

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

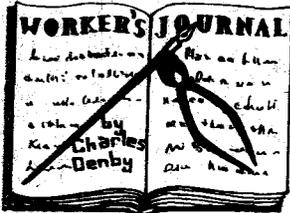
VOL. 27—No. 1

27 Printed in 100 Percent
Union Shop

January-February, 1982

25c

Haitians dehumanized at Krome



by Charles Denby, Editor

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

I have just read a shocking article called "Inside Krome" — the detention camp which used to house Cuban refugees and now imprisons Haitians. As shocking as is the content, is the fact that the article was written, not by a spokesperson for the refugees, but by the chief spokesperson for the United States State Department at the Krome detention facility, Larry Mahoney. The article appeared as a special feature in the *Miami Herald*, a leading bourgeois newspaper, on Jan. 10.

"I worked for the State Department as the government's chief spokesman — more often apologist — for Krome. The job was difficult and not a little shameful. I saw women sleeping under blankets so soiled and threadbare I mistook them for the contents of vacuum-cleaner bags; guards so indifferent to suffering that they snickered at the helpless; sanitary facilities so squalid they turned your stomach. Above all, there was the crippling boredom. The people just slept and ate, ate and slept . . . In the end, I found I could no longer cover for the indignities my government countenanced, and quit in frustration."

'THIRSTED FOR FREEDOM'

Mahoney admits that far from being "detainees," the Haitians were prisoners, ". . . like all prisoners, they thirsted for freedom." And he goes on to describe how 200 Haitians over a period of a week had fled the camp through a slit in the fence. "It must have been highly organized: they had to have popped through, one at a time over a period of days, shielded by a crowd of their countrymen."

Mahoney describes incident upon incident at the camp:

"The children were going away. They were awakened at 4:30 a.m. in the barracks. They had come as boat people from the tropics to the near tropics and now they were going to upstate New York.

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The real state of the union under Reagan UNEMPLOYMENT LINES RUNAWAY SHOPS

Detroit, Mich. — Standing in the unemployment line the other day gave me plenty of time to find out what some of the other laid-off workers thought about the current unemployment situation — especially right after hearing the horrible statistics that had just been released by the federal government.

One laid-off Cadillac worker said that the high unemployment was a result of Reagan's ridiculous economic policies and that the unemployment and inevitable increased crime were just going to get worse until the working people take control for themselves to make some real changes.

A couple of Kelsey-Hayes workers were talking about how the working class was already "bearing the load" and are being pushed by company threats of shut-downs, into making even more sacrifices for the big industries with no expectation of any help for themselves. Others said that women and Blacks are being especially hard hit by unemployment and Reagan's racist-sexist policies, which are not working anyway since we now have both high unemployment with high inflation.

There was talk of the workers not giving in easily on union contract negotiations and, as one hospital worker said, "more people are thinking that there is an alternative to just working to support management and that they want to be working for themselves."

These unemployed workers don't expect any help from Washington; the working class must transform the situation themselves, because Reagan's policies are deliberately causing higher unemployment.

—Newly laid-off worker



Polish workers oppose imposition of martial law.

POLAND: An Editorial Article

Counter-revolution drives the revolution underground; the resistance continues

by Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairwoman,
News and Letters Committees

The counter-revolution that drove the revolution underground is meeting with resistance throughout Poland, though it is by no means a civil war. The most horrifying feature of the Dec. 13, 1981 military onslaught calling itself "Military Council of National Salvation" was that it came from within, not from the outside—though Russia left no doubt that if the Polish rulers did not put down the spontaneous, 18-month, deepening revolt, Russia would.

Thus, the nationalistic, state-capitalist Polish mil-

itarists and production exploiters have made outright invasion by Russia unnecessary, for the moment. And thus, for the first time since a totally new world epoch began in East Berlin on June 17, 1953 — with the first East European revolt from under Russian imperialist state-capitalism that called itself Communism — national state-capitalism revealed that it was no different from private capitalism. It was spelled out in the most fundamental law of the class struggle: the main enemy is at home.

The tragedy is that the counter-revolution had learned that lesson well. Knowing the overwhelming force of the proletariat at the point of production, and that the factories could become fortresses, the militarist hierarchy planned its takeover for a weekend — when the workers would not be in the plants, and when their leaders would be at a Solidarnosc Congress.

IN THE STEALTH OF THE NIGHT

Nevertheless, it wasn't the stealth of that grim Dec. 13 night that was shocking; counter-revolutions always begin in the stealth of the night. What was shocking was the great illusion that blinded Solidarity — the illusion that the Polish Army would not fire on Poles. The barbaric counter-revolution was in no way confused by the struggle for national liberation, which was on its way to social revolution. Quite the contrary. While viciously stomping on the revolution, it took full advantage of nationalist rhetoric in an attempt to cover over its militarist suppression.

Thus, the First Secretary of the Communist Party, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, pictured himself a "soldier" dedicated to "national salvation." With that, he unloosed his hordes, cordoned off key production centers — the mines, steel mills, shipyards and textile factories — and raided the hotels and homes where Solidarity members lived. Thousands were rounded up and sent to jail. The most militant activists — especially socialists like Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Jan Litynski and Karol

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WOMAN AS REASON

In the 17 short months from Polish August, 1980 to December, 1981, the Polish people created a new epoch. Fundamental to it was the great creativity of the women which made clear how deep the budding Polish revolution needed to become.

That women are now fighting the counter-revolution there is no doubt, be that in the street fighting or in the special camp for women arrested during the crackdown, where they are reported to be showing great hostility to their male guards. But it is not only the Polish women's bravery that is important to remember in this moment of counter-revolution. It is their Reason.

HISTORY—PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

What strikes one immediately is the affinity of the Polish women today — particularly the striking textile workers of Zyrardow — to their history. For it was striking textile workers who started the February, 1917 Russian Revolution. And it was the great Polish revolutionary, Rosa Luxemburg, who saw, in the mass strikes that culminated in the Russian Revolution of 1905, that it was "impossible to separate the economic and the political factors from one another."

That is what the textile workers of Zyrardow recreated in their strike in October, 1981, when these supposedly "naive" women kept that strike running for over four weeks against both internal and government opposition, continuing it even after their demands for food had been met.

Woman as revolutionary force and Reason was evident from the very beginning, when the firing of Anna Walentynowicz sparked the August, 1980 strike in the shipyards of Gdansk. In her own words, this is how Solidarnosc began: "The shipyard workers struck demanding Walesa's and my reinstatement and 2,000 zlotys raise. After three days, the demands were met, giving us a 1,500 zlotys increase. Then Walesa declared an end of the strike ... and the strikers started leaving the shipyard. ... The workers standing outside from

Garment workers trial

San Francisco, Cal. — Thirteen seamstresses employed by Naline Lee Sewing Inc. are going through pre-trial hearings in an attempt to prove that unemployment fraud charges against them are discriminatory (see N&L, November, 1981). The women contend that the unemployment office and District Attorney have singled out Chinese women for prosecution in order to discourage their legitimate use of part-time unemployment benefits.

The Garment Workers Support Committee is trying to organize a community meeting with public officials. They want officials to explain why they are prosecuting the seamstresses instead of investigating the exploitative labor practices in the garment industry. For more information, and to express your support, contact: Garment Workers Support Committee, c/o 1322 Webster St., Suite 210, Oakland, CA 94612.

BC-BS: poor sick pay policy

Detroit, Mich.—We now have our contract, here at Blue Cross-Blue Shield. There are some good points in the contract, like time off and the pay increases. We've just received our pay increase as retroactive pay. The raises were promised in April, 1981, but the union and company were in the process of negotiating. This means that our wages did not adjust to inflation. Many of us needed our raise before the holidays.

There has been a big problem with the sick days policy, called the occurrence procedure. Every worker is allowed three occurrences. A worker may take one day off, come to work the next day, and take the following day off—this is counted as two occurrences. Yet if that same worker takes days off consistently for three months, it is counted as one occurrence. The problem with this procedure is that most workers need to use their occurrences, for example, in the time of an emergency. They will receive a verbal warning and can be eventually written up. A lot of workers have been on discipline because of the occurrence procedure. Emergencies are never taken into consideration.

The production standards also have not changed in most instances. What is better for us now is that union officials are checking up on management's time study which has set production high; it's determined by those who produce the most in each department. Many workers cannot keep up with the pace of that one worker who may be exceedingly fast.

We know that the company has tried to make the union look bad by enforcing mandatory overtime. It is important that we know and read the entire contract for ourselves, so there can be no surprises.

—Blue Cross-Blue Shield worker

Solidarity with Polish women!

other factories protested: 'You got your issues taken care of, but what about other people from other factories who were fired? They will be lost!' ...

"What could we do? How could we stop 16,000 people leaving through three different gates? We ran to the gate and I shouted, 'Let's have a solidarity strike!' Then Alina (Pienkowska) took action. She stood on top of some barrels, such a close-to-tears girl in a candy pink blouse, and said: 'We have to help the people from the other factories because they won't be able to defend themselves ...' Alina's quiet voice stopped the masses of people. The gate was closed—then others. Six thousand people stayed in the shipyard. For me, only in that moment did the Polish August begin."

WORLDWIDE SOLIDARITY OF WOMEN

Even more significant than this first act of solidarity is what the women learned in the course of their revolutionary activity. In an interview given this July, Alina Pienkowska said: "In August, 1980, the women in Gdansk were very active in building Solidarnosc. ... At that time they paid no attention to the special problems of women, instead they fought for the rights of all human beings. ... But we have not been able to win our concrete demands that are important to us women ... we must struggle more for the women's cause. The life of women in Poland is still very hard, they must work and perform housework and social labor. Anna (Walentynowicz) and I were able to do much for Solidarnosc only because we are widows, otherwise our housework would have suffered ..."

What the women created in the space of 18 all-too-short months was, at one and the same time, deep opposition to existing Polish society and a critique of the revolutionary movement itself.

Alina Pienkowska is now underground—uncaptured by the Polish junta. The vision of revolution which she shares not only with the women of Poland but with the women of the world will never be destroyed, only deepened. Our solidarity is with the women of Poland and the totality of revolution they envision. The struggle continues.

—Terry Moon

Winnie Mandela banned again

Winnie Mandela, South African revolutionary, was again banned, Jan. 4, in Brandfort, South Africa. Her husband, Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress (ANC), was sentenced to Robben Island for life after the infamous Rivonia Trial. Winnie Mandela's resistance has been continuous over the years, which shows that her fight is more than a question of one single will. At the age of 47, it is her acknowledging that: "We consider ourselves very lucky to belong to a generation that will actually see the liberation of our country."

This new banning order was served two days before the old one was to expire. But, she is not defeated. Anytime she reports to the police station, she refuses to go through the doors marked "Colored." She instead walks through the doors marked "white."

In speaking of herself, she expresses a piercing irony that gives us a glimpse of the determination of the South African struggle. "Why should an insignificant woman in the backveld of the Free State be a threat to the Afrikaner's kingdom? ... Why be afraid of a little 'communist' who belongs to an organization they have wiped out?"

Winnie Mandela was able to visit Nelson Mandela for 45 minutes on two days in December, but not allowed to discuss "political" subjects.

Although the ANC does not represent the entire movement in South Africa, still Winnie Mandela's individual character has always represented a very important part of South African self-determination.

—Diane Lee

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

DETROIT: 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Rm. 316
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182 Upper Street,
London, N1, England



women- worldwide



Over 1,000 Japanese women marched in an anti-war demonstration in Tokyo on Dec. 7, to coincide with the 40th anniversary of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor.

On Jan. 12, a Federal district judge ordered United Airlines to rehire 1,400 stewardesses who had been forced to quit because of a rule (changed in 1968) which forbade married women to work as flight attendants. The women had filed suit to protest the law, and the court's ruling, late as always, only directs that the women be added to United's list of laid-off employees eligible for recall by seniority.

In Bombay, India, over 200,000 textile workers kept almost all of the city's 60 textile factories idle on Jan. 6 by staying off their jobs to support union demands for better wages and working conditions.

In Cleveland, Ohio, 500 mothers and children protested at a Dec. 14 county commissioners meeting at which Reaganomic cuts of over 20 percent in Title XX day care programs were to be considered. The women made clear that they wanted to continue working but would be forced onto welfare if subsidies were cut because their wages were too low to pay full day care costs.

(Information from What She Wants)

From a young woman in Iran

Editor's Note: We received the following letter from a young unemployed woman in Iran.

When I graduated from high school, I was hoping to enter one of the universities, judging from my good average on final exams. Of course my desire to do this during and after the revolution increased greatly. One reason was the important role of university students, who in the majority participated in the revolution. I was encouraged to join their struggle. On the other hand, the restricted Iranian culture puts no other way before a young woman, except going to industrial schools or to a husband's house.

I took the university entrance exams and earned an impressive score. Yet surprisingly I couldn't enter, because the clergy's children and members of the Islamic committee had priority to enter.

I tried to find a job, but there were thousands of unemployed graduates seeking jobs, as well as people who had been fired and were now looking for work. I was forced to accept a job as "honorary" teacher—in other words, teach for free—with the hope that one day I could work for the Board of Education and earn my living. Today I have been an "honorary" teacher for almost one year.

The government has established Islamic Ideological Classes. One of the qualifications to get a teaching job is to participate and get good grades in these classes. Under these conditions I am forced not only to remain unemployed and attend these classes with much disgust, but I must also tolerate the bad conditions of my father's home.

I think that all young Iranian women, especially the unemployed graduates and those who have been dropped from the universities due to the effect of the "cultural revolution," are facing more or less these same problems.

UAW bargains with GM behind workers' backs

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

On Jan. 8, 1982 the United Auto Workers union leaders met in Chicago to discuss re-opening the current contract with the U.S. auto companies. The membership of Local 216, in South Gate, Cal., feels they are being sold out, because the leadership decided to do this. The workers say that if GM is hurting, it's their own fault for making so many stupid mistakes that got them in trouble to start with.

While the American auto companies were building cars for the rich and upper middle class, foreign auto companies got busy building cars for people. Now GM, Ford and Chrysler are trying to say it's the workers' fault. They say our "high wages" caused the market to collapse.

What does have an effect on the ever-increasing cost of the car produced in the U.S. is management salaries, the military, interest rates, profit, and the ever-expanding concentration of capital. The military has the first shot at available money for investments, so what is left the big corporations have to fight over, and up go the interest rates.

The ever expanding Automation, and now unimation, replaces workers on the job and in turn does away with the buyers market. Millions of unemployed and low income people are forced to buy what is cheap.

NY TA hides worker's death

New York, N.Y.—In December maintenance worker Edward Szebut was run over by a train while working. He got killed because they didn't have enough men in that tunnel. Sometimes they let crews go down without flagmen, without protection. We are dying like dogs.

When a worker gets killed, no one even hears about it. The Transit Authority has hundreds of officials whose entire job is to cover up. They try to prove it's the worker's fault so they don't have to pay that \$50,000 to the family. They sometimes plant drugs, or even claim the worker committed suicide. Other times they threaten the dead worker's crew with some trumped-up violations, by saying they'll be fired if they don't keep quiet.

—Transit maintenance, 207th St.

In December, another 450,000 workers joined the millions already unemployed.

Workers are tired of hearing salaried "mental" employees say labor costs are too high. Why are they so quick to charge that workers (who are the sole source of wealth) are paid too much? I saw my doctor recently, and as soon as I walked into his office he said, "You workers at GM have to take wage cuts, the cost of labor has pushed up the prices of cars so no one can afford them and GM cannot compete with Japan." I asked him how much he made a year. He said \$200,000. He examined me and then referred me to a specialist. I told him that if I asked my foreman to get someone else to do my job, he would fire me.

The workers at South Gate are solidly against giving up holidays or other benefits for the promise that GM will cut prices. If the UAW put it to the legitimate vote, it would lose by three-to-one in this local.

The real state of the union

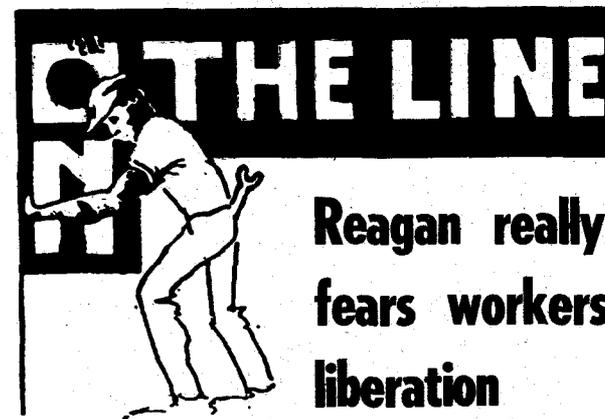
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When I went to recertify I found a lot of rules had changed in October. For one thing you now have to go every three months instead of six months. Your appointment is always in the middle of the day, making sure you miss a full day's work. Everything is like that. You cannot go through a recertification and not get the idea that there is a deliberate policy to harass and throw up obstacles to get you so disgusted you throw up your hands and don't come back.

You have to bring so many documents now that there's always something they can send you back for. They want your last eight pay stubs now — it used to be two, then four. They want Social Security numbers for everyone, even babies — lease, utility and phone bills, car registration, bank book, marriage and divorce certificates, children's medical cards, immigration documents, and so on.

Since I had everything in order, they invented a new one I never heard of — they want a letter from my landlord stating my wife lives with me! I have never seen my landlord, I just mail him the rent!

—Angry worker



by John Marcotte

The military crackdown on Poland's Solidarity movement has been on everyone's mind at work. The Latin Americans I work with are all too familiar with military dictatorships in their own countries. Their immediate response was, "All these military men are the same. They are always at war against their own people." Whether in El Salvador, Guatemala or Poland, we see it as the poor and working people against the bloody power of wealth and privilege. As a Puerto Rican worker told me, "Russia is keeping the Polish people hungry. Reagan is cutting off our food here. Which is worse? They are the same."

A Black worker felt, "All Reagan's talk about Poland and the candle in the window, that's a lot of b.s. It's a game he's playing. Only he's trying to play it stronger than the others, like when he fired the air controllers. He had no right to do that." Another friend felt that while Reagan's talking he's really "washing his hands of the whole thing, like Pontius Pilate."

We all know that neither Reagan nor the AFL-CIO want to see working people take control of their own lives, their own factories, shipyards and mines, their own government, anywhere in the world, anytime. And that is precisely what the Solidarity Union movement is capable of attaining.

Though some of my co-workers thought at first that we might go to war over Poland, I couldn't ever see it. When and if Reagan pushes that nuclear button it will be on his timetable and not to defend any workers, anywhere. No, the Polish workers stand alone, alone except for the hopes and support of the working people all over the world.

What I find most disgusting is the attitude of the liberals here and the Catholic Church, who are so terrified of the elemental outburst the Polish workers are capable of that they can only plead for "calm" and "restraint." There is so much fear on both sides of the rage and creativity of labor that was exposed in Poland.

In the factory, our solidarity with Solidarity is naturally a class solidarity. We do not separate it from solidarity with the Bolivian workers, the Salvadoran peasants or our own struggles here. The AFL-CIO is crying crocodile tears for the free trade unions of Poland. But they are the furthest thing from a free trade union themselves. And they have, through the AIFLD, helped the CIA and military dictatorships kidnap, torture and kill trade unionists all over the Latin American continent, to name just one place.

Where was the AFL-CIO, where were the TV cameras last year, when the Bolivian tin miners fought just as courageously against their military coup, holed up in their mines with only food, water and dynamite, just like their Polish counterparts today?

From the vantage point of our factory we watch what is happening all over the world for the freedom of the working class. We hope that in the coming year the Polish workers continue to be an inspiration and lesson for the freedom movements everywhere.

Robots at Schwinn: work doubled or no work at all

Chicago, Ill.—I know why I haven't felt right about the union since the contract ratification meeting at Schwinn. The main complaint then was the work rates, which was why we wanted to get the UAW in. They didn't even want to talk about it at the meeting. Now it is a year later and my rate has nearly doubled. Schwinn is just trying to take advantage of this depression we are in.

In the welding area they are already experimenting with robots. They have produced so much that the whole plant was shut down from Dec. 18 to Jan. 18. Workers with nine to 10 years seniority were terminated indefinitely. They were cheated out of any holiday or vacation pay because they will have to work at least one day in the new year. What is going to happen to those people? Nowhere else is there any hiring.

—Plant One worker

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

British Leyland

Oxford, England — In British Leyland's (BL) Unipart division at Cowley we will have lost upwards of 500 jobs out of a total of 1,100 by March, through "natural wastage" and voluntary redundancies. Another Unipart plant at Eynsham, Oxfordshire has been closed down, and one at Cardiff is to close in March with the loss of 250 jobs.

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

We used to be in a stronger negotiating position and could call the tune on a lot of things like "movement of labour." Now management is in a position to dictate and demand, and nine times out of ten they get what they want. There's a recession and mass unemployment.

The senior stewards have become like partners with management in disciplining the workers. This is because they agree on the need for productivity and belt-tightening to keep Leyland afloat, and are prepared to trade off jobs for bonuses under an incentive scheme.

One very cold day my department stopped work until the company would do something about inadequate heat. As soon as we stopped work I called the senior stewards. The seniors went to management, who said they couldn't do anything immediately about the heating, and if we didn't go back to work we would all be sent home with loss of pay.

The seniors came out of the office and relayed all management's arguments and threats and advised everyone to resume work under the bad conditions. They should at least have gone to the Factory Inspector or Safety Officer, but they did nothing. We finished up worse off by calling them in.

This year B.L. has been found guilty of race discrimination in three separate cases. Since September, Black workers at Leyland have been under especially heavy surveillance by the security department. Black people were watched on the line, many were questioned,

and some were heavily grilled about their spare-time activities. The reason given was that Black workers were suspected of causing a lot of wildcat stoppages and sabotage. A Black Workers' Rights Committee has been formed inside B.L. to oppose this racist harassment and I'm trying to build support for it among other workers.

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

—British Leyland Unipart worker

GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal.—The only thing management understands is when they don't get their production out. When you cause the foreman to work, then they will make the production process easier. The foreman sees himself as the "leader" in production, but the workers are constantly undermining his leadership. That is why workers say that the biggest production cost is not the production worker, but management.

The rumor is that we are to be off a week, then back for one week and finally laid off for two months. So we may be out of the plant at the time that the union and the company will be discussing re-opening the contract. The union will then bring it to the membership to vote on. Workers already know that it's a cut-and-dried case.

What the union wants is for the workers to vote their own wage cut. I don't like the fact of negotiating the contract this early. It only shows weakness on the part of the union in confronting GM. And on top of that the union wants us to vote on something that isn't even in writing as a contract. The union meeting to vote on re-opening the contract will really be a stormy one, and workers who usually stay away definitely will be out to this one.

—South Gate worker

Poland: counter-revolution drives the revolution underground

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Modzelewski — were beaten and some tortured. Conditions in the camps for those rounded up differed little from concentration camps. The imposition of martial law thus spelled out the real truth of state-capitalist "national salvation." Its "law and order" has brought nothing but disorder, unloosed a reign of terror, and caused greater and greater hunger.

Whether or not General Jaruzelski thinks that the military can rule alone, without Communist Party ideologues, makes no difference whatsoever to the masses. Though many analysts are ready to conclude that the Polish Military Council signifies that the "Polish Army Replaces Party in Power Structure" (see *Le Monde* section of the *Guardian*, Jan. 10, 1982), historically that has never been true in a state-capitalist state. Perhaps Lin Biao, as head of the army in China, thought he could succeed. But Mao proved that the one-party state rests on the Party and its ideologues. Insofar as Poland is concerned, the article that appeared in *Le Monde* under the above headline, with a Warsaw dateline, is among the most serious that have come out of Poland. It reveals that it was a Communist hardliner like "Kazimierz Barcikowski, who was entrusted with the job of waking up the primate of Poland, Cardinal Glemp, on the night of Dec. 12/13, and informing him of the new situation the country was in." Neither from that statement, nor from what we know of the power play in China, does it flow that the situation in Warsaw is the "first attempt to break the continuity of power in a Communist country."

Solidarity had no less than 10 million members at the moment of the crackdown. Nor is it only those members on whom Jaruzelski has stomped. Women trying to protect the occupied steel mill in Katowice had their arms broken. In Gdansk, 3,000 women fought to protect the barricaded workers there.

When the daring Silesian miners — including 1,742 in the Piast mine and 1,154 in the Ziemowot mine — barricaded themselves in those hell holes for two weeks, they were stormed with tanks. The Polish rulers admit to having killed 17 dissidents since martial law was declared (eight in Gdansk; nine at the Wujek mine in Silesia); Solidarity has accounted for at least 200 dead and considers 700 more probable. More than 2,000 have been wounded.

The great illusion of the counter-revolution is that they can raise productivity by forcing workers into their factories at gunpoint. Low productivity, as we pointed out when state-capitalism was established in Russia in the 1930s, is not a sign of the "backwardness of the workers," but the exact measure of their revolt.¹ As one Solidarity courier for the resistance movement put it: "Little work is going on anywhere."

The new monstrosity, militarized state-capitalism, cannot destroy the revolutionary spirit which, once unleashed, had developed like a tidal wave for 18 long months.

THE MANY VOICES OF REVOLUTION

The dialectic of revolution that emerged in August, 1980 established many firsts in the struggle for freedom. In all the great revolts over a 30-year span, this was the first time that East European workers succeeded in establishing an independent union, Solidarnosc — Solidarity. Moreover, this union had a most unique form, since it limited itself neither to a single trade or skill or factory but encompassed the whole nation.

Furthermore, Solidarity — again, for the first time from under Communist totalitarianism — extended itself to the farmers. Rural Solidarity joined with the proletariat and the intellectuals in that all-encompassing form

1. See my *Marxism and Freedom*, Chapter XIII, "Russian State Capitalism vs. Workers' Revolt," pp. 215-239. Consult especially the section on crises and purges which ends: "Purges are not due to a state of mind but to a state of production. They have never ceased in Russia and never will because the crises never cease. The crises never cease because the revolt of the working class is continuous."

of organization. Its head, Jan Kulaj, was rounded up and arrested along with Lech Walesa.

Another first for Solidarity was the way true internationalism was manifested when, in the present situation of fighting the counter-revolution, the Solidarity leader, Jan Litynski, penned an Appeal to the Workers of the East. Nor was Solidarity, though definitely the most massive organization, the only expression of the many voices of revolt. In the same period several small political parties who considered themselves true Marxists emerged with their own press.

What is exciting about Solidarity is that, as a spontaneous, mass outpouring, urban and rural, it stood on the ground which had been established directly after the 1976 revolt was suppressed. It was then that a few intellectuals, who knew how to listen to the workers, united with them to establish KOR, the Workers' Social Self-Defense Committee.

Less attention has been paid to the crucial part women played in the unfolding revolution. (For more



Street fighting in Katowice

Demos for Solidarity in U.S.

Editor's Note: In the wake of the Polish government's brutal military crackdown on the Solidarity union movement, Dec. 13, spontaneous demonstrations supporting the people of Poland and calling for an end to the newly-imposed martial law have occurred in cities around the world. News and Letters Committees members joined thousands of others in rallies in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and the Bay Area. The following is a report of a participant in the Bay Area protest.

San Francisco, Cal.—Since the declaration of martial law in Poland there has been a flurry of opposition activity in the Bay Area. Demonstrations were called on Dec. 14 by the anarchists, Dec. 16 by AFL-CIO and the Polish American Congress, Dec. 18 and 22 by the Bay Area Solidarity Support Campaign.

The Dec. 18 rally of about 500 consisted of many statements: from a Solidarity member, trade-union activists like PATCO and Schwinn, women's liberationists, and Iranian revolutionaries. A number of Latinos came on the basis that the struggle in Poland is not unlike the struggle in Latin America and that, in fact, Reagan's "opposition" to the crackdown is belied by his intervention in El Salvador.

I was asked to speak and I tried to stress that whether in Poland or the U.S. the main enemy is always at home. Counter-revolution in Poland is in the form of Polish generals and Polish tanks. But the fight for freedom will not be killed.

Unfortunately, instead of the discussion being a chance for people who came to be able to express their reason for supporting Solidarity, a number of Left groups gave their line that what Poland needs is the leadership of their party, or that now is the time to defend nationalized property (not even the working class!)

But now is the time to work out solidarity with revolution, and not just in Poland, that is not stuck on the fetish of the party or nationalized property. In opposing counter-revolution, from Poland to Iran and from El Salvador to South Africa, nothing short of a full philosophy of revolution will be a sufficient weapon to complete the revolution and achieve a new society the world over.

—Ursula Wislanka

on this, see "Woman as Reason," p. 2). It is seen not only in a woman like Anna Walentynowicz, a crane operator in Gdansk who had been a leader of the workers' movement ever since 1970 and whose firing triggered the great August, 1980 strike. It is seen in the thousands of textile workers who occupied their factory for four long weeks in Zyrardow; and in the women of Lodz who extended the banner of "Bread and Freedom," first raised in East Germany in 1953, to "Hungry of the World Unite." Yet the 18-man Presidium of Solidarity is all men.

One important development concerned the serious split within the Communist Party (CP) itself. The CP leadership has admitted to losing no less than 415,000 members out of a total of 2.7 million. There was no doubt that many who dropped out joined Solidarity and became active in one of the 14,000 workers' committees that made up Solidarity. All this happened before the outright counter-revolution of Dec. 13. Thousands more have thrown their membership cards away since Dec. 13. Many, no doubt, are now in jail.

The attitude of the Polish masses is revealed clearly at the trials that are now being held against those who continued their resistance after martial law was declared. The ruling militarist clique thought they could show their "even-handedness" by holding trials of some corrupt CP leaders simultaneously with those of the real revolutionaries. The courtrooms for the former trials are empty; those where the revolutionaries are on trial are filled to overflowing.

THE FANGS OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION: IMPERIALISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

It is important to stress that just as in Poland itself, the Support Committees for Solidarity in the West, especially in the U.S., have nothing in common with Reagan's pretense of sympathy for Solidarity. U.S. imperialism is propping up a genocidal junta in El Salvador while Reagan wages retrogression at home against the Blacks, the women, and labor — indeed, has actually destroyed the PATCO union. He cannot get away with pretending sympathy for the Polish masses, while he is helping to starve the Poles by claiming that it hurts Russia. Nor can U.S. imperialism hide its own global imperialist fangs.

In Poland, there is no end to the junta's debasement, its deprivation of all freedoms for the Polish masses, its reign of terror, its fake and narrow nationalism, and its digging deep into the mire of anti-Semitism. The Christmas issue of the official Communist Party paper in Szczecin, *Glos Szczecinski*, carried a lengthy article, which not only blamed all of Poland's ills on the machinations of the Jews but rolled back that accusation to the mid-1940s.

This, mind you, was the period when the first great resistance movement against the Nazis emerged from the Warsaw Ghetto and inspired the whole of occupied Europe.² Indeed, the Jewish uprising was followed the next year by the uprising of the entire Polish nation. It was then that Stalin's Red Army stood outside the gates of Warsaw and let the nation bleed to death.

Glos Szczecinski carried through their rewriting of history by singling out dissidents as Jews whether or not they were Jewish. In singling out Karol Modzelewski, they claimed that while he carried a "fine Polish name" the truth is that his mother was Jewish, and he was adopted by his father.

The national voice of the Party, *Trybuna Ludu*, carried an article on Dec. 18 attacking the historian-adviser to Lech Walesa, Bronislaw Geremek, for his alleged "connections with revisionist and Zionist centers." With anti-Semitic graffiti and large Stars of David smearing the walls along Nowy Swiat, the main street of Warsaw, one writer has concluded: "It doesn't matter if someone is really Jewish or not. Jew means enemy. And a Jew will be whoever the authorities call a Jew."³

Lech Walesa was sufficiently worried about how anti-Semitism was being used to attack KOR and Solidarity that he repeatedly warned about its dangers. The day before martial law was declared he had called a special press conference to denounce and expose it.

LODZ AND WARSAW—MOVEMENT FROM BELOW, PLANNING FROM ABOVE

It is necessary at this point to look more deeply at the rank-and-file, rather than just at the leadership. In Lodz, as early as October, local unions had won some

(Continued on Page 5)

2. We hailed this critical event as "Poland—Where All Roads Meet." See the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Marxist-Humanism: From 1941 to Today* (available on microfilm from Wayne State University Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Detroit.) Vol. II, Section I, D 4.

3. In the Jan. 15 *New York Times* Flora Lewis' article adds further information to a NYT Jan. 9 report about how the Russians have used anti-Semitism in the Polish situation, by citing two facts: 1) that in 1956, the Soviet ambassador himself was caught distributing unsigned anti-Semitic leaflets; and 2) that in the 1967-68 period, the leader of the purges against the Jews in Poland, Mieczyslaw Moczar, was a close associate of Stefan Olszowski, who is now the Politburo member in charge of all Polish media.

News & Letters

Vol. 27, No. 1 January-February, 1982

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published ten times a year, monthly except for January-February and August-September, by News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48211. Telephone: 873-8969. Subscription: \$2.50 a year; single copy 25¢; for bulk order of five or more—15¢ each.

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Poland: resistance continues

(Continued from Page 4)

control over food rationing. They followed this in November and December with the concept of the "active strike" in which workers would take over enterprises and run them. The plan was considered "ultra-leftist" by some of the leaders, but six members of the regional leadership, on Dec. 9, did agree with the concept and even considered that by Dec. 1 they should establish workers' guards. The key issue was working class control over food distribution. Andrzej Slowik, a former bus driver and union leader in Lodz, went to Gdansk to propose this to the national leadership on Dec. 12.

This was preceded by the appearance of an article by one of the Solidarity leaders, Zbigniew Kowaleski, in the Lodz edition of the CP paper on Dec. 10, which argued for an active strike and the establishment of workers' guards. Indeed, Kowaleski escaped the Dec. 13 dragnet only because he had left for France to win support from the international labor movement. (See *Le Monde*, Jan. 7, 1982.)

It is also important to see how much earlier than Dec. 13 the counter-revolution had begun its offensive—and to contrast how the Solidarity leadership and the rank-and-file acted in these confrontations. Thus, when the vicious beating of three union activists in Bydgoszcz in March, 1981 was not answered at once with a call for a general strike, it was interpreted by the counter-revolutionaries as a test that Solidarity did not pass.

As Jacek Kuron has openly stated, the rank-and-file have constantly been to the left of the Solidarity leadership, and nearly every strike and political action for more freedom has originated from the grass roots. Indeed, all talk of confrontation has been sparked from that movement from practice.

It was Jacek Kuron who, with Karol Modzelewski, had penned a magnificent critique of the Communist Party (their "Open Letter to the Party") as far back as the 1960s, in which they called the regime capitalist, and for which they were thrown in jail. Kuron became one of the original founders of KOR but when Solidarity became a mass organization, he suddenly lost his voice. That is to say, KOR was disbanded though he knew that a trade union, no matter how great, could not, without a political organization, achieve the transformation of reality.

Because he had departed from Marxism and had no philosophy of revolution, he came up with the self-paralyzing concept of a "self-limiting revolution." But he never departed from fighting together with the workers against the existing society. Once again, he finds himself in jail and singled out for torture.

WHAT NOW? VOICES FROM UNDERGROUND

We must listen carefully to the voices of those who escaped the round-up and are continuing the resistance underground. They include some of the original organizers of the 1980 strike — Alina Pienkowska, Zbigniew Bujak, Bogdan Lis, Bohdan Borusewicz. And when the *Le Monde* correspondent, Bernard Guetta, got into the occupied Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk, he found there Anna Walentynowicz, Jan Waszkiewicz (a member of Solidarity's National Committee), and delegates from many other strikebound factories. He also reported (see *Le Monde*, Dec. 18, 1981) that the farmers had sent them greetings and a promise they would not be allowed to die of hunger.

"Solidarnosc has not fallen apart from the stomping" of General Jaruzelski's boots, 27-year-old Wladyslaw Frasnyniuk has declared. He is the head of the Wroclaw Regional Branch and a member of the 18-man Presidium, upon whose head the price of \$3,000 has been put. Another voice — that of Zbigniew Janas, head of the militant Ursus tractor plant — called for preparing "in deep conspiracy" for a General Strike if Walesa was not released. Calling for "new forms of resistance," he warned: "Remember that the authorities are murderers. They are indifferent to the number of people they will shoot if it suits their interest."

The most detailed information from the underground comes from Zbigniew Bujak, the highest-ranking Solidarity leader still free. While still calling for "passive resistance" he is not excluding the possibility of armed resistance, writing that "to continue and to remain independent, the union must fight for democracy and become its guardian." He writes also of the need to defend "Polish culture and the Church."

Walesa's close relationship to the Church is well-known. Yet nothing could be more opposite than the attitudes to the extreme pressures being exerted by the junta that are displayed by Walesa, who has insisted on the presence of the whole 18-man Presidium before he will consider even talking to the junta, and by Archbishop Glemp, who has been talking with the authorities despite his earlier insistence that he would not do so without Walesa's presence.

It is all the more important to remember that Walesa, though a religious man who has accepted advice from the Church, has insisted from the beginning that decisions for the union can be made by Solidarity alone. In an interview with Oriana Fallaci, published in the *Washington Post*, March 8, 1981, he stressed that he would allow no one to use him, "not even somebody with a black skirt (a priest's cassock)." As for assimilation with the powers-that-be, he concluded: "I'd rather shoot myself in the head."

Archbishop Glemp's behavior in the immediate context of martial law is seen in the way he first urged "calm" at the very moment when some Solidarity leaders who had not been caught were calling for a General Strike. Then (on Jan. 7), after the Polish masses showed their resistance, he did criticize martial law and the brutal conditions to which the internees were subjected, "demanding" that Walesa be present at his meeting with the Polish hierarchy. We know what happened to that "demand."

The duality of the Church is seen in its ability to peacefully co-exist, at one and the same time, with the state-capitalist society calling itself Communism and with Western imperialism. The Pope's encouragement of Reagan cannot but increase the global competition between two nuclear powers who are planning the unthinkable war; and can only bring about divisions instead of unity of the Polish masses, who hunger for totally new human relations.

* * *

What is needed now? First, foremost and unequivocally, we need to practice active support for Solidarity. Just as persistently, we must totally oppose both Russia and the U.S., as well as the national state-capitalism now ruling Poland.

That does not mean that we do not engage in criticism, not for criticism's sake, but with an eye to deepening the next upsurge. Without deluding ourselves that the unarmed Polish masses can start an immediate civil war, we must also not be deluded about the ability of the present regime to establish so-called "law and order."

There is nothing more cogent for today than the very last words from the pen of Rosa Luxemburg, the great Polish revolutionary internationalist, when she was confronted with the counter-revolution that murdered her this very day, 63 years ago, in Germany:

"Order reigns in Berlin"! You stupid lackeys! Your "order" is built on sand. Tomorrow the revolution will rear its head once again, and, to your horror, will proclaim, with trumpets blaring: I was, I am, I will be!

—January 15, 1982

Indians win fishing rights

Detroit, Mich.—After ten years of legal battles, the U.S. Supreme Court last month finally decided that the fishing rights granted Michigan Indians in two 19th-century treaties still applied. The ruling upheld Judge Noel Fox's 1979 decision that told the State of Michigan to stop interfering with Indian gill net fishermen trying to make a living on Lakes Superior, Michigan and Huron. But in the aftermath of the legal victory, it was clear that many struggles remain ahead.

One of those struggles is the negotiation of a fish management plan between the Ojibway and Ottawa fishermen and the Michigan Department of Natural Resources (DNR). Already the state is trying to harass and intimidate fishermen into accepting unlivable regulations, prosecuting fishermen from the Bay Mills reservation for anything, inspecting their boats down to the smallest detail for violations. Two fishermen are now being charged with not having the proper gill net (under interim DNR rules), and another for not having the right number of life preservers in the boat.

A Bay Mills fisherman, Art LeBlanc, explained that no one was celebrating the decision. "It should have happened a long time ago," he said. "They are trying to wear us out with these endless fights in the courts. Everyone is sick of the court system."

What Indian fishermen know only too well, is the expense and work involved in getting boats ready to go out again this season under all the regulations. The state and the white "sport" fishermen have tried to make people believe that there are hundreds, if not thousands, of rich Indian fishermen killing off all the fish in the upper Great Lakes. The truth is that the average family income on the Bay Mills reservation is about \$5,500 a year. That is why only eight families were able to get their boats out and work regularly last season.

One thing that is new since the decision, however, is that people are trying to help each other get as many boats ready as possible. There is a new spirit of cohesion.

—Shainape Schcapwe

China critiqued from within

Mao Zedong and the Cultural Revolution, by Wang Xizhe, published by Plough Publications, 48 Princess Margaret Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong, 1981. \$4.95

Reports from China of sit-down strikes by workers facing plant closings and of demonstrations by unemployed youth make it plain that opposition will be heard from as the Chinese government carries out its economic readjustment—in many cases at the expense of workers' livelihood. Prominent in many movements have been members of the generation of youth who became Red Guards at the call of Mao Zedong, and then were everywhere suppressed for taking seriously the revolutionary words of Marx that Mao had made use of for his own purposes.

Wang Xizhe is one such ex-Red Guard activist, as well as a co-author of the massive 1974 wallposter by Li Yizhe, "On Socialist Democracy and the Legal System." He is one of those who is continuing, within China, to work out critiques of Mao, the Cultural Revolution and today's China, measuring them against the Marxism of Marx (two of his essays are reprinted in *The Undercurrent*, No. 1, July, 1980, Hong Kong, or available from N&L) and exposing the bogus use of Marx as a cover for existing state power in Russia and China. He is presently jailed as a result.

MAO NO ETERNAL REBEL

The essay reviewed here was written in answer to the leader of a democratic youth group who still praised Mao because he "disrupted order in a society in which as Chairman he was supposed to maintain order." Wang shows that Mao was no eternal rebel, but instead within the international Communist movement was above all a defender of Stalinism, which "was concerned about the industrialization of Russia, about targets, steel mills and tanks, but never with tears coming from both mother and child, and was nothing but the dictatorship of the privileged bureaucrats over the proletariat and the masses."

Mao, who had taken power at the head of a peasant army and had asked workers to remain at their benches as each city was liberated, skipped even more stages than Stalin as he sought to "build socialism"—really accumulation of capital—in the Great Leap Forward and catch up to the West without providing the tools, but often relying on the harnessed labor power of the peasants alone.

Mao used empty declarations that the masses were with him to call a reactionary anyone not enthusiastic for Mao's policies, whatever they were. As Wang writes, "The theory and practice of Mao's system is precisely the theory and practice of Mao's authoritarian rule."

Wang stresses that Stalin suppressed revolutions worldwide, from Germany by collaborating with the Nazis, to the Chinese revolution. Wang does not spell out the same for Mao, but the final break between the Cultural Revolution partners Mao and Lin Biao came as Mao prepared to join hands with Nixon and Kissinger while they were still embroiled in Cambodia and Vietnam.

OTHER DISSIDENT WRITERS

Dissident writers in China don't always spell out who they are attacking because of the threat of repression. For example, the 1974 Li Yizhe wallposter attacked the "Lin Biao system" which they said had its highpoint in 1968. That was the year the Sheng-Wu-lian of Hunan, in "Whither China?", attacked Zhou Enlai. In both cases, of course, the real target was the Mao Zedong system.

We can't be certain how much of this essay is similarly in Aesopian language, but Wang speaks favorably of the enemy of his enemy, Tito, and sees a "democratic reformer" tendency opposed to Mao—not only in China, now headed by Deng Xiaoping, but in Communist parties worldwide. But those so-called democratic reformers have arrested Wang and dozens of other dissidents and independents in recent months, as quickly as Tito had suppressed those philosophers who were discussing the Humanism of Marx in Yugoslavia in the 1970s.

Wang asserts finally that if the party reformers come under attack from Stalinists and opportunists, "once again the party reformers, the youth democrats and the masses will be joining hands together." The thousands who gathered at Tiananmen Square immediately after demonstrations were banned there last November, and the continued unrest among workers from Xinjiang to Shanghai shows the masses have revolutionary goals that will not remain within the limits China's leaders wish to set.

—Bob McGuire

Mao Zedong and the Cultural Revolution by Wang Xizhe

Published by Plough Publications, 48 Princess Margaret Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong

Available for \$4.95 (plus 50¢ postage) from

News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd.,

Detroit, MI 48211

LABOR VOICES CHALLENGE REAGAN'S BARBARISM

When I heard the unemployment figures for December saying that almost 10 million Americans had no jobs, I wasn't shocked at all. When you live in Detroit, the crisis of the economy is something you live with every day, like having cancer. In my neighborhood the majority of the people are out of work, laid off from the auto factories mostly, but many other places too.

I hate Reagan as much as anybody, and I blame a lot of the unemployment and suffering on him. But it isn't just Reagan; it's the whole system. In 1975 we had 300,000 out of work in the Big Three auto companies. Today we have almost that same number again. And through the years in between many workers I know either worked only a few months or not at all.

When I heard Doug Fraser and the other UAW officers saying "Reaganomics has got to go," I ask why they are going along with it, by revising our contracts to give away all we fought for. It's not just Reaganomics that's got to go. It's the whole way this country is run.

Auto worker
Detroit

This is not the time to be giving up anything, with times getting harder. But if the union committeemen go for it, that's it. They've talked about giving up our personal days off now. But when they are working you six days a week, you have to be able to take off one day in the month just to rest.

Laid-off GM worker
New York

It was a shock to see how small the milk cartons in our school cafeteria are this year, and for 20 cents apiece. Last year the price was 11 cents, so it has almost doubled in one year for less milk. It is because of Reagan's cutbacks. I am a high school sophomore, but I can remember in grade school milk cost six cents. That is too much of an increase for students in too short a time.

High school student
Detroit

Reagan doesn't treat any other refugees like he treats the Haitians. He doesn't put the Polish people or the Arabs in concentration camps. But it's no secret why he does it; it's the same reason he is pushing for tax exemptions for segregated private schools. He is a racist through and through. All the acting in the world won't change that.

Black student
Highland Park Community College

The Illinois Legislature has passed a bill and the Governor has signed it into law permitting the purchase and ownership of machine guns in the state. It seems as if a manufacturer of the guns in that state was losing business and profits. The U.S. government has given Israel an order for \$275 million to purchase their more efficient killing instrument. Since under capitalism profits come first, the wide distribution of machine guns among the population should help their cash flow and profit picture.

It's a good thing that the sovereign state of Illinois does not possess any tank plants. They might just promote prosperity through a "tank in every garage" campaign.

Nauseated
Chicago

No matter what they say in the daily papers about "continuing investigation" of the death of 78 passengers and crew on the Air Florida plane that crashed in Washington, D.C., I will always believe that Pres. Reagan bears the main responsibility. With the present skeleton crews of air controller scabs in the control towers, all "normal" procedures are abandoned. In Washington that day

planes which had been de-iced did not move directly out to take off, as they should. Instead, a "manpower-shortage" delay occurred, in this case of 45 minutes to an hour, and the plane re-iced and crashed.

How many more people will have to die before the regular controllers are put back to work?

Engineer
Michigan

Workers in my shop say there are only three ways to get out of the factory: die, retire, or hit the lottery. The fourth way, changing the way we are forced to work, does not yet appear as real.

Marxist-Humanist
New York City

Kenji Urada, a repairman at the Akashi plant of Kawasaki Heavy Industries, was trying to fix a malfunctioning robot, when the machine suddenly went wild, pinned him down with its claw, and stabbed him in the back, killing him instantly. The Japanese government claims it is the first time that a worker was ever killed by a robot. Even though the accident happened July 4, it was not revealed until Dec. 8, and then the official inquiry blamed the worker for "carelessness."

I have read that Japan ranks number one in the world in the use of industrial robots, with more than 50,000 currently in use. But I don't believe that this murder of workers by robots could only happen in Japan. It sounds very much like something that could go down any day in the GM plant I work for right here.

GM worker
Detroit



INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO POLISH CRISIS

Now that the Polish army is trying to crush Solidarity, Reagan is making lots of statements in their favor. But the truth is that he doesn't favor any workers, and especially not the idea of "free trade unions." You can't help but see his attitude to free trade unions in South Africa or El Salvador. We need free trade unions right here in the U.S.A., because the way things are going now, we will all be standing in bread lines as long as the lines in Poland.

Union activist
Illinois

Marxists have never harbored the illusion about there being an easy road to freedom. The brutality with which the people of Poland are confronted is consistent with history, but the Polish workers will not desert the cause of freedom. The struggle of the people of Paris, 110 years ago, acted as a stimulus to thought with Marx, and later with Lenin. It is obvious that new thoughts will be prompted by the fact that only Solidarity has credence in the eyes of the Polish nation.

Harry McShane
Glasgow, Scotland

When I heard about martial law in Poland, I immediately thought back to martial law in Canada in 1970, when troops patrolled the streetcorners of Montreal. Now, in 1982, with Trudeau declaring his support for Jaruzelski (in his typical doubletalk), the Polish community all over Canada demonstrated its anger and active opposition.

Why does Trudeau support Jaruzelski? Because he has to justify himself. Canada today is still under the War Measures Act, still under martial law! It forces you to face the truth that the enemy is in your own country, your own rulers.

Student
Montreal

Readers' View

FACING MILITARY MACHINE

Here's a name, one of the first, that the 1980s anti-war generation may come to know soon — Dan Rutt. He is a 20-year-old student at Hope College in Holland, Michigan who refused to register for the draft two years ago.

The Selective Service System already knows his name — and the names of about 200 others who have been threatened with five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

Reagan's bolstering of the conscription machinery signals trouble for all the Dan Rutts — and the ones who have registered and have enlisted as well. Although Detroit CARD failed to express support for draft resisters threatened with Government prosecution in June, CARD now seems ready to head up a mass campaign for his defense.

CARD member
Detroit

I live on an aircraft carrier most of the time. We've been stationed in the Indian Ocean. We're out at sea for 45 days at a time, and the worst thing is the isolation. We don't get any radio stations. The tension is always mounting, you start talking crazy with the people you work with and you start hating them.

On the deck we have to pass 20 or 30 feet behind the jets with their engines going. Your head, your chest, everything is burning. There's no purpose to most of what we do out there. One time we went into Hong Kong just so the admiral could do some shopping. We're just as scared of nuclear war as anyone, but we'd be the last to know what was happening. I have 133 days left but who's counting? Believe me, we all are.

Sailor
California

There are plenty of signs of Thatcher and Reagan's war preparations here. A new squadron of F-111's, capable of carrying nuclear bombs, is coming to the nearby USA airbase at Upper Heyford. Yesterday, Dec. 12, I took part in a "Peace Parade" through the center of Oxford. The streets were full of people doing their Christmas shopping. Over 200 participated, despite very cold weather, and we trudged through the

RELIGION AND REVOLUTION: FROM NICARAGUA TO POLAND

I wanted to tell you about a new film from Nicaragua, "Thanks to God and the Revolution" (1981). See it if you can. It has very good scenes of revolutionary Nicaragua, some good views from the people . . . But the main point is the unique relation—"more than a tactical relation" — between religion and revolution in Nicaragua. The Minister of Social Welfare speaks very well in the film. He comes off as revolutionary and humanist. He speaks of Marxism, that when Marxism and Christianity are not dogmatic, they are very close. He speaks of a theology of liberation . . .

What startled me were scenes like this: a demonstration of many people, all ages, chanting "We want a church on the side of the poor" — including nuns in their habits. In short, the film presents, at least among a tendency of the Nicaraguan Revolution, a certain revolutionary Christian Humanism.

Of course, even the best religious humanism has its pitfalls and limitations. It is not a substitute for Marx's humanism, though I would call it a very high stage of revolutionary consciousness. I'm sure the first pitfall is on Women's Liberation . . . What of birth control and abortion, just for starters?

Supporter of Latin American freedom
New York City

snow carrying colored lanterns. A lot of musical creativity was shown, ranging from satirical versions of Christmas carols to a sad chant of "Hiroshima . . . Nagasaki."

Richard Bunting
England



WOMEN'S IDEAS FROM ITALY TO U.S.A.

The patriarchal family has reached such a stage of decadence, leaving in its trail such disorganization, that it is frightening. Women in large part have been thrust into this disorganization because they have been forced to take on responsibility that was once considered exclusively that of men.

The women's liberation movements are the only ones today that are really trying to create new social structures that will permit male/female relationships and the social education (rather than family education) of children, to advance in freedom. What I do not understand is why men, with their irresponsible behavior and their tendency to limit all of this to sexism, do not realize that they are becoming parasites in this new, developing society.

Correspondent
Milan, Italy

After nearly 10 years, Detroit will once again have a women's newspaper. *Detroit Women's Voice* plans its first issue for March 10, connecting us to our history through International Women's Day. We of Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees are looking forward to making regular contributions to the new paper, especially focusing on the dimensions of Black women, working women and the need for a philosophy for our movement.

Deadlines for *Detroit Women's Voice* will be the 15th of each month, beginning with Feb. 15. Articles, poetry, artwork, stories, reviews, photographs, etc. are actively sought from all interested women. Write to:

Detroit Women's Voice
P.O. Box 20103
Ferndale, MI 48220

Knowing the role the Catholic Church plays in the movement in Poland I asked a member of Solidarity, who recently visited the U.S., what he thinks about the Iranian Revolution and in particular the role religion played in it. He explained that the Church is a thousand year old institution with a perspective of another thousand years of life. Therefore its outlook is different than that of a human being expecting only 20 years. While the Church does not like to risk the standing it has and is willing to "gain ground" patiently step by step, people can't afford the time to do things that way.

In Poland, of course, the blackout on any news from Iran is almost complete. From what he gathered he considers Khomeini's regime yet another in a line of totalitarian regimes of recent history.

The issue is what it means for the Church to "gain ground." Islam's "gaining ground" did not help the Iranian Revolution. The Church "gains ground" only when the movement demands it, and the state in Poland is all too happy to concede to the Church what it would not give Solidarity: access to the media, power to negotiate, to participate in government, etc.

Interested reader
San Francisco

LATIN AMERICA'S STRUGGLES

Thank you for the magnificent report last month on Peru, Nicaragua and Mexico by Anne Molly Jackson. Although I have been to two of those countries myself (Peru and Mexico), it was quite some time ago, and I can see what a difference a few years makes. Especially impressive was the women in all three countries. That was totally different from what I had seen a decade ago. Then, all political meetings and demonstrations were nearly for men only. Now, women are in the leadership.

But I wonder about some of the directions the women's liberation movement is heading in. You say that they are interested in the women of the slums and barrios. But what do these women of the barrios have in common with the middle-class women of Lima (who probably keep house-servants)? On what basis can a unity be established? It's not that there are easy answers to my questions, but they are worth thinking about . . .

**Women's liberationist
California**

Four political prisoners of the Public Jail of Santiago, Chile are in a coma after having been poisoned. This "strange case" appears to be one more step in the deterioration of human rights in Chile this year. We urge you to denounce this crime of the Pinochet Junta and try to save the lives of these combatants for the freedom of their people. To find out what you can do, contact:

**Comite Chileno Antifascista
P.O. Box 1121, Cathedral Sta.
New York, N.Y. 10025**



**KARL MARX:
VIEWS FROM
THE 1980s**

I would like to add a point to the essay article on the 1875 French edition of Marx's *Capital* (N&L, October, 1981), discovered with the help of the Japanese scholar Haruki Wada's recent article in *History Workshop* (No. 12, Autumn 1981). It appears that, in addition to the changes I discussed, Marx also introduced a major change in the French edition of *Capital* around the question of the "So-called primitive accumulation," where Marx discusses the origin of capitalism in the expropriation of the peasantry.

In all existing English editions, Marx writes: "The expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, from the Soil, is the basis of the whole process . . . Only in England, which we therefore take as our example, has it the classic form." (Pelican edition, Vol. I, p. 876)

However, an 1877 letter published for many years in English — where Marx, in discussing Russia, quotes this same passage from the French edition—shows very clearly that Marx changed the passage to include only Western Europe in his analysis of this process in Vol. I. He wrote instead: "But the basis of this whole development is the expropriation of the peasants. England is so far the only country where this has been carried through completely . . . but all the countries of Western Europe are going through the same development." He quotes this passage from the French edition in his letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, November 1877, a letter included in many editions of his correspondence. Although Marx was here calling attention to this important change in *Capital* to make clear that it only described the dialectic of Western European society, post-Marx Marxists, from Engels on, have either overlooked or ignored this passage.

**Kevin A. Barry
New York**

I have been reading N&L for quite some time, but the column last issue by Raya Dunayevskaya on Marx's Hegelian roots was new and instructive. Frankly, I have always been somewhat wary of "Hegelian terminology." I am not sure that Marxism really needs it. But when you see how Marx, even in the 1870s, considers himself a "disciple" of Hegel, even though he "adopts a critical attitude toward (his) master," you have to re-think the whole question.

I would like to understand the relationship between Hegel and Marx on such ideas as Individual and Universal; Subject and Object; or Absolute.

**Friend of N&L
San Francisco**

I'm presently reading the fascinating book, *Karl Marx: Interviews and Recollections*, edited by David McLellan. What is new to me is the amount of happiness, joy in living, in Marx's life with his family and friends, in spite of frequent poverty and illness, and alongside his prodigious philosophical/economic/political work. The piece by Stephen Born is of interest because it brings out a difference between Marx and Engels in Engels' own words.

Born writes, "The most bitter complaint about Marx came from Engels. 'He is no journalist,' he said, 'and will not become one. He pores for a whole day over a leading article that would take someone else a couple of hours, as though it concerned the handling of a deep philosophical problem. He changes and polishes and changes the change, and owing to his unremitting thoroughness he can never be ready on time.'"

**Student of Marx
Oxford, England**

AS OUR READERS SEE US

I was interested to see Mallory and Barry's mention (Dec. N&L) of the Falashes being persecuted in Ethiopia. I've not seen any report of this before, and suspect that the absence of Left comment is at least partly due to lack of knowledge. Indeed, I wrote to one reporter who'd been in Ethiopia and written about the Eritrean events asking if the Falashes were involved, and got a short reply: "not to my knowledge — who are they anyway?" . . .

One reason for Begin's silence on this persecution of Ethiopia's "Black Jews" would be that they are considered theologically heterodox. Neither of the Chief Rabbis would recognize them.

**Laurens Otter
England**

I think that N&L is basically a good paper, although I feel it is overly labor-oriented, and labor has been a moderate or even reactionary force in the U.S., at least for the most part.

**Long-time reader
Illinois**

IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS

The situation in the Northern Ireland prisons is still uncertain. Two hundred or more Irish republican prisoners are continuing their protest against prison work. All prisoners now have their own clothes, and some have accepted the British concession of a portion of the Five Demands granted at the end of the hunger strike. Meanwhile, campaign attention has focused on those activists (about 80 in all) facing charges and possibly jail, both North and South, in connection with incidents in demonstrations.

In addition, there is concern about a woman prisoner in Armagh, Marion Clegg, who has contracted tuberculosis while in jail. Facilities for her treatment are very inadequate . . . Many thanks for printing my exchange of views with Michael Connolly, (Dec. N&L). Your democratic approach to differing points of view is appreciated and reveals very favorably your organization.

**Eibhlín Ní Sheidhir
Dublin, Ireland**

THEORY / PRACTICE

Begin's Israel moves further back to his reactionary, terrorist origins

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

Editor's Note: Below we print excerpts from Raya Dunayevskaya's latest Political-Philosophic Letter on the Middle East. For the full letter please see ad page 8.

No sooner was the world preoccupied with the counter-revolution in Poland on Dec. 13, as the Polish rulers unleashed martial law against the Polish masses, than Begin leaped out of his hospital bed, into his wheelchair, to his limousine. In six short hours he rammed through the Knesset the approval to annex the Israeli-occupied Syrian territory, the Golan Heights, and battered down what had been agreed to by all, including Israel: the UN Resolution 242.

This is not the first time that Israel has taken advantage of the world's preoccupation with an immediate counter-revolution to carry out its counter-revolution in the Middle East. In 1956, when Russian tanks had driven into Hungary to destroy that revolution, within six days the Israeli Army—with the connivance of British and French imperialisms—invaded Suez. Begin's violent dash against time in 1981 was not a mere difference between six hours and six days. It was an undermining of any attempt by anyone—including its benefactor, U.S. imperialism—to pressure Israel to give up any of its war booty come April, when the return of Egypt's Sinai is completed and serious talks on "self-rule" on the West Bank and Gaza Strip are to begin. . . .

Begin's vitriolic statement against Reagan makes it tempting to dismiss it as something off the top of his head, and due to extreme "provocation" at Reagan's suspension of the Memorandum of Understanding. Nothing could be further from the truth. It was a calculated, premeditated, and long-ago-planned act. How long ago?

IN THE 1940s, before the founding of Israel, Begin worked not so much against the British, much less the U.S. imperialism he has since followed, as against the Jewish masses, whether they were those fighting for a socialist republic of Arabs and Jews, or the Zionists, who were anxious to establish a homeland for the Jews in a part of Palestine. Begin's reactionary, fanatic ideology for "Eretz Israel" (Land of Israel), as biblically interpreted by him, continued to terrorize those Jews. Because that is the issue, we must probe deeper into Begin's Dec. 20 statement read to U.S. Ambassador Samuel W. Lewis. . . .

Begin rolls history back 3,700 years, to situate his act, in general, at the beginning of Jewish history. He then creates still another amalgam, raising his imperialist annexation of the Golan Heights to the stratospheric level of "not rescinding faith" during the Inquisition, while likening any opposition to his policies to the anti-Semitism prevalent than.

Higher still is his specific ideology of the 1940s. There the rewriting of history is not so much against U.S. or British imperialism, as against the Jewish people who escaped the Holocaust. . . . When the UN was debating the right for the establishment of Israel, all the Jews in Palestine were for the acceptance of a part of Palestine as the State of Israel. Whereupon that reactionary underground terrorist, Menachem Begin, as head of the Irgun, together with the Stern Gang, bombed the King David Hotel without any regard as to which Jews would be killed, and with but one aim: to undermine this move. Ben Gurion and the other leaders worked hard to disassociate themselves from these gangs.

Here is how Begin is rewriting that history: "In 1946 an English general named Barker lived in this house. Now I live here. When we fought him, you called that terrorism." It wasn't Reagan who called the Irgun and Stern Gang terrorists. **The Jews of Palestine called them that. It is they who suffered from those terrorist acts.** Lies never bothered Begin, and he certainly isn't letting them stand in his way now when he is attempting, at one and the same time, to create a new myth of his past and to transform his reactionary ideology into present state policy of the State of Israel.

EVEN NOW IT MUST be stressed that Begin does not represent the majority of the Israelis. His party is a minority, and the unholy alliance with the religious groups, which gives it a majority in the Parliament, does not make it a majority. Not only is there a great diversity of Jewish views in Israel, and a mass peace movement, but even Zionists are emigrating from Israel as they find the religious fanaticism unbearable.

No doubt what Begin saw in the AWACs sale was so great a tilt towards Saudi Arabia that it assumed the form of a global shift in U.S. policy. The element of truth in that was clear from the fact that what is pivotal for U.S. imperialism is not defense of Israel "in and for itself," but the struggle with Russia for single monopoly control of the world and, above that, opposition to revolution.

No doubt, there will be some modification of Begin's statement and a much greater retreat on the part of Reagan so that once again some deal or double cross can be worked out as to Israel's predominance in the Middle East. But that is hardly the question for Marxist-Humanists. What is the issue is that, with the 1979 revolution in Iran, the whole Middle East question had turned from one totally immersed in the Arab-Israeli conflict—and, of course, oil—to that of revolution. With the current counter-revolutionary turn in Iran, however, what we have seen arising everywhere is national fanaticism instead of national liberation, and that so-called "fundamentalism" is further tainted with religious bigotry. Whether it is Khomeini's Shi'ite religion, or Begin's unholy alliance with the Rabbinate; whether it is Reagan leaning on Falwell's Moral Majority, or the Catholic Church in Poland—all of these manifestations of the sudden "rebirth" of religion are signs of the degeneracy of the capitalist imperialist nuclear stage of world development. . . .

Indubitably, the greatest enemy is at home, always at home. That is why the class struggle is so decisive; extended, that is what revolution is. That is hardly the goal of world imperialism, which—beginning and ending with the two nuclear titans, the U.S. and Russia—is trying to make the unthinkable, nuclear war, thinkable. There can be no resolution to any of these conflicts other than by a total social revolution.

—January 5, 1982

M.L. King Jr. rallies criss-cross country in the face of Reagan's racism

Los Angeles, Cal. — One year ago, in January, the movement to make Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday took a significant turn. In the very month that Ronald Reagan assumed the presidency, more than 25,000 demonstrators marched on Washington and made it clear that a holiday in King's name was not meant for the rulers.

The numerous rallies and marches that criss-crossed the U.S. this January — with more than 15,000 marching in Washington in near-zero weather — not only came in the month of Reagan's State of the Union address, but in the week of his Administration's attempting to grant tax-exempt status to all-white Christian schools that discriminate against Blacks "for religious reasons."

In Los Angeles, moreover, the protest atmosphere of the King rally was sharpened further by the announcement from the L.A. District Attorney's office that none of the police officers at the racist Signal Hall police station would be prosecuted in the Ron Settles homicide case. Settles was a Black football star whose "accidental" death while in the custody of the Signal Hall police was ruled by the county coroner as "death at the hands of another." For the 300 Black, white and Middle Eastern students who participated in a noon-day rally at UCLA, King's birthday was a holiday of indictment against such American racism.

For the more than 2,000 Black Angelenos who at-

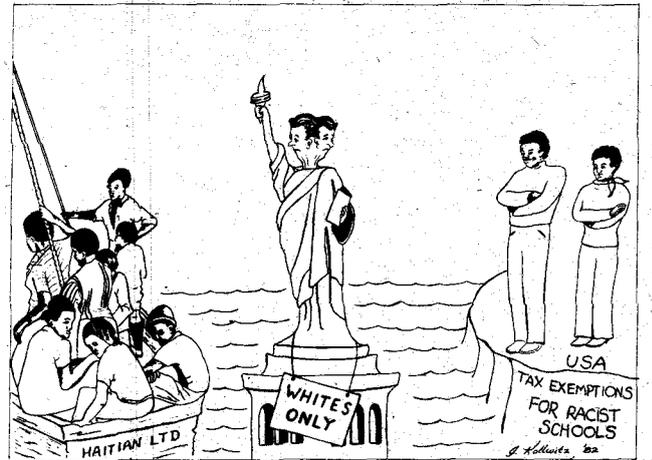
tended a 1 p.m. rally that day at Martin Luther King hospital, their reason for celebrating his birthday was expressed in the words of the only Black woman to address the rally. Mary Henry, a community activist around health care cutbacks, took to task the preachers and politicians for talking about King's dream, but doing nothing to make it real. She criticized the union bureaucrats who claimed to be friends of King, but who did nothing to make King's birthday a holiday for their membership.

For the 300 Black students who returned to UCLA that evening to see a film on King and to hear an all-male panel of Black nationalists, the holiday of Black protest and indictment seemed totally diverted into ideological squabbles. Then a young Black man spoke from the floor and said that, from what he had heard, he wasn't sure what the nationalists wanted him to be — Black, American or African. However, what he wanted to know was why there weren't any Black women on the panel. This got a spontaneous response from the women in the audience and the panel quickly decided to adjourn the discussion.

The call to make Martin Luther King's birthday a holiday, like the movement he led, has moved out of the hands of the "leadership" and out of the legislative halls of the politicians, into the streets. This is only

fitting, for it was, after all, the Civil Rights Movement which "gave birth" to King, as well as to a whole new generation of American revolutionaries. We may have reached a threshold of such a re-birth for the 1980s.

—Lou Turner



American Civilization on Trial: Haitian refugees and Black America.

Haitians at Krome

(Continued from Page 1)

"There were Krome South's so-called 'unaccompanied minors,' kids between 10 and 19 who had arrived without blood relatives. Many didn't consider themselves 'unaccompanied,' having made the trip with older neighbors whom they'd always looked on as kin and now looked to for protection; no matter. Some had relatives in Florida willing to care for them; no matter. Some of the older teenagers with beards and worker-hardened muscles didn't consider themselves 'minors' at all, wanted to stay with the adults; no matter. All got government issue gloves, quilted jackets, tennis shoes and striped orange ski caps. None had ever flown on an airplane, but they would today."

A MISCARRIAGE

"They dragged Mauricette Merci, A24704458, from the port-o-john and laid her on a flimsy cot. Her fetus, still attached, hung between her legs. Her eyes showed no fear, but something worse: resignation. The guards pitched the 27-year-old woman into the rear of a small Japanese car, their ambulance, and shoved aside the howling refugee women who tried to join their friend. The car took Mauricette to the medical trailer.

"One of the guards, wiping blood and membrane from his hands, told Michael and me with a sneer: 'All of these Haitian women are pregnant. She just gave herself an abortion — just reached in and pulled it out.' We offered no response to this preposterous diagnosis. You do not argue with the guards at Krome."

I am glad that the true story is finally coming out in the press. Not only that, but a group of lawyers in Miami has begun organizing against this kind of unjust dehumanizing treatment by the government. They are defending the refugees and fighting to change the conditions they face.

It cannot be an accident that these refugees have been treated this way—because they are Black. It is interesting what a strange capacity for outrage we "civilized peoples" can display when our special concepts of human decency and justice have been violated. We can denounce and talk of retaliation when justice is denied one place, but approve and support identical or worse injustice elsewhere. Look at how we apply labels like freedom fighters and martyrs some places and not others.

If your name is Steve Biko and you are the educated, eloquent spokesman against oppression of your people in South Africa, you are a subversive. But if your name is Lech Walesa you are a freedom fighter.

The point is that it is right here and now — in the United States today — that Haitian refugees are being treated like this. We cannot remain silent, we need to speak out, to act to put an end to these atrocities.

The Haitian Refugee Movement Needs Your Support!

For more information and to send contributions:

Haitian Refugee Center Inc., 32 N.E. 54th St.,

Miami, FL 33137, Tel. 305-757-8538

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

The universal character of freedom transcends narrow nationalism and becomes both global and revolutionary. Every outstanding Black leader has understood this and, more or less, seen Black liberation in terms of a world struggle.

Martin Luther King connected the Civil Rights Movement both with the African Revolutions and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. For Frantz Fanon, Black liberation was both humanistic and international. He projected the idea of a national consciousness which is not nationalism, but international in its dimensions.

On a very concrete level the Black movement in this country has inspired liberation movements not only in Africa but in Northern Ireland and Canada as well. And one cannot speak of the Portuguese Revolution without seeing its origins in the Angolan Revolution.

THE 'AMSTERDAM NEWS'

Today we have the Polish movement of Solidarity currently being crushed by martial law, and at the same time, the cause of the Haitian refugees facing imprisonment here in the U.S.

Unfortunately, rather than grasping the international link, the universal dimension of these freedom struggles, some have sought to sharply separate them. Such is the case of a recent editorial in the *New York Amsterdam News* (Jan. 2, 1982) which, under the title "Why Cry For Poland," sought to separate the struggles of Haiti and Poland on the ground that "President Reagan is preoccupied with Poland not for reasons of principle but rather for political reasons."

"All of the Poles that appear on the television have the look of well-dressed and well-fed people," the editorial continues and contrasts this to the condition of the Haitian refugees. The editorial ends up linking the revolutionary struggle of the Polish workers, peasants and intellectuals against their state-capitalist government, to the hypocrisies and machinations of Reagan's cold war policies.

But aren't the demands that the Polish working class is fighting for, the same demands that the working class is battling their capitalist masters for the world over? That movement of 10 million Poles, including a million members of the Polish Communist Party, had developed spontaneously from strikes against oppressive working conditions, political proscriptions and food shortages. From the very beginning the movement of the Polish workers was a social movement to transform Polish state-capitalist society calling itself a communist society into a more human society.

The original 21 demands formulated in Gdansk asked for the right to organize free trade unions, the right to strike, an end to censorship, freeing of political prisoners. The demands also included paid maternity leave, better housing, the shortening of the waiting time for getting an apartment, etc.

REAGAN'S GROUND

If Reagan "supports" Solidarity it would only be a support that would seek to subvert their movement. He would never support genuine working class demands, as can be seen in his crushing of the PATCO strike here at home.

The editorial asks: "Is this really about freedom and liberty? Is this Polish struggle but an extension of the ancient efforts of mankind to secure and protect human liberty and human dignity?" And they answer,

Poland, Haiti: freedom indivisible

"We think not."

But hasn't the *Amsterdam News* really ended up on Reagan's ground? They have chosen to consider the fight of the Polish working class against the Jaruzelski regime to be in opposition to the Haitian peasants' fight against Duvalier. Why? Because Reagan allegedly "favors" the Poles over the Haitians.

But again, what must be understood is the universal character of both of these struggles, because as Marx noted, "freedom is so much the essence of man . . ."

Let us not make Reagan the "final arbiter" as to whether or not a mass movement of ten million people is a true struggle against oppression.

Our support is needed now both for the struggles of Polish workers against their own army and secret police, and for the Haitian refugees who have to contend with Duvalier at home and racist Reagan when they arrive in the USA. Freedom struggles are not divisible.

Haitians, supporters march

New York, N.Y.—Shouting slogans like, "Hey, hey, USA, stop supporting Duvalier", some 2,000 demonstrators marched down Eastern Parkway in Brooklyn to protest the Reagan Administration's support of the Duvalier police state and its crude inhuman treatment of the refugees from Baby Doc's political economic oppression.

The demonstration called by the January 2nd Coalition, had the usual left support but the great majority of the participants were Black, West Indian, and overwhelmingly Haitian showing a unity of action that had previously eluded the Haitian political community.

The wisdom of the decision to mount the march in Brooklyn where over a million West Indians reside was evidenced by the friendly interchange between on-lookers and marchers, strengthening the community's mood to protest Reagan's racism even where many face the risk of internment.

The spirited procession of men and women, young and old was undaunted by the chilling weather. It was righteously indignant, yet the chants, music and even choreography distinguished this street demonstration as unique. The march ended at the steps of Clara Barton High School where speakers addressed the throngs principally in Creole.

—N&L participant

Another Arab-Israeli Conflict, or Shift in Politics Between the Two Nuclear Superpowers?

Begin's Israel Moves Further and Further Backward To His Reactionary, Terrorist Beginnings

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Essay-Discussion Article: Marx and 'the party' in the 1850s

by Ron Brokmeyer

The various organizations of the Left seem to be at such an impasse as compared to the 1960s, while the organizations of the Right seem to be ruling the roost. But we would be just as wrong to take that as a given and overestimate that minority, as we would if we underestimated its organizational presence. Today's organizational impasse impels this look back to Marx's time and his view of organization.

Marx did participate in and give a direction to mass organizations whether that was the Communist League of the 1848 Revolution and the Committees of Correspondence which led up to it, or the International Workingmen's Association (I.W.A.) of the 1860s and '70s. But, Marx's concept of organization was never determined by quantity. As important as those organizations were, Marx never made a fetish out of a particular organizational form and considered those organizations to be but moments in the history of his party.

THE PARTY AS PERMANENT REVOLUTION

The necessity of workers having their own organization, which was a working out of their own emancipation, was the lesson Marx drew from the experience of the 1848 Revolutions. In his 1850 *Address to the Communist League*, Marx summarized that development as learning from the betrayal of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie who ended supporting another despot, so that for the future the proletariat must declare the revolution permanent, must never give up its own independent organization and demands until a total social uprooting is reached.

From the start Marx was concretizing his original materialist conception of history which he had expressed philosophically before the 1848 Revolutions: the "transformation of labor into self-activity," into the fullness of revolution.

Marx's life as a revolutionary was an energetic projection of that historic contribution of revolution in permanence. He never let just any immediate oppositions be the whole but always recognized the tendency he had worked out in philosophy and strove to make that full blown—strove to make that the historic determinant because of his confidence that his materialist conception articulated the pivot of humanity's accumulated struggles to overcome its self-alienation.

In the League, Marx posed his view of transforming reality—the "universal outlook of the Manifesto"—against a conspiratorial one with a "German national standpoint". The lure of a shortcut through action—an insurrection of a few opposed to theory—was especially strong among the German emigres when the counter-revolution was firmly entrenched in their homeland. Their conspiratorial view played into the hands of the authorities who were trying to implicate the "Marx party" at the Communist Conspiracy Trial in Cologne in 1852.

Marx published the minutes of his original break with the "party of action": "The point of view of the minority is dogmatic instead of critical, idealistic instead of materialistic. They regard not the real conditions but a mere effort of will as the driving force of revolution. Whereas we say to workers: 'You will have to go through 15, 20, 50 years of civil wars and national struggles not only to bring about a change in society but also to change yourselves, and prepare yourselves for the exercise of political power', you say on the contrary: 'Either we seize power at once, or else we might as well just take to our beds' . . . you substitute the catchword of revolution for revolutionary development . . ." (Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, pg. 403)

In 1853 one emigre, August Willich, published an article against Marx's characterization of him. In reply Marx wrote a sarcastic pamphlet, *Knight of the Noble Consciousness*, which was published in January, 1854 by his friends Weydemeyer and Cluss in New York.¹ "The party situation within the proletariat," Marx quotes Willich, "is between the Marx party and the Willich-Schapper party . . ." (Vol. 12, pg. 485) Marx writes that apart from the fact that the conspiratorial consciousness in its "noble" form took over this formulation, which it attributed to Marx, from the authorities in the Cologne bill of indictment, Willich "converts the party situation within a particular German secret society . . . into the 'party situation within the proletariat.'" (Vol. 12, pg. 485)

What Marx was concerned about was a situation where "everywhere the revolutionary party has been forced off the stage of history" (Vol. 10, pg. 490). At the same time a particular party can't resist substituting itself for the proletariat instead of using the "time of

apparent calm . . . for the purpose of elucidating the period of revolution just experienced," (Vol. 10, pg. 5) as the paper Marx edited in this period announced with its first issue.

By 1856, though Marx didn't see the need for a large organization, he never dropped activist party work, even when he was supposedly holed up in the British Museum. That's when he not only took time out to write, but was the only one of the German emigres invited to speak to the English workers in the Chartist movement on the anniversary celebration of the *People's Paper*.

This specific address which Marx prepared, not for intellectuals but for a worker audience, was nothing short of his philosophy of revolution, focusing on how totally his contradiction infects the capitalist world.

Or as Marx put it in his address: "In our days everything seems pregnant with its contrary. Machinery, gifted with the wonderful power of shortening and fructifying labor, we behold starving and overworking it . . . Even the pure life of science seems unable to shine but on the dark background of ignorance. All our invention and progress seem to result in endowing material forces with intellectual life and in stultifying human life into a material force." (Vol. 14, pg. 655)

THE PARTY IN AN EMINENT HISTORICAL SENSE, 1859-60

1858-60, when it turned out that Marx's party was hardly more than he and Engels, were critical years of testing. A vicious slander of Marx's past was published by Karl Vogt, a paid agent of Napoleon III.

Marx wrote for help to friends from the Communist League like the revolutionary poet Ferdinand Freiligrath who by then had a career in a bank. Instead of helping, as he could because of his well known history, Freiligrath opted out saying, "the party too is a cage." Marx's argument with Freiligrath was over precisely what was involved and what was at stake in that entity "the party." For Marx it wasn't a question of the League as past personal history, but rather was the relationship of the League to the 1848 Revolution because that related to the whole of humanity's development.

Though the League was long since gone by 1860, those taking responsibility to extend theoretically the League's work constituted the party critical to Marx. He described it to Freiligrath as a party in "an eminent historical sense" adding that "the League . . . like a hundred other societies, was only an episode in the history of the party which grows everywhere spontaneously from the soil of modern society."

Marx's party, which wasn't limited to its episodes when it was thrust onto the historic stage, was inseparable from his developing philosophy of a total revolutionary transformation of society. In 1859 Marx characterized that transformation as finally ending "the pre-history of human society." That was from the celebrated preface to *The Critique of Political Economy* which Marx rushed to publish, hoping to gain a "scientific victory for our party."

Marx based his party, quite apart from the total crisis of capitalism he proved would come, on the confidence that deep within society ever newer forms would emerge for humans to take control of their lives and end "pre-history." The barest beginning of that new world opening was right then in 1859, when Marx hailed the new slave revolts which erupted with the death of John Brown.

Abolitionism and its relation to the Civil War in the U.S. was one of the movements—along with massive strikes in England and France and a Polish national rebellion against Russian domination—which impelled the formation of the International Workingmen's Association in 1864. Marx wrote its founding rules, declaring that "the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves." That principle was brought to life by workers in the Paris Commune of 1871 which was everywhere associated with the I.W.A., then unequaled in size as a workers' organization.

An organization was viable as long as it personified what was new in labor's revolutionary development, and when that was no longer true, it had "outlived its usefulness" (interview in the Jan. 5, 1879 *Chicago Tribune*). Those who claim that, when he turned to concentrate on theory in the 1850s, he didn't have a philosophy of organization, are hiding the integrality of his organizational concept to a philosophy of revolution.

Unfortunately, this attitude toward Marx extended even to great revolutionaries like Lenin and Luxemburg whose organizational conception came from Lassalle's party, so much so that Luxemburg called that German workers' party, organized in 1863, the "most important historical consequence" of the 1848 Revolution. Luxemburg tried to reduce Marx's difference with Lassalle to one of tactics. She claimed it was only

healthy "impatience" which made Lassalle think he could "abridge the long historical process" by introducing socialism from above by making deals with the absolutist Bismarck.² When Lassalle's party was organized, Marx called him a "future workers' dictator" whose idea of organization reduced science to a weapon of the party with the battlefield being parliament.

But even when Lassalle was supposedly with Marx at the end of the 1850s, Marx criticized that same impatience thinking it was a shortcut by "applying (an) abstract, ready-made system of logic" instead of bringing "a science by criticism to the point where it can be dialectically presented." (Marx to Engels, Feb. 1, 1858)

So central was philosophy to Marx's specific concept of organization that he wrote of Proudhon, who led another tendency at one time allied with Marx, that not grasping dialectics leads to "charlatanism in science and accommodation in politics." (Marx to Schweitzer, Jan. 24, 1865)

The eminent historical party including all of its episodes was grounded in Marx's total philosophy of revolution which itself could help develop that dimension of the movement reaching for the full freedom of uniting once and for all mental and manual labor in complete individuals.

Revolutions emerge out of necessity—past conditions pushing people to the limit—but without philosophy you never get to what is specifically new and isn't determined by the past.

Marx's view, whether in the Committees of Correspondence questions of our age, but it can be the ground for working out what is necessary for our age. Important to stress is: 1) there was no division between philosophy and organization in Marx's philosophy of revolution; 2) Marx never gave up on the necessity of organization, insisting that even when no organization existed you had to act in that manner; 3) what is never lost sight of is the revolution's goal and that is how the relation of philosophy to organization determines changes in organization.

Marx's view whether in the Committees of Correspondence of few people, at the height in the I.W.A., or when they had no one—the party in the eminent historical sense—was that we must act in an organized way because the enemy is very big. We have a lot to overthrow and have only ourselves.

2. "Lassalle and Revolution" by Rosa Luxemburg, March, 1904 *Festschrift* (translated by David Wolff).

'Reds': a viewpoint

"Reds" stands alone in the magnificence of its ambitions and the grandeur of its achievements. No film has yet appeared, Russian or American, to lend such lyrical, romantic beauty to the greatest event of this age, the Russian Revolution of 1917.

To be sure, "Reds" is not about the Russian Revolution as such but about that intrepid, young American journalist, John Reed, who despite his upper class, Harvard upbringing, discovered the revolutionary proletariat of the Teens, pursued their struggles for freedom in the U.S., the Mexican Revolution, and then the great Russian Revolution, climaxing his peregrinations with the now classic account, *Ten Days That Shook the World*.

The film is as well a moving love story of John Reed (Warren Beatty) and Louise Bryant (Diane Keaton), ranging the world, fusing milieus, from the upper class life in Portland, Oregon, where they first meet, to Floyd Dell's "free love" Greenwich Village, where their love is strained by the intrusion of Eugene O'Neill (Jack Nicholson), to tumultuous Petrograd, November 7, 1917, ringing to the stirring strains of "The Internationale," which binds, splits, and re-binds their love.

The film is no simple paean to revolutions in general or the Russian Revolution in particular. The diamond-like details that sparkle through the film are manifest here too: Reed's two encounters with Zinoviev (Jerzy Kosinski) already hint at the bureaucratic deformations that threaten the newborn revolution. Beatty's inclusion of Trotsky, as an eminence almost equal to Lenin, but like Lenin, seen from a distance, dominating groups and assemblies, avoids the Stalinist vulgarities and the simplistic propagandism of Soviet cinematography.

Beatty plays not only the lead role of John Reed, but is the prime mover of the film, helping to produce, write and direct it.

Beatty has done two extraordinary things; one alone would merit high praise but the two together surely place "Reds" among the great films. First, he has sympathetically portrayed one of the great if not greatest social event of this century, the Russian Revolution of 1917. Second, he has done this with superb aesthetic originality and vitality, evidenced in all the various elements of the film.

—M. Franki

1. For an account of Willich's later activities which did have an affinity with Marx's ideas—his magnificent contribution as a General for the North in the American Civil War and publisher of Marx's ideas in the German-American press—see the pamphlet I co-authored with Terry Moon, *On the 100th Anniversary of the First General Strike in the U.S.*

Jacobo Timerman: terror in Argentina

Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number. Jacobo Timerman, Alfred A. Knopf, 1981.

This book is a uniquely valuable eyewitness testimony from the Argentine newspaper publisher, Jacobo

Latin American women protest

Throughout Latin America, last Nov. 25 was marked by demonstrations as part of the international day of protest against violence against women. In Lima, Peru, hundreds of women from feminist organizations, unions and political parties, and poor women from the slums demonstrated. The Coordinadora Feminina of five women's liberation groups headed a march through Lima which included unions from the Conel and Lucy factories, which have been occupied by women workers to prevent their closing.

"No more violence against women — break the silence!" the marchers chanted, condemning the institutional violence in the society, laws, and everyday life. The women demanded changes in the law, help for battered women, and an end to the Anti-Terrorist Law which is used to sanction violence against anyone working for social change.

To show the relationship between violence against women and repression by the state, the feminist group ALIMUPER has publicized the rape of peasant women by soldiers, and an incident in Lima in which two women who were merely discussing feminism in a cafe were arrested by the secret police and threatened with rape, robbery, imprisonment and torture for two hours before being released.

The date for the demonstrations had been set at the first feminist conference of women in Latin America and the Caribbean, held in Bogota, Colombia, last July, which brought together 250 women from 18 countries. They took up women's health and sexuality, culture, work, and political struggles.

A Peruvian feminist described the conference, saying that "the most important thing was so many Latin American women getting together for the first time. We were surprised at how highly developed the women's movement was in some countries, and that it was being established in every single country in Latin America..."

"The second most important thing was the experience of getting to know the other feminists for the first time, and the work they are doing. In Peru, we had no idea that the women's movement was so important to all of Latin America."

—Anne Molly Jackson

Timerman, about his confinement and torture from April, 1977 to September, 1979 in the clandestine terror network of the Argentine military junta that seized power in March, 1976.

It is a dizzying portrayal of the political and human reality in Argentina, reeling us backward to the abyss of 1930s Nazi ideology and practice. So problematic was the survival of this witness, designated by the Nazi militarists as a Jew first, last, and foremost, and therefore guilty of the "crime" of existing, that the book begins and ends with the affirmation of humanity through a description of the precious moments his eyes were able to meet those of another prisoner through peephole of a cell, eyeball to eyeball, strictly forbidden, and therefore a triumph of mutual human recognition.

From what kind of world, then, could such a peculiarly powerful though miniscule victory be constituted? Timerman demands a dialogue from the passive Jewish community in Argentina, and from today's youth movement, as he recounts his own activities in the 1930s and 1940s as a young revolutionary. What is this persistent world reality, he asks, nearly 40 years after the Holocaust and the eventual military defeat of Nazism, to which Argentina, the most "advanced" country in Latin America, has succumbed?

In the last several years, close to 30,000 Argentines have disappeared into the maze of state terror. Timerman, despite murderous threats from both the right and what he saw as an equally anti-Semitic section of the armed guerrilla left, condemned and published news of the violence, including names of the missing at the hands of the military, before he himself disappeared and then returned to tell about it.

Every Thursday in downtown Buenos Aires an organization, Mothers of the Plazo de Mayo, march and demand an accounting of their missing relatives. Last April 30 they were joined by 1,000 supporters in the biggest human rights demonstration since the junta seized power five years before. These activities and the testimony of Jacobo Timerman challenge the whole world to find the path to a reality free of cells, beginning with the thousands that are today hidden and designed to keep their human inhabitants anonymous.

—R. Russel

Peru sanitation strike

Lima, Peru — As of December the sanitation workers of Lima and the surrounding municipality were still on strike. Some of the strikers told me the main reason for the strike is to demand the retraining and rehiring in other public jobs of 400 sanitation workers laid off in the municipality of Trujillo, outside Lima. Another cause of the strike is that the workers have not yet received the raise called for in their contract three months ago.

Many people in Lima do not know these real reasons for the strike. All they've heard are the mayor and congressmen going on TV everyday saying the workers are making demands they have no right to, and that they make plenty of money selling the garbage as slop to pig farms. The workers have denied that.

The strikers' protest marches against the government of Belaunde Terry have been attacked by the police. I saw hundreds of policemen firing tear gas and water cannons from trucks at the marchers and hitting, kicking and dragging them off to jail. Many workers were injured.

After three weeks the white collar municipal workers joined the strike in support of the sanitation workers. But after five weeks the government decided to try to replace the sanitation workers. The new hires were all women. It is the first time that any women have ever been hired for this job.

I asked one of the women why she took the job. She told me she needed to eat, she needed a job, and she had been out of a job for a long time.

Talking to the sanitation workers again, they told me they are still on strike and want their jobs back. But some of the workers belong to the government party, the Popular Action Party, and want to support the government and go back to work. This has caused a division in the union, with the other workers wanting to continue the strike.

Besides the sanitation workers, the customs house shipping clerks and dock workers had a 15 day strike, and the bank employees a 24 hour strike, both of which were victorious. There are many other strikes in small enterprises of 5 to 20 workers. For example, workers at the French Alliance School struck for a month for a raise, and the women at the Excelsior movie theater were picketing and collecting money to buy food for their children, though the theater is owned by one of the richest families in Peru, named Prado.

—Observer

Black workers at bottom of hospital hierarchy

Detroit, Mich. — When I hear of how Reagan and his cohorts want to limit or do away with affirmative action laws, it really make me angry, especially when I look around on my job.

When you walk through the basement of the hospital where I work, you can clearly see that there are still certain jobs that are reserved for Blacks. About 98 percent of the maintenance and housekeeping staff who do most of the heavy dirty jobs are Black. In maintenance, there are one or two older white men who have not yet retired, but all the rest are young Black men.

There is a real hierarchy in a hospital, and at Detroit Receiving they have special colored uniforms so that people can immediately tell in what category you belong. Volunteers wear salmon coats, housekeepers wear striped tunics, and patient transporters wear blue tunics and

slacks so that they can't be mistaken for nurses or "professionals." But a long white lab coat (short white coats are for medical students) identifies the wearer as a "professional."

When you look around on the upper floors of the hospital, you rarely see a Black doctor or even a Black R.N. Where you see many young Black women is in the lowest-paying clerical jobs, some of which are part-time and hardly pay minimum wage. But these are really young people and the idea seems to be that they don't need a living wage anyway.

Not only are affirmative action laws still needed, but we need to change a lot of attitudes toward work and the people in this society who do most of it.

—Woman hospital worker

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YOUTH

Debate, dialogue within anti-nuke movement

New York, N.Y. — Two representatives of the West German anti-war movement spoke at Columbia University early in December to a very sympathetic audience of over 200 students. The main speaker, Petra Karin Kelly of the Green Party, stressed the independent, international character of the new European movement. She shocked the audience when she mentioned the fact that today's military jargon considers the Hiroshima bomb to be merely a "tactical" nuclear weapon.

She made clear her opposition to nuclear weapons everywhere when she said that "a socialist reactor is as dangerous as a capitalist one" and won some applause not only for that statement, but also when she singled out the U.S. Women's Pentagon Action and said that "politics is the way we live our lives."

However, the limits of such a perspective also came out when I raised the question of Poland during the discussion period. Ten days before martial law was declared, Kelly limited her support of the Polish workers to a generalized "Hands Off Poland!" not only by Russia "but also the AFL-CIO," and said that "as a peace movement, we feel we should not meddle" in Poland. Then she said that Romania's obviously state-sponsored and unspontaneous "peace" demonstrations were also "positive."

Even though she concluded that "we on the Left have to talk about a socialism that we haven't seen yet" versus "actually existing socialism" in East Europe, by narrowing her assessment of Poland only to non-intervention from outside, she separated the question of peace from that of social revolution.

—CUNY student

Chicago, Ill. — After five years of avoiding a stand on nuclear weapons, Chicago-based Citizens Against Nuclear Power (CANP) has finally voted to oppose them. The decision comes at a most crucial time, when the escalating arms race between Russia and the U.S. has brought us face to face with the threat of nuclear disaster.

At the biggest public meeting we (CANP) have had in a long while, everyone voted on Jan. 5 to oppose nuclear weapons. Yet differences focused on the word "immediate." Some people thought calling for complete, immediate disarmament was unrealistic and would alienate the masses.

They think "ordinary people" are too stupid to differentiate between that and endorsing an eventual Russian takeover. It seems these people only want to address issues they are sure they can win. This pragmatic attitude has seen CANP leaving the weapon issue behind before.

What did not go over at all was the idea that CANP's statement of purpose should recognize the existence of an anti-nuclear movement. Unless we can dispel the notion that the small established anti-nuke groups are the whole movement, CANP will never even begin to appreciate the depth of the movement, and the fact that many of us want more than just no nukes; we want new human relations — freedom.

—Sheryl Woiyowaja and Franklin Dmitryev

Los Angeles, Cal. — The first meeting in the Los Angeles area to discuss the massive anti-nuclear movement in West Europe was held Jan. 8 at Fritchman Auditorium. Three hundred people heard speakers from religious groups and the Left address the questions of how to build as powerful an anti-war movement here in America.

European anti-war movement—a new pathway?

by Peter Wermuth

The massive European anti-nuclear weapons movement is beginning to attract significant attention here in the U.S., where anti-war conferences, demonstrations, and the campuses are becoming increasingly filled with discussion on the movement's rapid development over the past year-and-a-half.

While most seem excited by the movement's sheer size — it embraces hundreds of thousands in half a dozen West European nations — what can also be learned from it is the relation of a new stage of global crisis to the passion for a totally new way of living.

For in refusing to accept any timetable of "mutually assured destruction" as laid down by the superpowers, young people in the movement are refusing to accept a view of time hemmed in by the threat of nuclear holocaust. In doing so, their actions are powerfully restating Marx's idea that "time is the space for human development."

That so "philosophic" a phrase can help sum up the drive of today's protests against nuclear war preparations hardly means the European youth are out of touch with reality. On the contrary, it is precisely at moments of increased global political tension when the passion for philosophy becomes most important, for it provides direction for forging new pathways to freedom when the very totality of crisis creates new barriers to revolution.

COLD WAR CRISES AND REVOLTS

The importance of taking most seriously the underlying philosophic vision expressed in mass activity precisely at periods of such rising world crisis can be seen

The best part was one woman showing slides of a recent trip of hers to Europe where she participated in actions like the march of 500,000 in Amsterdam against cruise missiles and the N-bomb. Unfortunately, it was left to pictures alone to convey the fortune of the movement since most of the speakers were more interested in getting the audience to write letters to their Congress than to initiate any mass actions here.

What infuriated me was how they made everyone pay \$3 to get in. When two unemployed youths said they had no money, the "organizers" told them they had to leave. The finally agreed to let them in for \$2 after a lengthy argument.

Meanwhile, they did not allow any discussion from the floor. If this is the way they think they can "build a movement" they have to be kidding.

—Anti-war American

in looking at the period of the first Cold War, 1950-53. It is during this time when the U.S.-Russia rivalry reached a new stage with the Korean War, and when war clouds formed over Communist China's threat to invade Formosa. At the same time, McCarthyism waged a vicious war on the Left at home.

It was by no means, however, a quiescent period for the American masses. This same period was marked by the wildcat strikes of this same period against the introduction of Automation in the mines and factories, which shook up the capitalists and the union bureaucrats who defended Automation as "progress." Neither were youth silent — certainly not in the 1950 general strike of New York City high school students.

While much of the Left ignored the novelty of these new forms of revolt, they became important for the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. In this same period Raya Dunayevskaya was working on her book *Marxism and Freedom* which for the first time presented the American and humanist roots of Marx's Marxism in strict relation to the ongoing revolts of the American masses.

Marxist-Humanists saw that the seemingly "simple" questions of workers asking "what kind of labor should a man perform" as against the alienated labor of the automated assembly line, expressed a passion for totally new human relations in labor and in life. They were nothing short of philosophic questions.

LESSONS FOR TODAY

It was this ability to grasp the movement from practice as itself a form of theory that enabled Marxist-Humanism to be born as a tendency in the midst of McCarthyism, when so much of the American Left was either dissolving or departing from Marxism altogether under the weight of the war preparations. The lesson for today is that hewing out new roads to future revolutions in a period of intense crisis demands taking seriously the philosophic vision expressed in the actions of masses of people as they fight against capitalist dehumanization.

Today's anti-nuclear youth face a far greater threat of war than did even those who lived in the 1950s, and unlike then, capitalism today, whether in its private or state variety, has the capacity to destroy humanity altogether. At the same time, so concerned are youth with stopping this threat to time itself that a movement has grown up to oppose war before war actually breaks out.

By working out the depth of the challenge to capitalism embodied in such responses, youth can connect to all other forces of revolution—whether workers, women, or blacks — who likewise hunger for "time as the space for human development."

'South End' racism opposed

Detroit, Mich.—Although E. Dale Lee, editor of Wayne State University's campus paper, resumed his duties Jan. 18, we the readers of *The South End*, haven't forgotten why he was suspended for a little over one week.

Longstanding disgust had turned into demands for Lee's removal after a racist, stereotyped cartoon appeared in the Nov. 18 issue. Lee responded to the deluge of complaints by saying that offended Blacks are "insecure with themselves" and that "discrimination is more fallacy than fact today."

A quarter of the university library employees had signed a petition. Students in the journalism program had disavowed any connection they had with *The South End*. And meetings of the Students Newspaper Publication Board which oversees *The South End* had been turned into heated debates.

When the publication board only suspended Lee on a technicality, campus workers and students saw it as a slap on the wrist. Lee's racist and sexist views should be reason enough for his removal!

—WSU News and Letters Youth Committee

'New Beginnings': Cal State University's new voice

NEW BEGINNINGS
"the educators themselves must be educated"

AN ALTERNATIVE STUDENT VOICE • PUBLISHED BY CAL STATE NEWS & LETTERS • ISSUE # 1

Why a \$46 Tuition Increase?

In the coming school year of 1982 we students will have to fork out more dough to pay for our education. Our "nominal" fee of \$90 (Fall 1981) was jacked up \$46 for a one-time increase to make up for a budget deficit.

However, the Board of Trustees for the Cal State University system decided to impose tuition on all the schools. At CIA that translates to a whopping \$16 per quarter for 6.1 or more units. This increase is thrown upon us so that the "quality" and the faculty won't be ejected from the schools.

But why is there a lack of money for education? All one has to do is look at Ronald Reagan and his fellow capitalists and their greed for an ever increasing profit.



New Beginnings is a new alternative student voice and theory in a letterbox at Cal State News & Letters, P.O. Box 29194, Los Angeles, CA 90029.

Editor's Note: "The educators themselves must be educated" is the motto of the new alternative student voice *New Beginnings* published by the California State University (Cal State) News and Letters Committees. Below we print excerpts from their first issue. For copies or information, write *News & Letters*, P.O. Box 29194, Los Angeles, CA 90029.

IN THE 1982 SCHOOL YEAR we students at Cal State University will have to fork out more dough to pay for our education. Our "nominal" registration fee of \$90 was jacked up \$46 this quarter for a "one-time" increase to make up for a budget deficit.

At the same time the Board of Trustees for the Cal State system decided to impose tuition on all the schools. For a student like myself that translates into a whopping \$216 per quarter for 6.1 units—one and a half classes! This increase is being thrown on us, the administration says, so that the "quality" won't go down in the college system.

But why is there a lack of money for public education? All you have to do is look at what Reagan is doing for an answer.

Reagan says the budget has to be slashed to pieces to balance the budget—yet he also calls for a strong military force (as if we were weak) to fight the "international terrorists." The reality of the situation is that the Reagan regime is breaking the scales of justice in order to terrorize us by slicing our paychecks, civil rights and social programs so that they may have the option of blowing up the world if they can't dominate it.

If we are going to stop these tuition hikes, students are going to have to get together with all other forces opposing this society and create a new way of living and relating.

—Tom Pilan, student

THERE ARE A LOT OF PROBLEMS with the educational system of this society, but the most damning is the separation of the world outside school from the one inside the classroom, what Karl Marx called "the division of mental and manual labor."

I grew up in Alabama during the Civil Rights Movement, and I can remember how the movement lifted us out of segregated all-Black classrooms into what were once all-white schools. As soon as we were put in a white school, we were forced into "remedial" speech and reading classes since we were years behind white society. Fifteen years later it is still the case that in Los Angeles schools far too many Black and poor neighborhood students can't read or write or even fill out a job application.

So how come so much attention is paid to "quality education" in colleges but none to Black and Chicano elementary and high schools?

Today's educational system is not connected to a conscious mass movement for freedom, which did exist in the Garvey Movement of the 1920s and the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. The "higher mind" of college people, and of the Black mind in particular, is separated from Black reality. The destruction of this division between community and college, between mental and manual, i.e., alienation, is essential if we are going to achieve freedom.

—Eugene Ford, Black worker

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

Tanzania

Student revolt over recent sexist incidents at the University of Dar es Salaam has once again broken out at the university which had for many years been one of the major centers of revolutionary ideas in Africa.

For several years, a clandestine group of government supporters among the students has not only taken over the "Punch board" where for years students had put up political and protest bulletins, but they have proceeded to turn it into a place to display "scandal sheets" on the personal lives of individual women students. These "Punch" notices — "ordering" women not to eat at certain dining halls or to come to certain social functions, and then defaming by name and in lurid personal details any who dared to violate their "orders" — had been posted late at night with the acquiescence if not the actual complicity of the university administration.

Early in November, some of the school's 400 women students called a public meeting entitled "Women fight back: a meeting to discuss the defamation of women and the use of Punch for reactionary purposes." The women students were rebuffed when they complained to a Dean, who stated that the Punch board was good in that it helps "to regulate social behaviour."

Some male students have joined with the women to make their own wall posters to expose the "Punch" group for what it is — a lackey of the administration. That there would even need to be such a movement after 20 years of independence and supposed "Ujamaa Socialism" under President Nyerere, shows the gap between Nyerere's rhetoric and Tanzanian reality.

Taiwan

The murder of Chen Wen-chen has produced revelations about Taiwan's secret police, and how far its spy network extends to control dissidents. Chen Wen-chen, a Pittsburgh mathematics professor revisiting Taiwan, was taken into custody by the Taiwan Garrison Command last July, and admittedly interrogated on his activities in the U.S. against the Kuomintang regime. A day later he was found murdered, though at first officials tried to claim he had committed suicide.

The Garrison Command, the secret military police (Taiwan has been continuously under martial law since Kuomintang troops fled there in 1949) admitted they gathered information about Taiwanese dissidents in the U.S. under the code name "Colorful Rainbow Project." It is directed both against Formosan nationalists who want Taiwan to declare independence from any national government of China, and against other political opponents.

The spy network is centered on U.S. campuses where many students are from Taiwan. Such efforts are made possible by the "unofficial" missions permitted after relations were established with Beijing. Not only has Reagan continued the U.S. policy of supplying hundreds of millions of dollars worth of military hardware that helps solidify that military regime, but he is expected to allow more Taiwan missions to open, beginning in Boston. Even now, the penetration of their security forces here reminds us of the forces of SAVAK that were tolerated here in the days of the Shah.

New York readers—hear

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

Wednesday, March 3, 7 p.m. at Columbia University

"ROSA LUXEMBURG: FROM REVOLUTION TO REVOLUTION, 1905, 1919"

Thursday, March 4, 5:30 p.m. at Hunter College

"WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND REVOLUTION: IN POLAND, IN IRAN, IN LATIN AMERICA"

Sunday, March 7, 7 p.m. at Workman's Circle, 369 8th Ave., (at 29th St.)

"FROM REVOLUTION TO REVOLUTION TO REVOLUTION: IN ACTUALITY IN THOUGHT, IN VISION"

—a talk on her three major studies of Marx's Marxism: Marxism and Freedom (1957) • Philosophy and Revolution (1973) • Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (to be published by Humanities Press, Fall, 1982)

For more information, contact News & Letters, P.O. Box 196, New York, NY 10163, Tel. 989-3188

Detroit readers—Raya Dunayevskaya will present

"FROM REVOLUTION TO REVOLUTION TO REVOLUTION: IN ACTUALITY, IN THOUGHT, IN VISION"

Sunday, February 14, 3 p.m. at News & Letters Library, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Room 304, 873-8969

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry



Thousands waited in line for hours in sub-freezing temperatures in Washington, D.C. as one lone processor distributed government cheese. Many were turned away when the supply ran out.

Cheese stockpile

President Reagan is supposedly distributing 30 million pounds of cheese to the needy, not out of compassion for those whose jobs he has abolished, but because the cheese is getting moldy.

The cheese is part of a stockpile of 530 million pounds in government warehouses, along with 848 million pounds of dry milk and 212 million pounds of butter stored at a cost of \$43 million a year.

These dairy products are purchased by the government to maintain high prices for the agri-conglomerates that control the food chain for their own profits. Without government subsidies, cheese would be \$1.50 a pound cheaper than it is now, and we could afford real butter instead of its substitutes.

Alaska-Canada pipeline

The U.S. Congress, by passing the Alaska Natural Gas Transportation Act, has authorized a \$43 billion rip-off that exceeds by far the giveaway of a coast-to-coast, 50 mile wide strip of land granted to the railroad barons in the last century.

A consortium of Exxon, Standard Oil of Ohio, Atlantic Richfield and the construction company will hold joint ownership of the pipeline, which will be financed by billing the gas consumers in the United States in advance of the construction. This would cost an estimated \$191 a year for every gas-using home in 42 states. Whatever happened to the old capitalist maxim that capitalists risk their capital to make a profit?

Here is state-capitalism in its most blatant form. The consumer provides the risk capital — collected in advance regardless of completion of the line — the title is held by the oil monopoly, and the whole deal is sanctioned and backed by the U.S. government.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as

Late in 1981, Bolivian tin miners once again launched an offensive against the fascist military junta, now headed by General Torrelio Villa. In power since July, 1980, the junta has tortured and killed every labor and opposition activist it could get its hands on.

But it has yet to break the power of the Bolivian working class, perhaps the best-organized in all of South America. In November, 2,000 miners shut down and occupied the country's most profitable mine, demanding that the government give their union legal recognition.

Despite the killing of 120 workers, mass arrests, and attempts to starve out the strikers, worker resistance continues, sometimes secretly, sometimes openly. Students and miners' wives have also demonstrated in support of the miners in the capital. One U.S. journalist was told by a miner's wife: "Please write that they can kill us with hunger, that we would rather die now than not have liberty."

Morocco

Late last year 30,000 students went on strike at the large universities in Rabat and Casablanca. They were protesting cuts in scholarships and other university funds, expulsions of students, and the new policy of stationing uniformed police on the campus to conduct identity checks and surveillance of students.

The response of King Hassan's government has been to jail some student leaders for up to three years. They join in jail the hundreds of labor union activists arrested after the bloody general strike and riots which followed the drastic food price increases last Spring, riots in which over 600 were killed by the Army.

King Hassan also faces an unwinnable war of national liberation against the POLISARIO guerrillas in the Western Sahara. Yet none of this has in any way affected his continued warm relationship with American imperialism, which regards him as a bulwark of freedom.

Counter-revolutionaries train inside U.S.

In a clear violation of the U.S. Neutrality Act, 800 counter-revolutionaries are in training at a 78-acre camp west of Miami, Fla., and about 100 at several locations in California, planning to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. All such activity was prohibited during both the Carter and Nixon Administrations, although after the Bay of Pigs fiasco in Cuba, Robert Kennedy said "the neutrality laws were not designed for the kind of situation which exists in the world today."

The Reagan Administration has permitted these mercenaries to train with M-16 rifles for the past ten months, probably with the aid of the CIA or under the leadership of former U.S. military personnel. When questioned by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, war hawk Alexander Haig refused to give any assurances that the United States would not support or provide military equipment to these military forces. Contrast this benign attitude to the fate that awaited Bernard Sansaricq when he and 25 other Haitian freedom fighters were dragged back to Miami by the Coast Guard after their unsuccessful invasion of Duvalier's regime. Reagan wasted no time in having them charged with felonies for "violating the Neutrality Act."

Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "a new Humanism," as well as individuality: "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead."

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