reading them . . .

Here in Britain, the SWP's "Right to Work" campaign seems more and more a way to shy away from a real campaign on the nature of work under capitalism. I am coming to the conclusion that the SWP has a massive state-capitalist trend, with its complete emphasis on so-called "practical demands" and its refusal to accept the socialism inherent in struggles in the workplace. The SWP actually tries to defuse them into purely economic demands, even when workers have gone beyond that.

In a way they are worse than the "pure" Trotskyists, whose crude and mechanical Transitional Program does at least relate economic to political . . . This is aggravated by the SWP's obsession to relate to the Communist Party, a dead duck if there is any on the British "left."

Jonathan Murphy  
Manchester, England

(Ed. Note: Copies of Volume II of "The Political-Philosophic Letters of Raya Dunayevskaya," which include her new critique of Leon Trotsky, "The Two Russian Revolutions, and Once Again, on the Theory of Permanent Revolution," are still available from N&L for \$2.00, postage included.)

\* \* \*

The anti-nuke, anti-draft Mobilization for Survival has, correctly enough, been proceeding with a realization that Carter or Reagan made no difference. But what they don't see is that part of the no-difference is that reaction is intensifying on all sides, and that a new idea of some sort is needed to deal with this. Unfortunately, the Mobe has no clear strategy at all . . . What they do best is political education, where someone could start out as vaguely anti-nuke or anti-draft, but not recognize the societal imperatives behind nuclear irresponsibility and militarization. Mobe can help widen these people's perspectives . . .

The time for "specialties", or single issue sects is not now (if it ever was!). I'm afraid I don't know any more concretely than that how to make links. But the history of Marxist-Humanism and its current organizational practice might prove instructive. In general, I'm opposed to vanguardism. So until I read Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution*, I misunderstood Lenin completely and remained a Social Democrat . . . I am now in a study group which read *State and Revolution* and other works, and is going to try some hard thinking about feminism . . .

Activist and student  
Massachusetts

Richard Wright reader  
Detroit

REPORT FROM CUBA . . .

The overall emotion in Cuba today is fear. There are many more Russians coming in now after several years of relative calm. People are nervous, wondering what so many are doing there. Though many Cuban food products are shipped out from the docks where I worked, we often lacked these for ourselves. Once I saw dockworkers drop a load of milk and other food they were loading for export, they were so angry about this.

Every worker in Cuba is classified. As a class "A" welder you earn 249 Cuban dollars a month. Class "B" makes \$180, and so down to those who pick up the garbage, who make \$95. There are no lay-offs in Cuba, but you have to keep a "good work record". Every worker carries with them papers that list where you are authorized to live and work. Those who resist the system, such as by refusing "voluntary" work, are marked "worms" or "negatives".

My friend is a skilled mechanic. But when he applied for an exit visa he lost his job. He can get no work now. Only sometimes he gets a little work on the side, in secret.

Cuban refugee  
Galveston, Texas

FROM BRAZIL

All of Brazil is now living a very contradictory period. While the military government is promising democracy, right-wing bombs are exploding in newsstands throughout the country. The neo-fascists also invaded a Jewish nursery school in Sao Paulo, wrecking everything and painting swastikas and insults all over the walls. Are we going back to Hitler and the Nazis?

Correspondent  
Brazil

AND 'NORTH OF THE 49th'

On news from my Vancouver perspective, my attitude is colored by the fact that I consider this area north of the 49th parallel merely the "51st state of the Union". The dead horse of "Canadian nationalism" is flogged from time to time but it refuses even to emit a sigh of resignation. What occurs up north of the 49th parallel is but a shadow, now bright, now dim, of that which occurs south of the 49th.

I note with some satisfaction however, that N&L is not without a writer who has a firm grasp on the only "national" question at issue just now. In a recent issue I noted a short article on the so-called Constitution Crisis which

is "raging" up here. I nodded my head quite vigorously while I read it and thought how well the writer grasped the essence of the whole mess . . .

Lefty  
Vancouver, B.C.

\* \* \*

Perhaps you weren't surprised that Reagan is now comfortably seated as president-elect, but I am. I can't understand how anyone like him could possibly have enough support from the American electorate to sit in a position of power, like the oval office. The man seems to be extremely limited. In his intelligence, his understanding, his politics. It's nothing short of frightening that someone of his calibre, and with his following, is now in the position of being the most "effective", certainly one of the most powerful, national heads in the world . . .

Rita R.  
Ottawa, Canada

BLACK AMERICA AND AFRICA

Thank you very much for the report on freedom struggles in Southern Africa by Kevin A. Barry (Dec. N&L). It was beautiful to see what an impact the liberation of Zimbabwe had on Azania and Namibia. For too long the white supremacist regimes there have exploited and murdered our people. Now with Reagan as U.S. President, the ties will be even closer. I do not feel that if Azania was able in the next four years to threaten the Botha gang, that Reagan would be able to intervene militarily. It would just be too explosive here at home, especially inside the Army.

Black student  
Detroit



APPEAL FOR  
DESSIE WOODS

The same day that Reagan was getting elected, Nov. 4, Dessie Woods was getting brutally beaten by acting Warden Mark Martin in the women's prison in Hardwick, Georgia. Dessie Woods is a 35-year-old Black woman sentenced to 22 years in prison in 1976 for killing a white rapist who attacked her. The warden beat her after she protested a price overcharging incident in the prison commissary. She was then sentenced to seven days solitary, and threatened with denial of parole.

Letters of support can be sent to:  
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Atlanta, Ga. 30314

EDITORIAL

Black death in white America

The many faces of death now stalking Blacks in white America are staring out from behind the fabric of this so-called civilized land as 1981 begins. Even before Ronald Reagan is inaugurated to implement his avowedly New Right program, the crisis facing Blacks, North and South, has sparked a sharp increase in memberships and inquiries to all the established civil rights organizations. NAACP director Benjamin Hooks, citing the deluge of calls his office had received, called the current situation a "climate of fear," and asked Reagan to organize a conference on the economic and political plight of minorities in his administration's first 100 days.

And despite the fact that Hooks went on to suggest that Black reaction was "out of proportion to reality," the current nightmare string of murders and assaults against Blacks stretches from Atlanta to New York City and from New Orleans to Utah. Worst of all is Buffalo, N.Y., where four more Black men were attacked in random knifings by whites in the last week of December. When Roger Adams, stabbed while waiting for a bus, died Dec. 29, he became the eighth to be killed since the murders began in Western New York state last September.

NAZI RALLY IN BUFFALO

While broadly suggesting that the killers were "kooks," Buffalo police still have no suspects. Nazis held a rally in Buffalo on Martin Luther King's birthday, Jan. 15. Both the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan have dared to operate more openly, gaining courage from the successes of Reagan and his "Moral Majority" friends, and the courts' tolerance of KKKers.

Never was the double standard of justice for Blacks and whites in America—a double standard that the government's own Kerner Commission called a "national shame" 12 years ago—more blatantly exposed than when Chattanooga, Tenn. KKK member Marshall Thrash was released from jail last month after serving four months for shooting four Black women. Chattanooga Black youth were at that moment being sentenced to terms of up to five years for their protests last summer against the token sentence.

Such a direct relationship between the KKK, the Nazis and their like, and the "respectable" officials in the courts and on the police forces underlines a historic truth of capitalism's history in the USA: that it has ever been ready to drop the facade of democracy when it comes to Black America. In time of crisis its soul is racist.

REINSTITUTION OF DEATH PENALTY

In the current crisis, the many faces of death include a vicious campaign for the regular use of the death penalty, a campaign that is now predicted to succeed in bringing dozens to the gas chambers and electric chairs by the end of 1981. Over 600, mostly Black or Latino, are on U.S. death rows, 138 in Florida alone. Some in the police forces have not been able to wait for the courts and prisons to act. They have executed Blacks in the streets and the backs of police cars, certain that they will be absolved by sympathetic juries, as in the case of two New York cops cleared after killing two Blacks who did not resist arrest.

Much of the most determined opposition to these white racist murders has come from Black youth. Where the NAACP called for "consultations" after police murders of Black youth in Louisiana and Mississippi last fall, the youth themselves organized demonstrations, boycotts and "speak-out" meetings against those they called "police with Klan minds." And far from their anger being directed only at the cops, astonished reporters tried to figure out why they debated how history and English were taught in their high schools.

As one northern inner-city high school student put it: "They have a hundred ways they try to do us in. This school system is one. Not getting a job is another. But we are watching them too, and our day will come." This newest generation of Black youth have few illusions about the nature of economic-social-political relations in America 1981. Neither are they ready to concede "leadership" of the struggle to the older generation, even those who are veterans of the 1960s.

That Black America, on the eve of Reagan's inaugural, was in no way reconciled to continuing racism, was shown in the large turnouts for demonstrations on Martin Luther King's birthday. Whether the 50,000 who marched in Washington, D.C., or the 7,000 in demonstrations against the Nazis in Buffalo, the protesters were everywhere demanding more than Jan. 15 as a national holiday. In posing the demand for a civilized USA, they show the way to transform this whole society.

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# ESSAY ARTICLE

by Eugene Walker

## I. El Salvador, Reagan and Questions for the Left

As we write this essay, the cities, villages and countryside of El Salvador are aflame in near-civil war and bloody repression. Rightist death squads with the encouragement of the U.S.-propped-up-government, wage war on Salvadorean people, women and men. A tragic, premature death has been imposed upon many, especially the young revolutionary lives of those who have dared today to seek a new, human beginning, after 50 years of military rule. The dead now number in the tens of thousands.

To these can be added the recent killings of U.S. citizens. But where this meant a certain level of outrage here when it involved the rape and murder of three nuns and a community worker, and thus compelled Carter to suspend temporarily economic and military aid to the rightist government, it has meant barely a whisper in response to the most recent killings of two U.S. agricultural reform workers. Both economic and military aid have been restored. And a new package of \$5 million directly for weapons has been added.

With the election of Ronald Reagan there will be an even more ominous threat for the people of El Salvador, and indeed for all those in Central America who are in the throes of revolutionary change. Not only



Literacy campaign in Nicaragua

did candidate Reagan of four years ago throw jingoistic slogan after jingoistic slogan into Panama Canal Treaty negotiations about America giving up "its territory" some 2,500 miles from its border, but today President-elect Reagan has appointed a most reactionary academic as his ambassador to the United Nations. Jean Kilpatrick, seemingly never at a loss for words on TV, radio, or in the newspapers, has christened the 40-year-long bloody dictatorship of the Somozas, recently overthrown by the Nicaraguan people, as a "moderate autocrat friendly to American interests."

As for El Salvador, all those troubles, according to the learned professor, are due to Russian aggression in the Western Hemisphere through the instrumentality of Castro's Cuba. She thereby erases from the slate Salvadorean history stretching from military dictatorship to military dictatorship, from the bloody suppression of an Indian peasant revolt massacring 30,000 in 1932 to today's so-called "progressive junta."

We cannot here follow that history, but must remain in our own period. 1979 witnessed the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution in its first act of the overthrow of the U.S.-backed Somoza regime. We should not forget that Nicaragua freed itself from the twin grip of Somoza and the U.S. at the same time the most repressive generals were in power in much of Latin America, particularly its Southern Cone.

In 1980, less than one year after that revolution, has come the most vicious coup in Bolivia. It has all the markings of a Pinochet Chile-type of junta. That coup sharply reminds us of the home-bred rulers of Latin America, in and out of military uniform, who must be confronted, even as the Latin American masses, as in El Salvador, confront the reality of U.S. imperialism, that colossus of the North which forever blocks movements toward social revolution.

If the 1980s of El Salvador and Bolivia show the twin poles of repression in U.S. imperialism and in the native ruling class, then Nicaragua in the 1980s brings to the fore the question of what happens after the revolution has carried out the task of overthrowing both these oppressive forces.

Nicaragua in revolution must attempt to work out the answer to a central problem not only of its own revolution, but of Latin America as a whole, indeed a question confronting us globally: the unfinished nature of a revolution<sup>1</sup>, even if won by arms, when it stops at the destruction of the old and fails to build on totally new human ground. It is this question which haunts

# LATIN AMERICA: REVOLUTION AND THEORY

us in the revolutionary movement, and it has been left only partially discussed, and hardly touched in actual practice.

In our title we pose the question as **revolution and theory** to bring to the fore the internal development of a revolution; to ask whether U.S. imperialism is the only obstacle to the Latin American revolutions, whether we are at the same time faced with other barriers—barriers which have led to aborted, frozen revolutions in Latin America.

In order to begin to cast illumination on Central America and Latin America of the 1980s, we need to ask questions on certain revolutionary-historical focal points of the past three decades: Cuba and focoism; Bolivia and Trotskyism; Chile, Allende and the Communist Party.

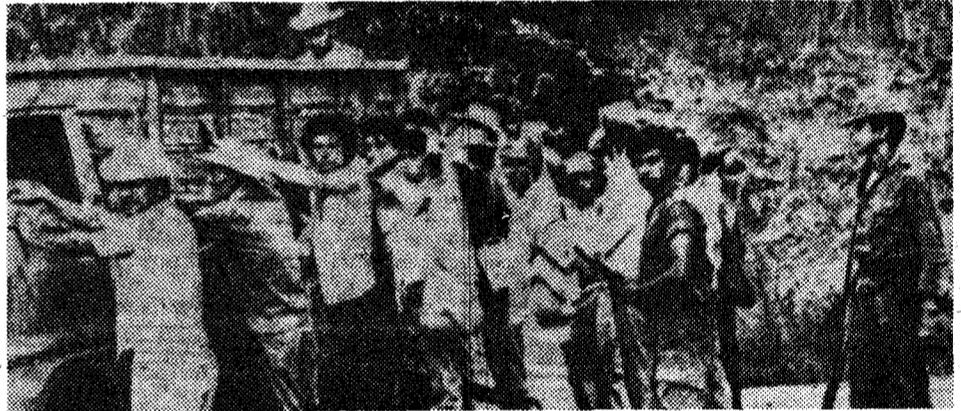
When in revolution these countries — Cuba, Bolivia, Chile — and these theories of revolution — focoism, Trotskyism, reformism and "official Communism" — claimed to present pathways for uniting theory and revolution. It was not an abstract question to them and it is not one for ourselves. It is a life and death question for a revolution, one that first Nicaragua and next El Salvador will have to be working out. It is asking concretely how Latin America as a continent can move to be free.

We in the U.S. bear a special responsibility in our solidarity with Latin Americans in helping to work out answers. To put it in its most blunt terms: Would the

masses," "the state-plan from above" leading to "socialism," which Cuba expressed even when disagreeing with Russia in the early 1960s, and that has now led to an almost total apoloia. The danger of transformation from within is a tremendous barrier to completing social revolution, one that must be considered along with the dominance of U.S. imperialism.

In Chile that presence of U.S. imperialism in concert with the fascist ruling junta has meant over seven long years of repression. The recent manipulated referendum of the Pinochet government has not changed the fact of deep Chilean opposition to the dictatorship, but it has shown its firm entrenchment. The coup that Nixon-Kissinger helped to bring about has been fundamentally supported first by Ford-Kissinger and then by Carter-Brzezinski, despite the occasional protests about the lack of human rights and the shock of the murder of Allende's minister, Orlando Letelier, by Chilean agents in the heart of Washington, D.C.

Reagan is certain to drop even this small voice of protest on human rights. That the U.S. would prefer fascism to a self-determination that threatened to oust U.S. capitalism is not surprising. But we need to concentrate our view on the Left which is for socialism. Here too it can not be to look at the reformism of Allende. The 1973 coup has already demonstrated in the most horrible terms that one cannot hope to "take over" the state in any fundamental sense, if one does not at



Junta soldiers search civilians in El Salvador

U.S. of Carter or Reagan invade El Salvador with troops if a victory of the El Salvadorean masses over the right wing military was close at hand? We in the United States must struggle to stay the hand of American military intervention, as well as working to lessen the economic and political club the U.S. is now wielding over the Latin American continent.

But we cannot fail to face as well, with the Latin American masses, the internal barriers to full social revolution. The revolutionary upsurges of the past three decades were upsurges not only of activity, but of theory, theories of social revolution. Because such theory is absolutely crucial to providing a pathway out, not only from the domination of U.S. imperialism, and native ruling class, but a pathway toward a new human society, it becomes necessary to begin to examine the theoretical points of departure for the Latin American revolutions.

## II. Cuba and Chile; Bolivia and Nicaragua; and once again El Salvador

If Cuba at the beginning of the 1960s and Chile at the beginning of the 1970s represented new revolutionary points of departure, today, in the 1980s, for very different reasons, they do not.

Fidel Castro's 12-hour speech to the December, 1980 opening session of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba contained, among other pronouncements, a defense of the Russian invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, and a warning against "anti-socialist elements" in Poland.

Is that transformation from the revolutionary vision of 1959 to the "pragmatism" of the 1980s a necessity for survival in this bi-polar world, a capitulation to the power politics of our state-capitalist age, or was something also flawed in the very concept of social revolution that had been posed in the theory and practice of military focoism put forth by Cuba?<sup>2</sup>

In the 1980s it is not alone because of a coalescence of political interests with Russia, but as well, a oneness in state-capitalist mentality, "the backwardness of the

the same time, take over the instruments of military power of that state.

What we are posing here is not a question of reformism vs. revolution. Nor is it solely to point out the role of the Communist Party which sowed illusion after illusion about the military's "loyalty" to the Constitution, to the elected Allende government. The one thing that the Communist Party was consistent on was to oppose any arming of the Chilean masses. But instead of either reformism or the Communist Party, we are asking what is a totally uprooting social revolution? How do we move toward such a full transformation in the era, not alone of U.S. imperialism, especially in Latin America, but of state plans imposed from above, and in vanguards by the handful ready to manage such a plan?

On one level of the role of the radical Left out of the Chilean experience of 1970-73, was a very revolutionary one of direct work with Chileans on mass mobilizations, in land seizures, in the organization of working class shanty towns and communities, in the aiding of the self-organization of workers' groups in industrial areas, and in huge defense mobilizations whenever the right threatened a coup.

But that very necessary work is not all that is needed from a Left group in opposing both imperialism and reformist class collaboration. Much of the Left would agree, and specify the missing ingredient as a revolutionary party.

If that is so, what kind of a party or revolutionary organization needs to be built? On what basis? A vanguard? If so, for what purpose? Would it be to wield the state apparatus "more effectively" than others did?

Or is there a different role for "the Party" in this age of state as well as private capitalism; in an age of aborted and transformed-from-within revolutions as well as defeated ones from without? Is there needed an organization which sees as its task the concretization of the historic-philosophic-theoretic roots of revolution within the fullness of the Latin American masses' revolutionary practice?

If Cuba and Chile take us through the '60s and '70s, Nicaragua, Bolivia and El Salvador outline for the 1980s, the terrain of revolution and counter-revolution in which those historic-philosophic-theoretic roots have a pivotal role to play.

It is no accident that in Bolivia, the military junta of Garcia Meza which come to power in a vicious military coup in July, 1980 struck at the focal point of revolu-

(Continued on page 9)

1. See as well "Latin America's Unfinished Revolutions," Political-Philosophic Letter of Raya Dunayevskaya, News & Letters.  
2. For a discussion of focoism see Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution*, pp. 276-278.

**BLACK-RED VIEW**

by John Alan

Dr. Kenneth Bancroft Clark, the renowned Black psychologist, spoke in San Francisco this past December before the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund's 40th anniversary dinner. Prior to his speech, Dr. Clark revealed to the press his concern about the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan and the growth of random terrorism against Blacks throughout this country.

While Dr. Clark was of the opinion that this terror is dangerous, he did not see any evidence that it was a systematic, organized conspiracy. He dismissed the Klan as a "bunch of paranoid, unstable individuals, who are trying to get attention and the more attention they get, the stronger they get."

**ACADEMIC VS. CONCRETE THINKING**

All in all, Dr. Clark saw the anti-Black terror as something "contagious" that could be stamped out quickly if proper action was taken by the authorities. However, Clark said: "I don't see any evidence on the part of the law enforcement offices to stop it."

I have quoted Dr. Clark to contrast this abstract academic thinking with the very concrete thinking of Black people who daily have to deal with white terror; where there is no illusion about any separation between the terror of the courts, the police, the Klan, the Nazis, and all the other hate groups, overt and covert.

The Miami revolt of Black youth was a recognition of the fact that there is a united front of white racism built into the very structure of the state, the administration of "justice" that is kin to the ideas and practice of the most blatant racist Klansman or Nazi.

Can a racist be jailed for crimes against blacks? That is the question that was raised in Miami and has been raised innumerable times. Most recently it was raised in Chattanooga, Tenn., when a Klansman, convicted of the shotgun wounding of four Black women, was released from jail after serving less than half of a nine-month sentence.

Chattanooga is far from being an exception. The most shocking example of leniency towards the Klan and Nazi groups was the acquittal, in Greensboro, N.C., of six Klansmen and Nazis, charged with murdering five anti-Klan demonstrators.

Not only have we witnessed these blatant examples of legal favoritism toward white racist forces in the USA, but over the past 20 months more than 40 Blacks—men, women and children—have met violent deaths under circumstances that indicate that they were slain solely because of their race. (See Editorial, p. 7)

The FBI and the local police have shown no ability to find any suspects in any of these cases, much less for the attempted assassination of Vernon Jordan. If, therefore, Blacks have developed a feeling that there exists a white murder conspiracy against them it is for good historical and political reasons. It is not a narrow concept of conspiracy such as exists in the minds of academics, but one that embraces the total American civilization. In Buffalo, Blacks have so little faith in the police and the district attorney's office that they have armed themselves to stave off future racist attacks.

**CAPITALISM AND RACISM**

It is not the paranoid and unstable white people, per se, who are responsible for the present surge of racial violence against Blacks, as Dr. Clark has suggested, but rather the unstable system of capitalism, which, with the election of Ronald Reagan, has swung further to the right in a desperate attempt to pull itself out of permanent economic and political crisis. Reagan did not have to initiate the move to the right, it was already under full sail during the Carter Administration, which was not all that much pro-Black, pro-poor, or pro-labor.

Throughout the election campaign Reagan ignored the race issues, while appealing directly to the racist conservative ideologies of states rights, anti-busing of school children, and promises to unleash free enterprise—a euphemism to let capitalism exploit labor and the natural resources without any restraints. In the history

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**Abstract thought of Dr. Clark**

of the United States all of these ideological terms have been, and still are, heavily charged with racism. But the other side of the historical coin has shown that racism and terrorism will not be accepted as the status quo, and the future will bring mass Black opposition, such as is being currently organized in the Bay Area against the racist attacks against Black families living in predominantly white neighborhoods.

**Organizing against KKK**

Richmond, Cal.—About 500 people came to a community meeting here Dec. 13 to work out ways to combat racist violence, which has been aimed at several Black families who live in a nearly all-white community near here. The racially mixed audience came from union activity, church groups, and residents of the communities involved.

The trouble started in early November, after a fight between a Black teenager and a white one. Since then, several Black families have received death threats, had their lawns burned, a pickup truck driven through the side wall of a house, and a shotgun blast through a front door.

The local sheriff's department at first did nothing, saying it was simply teenage pranks. After several news articles related a growing membership in the Ku Klux Klan in western Contra Costa county to the attacks on Blacks and Chicanos, the sheriff was forced to increase the patrols in the neighborhood.

The people in the Bay Area didn't wait for the sheriff to act, however. A group called the East Bay Organizing Committee set up a 24-hour watch in front of three of the homes. I've participated in several of the shifts, and got a chance to talk to other volunteers. Most were pretty shocked to hear of racist attacks in the Bay Area, which is known to be liberal, but none believed it was simply youthful pranks. Rather, the general feeling was that right-wingers now believe they can get away with more since Reagan's election.

The KKK is capitalizing on the attacks, if not directly initiating them, by organizing white youth at local high schools and shopping centers. One older Black man told me he wouldn't want to be caught out there by the "Kluxers" without being able to shoot back. Another watcher said the only way we're going to get rid of the Klan is to get the whole neighborhood together and aware of what racism is doing to them.

The attacks have ended since the watches began, and one man has been arrested for driving his pickup through the wall in November. The watches will continue for awhile, however. And the committees set up to gather support from unions, churches, media, etc., will also continue to function. As one man put it in the unions committee, "It's up to us right here to put a stop to racism in Contra Costa county. We'll have no one to blame but ourselves if we don't."

**ESSAY ARTICLE Latin America: revolution and theory**

(Continued from Page 8)

tionary opposition, the miners, by occupation of the mining districts and imprisonment of thousands, including Juan Lechin, the leader of the national labor federation, and of the mine workers during the 1952 Bolivian national revolution. That revolution of almost 30 years ago remains a crucial point of departure. It is from those mining districts that resistance comes today, just as it was the miners who made possible that Bolivian revolution that preceded the Cuban. It is those miners who pose a testing of the revolutionary Left in the 1980s as they did particularly of the Trotskyist Left in the 1952 revolution. In 1952 the Trotskyists organized as the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR), did have a major influence within the mine workers' union.

At the time of the immediate post-revolution period of 1952, the Trotskyists called for a "united front" in support of the nationalist government, giving almost uncritical support to the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR) in power. As a result, many of the best militants ended up leaving the Trotskyists for posts in the MNR government, and a significant segment of the Trotskyist movement ended up capitulating to the government's non-revolutionary nationalism. Where an independent revolutionary alternative could have created a pole for full social revolution, we saw the Bolivian Trotskyist movement splinter into pieces over this policy of collaboration with narrow nationalism.

This pull of an indiscriminate unity of the "Left" is found once again in very different circumstances in Bolivia 1981, where one section of the POR calls for a united front of the Left as the major way in which to defeat the Meza dictatorship. But such a call, far from being against "sectarianism," is in fact a movement away from the serious theoretic as well as practical labor of raising an independent banner of social revolution.

**MDs tell of nuclear horror**

San Francisco, Cal. — A single one-megaton nuclear bomb detonated over San Francisco would kill 780,000 persons outright and leave 382,000 persons doomed to die, according to Dr. H. Jack Geiger, professor of community medicine at the College of the City of New York. This horrible scenario was spelled out at a two day symposium held here on Nov. 17 and 18 under the auspices of the Physicians for Social Responsibility and the Council for a Livable World Education Fund.

Another symposium speaker, Dr. Marvin Goldberger, president of the California Institute of Technology and once a member of the President's Scientific Advisory Committee told his listeners that 20 one-megaton bombs dropped on Los Angeles would kill five million people instantly and destroy 1,200 square miles.

Dr. Geiger said that of the 382,000 persons that would be injured in the San Francisco area, few would live. He estimated that of the 24,000 doctors fewer than 3,000 would survive in a healthy enough condition to provide care. A third or more of the 63 hospitals and their 12,000 beds would have been destroyed, and those still standing would lack electricity or water and would soon run out of medications.

**NO HELP, NO HOPE**

"We tend always to think in terms of rescue from the outside," said Geiger, "but in any likely scenario today there will be no outside, because every other major area will be similarly afflicted. There essentially would be no hope. Without X-rays, diagnostic equipment, and medication, what good does it do to be a doctor?"

The overflow crowd in the 900-seat Herbst Theatre, about half of whom were doctors, heard speaker after speaker address the central dilemma of our time — the escalating arms race and the attendant threat of a nuclear holocaust. "So great is the potential terror," said Dr. John E. Mack, professor of psychiatry at Harvard Medical School, "that it creates a context which is beyond human endurance. Within that context lies the madness that forces people to conceive of future wars in conventional terms, in order to avoid confronting the grisly reality of nuclear weapons."

**THE LAST EPIDEMIC**

Dr. Howard H. Hiatt, dean of the Harvard School of Public Health, urged doctors who remain aloof from the nuclear arms issue to reconsider. "Our very silence," he declared, "permits or encourages the nuclear arms race to continue, making almost inevitable, either by design or by chance, what could be the last epidemic our civilization will know."

—San Francisco doctor

What makes Bolivia so ominous today is not alone its internal viciousness, nor even that the coup was "independent" of the U.S. It is that the military dictatorships of Latin America — Argentina, Brazil and Chile, especially—have formulated in the Bolivian junta, their answer to Nicaragua.

They do not intend to let a Nicaragua happen in their part of the hemisphere.

However, just as the people of Nicaragua were able to enlarge the Sandinista-led guerrilla war into a full insurrectionary civil war in the final nine months of the struggle and thereby achieve victory, so today, their direction after the period of overthrow will become crucial, not alone for Nicaragua, but for all of Latin America beginning with El Salvador. "What happens after a revolution" has crucial effects not only within a country, but on other countries where masses are in motion for freedom. This is not "export" of a revolution, it is the idea of freedom becoming concrete in people's minds and their own activity to make it a reality in their lives.

The challenges for Nicaragua and for El Salvador are enormous. Not only do they face the threat of the Reagan administration, a U.S. government which makes no bones about active intervention to stop revolution, and the reactionary generals in power in much of Central America, but they must hew out a new pathway of revolutionary thought to unite with revolutionary action. It is with this task that we must solidarize — solidarity which both acts to stay the hand of U.S. imperialism, but as well extends to working with the Nicaraguan, El Salvadorean and Latin American masses to create a theory of social revolution. Such a theory is needed to unite with the liberation fight that the Latin American masses are at present waging so that social revolution can become a continental, hemispheric, global reality.

# 25 YEARS OF MARXIST-HUMANISM IN THE UNITED STATES

by Raya Dunayevskaya Chairwoman, News and Letters Committees

Editor's Note: This is the concluding fourth segment of our selections from "25 years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S." The entire pamphlet can be ordered for \$1.50 plus 50 cents postage from News & Letters.

## IV. 1980: "The Book"—Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution—

### PART ONE: ROSA LUXEMBURG AS THEORETICIAN, AS ACTIVIST, AS REVOLUTIONARY

- Chapter 1 — Two Turning Points in Luxemburg's Life: Before and After the 1905 Revolution
- Chapter 2 — The Break with Karl Kautsky, 1910-1911: From Mass Strike Theory to Crisis over Morocco
- Chapter 3 — The Inter-regnum of Luxemburg, and an Excursus into Marx's New Continent of Thought
- Chapter 4 — Marx's and Luxemburg's Theories of Accumulation of Capital
- Chapter 5 — War and Revolutions, 1914, 1917, 1919: Russian, German, World
- Chapter 6 — Women's Liberation: Then and Now
- Chapter 7 — Philosophy, Spontaneity, Organization

### PART TWO: KARL MARX — FROM A CRITIC OF HEGEL TO AUTHOR OF CAPITAL AND THEORIST OF PERMANENT REVOLUTION

- Chapter 8 — Marx Discovers a New Continent of Thought and of Revolution, 1844-1850
  - (1) A Preliminary Note on the Dialectic: in Marx of the Early 1840s; in Luxemburg, 1902; in Lenin, 1914
  - (2) Prometheus Bound, 1841-1843
  - (3) Prometheus Unbound, 1844-1848
- Chapter 9 — A Decade of Historic Transformation: from the Grundrisse to Capital
  - (1) "Economics": Only Class Struggles or "Epochs of Social Revolution"? 1857-1858
  - (2) Capital, Especially Chapter I, Especially the French Edition, 1875
- Chapter 10 — Philosopher of Permanent Revolution and Organization Man
  - (1) Critique of the Gotha Program (of a United Workers' Party of Germany)
  - (2) The Permanent Revolution: From 1843 to 1883
    - Afterword: Once again, on Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution
  - (3) The Unknown Ethnological Notebooks, the Unread Drafts of Letter to Zasulich, as well as Undigested 1882 Preface to the Russian Edition of the Communist Manifesto

APPENDIX: First English Translation of Rosa Luxemburg's Speech to the 1907 London RSDRP Congress

## and Perspectives for the 1980s

The reason 1980 was designated "the year of the book" was not only as a deadline for its completion, but because of the necessity to see the three parts of the book—Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy—both as an entity that will illuminate the totality of the crises of today, and as the whole new continent of thought Marx discovered which remains the ground for perspectives for the 1980s.

Thus, whether articulated in the Draft Perspectives, "Tomorrow is Now" or in the completed Perspectives, "Today and Tomorrow" the point was to focus on Carter's drive to war, with an ever-expanding militarization and the reestablishment of registration for the draft of youth; ever-increasing unemployment with its unconscionable magnitude in the Black community, especially among the youth; the move against the ERA; and resurgent racism. All these deepening crises could hardly be described in less extreme terms than "Apocalypse Now."

The absolute opposite of that retrogressionism on the part of the ruling class was seen in the magnificent new strikes—actually occupations of the shipyards and coal mines—in Poland. Where a decade back, in 1970, the massive strikes of the shipyard workers had written a new page of freedom, the outright occupations in 1980 throughout Poland raised higher, totally new demands for both free trade unions and a free press.

In the U.S. too, though there were no such massive strikes, there were Black uprisings from Miami to Philadelphia, and under-currents of revolt throughout the land.

Carter's intense militarization—including toying with the question of "tactical" nuclear weapons which would make nuclear war "thinkable" and his reinstatement of draft registration—has brought about a new anti-war movement, in which not only is there resistance to the draft, but that resistance is related to questions both of nuclear power and of imperialism. Thus, the March 1980 N&L carried a series of articles from around the country on "No Nukes, No Draft, no War." The following issue carried as the Lead, "American youth challenge draft, racism, poverty jobs."

Our Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth became interested in the revolutionary journalism of Marx, holding a class around the essay on "Marx's revolutionary journalism and the Neue Rheinische Zeitung" by Eugene Walker, which he related, in his report to the 1980 convention, to the new stage we were reaching with the decision to transform N&L into a 12-page paper. He concretized it as follows:

"Just as the draft chapters gave birth to the essay-

type articles and 'From the Archives' as part of our continuing contribution toward working out Absolute Idea as New Beginnings, so it must continue to remain unseparated from how Absolute Idea as New Beginnings, as a movement from practice from below, is worked out within the pages of N&L. Here two seemingly unconnected contributions to our paper—the Draft Perspectives, on the one hand, and 'Readers' Views' on the other, show the way in which a new comprehension of the movement from practice has been reached in our paper."

At our convention, our new stage was seen as meaning even greater intensification of activity, especially around Black reality and Black thought. As far back as 1944 we had been active in the Black movement. "Negro Intellectuals in Dilemma" was a critique of Gunnar Myrdal's *American Dilemma* and the dilemma of the Black intellectuals—W.E.B. DuBois, Ralph Bunche, L. D. Reddick et. al.—who allowed their original works to be bent to Myrdal's bourgeois values. In the 1950s we, at one and same time, related, in *Marxism and Freedom*, the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 to the Black revolution that began with the Montgomery Bus Boycott as signifying the birth of a new epoch of revolt; and became activists in it.

In 1963 we summarized the whole history of the U.S. as *American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard*. And these dialectical analyses of historic events—not limited to the current situation but stretching over a century or more—were never separated from our activities during the turbulent 1960s with the Freedom Rides, Freedom Schools and long marches.

The 1970s revealed a new aspect precisely because the '60s did not bring total freedom. It was at that point that Black reality related itself to Black thought, especially in Africa and the West Indies, as witness the pamphlet, *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought*.

Now, in 1980, we see youth in Miami—really just children of 11, 12 and 13—not only actively participating in the uprising there; but, as Reason, helping the adults reject the established Black leadership. This revolt against established leadership may not seem to have a similarity to Lenin's revolt against, and overthrow of, the established Marxist leadership in World War I, when it capitulated to the imperialist war, but in fact this is what is new about our age—its maturity, its rejection of the old, and attempt to create the new. What we saw in Angola and Mozambique was that children just as young were exercising great influence on the occupying Portuguese soldiers with the leaflets they gave them from the African revolutionaries. Indeed, the newest phenomenon that arose from the Portuguese revolution was that the new revolutionaries did fight

against established parties, be they Communist or Socialist, and created a new category—*apartidarismo* (non-partyism).

From a glance back at the whole quarter of a century, as an entity this time, it is beyond a peradventure of a doubt that the movement from practice was, indeed, itself a form of theory. To see that, all one needs to do is watch how Marx's Humanism fared in the following hands:

When the Christian Humanists at the end of World War II rediscovered Marx's Humanist essays, it was with the aim of bringing the masses in revolt back into the Church by showing them that membership in the Communist Party was not true to Marxism. When the Existentialists claimed that they were the Humanists, Sartre felt compelled to embellish his favorable mention of Marx's Humanism with: "It is, once again, Marx's point of view in 1844, that is, until the unfortunate meeting with Engels." (It has long been a mark of our state-capitalist age that intellectuals are more adept at rewriting history than at writing it.)

Contrast what happened when Marx's Humanism was brought onto the historic stage by an actual mass movement—whether under the slogan "Bread and Freedom" or "Marxism with a Human Face." It became at one and the same time an actual revolution against Communist totalitarianism and a totally new vision of what a new, classless society really is.

For that matter, what our 25 year history has shown from the start—that is, from the break with Johnson—is that if state capitalist theory does not extend itself to Marxist-Humanist philosophy, if the theoreticians have disclosed only what they are against without revealing what they are for, there is nowhere to go but into the mire of tailending new state powers. Nowhere is this shown better than by Johnson's tailending of Castro, Nkrumah, plus "the bewildering profundities of Mao."

That battle of ideas runs like a red thread throughout the history of Marxist-Humanism in the United States. Whether we take the *Two Worlds* column of March 1960, "Automation and the Dialectic, a Critical Review of C. P. Snow's *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution*," or the first Weekly Political Letter, April 22, 1961, "Preliminary Statement of the Crisis over Cuba" (Bay of Pigs); whether we consider the July 1975 article, "Instant Marxism and the Black Intellectual" on Amiri Baraka, Owusu Sadauki and John Oliver Killens, or we take "A Second Look at Adorno and Kosik and the Movement from Practice" (March 1978); whether we take the analysis of U Nu and Ben Gurion's retreat in the Weekly Political Letter of Nov. 13, 1961, "Israel, Burma, Outer Mongolia and the Cold War," or Leopold Senghor's "African Socialism" (May 1960); at no time did we analyze world events without, at the same time, relating them to the stage of cognition.

The momentous world historic events of the 1970's extending into 1980, are sure to reach a revolutionary climax this decade. In our age, when all the forces have come together—rank-and-file labor, Black dimension, youth, Women's Liberation—and have done so no matter what the color of the specific minority is, in all lands from Africa to Latin America, from Asia to Europe, East and West, to the United States, the truly global and actual confrontation of the crises is the absolute negativity transforming reality.

When I told the Hegel Society of America in 1974 that the "Absolute Idea as New Beginning can become a new 'subjectivity' for realizing Hegel's principle that 'the transcendence of the opposition between Notion and Reality, and that unity which is truth, rest upon this subjectivity alone,' I added: "This is not exactly a summons to the barricades, but Hegel is asking us to have our ears as well as our categories so attuned to the 'Spirit's urgency' that we rise to the challenge of working out, through 'patience, seriousness, suffering and labor of the negative' a totally new relationship of philosophy to the actuality and action as befits a birth-time of history." This is what makes Hegel a contemporary."

The critical question for today's "birth-time of history" is this: If there is a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory, and if there is a movement from theory that is itself a form of philosophy, it is necessary, rigorously and comprehensively to dig out the single dialectic that emerges from actuality as well as from thought.

There is a dialectic of thought—from consciousness and self-consciousness, through culture, to philosophy. There is a dialectic of history—from primitive communism, through slavery and serfdom, as well as capitalism's "free wage labor," to total freedom. As Marx put it in Vol. III of *Capital*: "Human power is its own end." There is a dialectic of liberation—from class struggle, through Spirit in Self-Estrangement, to a total uprooting through social revolution, to totally new human relations, a new class-less society.

# YOUTH

## 'No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador'

### Washington, D.C.

The day after the start of the insurrection in El Salvador, Jan. 11, when 3,000 U.S. and Latin American demonstrators came together in support, we could sense the strength of that revolt growing even as our demonstration grew. A speaker from the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) reported that "the final struggle" in El Salvador had begun. Most cities were already under siege by the popular forces, who had seized one airport to stop the murderous bombing of the poor from U.S.-sent helicopters. In Santa Ana, army troops had joined in the insurrection.

The march and rally had been hastily called by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and took place in spite of extreme cold weather. Revolution was not only in the air, but in the demonstrators' bones; you could almost feel a part of the latest revolt, for which, we were told, the revolutionaries are looking to us to prevent the U.S. government from aiding the El Salvador regime.

"We deposit into your hands our militant, fraternal solidarity," the FDR speaker said. "Who killed the nuns? The ones who sent the guns!" we chanted on the march, referring to the four U.S. religious workers who were brutally murdered by the right-wing death squads.

#### INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND REVOLT

The demonstration changed the question of creating international solidarity from abstract to immediate, and transformed the usual form of a march on Washington by the idea of freedom present in the on-going revolt.

## Teens face draft, unemployment, lower wage

by Jim Mills

The opening week of 1981 which featured draft registration for teenagers reminded us again of Carter's legacy—preparation for war. But there is another reality within that most obvious form of militarization of youth which an 18-year-old expressed when he showed up to register that week. "I've been thinking about joining anyway. If I don't get a job by this summer, most definitely," he said, weighing an alternative to spending another year like the last one—unemployed.

The Michigan figure for unemployment, 12.5 percent, is deceptive since estimates of youth unemployment are as high as 25 percent. And the leading edge of youth unemployment are Black youth, most of whom can't find work. It was no wonder that openly racist hiring practices were listed among the causes of the Miami rebellion last May, by a governor's commission report on that outburst of anger. Furthermore, the Bureau of Labor statistics reveals that the difficulties that Black teenagers 16 to 19 have in finding work today are part of a trend that began in the 1950s. (Monthly Labor Review, August 1980)

#### LOWER MINIMUM WAGE FOR TEENS

What solution has capitalism come up with to deal with these despicable facts? Lowering the minimum wage is the panacea now. Most notably, Senator Orrin Hatch, R-Utah, the new chairman of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, is pushing for a lower minimum wage for teenagers.

"Businesses just aren't going to be able to pay that much for young people who are only worth \$2.50 an hour," the U.S. Chamber of Commerce fondly quotes him as saying. It just goes to show that in today's economic crisis, the theft of ever more unpaid hours of labor is still the employer's way of accumulating capital.

It is the Reagan victory which brought a two-tiered minimum wage closer to reality. Workers under 20 would receive three quarters of the legal minimum wage. Yet Carter paved the way. His administration oversaw legislation that barely raised the minimum wage which not only would trail far behind the inflation rate, but represented the smallest increase since 1950.

#### MARX'S ANALYSIS

Karl Marx exposed the capitalist notion, repeated by Hatch, that women and children were not worth a "man's wage," although the work was no less dangerous or difficult, and their needs any less. Marx also described in detail how capitalists use economic crisis, especially mass unemployment, to drive wages down, and how the prices of workers' products have little to do with the wages they are paid for making those goods. On the other hand, driving down wages means a larger portion of unpaid labor hours, and thus profits, are reserved for the capitalists.

A Salvadorean told us she was pleased with the demonstration because there were so many North Americans there; perhaps, she thought, we can really help the children who have been orphaned by the right-wing bands which have murdered 8,000 people in the last ten months. She told us how her nephew and another child were robbed and murdered for doing nothing more than going to the store with two dollars in their pockets. One hand lettered sign at the demonstration said simply: "The national crisis is profound, and cannot be solved by bandits and massacres."

What made the march so exciting was the feeling that revolution was not only necessary, but possible. The Nicaraguan revolution did much to build confidence in the ability of mass mobilizations to throw out U.S. imperialism and the ruling oligarchy. A Nicaraguan revolutionary we talked with pointed out that it was only after the first, spontaneous revolt in his country was crushed, that the Sandinista forces realize the strength of the popular support and dared to try again.

We discussed the role of Marx's philosophy of revolution with people from El Salvador, Nicaragua, South Africa, youth from St. Louis and a feminist from New Jersey. A speaker from the Guatemala Network described the growing resistance to repression there — church workers, university students, trade unions and peasants have joined to oppose the government.

#### NEEDED NORTH AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The rally brought home the needed North American revolution as well. A speaker from the Martin Luther King Memorial Coalition in Buffalo, N.Y., compared the fascism in El Salvador to the recent murders of eight Blacks in his city. The Nazis and the KKK openly praise

The debate over the minimum wage, however, is only the visible side of how wages are being driven down in the 1980s. Many establishments, most notably restaurants, legally need not pay minimum wage. Many other employers get away with paying less than minimum, flouting federal wage and overtime regulations which are poorly enforced.

Marx discovered a whole class, the proletariat, breaking the vise of exploitation, in life and in philosophy, and he included the special exploitation of young labor in his analysis. I thought of that special exploitation and resistance when I heard a young Black restaurant worker describe today's young labor as "underclassmen," who, like him, are resisting Reagan-style attacks on youth. He quit his job rather than take a cut in pay, below the minimum, while doing the work of two people.

Surely his resistance, as well as that of almost a quarter million 18 and 19-year-olds who decided not to register for the draft last summer, will be expressed in new forms of youth revolt.

## 'Nothing' jobs for less pay

Detroit, Mich.—It is very hard for a teenager to get a job out there, and when you do, it is for minimum wage. Now they are trying to lower that wage for teenagers. I had the experience of working at a restaurant. They were trying to lower the wages I had.

For almost a year I had been making \$3.10 an hour and then they said I should work for \$2.95. I quit. When I was working I was really doing the job of two people. They had hired me at a time when three of us worked in the back—a cook, someone helping the cook and making the salads and another person stacking dishes. I was stacking dishes. When the person making salads quit, they did not hire anyone. Instead I ended up doing that job, too.

I was the youngest one there. Everyone else was over 30. I felt the reason they piled work on me and then tried to lower my wage was because I was the youngest one there. I don't feel that because I am young that I should be paid less money for doing something that someone who is 22 would be doing.

I think they are going to try and lower the wages because they think teenagers won't speak out and make a lot of commotion where older workers would. It is discrimination against "underclassmen"—us teenagers. All they want is cheap labor.

I don't think teenagers are going to go for this dropping of the minimum wage. But they are almost forced to if they want a job. And the jobs offered are nothing. Restaurants, paper routes, stuff like that. What kind of a future could that bring? You would never own the restaurant.

And they say that it is a lower wage because they are training you. On the job I had, it took me only two or three weeks to learn everything. There wasn't anything to it.

—18 and looking

the murders, and the city was prepared to let those groups hold a rally on King's birthday, until the Coalition sought to counter-demonstrate.

Individual demonstrators came from as far away as Wyoming, Ann Arbor and North Carolina. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, and Furriers unions were represented. Many young people connected the draft registration to U.S. imperialism, shouting, "No Draft, No War, U.S. out of El Salvador!" Many Latin Americans in this country attended, including large delegations from New York from Casa Nicaragua and various Chilean groups.

By far the largest representation was of religious orders. Many came not only to mourn the four religious workers killed in El Salvador, but to dedicate themselves to continuing the fight against poverty and oppression. One Nicaraguan activist we spoke with had known the murdered nun, Maura Clark, when she worked in a poor area of Managua for many years. He explained that, in Nicaragua and El Salvador especially, the split is not between the church and the revolutionaries, but within the church.

—N.Y. News and Letters Committee participants

## Los Angeles

An anti-draft demonstration, the largest of the past year here, was dramatically transformed by the presence of hundreds of Salvadoreans, who seized upon the occasion of an anti-draft rally to protest the less ambiguous feature of Reagan's philosophy: his expanded imperialism. Their feeling was that however tactfully he handles the draft issue, he poses a grave threat to the unfinished Central American revolutions.

During the first week of January, American youth faced a second round of draft registration, only this time the government and media presented it with less fanfare than the first registration of last July.

Yet the absence of a government campaign on the scale of last summer didn't catch everyone standing still. Widespread opposition to registration was reported throughout Southern California, especially in Los Angeles where 1,000 attended the anti-draft rally.

The rally was called by the May 4 Anti-Draft Coalition, whose leaflets equally emphasized opposition to U.S. military intervention in El Salvador and opposition to draft registration. The presence of the Salvadorean revolutionary community turned a demonstration against registration alone into a powerful statement against the very wars the draft is intended to serve.

That so many new people became involved in this action, just at the moment when the media and government are attempting to hush up the draft issue, reveals the kind of work anti-draft activists must engage in if their struggle is to deepen and extend in this crucial period. If anything is clear, it is that Reagan is no friend of peace or youth, and the anti-draft movement will surely find new opportunities for connecting to new struggles against his policies in months to come.

—Anti-draft youth

## San Francisco

Chanting "No Draft, No War, U.S. out of El Salvador," 500 demonstrators marched outside the El Salvador consul's office to protest the murder of six leaders of the Democratic Revolutionary Front in El Salvador. The six FDR leaders were pulled from a secret meeting and killed by what appeared to be the El Salvadorean military and right-wing death squads.

The marchers called for an end to both U.S. military aid to El Salvador and its support of the right-wing junta. President Carter had promised \$5.7 million in military aid in April, and a more recent pledge of \$25 million had been temporarily held up since the murder of four Catholic women from the U.S. It has been released. Reagan has pledged to support the junta.

In another protest against U.S. military aid to El Salvador, West Coast longshoremen (International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union) announced Dec. 22 that they would refuse to handle any military goods destined for El Salvador. The shipping companies in the Maritime Association have threatened the longshoremen with the loss of their guaranteed weekly income, arguing that this job action constitutes a breach of contract. So far no action has been taken against the longshoremen.

The Latin American community in the Bay Area (it is estimated that there are more than 50,000 Salvadoreans here), strongly support the job action by the longshoremen. A number of San Francisco churches organized a vigil during the holidays. Latin American groups, unions and churches plan to organize other demonstrations in the near future.

—Demonstrator

# OUR LIFE AND TIMES

## Chad

In December, Libyan ruler Colonel Qaddafi made yet another attempt to extend his influence in Africa when his forces and local allies conquered neighboring Chad. The Libyan Army, as well as a 5,000-strong Libyan-trained "Islamic Legion" made up of very highly paid mercenaries from different Arab countries, joined the civil war in Chad on the side of their ally, Goukouni Oueddei, ousting the pro-French faction led by Kissane Habre.

France "warned" Qaddafi but did not immediately dispatch any of its own Foreign Legion, as it had in previous Chad civil wars.

Since coming to power in 1969, Colonel Qaddafi has used Libya's oil billions to make what he terms the "Islamic Revolution." This involves some redistribution of property to the poor, a totalitarian military state masquerading as a government of peoples' committees, assassination of opponents as far away as the U.S., and break-neck importation of advanced Western technology, especially military.

Qaddafi is in a hurry to develop an "Islamic" atom bomb and is spending billions in this effort. He has also increased his army from 20,000 to 50,000 in ten years, while increasing the number of students studying nuclear physics abroad.

Despite his militarization of Libyan society—including the universities—and his backing to the end of the murderous former Ugandan dictator Idi Amin, Qaddafi's ideas on "Islamic Revolution" have become a point of attraction for a segment of the youth and others in Black West Africa. This is because, despite the correct claims by those like Senegal's leader Senghor that Qaddafi is acting like an Arab slave raider, the pro-French policies of these corrupt neo-colonial regimes have long since alienated the youth. It is this void that Qaddafi is trying to fill with his invasions and his so-called *Green Book*, modeled on the Koran and on concepts similar to Mao's Cultural Revolution.

## Israel

The promise once held forth that Israel was the promised land of the Jews, has become a tarnished image that no longer lures emigrants. On the contrary, hundreds of thousands of Israelis have left the country since its founding.

Much has been made of the anti-Semitic policies of the Russians, with justification. But of the 51,317 Jews that left Russia in 1979, only 35 percent chose Israel as their new homeland.

Israel is lax in keeping count on those who leave the country, but last year 30,000 who departed did not return. Those leaving Israel are not confined to new emigrants who find life too hard, but a large proportion are native-born Israelis, Sabras. The policies of Begin, a 135 percent inflation rate, a serious housing problem, lack of employment, a decline in public confidence in the government and the economy, cause young Israelis to seek a better life elsewhere.

## Guyana

*(The following are excerpts of a letter we received from the Working People's Vanguard Party of Guyana.)*

Because of state control of paper, and very high prices, we have had to suspend the publication of our weekly stencilled news sheet *Vanguard*.

Since August, 1979, the police raided our party headquarters and carried off stacks of printed and imported papers, our duplicating machine, a typewriter and two executive members. The two members were released a few hours after and because of many demands some of the papers and the duplicating machine were returned. But the police still hold our typewriter.

Our paper though small has been most successful in exposing, putting forward important political lines, which the other political parties followed later. In addition, we first exposed the machinations and double dealing of the Cubans and the Soviets in Guyana.

Our principal political line in Guyana has been that the electoral road had been blocked by the PNC regime since 1968 and there was need for new revolutionary struggle. We also denounced any proposition at "critical support" to the PNC regime or a National Patriotic Front government which included that party. We first denounced the PNC "socialism" as a farce.

Since September, 1980, we formed a coalition with two other political parties—the Liberator Party and the People's Democratic Movement.

Working People's Vanguard Party  
69 Main Street  
Georgetown, Guyana

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry



The growing youth movement in Europe is seen in this fall 1980 demonstration in Zurich, Switzerland where thousands asked: "Support a free center for our youth," and decried the vicious police reaction to previous demonstrations—"No police means no riots." This December, more than a thousand West Berlin youth battled police who attacked their demonstrations protesting police evictions of more than 100 squatters from an apartment house near the Berlin Wall. Berlin has an estimated shortage of 50,000 apartments.

## Ireland

*(We received the following letter from Dublin.)*

By mid-December the total of Irish Republican prisoners on hunger strike to the death in Northern Ireland prisons had increased to 40. By the 18th of December the original seven were on the brink of death. That day, following a British Cabinet decision, the essence of the prisoners' five demands (on clothing, work, free association, remission, letters and visits) were granted and the hunger strike ended without loss of life.

As well as the campaign having politicised and mobilized Irish people in street demonstrations and increasingly militant direct action to a greater extent than for a decade, a major reason for British concessions was the massive build up of international pressure. (Significantly it was the British Foreign Office which eventually pushed Thatcher to settle with the hunger strikers).

At the time of writing (Dec. 29) the situation is still unclear. Nearly 500 men in Long Kesh (Maze) and 30 women in Armagh jail remain on the "blanket" protest. This will cease only when their own clothes are allowed in to them and conditions agreed by Britain actually granted. The prisoners have stated that the speed at which the protest ends is entirely dependent on the sincerity and manner of implementation by the British authorities of their proposals. Failure to do this could lead to another hunger strike. While thanking comrades all over the world for their tremendous support and efforts, it is important to stress that the struggle is by no means over.

—Eibhlín Ní Sheidhir

## Arab women

A Swiss organization has been formed to protect Arab women from the common practice of killing unmarried pregnant or "adulterous" Arab women by their own families. Women have formed their own underground railroad to get these women out of Arab lands to either seek abortions or to have their children in a peaceful country.

The killers in these so-called "honor killings" are rarely brought to justice in Arab lands. The Quaker Society, which is involved in protecting the women, estimate that there is at least one killing per day in the West Bank area alone. The locations of various hospitals in Israel are circulated and the women are provided with air fare and hospital facilities for their care.

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## France

In a most blatant act of racism, the Communist Mayor of Vitry, France, a Paris suburb, led a group of his followers in a commando-type raid on an empty workers' hostel—ripped out the heating, gas, plumbing and electricity, and destroyed the usefulness of the building to prevent the arrival of "any more immigrants to our community." Three hundred Black workers from Mali were to move in from their dilapidated, condemned housing in the town of Saint-Maur.

The Communist Mayor was carrying out the line of the French Communist Party leader, Georges Marchais, who is demanding "equal distribution" of foreign workers in France. With elections coming in the spring, the Communists are exploiting the economic crisis in France and appealing to the most racist elements in French society to get votes for their discredited politics.

The attack in Vitry was also supported by the local Socialist Party. In fact, this is only the latest in a whole series of racist incidents encouraged from the highest levels of the French CP, despite their occasional and perfunctory protests against government racism.

In November, the Political Bureau of the French CP gave the green light to such racist attacks with its statement that: "We Communists say that yes, this immigration, which throws French workers out of work must be stopped . . . The government of Giscard d'Estaing and his Minister, Stoleru, doesn't do what it promises . . . We approve of the concrete measures taken by Communist Mayors who oppose official pressures to find housing or construct housing that increases the concentration of immigrants . . . We approve of the Communist elected officials who have cut the total volume of welfare aid to immigrants." (*L'Humanité*, 11-5-80)

When the French CP did turn about earlier in 1980 from its former mild Eurocommunist critique of Russian Stalinism in order totally to endorse Russia's invasion of Afghanistan, some observers wrote that the CP had abandoned "nationalism" in favor of Russian-style "internationalism."

In fact, in their policy of racism at home, they seem to be continuing their Eurocommunist concept of "Socialism with French colors," joining the racist Giscard government. So far the open racism of the French CP has not sparked the type of exodus of intellectuals from the Party that Afghanistan did. Nor has it received the type of criticism from the American CP, Angela Davis included, that its earlier Eurocommunist stance did.

## South Korea

Riverside Church, Dec. 12, 1980

*Listen to the children.*

*The little shorties of Miami, tell us "The U.S. is a lie." On film, a Korean girl exalts her bravery in innocence and, in carnage, hundreds/possibly thousands of youth die of suicide in Korea since Kwangju.*

*In an army hospital, a heart beats slowly—Kim Dae Jung, "The most trusted leader of the nation"—lies still of exhaustion waiting for exile or execution.*

*The night dread of martial law winds its spell through the streets of Kwangju, the air is putrid. Once streets filled with furious, fighting youth and tear gas canisters, alive with sullen incredulity—leave what legacy now, what laws governed then? The streets are transfixed under a gaping moon.*

*We are 300 praying and singing in Riverside Church for the life of Kim Dae Jung.*

*It is not enough to listen to Reverend Coffin for a nation's life.*

*Listen to the children as they die.*

—Teru Ibuki