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NEWS & LETTERS

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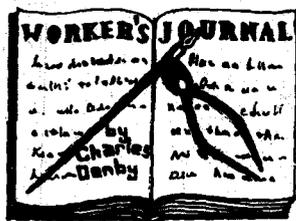
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Three very different types of events in the 1970s have prompted this work. One. The transcription of the last writings from Marx's pen, *The Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx*, created a new vantage point from which to view Marx's *oeuvre* as a totality. This cast so new an illumination, on both his first (1844) historic-philosophic concept of Man/Woman and his last (1881-82) analysis, as to undermine the long-held view of post-Marx Marxists that Frederick Engel's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* was a "joint" work of Marx and Engels. What became as translucent, when out of the archives had come Marx's unpublished draft letters to Vera Zasulich, was Marx's concept of permanent revolution. This made clear, at one and the same time, how very deep must be the uprooting of class society and how broad the view of the forces of revolution. It led Marx to projecting nothing short of the possibility of a revolution occurring in a backward land like Russia ahead of one in the technologically advanced West.

Two. It cannot be altogether accidental that those writings came to light in the period of the emergence of an historic objective event — the transformation of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time had come into a worldwide Movement. However, it is not only the objectivity of this event that has led this author to focus on Rosa Luxemburg. First and foremost, it was Luxemburg who raised so forcefully the question of spontaneity of the masses that it impinges on an urgent question of our day: what is the relationship of spontaneity to both consciousness and "the Party"? The total disregard of the feminist dimension of Rosa Luxemburg by Marxists and non-Marxists alike calls for the record to be straightened on that dimension in Luxemburg. Moreover, there is a need for today's
(continued on page 9)

Protest Klan-cop alliance



by Charles Denby, Editor

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

What is most disturbing to me and many others is the recent rise of the KKK and their activities all over the country, from California to Boston. Those white sheets are flowing again. Twenty-five Klan members held a march in Boston a few weeks ago while some thousand or more anti-Klan demonstrators were attacked by the police who were there to protect the Klan. The police went into those protesters and beat them unmercifully.

Since 1974, when Klan membership dropped to an estimated low of 1,500, many people thought the Klan was on its way out as a terrorist organization. But after the Decatur, Alabama and Greensboro, North Carolina massacres, the Klan began to rise again.

One of the biggest reasons for their continuing growth is President Reagan. Many of his racist positions are part of the Klan program. That is why they are becoming more visible now. The Reagan Administration gives them the guts to come out now when civil rights are being so undercut by the Federal government.

One of the Reagan-Klan positions is to give tax breaks to schools that practice racial segregation, at the same time he cuts so many programs for the poor, elderly and sick. It is practically impossible to know the damage it has done to those people, especially those who most need it. Because of Reagan's cut-backs people with cancer, kidney and heart disease are having their hospital ap-
(continued on page 8)

From auto industry to trucking to high tech

Workers challenge Reaganomics and their union leadership

by Andy Phillips

For the first time since the founding of the UAW, and by a more than 2 to 1 margin, the Chrysler workers in October rejected a national contract, the one negotiated by UAW President Douglas Fraser and unanimously approved by the Chrysler union negotiating council. They have now voted for negotiations to resume in January. At the same time, and despite the continuing collapse of the national economy, tens of thousands of other workers were striking in protest against concessionary leaders, concessionary contracts and in defiance of company threats to close plants.

The widening gulf between rank-and-file workers and their top union leaders has long been recognized, but the Chrysler vote reveals a further separation between the ranks and the union bureaucracy.

What the Chrysler experience reflects is symptomatic of what is happening in unions generally, and that is a growing revolt by the rank-and-file against the totally inadequate, bankrupt policies of their union leadership. These policies of do-nothingness or, even worse, stampeding to give concessions that will be wrung out of reduced

wages and worker speed-up, have resulted in a decline of union membership in the country, to where it totals less than 20 million workers, or about 20 percent of the work force, compared with over 28 percent ten years ago.

MILITARIZATION OF SPACE

In contrast to the paralysis of the labor leaders, and indeed because of it, the Reagan Administration is now considering the militarization of space to add to its militarization of the economy, an economy that is tottering on the brink of disaster. One of President Reagan's top nuclear advisors, Dr. Edward "Strangelove" Teller, the father of the hydrogen bomb, recently proposed the possibility of deploying a new weapon in space that would
(continued on page 4)

ON THE INSIDE

- Editorial: Poland's Solidarnosc — the struggle continues p. 4
- DeLorean's factory: an inside look .. p. 5
- The Black South: Tchula demonstrations p. 8

WOMAN AS REASON Luxemburg's revolutionary democracy

Dear Sisters:

In re-reading the manuscript of Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, by Raya Dunayevskaya, I realized that I had originally been so struck by Lenin's very serious criticism of Luxemburg in their debates on organization that I had missed the contribution Luxemburg had made on the question of revolutionary democracy. Dunayevskaya in fact says that Luxemburg "was the first to raise the problematic of our day — the question of socialist democracy after the revolutionary conquest of power."

In thinking of how this concept of revolutionary democracy relates to our day, I recalled the letter Dunayevskaya had written to our Women's Liberation Committees this summer on looking at movements in history in which a principle had been sacrificed or lost sight of in favor of a tactic that seemed expedient. I think such a discussion can be very relevant to today's women's movement, in which the questions of form of organization, principles and tactics are constantly being raised in all our activity.

Japanese woman activist tells anti-war history

Editor's note: Following is an interview with a Japanese woman anti-war activist, Shigeo Ishimura.

The fact that I was born in 1914, the year when World War I broke out, has had a meaning in my life. From a personal view, changes in the consciousness of Japanese women toward war and militarism can be told from some of my own experiences with my mother.

My mother lived through four wars: with Russia and China, and two World Wars. In the days around 1930, farm families in the north were suffering from heavy taxes for the military. They couldn't raise the money, so many sold their daughters for the tax money and to lighten their burden. I remember my mother collecting signatures to raise money and aid for the families, and to protest the conduct of selling daughters.

WOMEN'S ANTI-WAR POETRY

Through my mother I learned of women like Yosano Akiko, who wrote poems against her brother being taken to the war with Russia. Most women then had to subdue their feelings. It's after World War II that we came across so many poems, especially by mothers expressing their thoughts against their sons being taken away by the emperor for war.

After World War II, gradually we began to learn the facts of the tragedy of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the people who were killed in an instant, and those who were victimized by the bombs. Japanese women were the first to get together. What happened had to be told, and the movement against atomic bombs began, with conferences still continuing every year.

In the late 1950s, a grassroots movement began against the renewal of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. I had never been to protest at the Diet (parliament) hall before, but there were many others like myself. No one told us to come, but we knew each time at what gate the demonstration would be. The government tried to quench these demonstrations, and at one time a young woman was killed. The treaty was passed, but the people kept Eisenhower out, and Prime Minister Kishi had to resign.

The government has never stopped trying to increase the "defense forces" and military bases, in numbers and technological quality. They tried to revise Article 9 of the Constitution that prohibits Japan from possessing armed forces, and to promote militarism in other ways.

HISTORY TEXTS 'REVISED'

About four months ago, it was disclosed that the draft of new history texts for junior and senior high schools were revised to hide Japan's aggression into China, Korea and other Southeast Asian countries. When word got out about the texts, there were protests by the governments in China and Korea. In Japan, textbook writers also protested and there were many other meetings on the issue the government tried to ignore. It is still going on, because it's not just the revision of some words, but the spirit of education, of the truth.

In addition to these activities, we women try to raise the alert to any dangerous moves by the government against increasing the military budget and when U.S. nuclear vessels plan ports-of-call in Japan.

One of the most important things that has made the anti-nuclear movement upsurge in Japan is the movements in other countries, especially the thousands who came out in the U.S. to fight against nuclear bombs. To see this in the country that dropped the atomic bomb gives all of us a lot of encouragement.

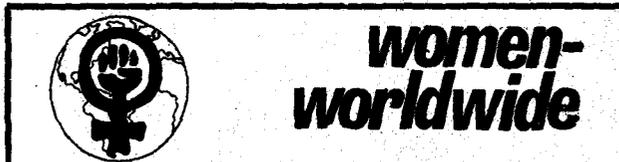
It was with this in mind that I looked again at Chapter 4 of the book, "From the 'National Question' and Im-

Freedom only for the supporters of the government, only for the members of one party — however numerous they may be — is no freedom at all. Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who thinks differently.

— Rosa Luxemburg
The Russian Revolution

perialism to the Dialectics of Revolution: The Relationship of Spontaneity and Consciousness to Organization in the Disputes with Lenin, 1904, 1917," and found it full of surprises. Dunayevskaya shows that Luxemburg was wrong on many specific questions — from her criticism of Lenin in 1903 to her insistence on sticking with the German Social Democratic party as if that were the only way to have "contact with the masses," to her calling for a "rebuilding of the International" while Lenin called for a new Third International.

Dunayevskaya shows that Lenin is right in his concrete



About 250 demonstrators from the American Indian Community House and from Women Against Pornography gathered at a New York trade show to protest a new line of "adult" video games such as "Custer's Revenge" in which the object of the game is for the male character to rape an Indian woman who is tied to a tree. A spokesman from the New York Indian group said, "We see this disgusting video game for what it truly is — a sexist, racist, sadistic expression, the sole purpose of which is to fill the pockets of its promoters."

The Ministry of the Interior of Saudi Arabia is trying to reverse a trend among marriage-age men who marry foreign women to avoid expensive dowry payments which average \$30,000. His solution? — to create a loan fund to pay the dowries required of men who marry native women. Worse yet, the loan only becomes non-refundable if the woman bears a child!

(Information from *The Longest Revolution*.)

Nationwide demonstrations were held in 13 cities on Oct. 3, commemorating the death of Rosaura (Rosie) Jimenez — the first woman known to have died from an illegal abortion after the 1977 Hyde Amendment cut off federal funding for abortions. In San Francisco, 500 rallied to demand Medicaid funding for women. And in New York, over 100 Latina, Asian and Black women protested illegal abortions and also spoke of the struggle for reproductive rights which include prenatal care, protection from infant mortality, protection against sterilization abuse and environmental and chemical abuse and the availability of contraception.

In Johannesburg on Oct. 21, a white woman received a ten year prison sentence for her admitted membership in the banned African National Congress (ANC) and became the first person in South Africa to be convicted of treason without having been implicated in any specific act of violence. Barbara Hogan, a 35-year-old researcher, admitted having helped organize consumer boycotts in support of striking Black trade unions and to writing reports on labor struggles which were smuggled to exiled leaders of the ANC.



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arguments with the Mensheviks, but she is also her most critical of Lenin in this chapter. What would it have meant if Lenin, like Luxemburg, had made a principle of revolutionary democracy instead of keeping his ideas on it quiet and unpublished? Then, even if "pragmatically" it was the wrong time or impossible to fully work out after 1917, that still would have been the goal — what they were fighting for and trying to put into practice. It simply wasn't enough to write it in his Will as he lay dying, while in life depending on the "thin layer" of Bolshevik leaders who knew nothing of his *Philosophic Notebooks*.

And yet both Lenin and Luxemburg failed "to relate organization to philosophy." While Dunayevskaya says that Luxemburg's "generalizations are relevant for our day and we must go into them," she also asks, "What are the ramifications of answering concrete organizational questions exclusively in generalities?"

Doesn't that question show the limitations of a principle such as "revolutionary democracy" when it is not grounded in philosophy? The ramifications for Luxemburg were that she left everything to the masses — including organization and leadership. Thus, she couldn't break with the party, saying "The worst working-class party is better than none." Without philosophy, the prin-

... Lenin and Trotsky with their friends were the first to set the example before the world proletariat, and so far they are still the only ones who can proclaim with Hutten: I have dared.

— Rosa Luxemburg
The Russian Revolution

ciple of revolutionary democracy was sacrificed to the commitment to a "party" instead of being concretized.

Dunayevskaya shows how contradictory Luxemburg was in her concept of organization. She shows us her whole development so that we see it when it is wrong in specifics but still right in principle; when it is right at the wrong time; and then in Chapter 5 "War, Prison, Revolution, 1914-1919" we see it emerge in actual revolution — Germany 1919 — when Luxemburg can give such beautiful meaning to the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" — which "consists in the manner of applying democracy, not in its elimination."

What kept striking me as I reread this was that it is Dunayevskaya who could make Luxemburg's concept mean something to us today which otherwise would have been lost. I keep thinking of her telling our committee that "skipping is wrong — whether we are talking about history, about philosophy, or about personalities. So even if you are right on the abstraction, you are wrong." How easy it was to skip over Luxemburg's whole development of the idea of revolutionary democracy because she was wrong in her argument with Lenin.

In trying to think of why "the question of socialist democracy after the revolutionary conquest of power" is "the problematic of our day," I thought of Iran and all the half-way revolutions in my lifetime. Was Luxemburg raising — at least in embryonic form — the problem of counter-revolutions within the revolution? After all, she not only experienced the betrayal of the Second International, but was the first to spot its opportunism and yet she herself did not work out any organizational alternative to it.

What I really think is that it is Marxist-Humanism that has developed this question, especially in this book by measuring all post-Marx Marxists against Marx's theory of revolution-in-permanence. Yes, Rosa Luxemburg "raised" the problematic of our day. The task for us now as revolutionary feminists is to begin actually working out this question organizationally in the different revolutionary movements each of us is involved in.

— Terry Moon

Protesters expose 'workfare'

New York, N.Y. — Fifty city hospital workers and welfare recipients demonstrated in front of court at the end of September to protest the "slave labor" policy that is forcing people on public assistance to work off their welfare checks in city agencies. They appeared in support of a lawsuit by DC 37, the municipal employees union, against the city, which employs about 6,500 of the 15,000 people in the "public works" program.

The law forbids replacing regular civil service employees with welfare recipients, but that is what has happened. The welfare recipients work part-time and are paid minimum wage, with no sick leave, vacation time or other benefits. "They want to work," said the president of the hospital workers Local 420. "We want to help. They should get a living wage."

One demonstrator called the policy "slave labor." "I was laid off as a clerk at Lincoln Center Library last November," he said. "I was getting \$200 a week. On workfare, Social Services had me run a computer to check up on recipients to make sure they were working off their checks. I was getting \$130 every two weeks for that."

The unions are demanding that people be hired as regular employees instead.

— Protester

Farmers can't escape capitalist crisis

by Felix Martin, Co-Editor

After talking to many farmers in my recent trip across the Midwest, I can see that the American farmer is in as bad economic shape as the working class as a whole. The life of the farmer today is one of debt, bankruptcy, unemployment and threatening poverty.

The dismal position of the American farmer today has roots in the policies of the Eisenhower Administration over 20 years ago. At that time I was a farmer, a time when the government brought in the Soil Bank — laws that say you can't grow certain crops on so many acres of farmland, so the prices will stay high.

Farmers were told they had to increase their yield per acre, not farm all of their available cropland. The result is that prices of corn or wheat have not changed very much for farmers while cost of equipment, technology, and fertilizer have shot all the way up.

AGRIBUSINESS RULES

When I was a farmer, a farm of a few hundred acres was considered big. Not today. Today's "small farm" is between 1,500-2,000 acres — miniscule compared to the giant farms of agribusiness. Even a 1,500-acre farm demands a lot of technology — tractors, planting machines, harvesting machines, etc. Farmers have had to pay out for these new high technologies and the fuel they consume at a time when the price of their crops was not increasing.

Grocer pads profits with take-backs from workers

Detroit, Mich. — On Oct. 7, warehouse workers at United Wholesale Groceries (U.W.) ratified a concession request by U.W. management. The concessions were identical to those granted to Spartan Stores, United's parent company. U.W. management asked for and received an 18-month wage freeze, including the cost-of-living raise due the second week of October under the current contract.

Also management asked for and received the right to hire casual (temporary) help at \$3 less an hour. Casual help also receive little or no health and welfare coverage. There is no limit as to how long a casual can be classified "casual." At one warehouse, a worker has been a casual for 14 months.

What makes this especially appalling is the fact that Spartan Stores had its most profitable year ever. Over the last eight years Spartan's sales growth has averaged 13 to 14 percent yearly.

Teamster Local 337 resistance has been minimal, if any. The task of resistance to concessions falls directly on the rank-and-file members. Some spoke out at a meeting between the president of United Wholesale and the warehousemen of U.W. to reject the concessions on the following grounds:

- Giving concessions does not create jobs. Reagan has given U.S. industries tens of billions in tax concessions, breaks, handouts, etc, yet there are no more jobs, just a deepening of the current recession.

- Granting concessions pits workers of one company against another. One of the reasons Spartan's asked for concessions was because they wanted to "stay competitive" with the other grocery chains which had granted relief previously.

- If Spartan's can hire casual help for \$3 less an hour, full time workers will be getting fired or written up whenever possible. It will do so much as possible to do away with the higher paid employees.

Somehow, the above-mentioned arguments against concessions for Spartan's fell upon deaf ears — hopefully it's not too late.

— Warehouseman

Agar plans poor quality

Chicago, Ill. — Many of us have had experiences like hearing people complain in grocery store lines about the Agar sliced bacon being all fat and too salty, or our neighbors saying that the canned hams fall apart when you try to slice them. We make jokes about it. But it is hard to work so many hours each day producing a product you aren't proud of. Older workers speak often of how much better things were at the "old plant," and mostly what was better was the quality of the product.

Quality control at Agar is a joke. Quality control workers are given little training about or responsibility over important aspects of the production process. They are there merely to satisfy USDA regulations.

Production workers know and understand meatpacking much better than their newly-hired bosses. But our concern for quality is defeated by the company's drive for production. We all work too fast to do our best and are often forced to work with inadequate or faulty equipment or on crews that are too small. One woman said, "All they care about is getting the meat packed. They don't care about the poor workers." Another added, "But if something goes wrong, they come around to us."

I don't think a simple change in the management would make much difference. We need a change in the whole way things are done.

— Agar worker

It has brought American farmers to their most severe crisis in history. Tens of thousands are selling out — or trying to. Even though thousands of farmers are saddled with huge debts they have no hope of ever making up, the price of farmland has dropped so low they'd lose even more by selling.

The reason for this crisis is the drive for increased yield per acre and the enormous outlay in cost for fertilizer and high technology this requires. Today's crisis in farming is rooted firmly in the crisis at the point of production that workers like myself at GM have seen happening for years. We have seen management come in demanding more and more cars built per man-hour, while they bring in more and more automation to boost production and toss workers out of work. That has brought the American auto industry to its deepest depression ever — just as it has brought the American farmer to its deepest depression.

When I left the farm life for General Motors 20 years ago I thought I was leaving the "pre-capitalist" method of production to work in the heart of the capitalist monster — the factory. Now I see that farmers experience the same problem workers do — capitalism's hunger for more and more dead labor at the expense of living labor.

Capitalism's method has made a unity out of the farm and the factory — but if workers and farmers get together against the economic crisis they both face, it will be the beginning of a new unity from below which could spell the end of capitalism altogether.

THROWN OFF THE LAND

All the farmers I talked to were looking for something new. Some are moving into the city, but many know they won't find jobs there anyway. At least on the farm they could grow their own food and not starve. But now the banks are coming in to throw farmers off their land because their debts are so high. Farmers can't get unemployment insurance, so you wonder what happens to them next.

It's the same problem workers like myself laid-off from GM deal with. Once workers and farmers don't let another class or leaders do their thinking for them, they will be sure to find new ways of getting together against the crises of this system.

Workers' Bookshelf

'Revolution in Seattle'

Revolution in Seattle, by Harvey O'Connor, Left Bank Books, 92 Pike Street, Seattle, Wash. 98101, 1981, \$7.50.

"Workers of an entire city defy the government to stage a general strike in support of the demands of the shipyard workers." That sounds like Gdansk, Poland, today, but it describes Seattle, U.S.A., 1919. That Seattle General Strike is left out of the history we are taught, just as is the first general strike in the U.S., St. Louis in 1877.

Harvey O'Connor was a participant in the Seattle General Strike, and in the movements in the Pacific Northwest leading up to it. From 1905 to 1919 strikes, free speech fights and agitation in dozens of radical newspapers all faced the most bloody and murderous repression from both police and from private armies of the owners. O'Connor brings to life that unknown dimension.

Opposition to World War I was so widespread that even the AFL Central Labor Council issued a strong anti-war statement the day after the war began. Class struggle was not put aside "for the duration." In the first months after the U.S. entered the war, laundry women and street car workers both struck and won wage demands. The IWW won the eight-hour day in the logging camps of the Pacific Northwest by the end of 1917.

In January, 1919, the 30,000 workers of all trades in the Seattle shipyards went on general strike because the government wage board would grant no wage increase to the unskilled workers. General strike was in the air — and the AFL unions quickly voted to join the shipyard workers, Feb. 6.

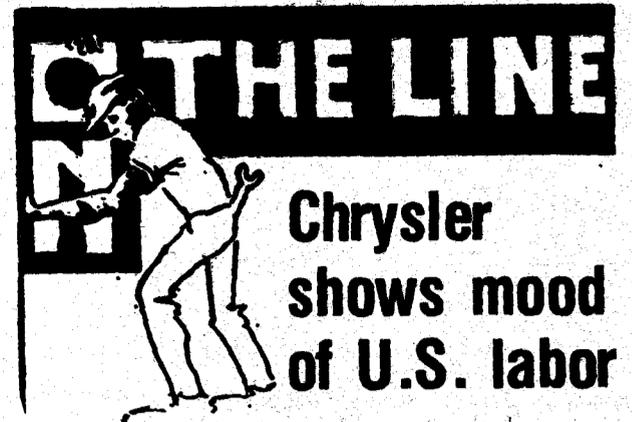
But the major concern of the strike leaders seemed to be managing the revolutionary spark of the workers, maintaining "order" and avoiding provocation.

The strike committee ordered workers to stay home, and dispersed gatherings of unionists on the street. It even made the union daily newspaper stop publishing. Workers returned to the job after five days when the general strike had not spread to other cities.

One of the most important features of this book are individuals as well as movements that emerge from obscurity. Thus a Kate Sadler went wherever there was a need, from Alaska to Oregon, speaking passionately for the Socialist Party, but never for pay. Yet she fought even more energetically against a renewed wave of anti-Chinese agitation when trade union pressure kept even her longshoreman husband silent — for 30 years the dominant position among trade unionists and "socialists" had been for deportation and exclusion of Chinese workers.

Many thanks to Left Bank Books for reprinting this book, and helping to make the experience of the Seattle General Strike available to workers in activity grappling with questions of organization.

— Bob McGuire



by John Marcotte

"I wouldn't want to go back if the company gets their way on the concessions. It's bad enough the way it was," an Art Steel worker told me the week he got laid off. It is a growing mood among rank-and-file workers across the country.

It was signalled by the beef packers' strike in Nebraska, grew with the Caterpillar Tractor workers' Oct. 1 strike, and has come full circle to Chrysler, the company that started the giveback contract wave with their 1979 contract. The Chrysler workers have for the first time in the history of their union overwhelmingly rejected the contract proposed to them by the company and the union.

"Concession fever is over. My members would burn me at the stake if I brought them a contract like that," with the concessions Caterpillar wanted, said Jim O'Connor, president of UAW Local 974.

In New York, UPS drivers here and in New Jersey went on wildcat strike this summer over their sell-out contract. Art Steel workers say they will strike if the company, which filed for bankruptcy in January, doesn't pay them the vacation pay still owed to them. A worker explained to me, "They want to freeze our contract raise and take away the few union benefits we have just for the threat of shutting down. But we say we've got to live. I don't think it's worth going through all those changes just for a job, regardless of the fact that every worker I talked to who was laid off this year is still unemployed."

Workers have experienced that all those concessions have not saved the jobs it was claimed they would. Those jobs have been lost to robots and automation. The concessions have only increased the wealth of the corporations to go and invest in oil companies and mergers. No worker I have spoken to thinks those jobs are ever coming back.

The fact is that workers think their own thoughts and are beginning to not let the union or anyone else do their thinking for them. The unions tried to shackle labor to capital's Plan through the concessions, because they have lost the original vision they were built on as fighting, class organizations of labor. What is the philosophy of a union that is using every dirty, union-busting trick to prevent their own staff from unionizing? That is what District 65-UAW has been doing, while it talks about being so "progressive" and "democratic."

It is clear the unions have adopted the same arrogant philosophy as the bosses. And it is these unions which signed their own death warrant in signing the give-back contracts. A turning point may well have been reached now with the rank-and-file's new self-activity, signalled by the Chrysler workers especially.

Fraser's sham democracy

Detroit, Mich. — I've worked at Chrysler Eldon-Axle for 14 years and have been laid off a year. The vote to strike Chrysler or to postpone negotiations to next year is unnecessary in my opinion because we voted in August to strike if we didn't have a contract by the middle of September. And now the thing that they are giving us is, take what Chrysler gives us or work to the first of the year and negotiate all over again.

Fraser is trying to appear democratic by letting the membership vote on continuing contract talks. But he really doesn't want to deal with it anyway, because when they say that the contract may not pass, Fraser said on the news that even if the workers vote to strike they are not going to get any more money.

People haven't had any new money in three years. Chrysler and the UAW made it look like they were giving us the cost-of-living back. But they didn't restore it, because when they cut it off it was \$2.31 and they were going to start it over at 16 cents.

There are now less than 700 workers at Eldon-Axle. Ten years ago they had more than 3000 workers. The workers there voted down the contract 451 to 128.

There are a lot of people out of work with 14-15 years seniority because they won't let you go to another plant. The union said that as long as your plant is open you stand a chance of going back if you are laid off. But I don't think that is the real thing, because in a lot of the suburban plants that are predominantly white there are still people with 4 to 7 years seniority working everyday.

The whole thing in a nutshell is that these corporations are out to break the unions — break them up and break them as well.

—Laid-off Chrysler worker

Poland's Solidarnosc: the struggle continues

EDITORIAL

Daily events ever since the Polish military junta banned all labor unions, including Solidarity, on Thursday, Oct. 8, have not only failed to prove the death of Solidarity, but focused renewed attention on the unceasing creativity of the workers and farmers, women and youth in their freedom struggles. From Gdansk and Gdynia to Wroclaw and Nowa Huta, the streets and factories of Poland became battlegrounds where two irreconcilable worlds clashed, exposing the garrison-state reality in the so-called "socialist" land. The events since Oct. 8 speak eloquently:

The new banning act, rammed through the Sejm (Parliament) on a near-unanimous vote, was followed the next day by a pronouncement from General Jaruzelski on its ideological underpinnings. "We must", he declared, "have a strong, efficient and law-abiding state. When the state grows weak, democracy turns into anarchy." As he spoke, the underground leadership of Solidarity — which had debated whether to boycott or subvert the company unions Jaruzelski would propose, and decided to boycott them — issued a call for four-hour protest strikes to be held Nov. 10.

DEMANDS OF SHIPYARD WORKERS

In Gdansk, the rank-and-file shipyard workers had in mind neither waiting till Nov. 10 nor limiting the strike to four hours. By Sunday night they circulated a leaflet signed by the "Interfactory Protest Committee of the Tri-Cities", calling for a strike the next morning. Their leaflet read in part: "The demands of the shipyard workers of Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot are 1) the liberation of Lech Walesa and all the internees; 2) the lifting of martial law; 3) the restoration of Solidarnosc and the other unions in their present structure . . . Work will not begin again until Walesa appears in the shipyards".

The next morning some 40,000 workers in the yards, machine shops and service centers of the three cities went to their jobs and refused to work. By afternoon thousands tried to march on the Communist Party headquarters, down the same route workers had traveled in the protests of 1970. They were met by tear gas, water cannon and clubs. As street fighting spread throughout the city, the poorest sections, like the Wrzeszcz district, saw dozens of barricades erected. Only when the government militarized the shipyards, immediately drafting every worker, was the strike ended on Oct. 13. Shipyard manager Zaczek, now bearing the military title "Commandant", had threatened those refusing to work with two years in prison, and those "inciting" others with five years.

Yet as the shipyard workers were being forced back to their jobs, workers in Wroclaw and in the steel town of Nowa Huta hundreds of miles away were marching out of their plants and mills. It was clear that the movement, far from being the fantastic conspiracy of four imprisoned KOR activists — Jacek Kuron, Jan Litynski, Adam Michnik and Henryk Wujek — indicted by the junta after the huge Aug. 31 demonstrations, was most deeply rooted in the centers of the industrial working class, in cities that rose up against Czarism in the Russian-Polish Revolution of 1905.

Workers challenge Reaganomics, union leaders

(continued from page 1)

combine nuclear and laser technology having the capability of destroying satellites and missiles. This also adds another dimension to the horror of civilization's end in nuclear holocaust. The Defense Department's laser technology budget for the coming year is over \$400 million, double what it has been the past two years — although a mere drop in the bucket in comparison with Reagan's proposed \$1.5 trillion military budget for the next five years.

As perilous as Reagan's military spending policies are, they are further compounded by his so-called supply-side economics based on the assumption that by giving corporations tax benefits that they will reinvest this financial windfall in the building of modern facilities capable of competing with more efficient foreign industry. What neither Reagan nor his economic advisers seem to be aware of is that capitalists do not invest to increase productive capacity when existing capacity lies idle. And the fact is that today only 69 percent of total industrial production capacity is being used, the lowest since the recession of 1974-75. Most of the hardest hit industries such as construction, textiles, auto, steel, rubber are producing at a rate that can only be compared with the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Moreover, for almost every economic category, from idle production capacity to unemployment, from rate of growth to investment capital, the frame of reference is the Great Depression. And unlike previous recessions, when most economists and all administrations pointed to so-called "safeguards" such as pensions and unemployment benefits as "guarantees" against a 1930s depression,

STEELWORKERS OF NOWA HUTA

It was in Nowa Huta that the demonstrations, spreading from the mills throughout the city, claimed the life of a 20-year-old electrician, Bogdan Wlosik. He was murdered by a plainclothes cop. It was no accident that the police target was a youth. From the first days of martial law in December, 1981, through the May Day demonstrations last spring, to the Aug. 31 outbursts, youth have moved to the center of the Polish resistance. Demonstrators have often included 10 and 12-year-olds. And reports are emerging from within the Army that draftees continually challenge their officers. "We have lost the entire generation; Solidarity has won them", was the complaint of one high-ranking officer.

That the junta and its ZOMO secret police are indeed still wary of the mass opposition was proven anew at Wlosik's funeral in Nowa Huta Oct. 20. All had been warned that "no political demonstrations would be tolerated", yet no less than 10,000 turned out, many carrying signs and banners saying "Solidarity Lives". The ZOMOs stayed more than a half mile away, out of sight, as workers from the Lenin steel plant, purposefully dressed in their work uniforms and safety helmets, vowed to continue the struggle. A soldier in uniform was even present.

In place of this deep-rooted movement, Gen. Jaruzelski proposed to set up a system of paper unions, with provisions that mark out exactly those new features of Solidarity the junta is determined to wipe out. Above all the new "unions" are to exist first only at the level of the individual factory, later as craft organizations. Forbidden entirely is the kind of "horizontal solidarity" that rocked Poland from August 1980 to December, 1981. That new form brought together all workers from a region, across craft lines, and even extended from factory to farm, to assure that the transformation of all society was the goal. Political and economic demands were not separated; the revolutionary activity of Polish women came to the forefront.

This ongoing revolutionary spirit of Solidarity could not be farther removed from the hypocritical mouthings of Ronald Reagan, as he rushed to pompously declare his "loyalty" to Poland, asserting that "we are free by divine right . . . We create governments for our convenience". American workers, Blacks, women's liberationists and anti-war youth know all too well that his view of the state coincides with Jaruzelski's. Nor does the genuine legacy of Solidarity have anything in common with the posturings of the Church — whether from Rome or from Archbishop Glemp. Glemp actually urged workers on Oct. 8 to accept the new "unions".

To the enduring refrain of every freedom struggle: "You can kill the dreamer, but not the idea," Solidarity has added "neither can you kill a nation". Today's Polish rulers and their Russian "advisors" will never succeed in reviving the economy as long as workers' resistance is the measure of production and a form of the revolt. The latest call from the Solidarity leadership for a general strike next spring can be a path toward what is truly needed — the total transformation of society.

today there are many who are warning of such a recurrence — and worse. In addition, the full magnitude of unemployment is deliberately minimized. The official figure of 10.1 percent excludes at least another 1.5 million who are too discouraged to look for work, nor does it include the underemployed. Taking all of these figures into consideration would yield an unemployment total of some 18 percent, a figure certain to rise even higher.

WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC CRISIS

In addition to the high interest rates and high unemployment, and low and obsolete production capacity and low reinvestment capital, all of which tend to stifle economic recovery, there is the worldwide nature of the depression. Japan's economy is now growing at a 2.5 percent rate, compared with a 5 percent rate for the past 30 years. West Germany's economy is at a standstill. Double-digit inflation is ravaging France. England is battered by inflation and unemployment. Brazil's production is down for the first time in a quarter century, while Mexico and Poland can't pay their debts and face ruinous economic pressures. The U.S. growth rate is 0.8 percent, whereas at least 4 percent is needed to prevent escalating deficits.

In Europe, unemployment is at its highest level since the Great Depression, with more than 30 million now jobless, and the number keeps rising with every monthly economic report. Capitalist economists all proclaim that the only solution to the problem is cooperative international trade agreements that will enhance trade growth. But the reality of capitalist economic forces breeds pro-

(continued on page 9)



Unemployed organize

Editor's Note: In the Polish town of Swidnik, which readers may remember for its citizens' famous "walks" taken on the streets exactly when the martial law authorities nightly broadcast their version of the "news," a new form of protest has been occurring to help the many residents who have been fired from their jobs as a result of Solidarity activity. Below we print excerpts from a representative from Solidarity.

Every day at 9 a.m. all who that day did not have a job met at a square in the center of town. There they accepted offers of employment and agreed on principles of conduct. When there was little work and money they took jobs in turn and divided wages and contributions among all. During the summer most went to villages to work on the farm. Those who could not get seasonal or permanent jobs got relief: 2,500 zlotys (zl) plus 2,000 zl per child and non-working wife. "Solidarity of Families" active in our region organized free or almost free vacations and summer camps for the families of the unemployed.

The unemployed in Swidnik are not only members of Solidarity. There are others among them. For example, there is a foreman who was nominated for the first secretary of the party, but they let him go when he refused to fire ten workers from his department after the May 13 strike.

During these few months a close, solid group was created, a society of unemployed, which the authorities could not break. The union helped us. When the authorities saw this, the unemployed started getting decent job offers.

Before we couldn't find anything or were offered work much below qualifications. In the society of the unemployed there is a principle that such work is not accepted — it would be against dignity and would break the solidarity of the group. Now they give work, outside the industry to be sure, but according to qualifications. The unemployed are well organized.

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Worker's voice from DeLorean auto plant

Editor's note: As the media incessantly focuses on the "tragedy" of John DeLorean and his drug deals, we thought it more appropriate to focus on the voices of the DeLorean workers. Here is an interview with Pat Groves, former DeLorean plant auto worker about conditions workers faced in that recently-closed Northern Ireland plant.

We in Northern Ireland had never seen a car being manufactured before the DeLorean plant opened. The workers as a whole carried the biggest part in the production of the car to the extent that they had to be trained, worked long hours, worked without applying for increases in wages which were very low — just so they could guarantee the future of the car plant, and a future for themselves and other people who later came into the plant.

The plant was increased to 2,500 workers (from an original 400) — people were struggling with their tasks, the machinery was going full time and we started two shifts. Everybody was working hard. The crunch came when the reported sales didn't come about.

The British government refused to give him any more taxpayers money, as they call it. We as a union tried our best to pressurize the government into giving DeLorean more money. We belong to a union which is affiliated to Britain — the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union — the biggest union in the British Isles. We felt we should have had the full support of the union. I was an elected shop steward in that union.

NO SUPPORT FROM UNION

But it just so happens that a lot of members of the same union in Britain are employed by British Leyland. This shouldn't have affected the issue. But in England, even though we are in the same union, they have an idea that Northern Ireland is an Irish situation and not a British situation. Therefore, we just couldn't gain support among the British workers within our own union.

At the same time that I was a steward in the DeLorean plant I was also very involved with the committee in the plant to support the prisoners in H-Block and Armagh, who have been held in British torture facilities solely because they believe in and fight for the freedom of the people of Northern Ireland. We organized support in the plant, and several times we had demonstrations, picketing outside the plant and informing workers about the conditions of the prisoners.

About half the workers in the plant were from the Nationalist neighborhoods, and about half from the Loyalist areas. It was set up that way. I'm from Andersontown in West Belfast. Most of the people in my neighborhood have rarely if ever had a job. That's the way life is for Catholics in Belfast. So when we got the jobs at DeLorean it was a big change. But we knew from the start that it might not last. None of the British government's plans ever have.

The Protestant workers at DeLorean didn't do anything to obstruct us when we organized the H-Block committee in the plant. A few supported us; and later when we had the sit-down, even though most of the militant workers were from the Nationalist side, there were some Protestant workers who saw that we had to take action. But one thing that you may not know is that at DeLorean, Catholic and Protestant workers went in separate gates — just like it was in South Africa.

In 1981 the plant cut down to one shift and reduced production. I and a few other people within the union called for a sit-in because 1,100 workers were being sent out onto the streets with one week's wages and no other compensation. This had never happened in Britain before.

But, again, the union let us down — let the workers down. One leading union representative said to me "Well, we've still got 1,500 left!", which meant forget about

1,100, which to me is totally crazy for a union representative to think.

DeLOREAN SIT-IN

So we went on for another few months but everyone was laid off in May, 1982. Eventually we got through that a sit-in was necessary and the sit-in started — not with the support of the union leadership, but at least with the support of the plant's union leadership. A few stewards, myself and a few other workers who really believed that the sit-in was essential earlier on, felt it was too late now. But the workers wanted to go ahead with it.

The sit-in went on for something like 16 weeks on a rotation basis of about 200 workers occupying it — so many per night, so many per day. The only time employees were allowed in was for negotiating.

They still needed some small parts and key bits and pieces of materials from within the plant, so they weakened to the extent that they offered to reopen the plant for a period of six weeks with 200 employees. Again I opposed this because I saw it as a way of getting their last stock out and, at the same time, calling the 200 workers back with a false appraisal that after six weeks things would start going well again. But a committee of the sit-in decided to accept the offer. I think the union officials didn't want any trouble.

So they went back to work as laborers — cutting the grass, pruning roses, washing cars — and got their six week's money. And in the meantime DeLorean and the receivers and the British government were doing a good job B. S.-ing them with: "There is a consortium interested in the plant but we cannot name the people." Obviously, it was a blatant lie.

At the end of all the struggle we are all back on streets, in the old neighborhoods, with no jobs. It is a lot like what you experienced in Detroit. In Belfast after the events of the 1960s and 1970s they got DeLorean in to provide a few jobs. In the end they took them away. How is that so different from what I hear the auto companies did in Detroit after the 1967 rebellion?

— Pat Groves

Art Steel wage fraud may provoke strike

BRONX, N.Y. — We Art Steel workers are going to strike if by the start of November we have not been paid the money owed to us from this past vacation. The company has also made certain threats not to pay us the contract raise in November. We will strike in both cases.

The most sacred thing in the world is the sweat of the workers, and you don't play around with it. The workers will not let themselves be taken in with their arms folded.

The union, District 65-UAW, says if we go on strike they will not support us, that it would be an illegal strike and they would have to pay the consequences. The company would take the union to court and make them pay. That is the fear of the union. But this would not matter to us. The union must support us in all events because it is our right. Because the bankruptcy court and the company have already violated the contract by not paying us half the vacation and threatening not to pay the raise.

They talked a lot to see if we would weaken. But they give us no guarantees. We say stop the conversations and comply with the contract, give us the raise and eight hours of work.

— Art Steel workers

Ex-uranium miner looks at anti-nuke movement

Los Angeles, Cal. — I'm very happy to see that the anti-nuclear weapons movement is getting so strong, but sometimes I wonder where the people in it get their ideas from. To me it has always seemed that the real nuclear war is not something you have to see happen — it's already going on, in the mines, factories and fields of this country.

I worked in the uranium mines for a short while. Uranium mining has always been done with no concern for the safety of the workers. Two of my uncles died of lung cancer from working in the mines. In the part of Colorado from where I come, they have the best lung specialists in the world because the rate of lung cancer is three to four times higher than anywhere else in the world.

One inhumane thing about uranium mining is that in the smaller mines workers are paid for running drifts — paid so much to move so many tons of ore. This forces workers to work real fast to make good money and results in many mining accidents and safety violations. I knew one worker who got crushed to death because they didn't put up proper wood supports in the mine because of the speed-up.

It's not just the radiation from mining which kills you. It's the whole system of production. In the mines they use air tools which are run on diesel fuel. The fuel combines with the radioactive particles and congests in your lungs

when you breathe in the motor fumes. They could use electric motors instead of fuel, but they are not as efficient, and so would cut down on the company's profit.

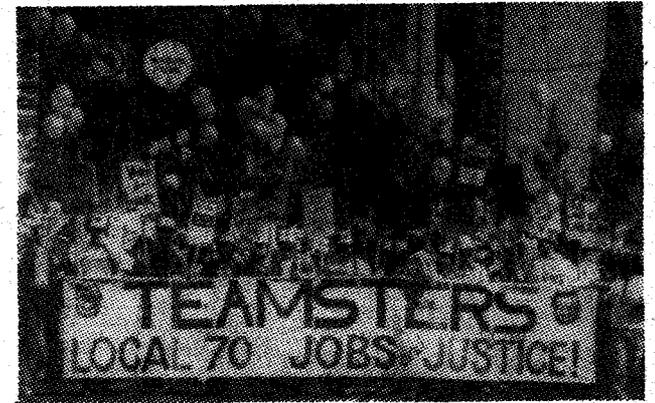
Just last month they announced that one mine which was closed will now become a dump site for radioactive waste. They figure, hell, the people out there are full of cancer as it is, it won't hurt them. All this will do is create 100 jobs, when hundreds more were employed when that mine was open. But it isn't just the people in that area who will feel the effects of it becoming a radioactive dump site.

If an accident happens, if there is some seepage into the ground water, it will run off into one of the nearby streams. Almost all the streams in that part of the country drain into the Colorado River. The whole Southwest, and Mexico, lives off that river. If an accident should happen, millions of people will be contaminated. Who says that nuclear war is the biggest danger?

Today you can see the capitalists directing everything towards war. It's clear as day to anyone in production. Ford's Pico Rivera plant has been closed and now it is being turned into an arms factory. To me this drive to war has got to be stopped, at its root. How it will be stopped is when workers change their way of thinking and refuse to take what this system tells them any longer. The anti-nuclear movement will be great if it connects to this re-thinking, and opposes the war going on today.

— Auto worker

75,000 in S.F. join labor march for jobs



San Francisco, Cal. — Over 75,000 of us, mostly unionized workers, marched on Oct. 24 to protest Reaganomics and focus the nation's attention on the growing unemployment. The universal demand echoed throughout: "We want jobs." The organizers expected 10-15,000, but people came in much larger numbers from all over Northern California.

A variety of different unions were represented; from the teamsters and auto workers to carpenters, teachers and postal workers. Some were publicizing their current struggles. The farm workers, who had a particularly large contingent, called for continued boycott of Lucky stores for using scab lettuce and the glass workers opposing the bottle initiative, which will mean 20 percent cut in their jobs.

Several marchers asked why there was no special contingent for unorganized workers, especially all the women clerical workers in the San Francisco area, many of whom marched.

The most spirited chants came from those locals with a lot of Black workers. They minced no words in calling for "death to Reaganomics" and recalled the civil rights slogan in the form of "What do you want? Jobs. When do you want them? Now."

The plant closings were on everybody's mind. One machinist has been laid off for the fifth time, as a fifth plant he was working in closed. For him the union leadership was not doing enough.

The class war between the companies and the workers was very evident in the stories people told. The International Typographical Union workers had to vote additional \$5 per month just to keep money in the union treasury, since the company is taking a lot of cases to arbitration and the union has to pay \$3,000 for each such case.

At Qantas Airlines, "They want to lay off 40-50 percent of workers at Honolulu and San Francisco. The company says they'll break the strike — we're hoping to break them. We're thinking we'll be on strike in December."

Despite the union leader's attempts to concentrate on the upcoming elections, the feeling among the rank-and-file was that the Democrats are not the answer. A machinist trainee said he was also sick of the labor leaders, like the UAW telling people not to buy Japanese. "UAW leaders say 'Buy American', but when you open the hood you find engine made in Japan. So what do you do? Throw out the whole engine? The Japanese workers are facing the same problems, too."

One ironworker said: "The only solution that makes any sense is revolution," but added that it's hard to see it coming here. A 15-year-old woman marcher said, "As soon as I turn 16 I'll be looking for a job. I know it's going to be hard. Next time I'm going to come here with all my friends. We young people are the ones who can change things."

We earned jobless pay

Los Angeles, Cal. — Last month my check didn't come in the mail. I called up my unemployment office to ask if they could check if maybe it got lost in the mail. The clerk told me, "We can't do that, since so many of our workers here have been laid off too. Reagan doesn't just affect you, you know." So I had to just sit around for another week before my check showed up in the mail.

What's frustrating is that this system acts as if they are doing us a favor by giving us unemployment. But that's not true — every penny every worker gets, comes out of our sweat when we were working. One person at the unemployment office didn't agree with me on this. She said, "General Motors pays for your unemployment, you should be thankful for them." But where did GM get the money to pay into the unemployment fund? Where if not from my own labor?

That's what I'd like to see — what happens when there are so many of us unemployed that nobody's working a all. That's when Reagan will wake up to the truth — that he had better deal with us.

— Unemployed

IDEAS AGAINST NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION ...

I have been thinking about the "Theory/Practice" column by Dunayevskaya (Oct. N&L) which takes up the "Greens" in Germany's anti-nuke movement. It is related to the critique of the CND movement here in Britain and its inability to look "lower and deeper". CND here is only interested in preserving and not changing the world. Its membership and thinking is strongly connected with the old pragmatic rump of the '60s and '70s. The interest in ecology, the ideals of the hippies (the alternate "vision") and the force of feminism have combined in the peace movement. . . . Since it is incapable of recognizing the force and reason of the "lower and deeper" layers, it speaks of preserving or at best of tinkering, and not of a total uprooting.

The response in the Greens and CND to the threat posed by Russian as well as U.S. nuclear weapons has been inadequate. . . . To identify Europe as a "polar opposite" is foolish and dangerous when the peace movement and socialism are thought of as one and the same thing. Then the failings in thought are welded into both. Only the youth in CND are asking questions about the nature of societies which require such monstrous weapons for their defense.

Feminist
London, England

Everyone I meet is talking about the Nuclear Freeze Initiative here in California. Some people are skeptical but I think it will work. If we disarm it will mean the Russians will be forced to. You have to remember, we once invaded their territory, but they never invaded ours. We have to make the first step. Once we do that, Russia will see they have no use for all these nuclear weapons.

Occidental College student
Los Angeles

I find it hard to believe that people think the Nuclear Freeze Initiative will by itself create conditions for disarmament. Yes, it will show the world that most voters in California are against the nuclear arms race. And that is good. But does anyone really believe any more that the Pentagon cares about democracy or public opinion? And why should the Russians disarm because of a vote when they wouldn't even allow the existence of Solidarity in Poland — and Solidarity was almost a revolution! The Nuclear Freeze, if voted in, will be only a great beginning. Then there is the much harder job — how to develop passions for peace into a movement for social revolution.

Activist
California

The theme of the Progressive Student Network (PSN) conference held at Wayne State University Oct. 15-17 was "Education, Not Annihilation." About 150 students from over a dozen campuses gathered. The features of capitalist education in America today were brought out in all the sessions. I heard Black students from the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee who talked about the Klan-inspired murder of a Nigerian student there, and a Tufts student tell how students at her campus were mobilizing for a referendum for a "nuclear-free campus."

Although many speakers throughout the weekend stressed the need to break with the "old" New Left of the 1960s, sessions devoted to anything but sharing experiences, analyzing oppression and mapping strategy were lacking. Indeed, for so many Marxist students present and the predominance of socialist speakers, a genuine alternative to capitalist education was not practiced — Marx was left off the agenda.

Journalism student
Michigan

Brandeis University, in Waltham, Massachusetts, has historically maintained a relatively 'clean' record in terms of defense funding. Due to budgetary restraints and increased world militarism, this has now changed. On Oct. 20 a recep-

tion was held to herald the opening of the Ashton Graybiel Spatial Orientation Laboratory, which will be placed in the Graduate Center at Brandeis and be funded with one million NASA dollars. NASA is now involved with research and development with direct military implications. Charles Stark Draper, designer of ballistic guidance systems and head of the Draper Laboratories, which last year received \$6 million dollars in defense funding, spoke at the reception.

Many students and faculty have grave reservations concerning the precedent now being set at Brandeis. Feeling strongly that Brandeis University must not implicitly condone or be co-opted into even indirect military research, about fifty students and faculty held a protest in front of the auditorium where the reception was being held. Denise Levertov, peace activist, poet and Brandeis professor spoke, along with several students.

Randi S.
Brandeis Univ., Mass.

I appreciated the discussion on "half-way houses" in the "Theory/Practice" column in the Oct. N&L. There surely are plenty of them standing in the way of genuine liberation — Trotskyism, Maoism, narrow nationalism and more. To me it doesn't refer to people who are half-way between being full revolutionaries and still deciding whether to break from this society — after all, revolutionaries aren't born in one day. It refers to "houses", (places, structures, ideologies), which take advantage of how hard it is to break totally from this society by offering all sorts of shortcuts to liberation — which lead to nowhere. There are plenty of these traps around, and the Left has to avoid them if it isn't going to disorient yet another generation of youth.

Student
Los Angeles

... AND REAGANOMICS

Reagan and Brezhnev must think that they have the world fooled, since there haven't been any more mass anti-nuke demonstrations since June. They have just gone on building new bombs and missiles with new technology every day. But what I want to ask them is this: won't you be killed too? And if you're not scared of dying, then how about the way you are ruining everyone's lives right now by destroying the economy? They say a laborer is not fit to lead. I say they are not fit for anything.

Factory worker
Indiana

Pres. Ronald Reagan is a damn liar when he says that 2.6 percent of the 10.1 percent is his part of the unemployment. The total 10.1 percent and more is his. The count of unemployment is those that are drawing compensation, but when people's compensation runs out they stop counting them. The longest one can draw is one year. Reagan has been President for 20 months. I am tired of the damn Democrats; news media, and union leaders letting this SOB get away with this damn lie.

Unemployed worker, not counted
Los Angeles

I work at Chrysler-Jefferson and I'm on lay-off. When I was at the unemployment office I ran into my chief steward. We began talking about the strike vote and he tried to convince me to vote against going out on strike. When I told him that the only thing left was the strike he said, "what are you going to do about Christmas?" I said, "Christmas? That's just one day out of the year — what are we going to do the other 364 days of the year?"

Hell, here we are still making what we did in 1978, and this is 1982. As soon as I

Readers' View

left the unemployment office I went down to the union hall to vote for the strike.

Chrysler strike voter
Detroit

The lucidity of Dunayevskaya's analysis of Reaganomics in Perspectives 1982-83 illuminates the most recent insanity of U.S. capitalism, especially when it comes to government ideologues grasping at straws like interest rates and the stock market and trying to ignore the unemployed army growing daily. I also found re-reading the chapters on Marx's Capital in Marxism and Freedom very helpful for penetrating today's crisis, especially this section on the breakdown of capitalism: "... it is the crisis (in production) that causes a shortage in 'effective demand.' The worker employed yesterday is unemployed today. A crisis occurs not because there has been a scarcity of markets. As we saw in theory, and as 1929 showed in practice, the market is largest just before a crisis."

The humanism of Marx's Capital, i.e. workers' own reorganization of production as the only, the revolutionary answer to the crisis, becomes urgent. I've discussed this with some radical intellectuals also I know, who want to break out of seeing Marx as only "economics."

Librarian
Oakland, Calif.

Ed. Note: *The full Perspectives Report, "What do do: Facing the depth of the recession and the myriad global political crises as well as the philosophic void", is still available from N&L for 75¢.*

WOMEN'S LIBERATION'S ONGOING DIALOGUE

I went to the Native American Tribunal held in Chico, Cal., at the end of September. It was an international gathering of native peoples whose struggles I have supported for some time. One of the greatest speakers was Rigoberta Menchu, a Quiche woman revolutionary from Guatemala, and everyone felt the nearness of revolution in Central America, where native peoples play a very important part.

But as great as a speaker like Menchu was, it was very strange to me that a representative of Khomeini's Iran was also asked to address the Tribunal. He said nothing about the Kurdish struggle for self-determination, and I wondered if anyone else objected to the fact that he was there.

Having two such different people on the same platform comes, I think, from the "unity" of the Tribunal being based on "spirituality." Russell Means is probably best known for these ideas in the native peoples' movement here. But what disturbed me the most is that one of the strongest themes in this "Spirituality" is opposition to women's freedom. There are contradictions in the native peoples' movement that I think have to be examined.

Disturbed
Berkeley

The Oct. N&L was, as always, rich in its presentation of the Women's Liberation dimension, with women revolutionaries, women workers, Black women, Israeli and Palestinian women, as well as young feminist activists, all speaking in your pages. However, I would bet that 99 percent of your readership missed one of the most important discussions of Women's Liberation, one that appeared in Dunayevskaya's column. The abbreviations used there — "WL" and "WLM" — are not even common in the feminist movement, let alone in society as a whole. I wanted to point this out, so that N&L readers can go back and re-study Dunayevskaya's column to see her point on today's movement, as well as on

THE BLACK SOUTH TODAY

More than 500 members of SCLC and other groups in Warren County, North Carolina were arrested by N.C. Highway Patrol officers Sept. 27 when they protested the State's dumping of toxic chemical PCBs in the county. I think that the protestors are correct that Warren County was chosen because of the fact that it is rural, poor and largely Black. The outgoing county commissioners (recently defeated by Black candidates) collaborated with the state in setting up the site over citizens' protests. The dump site is near houses and churches, and residents fear that their wells and water will be contaminated. This is what has happened elsewhere.

Civil rights veteran
North Carolina

Thanks to Charles Denby for his report on the Black South today (Oct. N&L). I had heard so much about how the civil rights movement stopped the KKK there until I felt that most of the problems had been solved. But now I can see the new kinds of problems that folks have to contend with. I agree with Denby on the question of Black-owned land. When I was growing up it seemed like many Blacks owned large areas of land and were able to make some money farming. Today when I go home all I hear is: "so-and-so lost his land. . . ." Where will we go, with no jobs in the cities and no land in the country? It's time we started marching again.

Formerly from Arkansas
Detroit

Lenin's lack of self-reorganization on the "Woman Question."

Feminist
Los Angeles

Your report of the Take Back The Night demonstration here on Sept. 12, made it sound as if being young, white and feminist was the most revolutionary of all combinations. I am sure it was not meant that way but certainly a sentence that TBTN had reached only a limited number of women in New York City would have been a little more objective. A broader cross section of women, that includes white, Black, minority, middle class and working class women is needed to make TBTN effective.

Neither the martial arts advocates nor the direction given by some speakers on the needed re-education of society by these future women teachers, doctors, therapists, etc., appealed to me.

A.T.
New York City

I got a lot out of the article on the Middle East (Oct. N&L) because it told me a great deal I did not know. I have no use for most Left papers with their rhetoric but no serious examination of the events. The article had some strong language. It was like Dunayevskaya had been there because there was a lot of passion in the writing. . . .

One thing I didn't understand was the article on women's liberation reporting on the national meeting of the women's liberation committees. Were you calling for papers? On the whole I liked the paper and I'll send in my subscription.

New reader
Madison, Wisc.

Ed. Note: *Women's Liberation — News and Letters Committees urges all feminist readers of N&L to participate in our ongoing discussion of the direction of the women's liberation movement, whether by commenting on the articles you read in N&L, on your activities in the movement, or your reading of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. We promise to circulate and answer your letters.*

THIS DAMNABLE SYSTEM

Every now and then something cuts through the plethora of statistics and the superficial media analysis of Reaganomics to reveal the human tragedy of American Black reality in 1982.

Now the state won't give her enough money to bury the little girl who, five days after her death, remains in the city morgue.

Lou Turner Detroit



NEW PHASE IN THE ERITREAN STRUGGLE

It is no longer a secret that, in desperation, the Ethiopian leadership has completely handed the military command in Eritrea over to the Soviets.

What is so striking about this new development is that it represents the complete abdication of the Ethiopians of their self-appointed responsibilities for the war.

Eritrea Information will continue to publish news of the freedom struggle monthly.

Eritrea Information P.O. Box 1295 New York, NY 10025

SPAIN'S SOCIALISTS

What do you think of the election of the Socialist Party in Spain? I know that what is passing for socialism is hardly that.

The emergence of governments that call themselves socialist — in France, in Greece and now in Spain — means the masses want something very different.

Observer Cleveland, Ohio

AFTER BEIRUT MASSACRE: A NEW DIRECTION NEEDED

I found the lead article on the Palestinian slaughter in the Oct. N&L as important as anything I've ever read on the Middle East crisis.

Reagan's responsibility, and the complicated role of the whole Western imperialist camp, is illustrated in opportunist removal of the "peace-keeping" force and now the return of U.S. troops.

Dunayevskaya's exposure of Samir Amin's conclusion that the primary task in Nicaragua is "revitalization of the economy" is particularly crucial as evidence of counter-revolution within the revolution anywhere in the world.

Reader England

When Khomeini's "Revolutionary Guards" launched their invasion of Iraq, while Israel was pounding the Lebanese and Palestinians in Beirut, I couldn't help but think that where Begin dreams of an ever-expanding "Eretz Israel," what Khomeini is after is an "Eretz Persia" (or whatever is the equivalent term in

the Persian language). Those two are alike in more ways than one.

Not religious Pennsylvania

What was most powerful to us in the article on the Beirut Massacre and its roots by Raya Dunayevskaya (Oct. N&L) was the insistence that the opposition to this horror not stop at only being against Begin-Sharon.

This is so relevant because the American Jewish community has too long been cowed by Begin's manipulative assertion: "If you criticize me, you criticize Israel and threaten the Jewish homeland."

S.F. and S.V.G. Michigan

A VIEW FROM PARIS

Here's a view from Paris. The situation internally here is taking its natural course. Early promises forgotten; a few reforms but designed to save capitalism for itself and not to profoundly change relationships.

As in West Germany, one has the feeling of fear being used by the State to implement its own repression. Imposition of wage and price controls.

For now the conflict is muted in France. All eyes turn to the Middle East here. The jugular vein of oil runs from Europe to Saudi Arabia.

It's hard to make concrete, the feelings crowd in. Perhaps I see too much. The key is whether the consciousness of Poland will move West.

Student Paris, France

OUR READERS WRITE

I took the last issue of News & Letters into the sweat shop I work in and it went over well. It is a shop in which artists work on very expensive prints, at minimum wage.

My co-workers appreciated the information from and experiences of others in shops and the juxtaposition of these experiences with the "Theory/Practice" column.

Artist New York City

N&L is a tonic to the majority of the tiny minority we call "Left" in this country. I wish you had a bigger circulation and could find a way to introduce people to your concepts without the jargon which frightens off so many...

Subscriber Venice, Calif.

I find N&L refreshing and enlightening; it analyzes and identifies the so-called social problems of our day correctly and in a way that the so-called free press obviously cannot and dares not identify as political and class conflicts.

New friend Vernon, Connecticut

I enjoy N&L very much. I'm a libertarian socialist who likes your coverage of all the ways common people struggle against this world-wide exploitative society.

Long-time friend Reseda, Calif.

Please send me one copy of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution as soon as it is available. Could you also send a list of other literature published by N&L?

Student New Paltz, NY

PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "Black Caucuses in the Unions," by Charles Denby . . . 75c per copy
Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution
By Raya Dunayevskaya . . . \$10.95 per copy

- News & Letters —
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year . . . \$2.50 per year
The First General Strike in the U.S.
By Terry Meon and Ron Brokmeyer . . . \$1 per copy

- Marxism and Freedom
1982 edition. New introduction by author
By Raya Dunayevskaya . . . \$10.95 per copy
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BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

A few months ago the President assured a group of Black leaders and educators that his administration was a great supporter of Black education. To prove this, he pointed out that his administration had granted more money to the Negro College Fund than any previous administration. Shortly thereafter the President's Department of Education drastically cut federal funding to programs in secondary public schools which were designed to improve the efficiency of Blacks and other minority students in the fields of science and math.

This example of political "dualism", on the part of the

Tchula protests set stage for Carthan trial



Editor's Note: "People need to know that their coming down to Tchula and Jackson, Miss. has really made a difference in the trial of Eddie Carthan and the Tchula 7. This week of marches and rallies really set the stage for the trial." This is how Jim Dunn, national coordinator of the protest, summarized the demonstrations from Oct. 11 to 16 in the Deep South.

More than 2,500 people from the South and many places in the North rallied in Jackson on Oct. 16. Three days later the trial of Eddie Carthan, who has been on a 30-day hunger strike protesting his frame-up trial, opened in Lexington, Miss.

The difference that Dunn referred to, meant that so far the trial has been covered more positively in the local press, and the judge allowed Carthan to make a few comments to the jury about the significance of the trial for the South. Most important has been the fact that the courtroom has been packed each day with people from the area. Below we print an in-person report from a native Mississippian who participated in the week of protest.

Tchula, Miss. — The events during the week were mainly attended by Holmes County people. The 12-mile march had approximately 200 people and was mostly Black.

When we got to Lexington we went to the jail where Eddie Carthan is being held and then moved on to the court house for the rally. The speakers were local people like Jessie Banks and Arnett Lewis.

One real interesting thing that happened was that an elderly Black woman got up and recited a long poem about the way things were and how they were changing and what was going to cause them to change. She spoke of how back when she was young all they did was work for the plantation owner and pick cotton.

Half the people on the march were women and there were many children and young people who had stayed out of school to go on the march. As we marched along the school buses would pass by and the students would hang out the window encouraging us. All during the march and Tchula rally big farming equipment would be driven past, usually by young Black men who would wave and give us support.

I also got the impression that there was support for Eddie among the white population. When you think about it, it makes sense because the programs that Eddie tried to implement were for poor people in the area, Black and white.

There were people comparing the situation now to the '60s, saying that we did it before, we can do it again. Since I'm a little too young to have been a part of the '60s, nevertheless, my impression is that in some ways there are similarities. But what is happening now is probably more militant than what happened in the '60s. I don't necessarily mean that in terms of groups because I understand that there were militant groups back then. I mean in terms of the militant grassroots movement.

Black education in white America

President, is part of the continuing assault upon free public education behind a smoke screen of supporting education in general.

In spite of Terrell Bell's — Reagan's Secretary of Education — announcement that: "We feel that education is one of our highest priorities . . .", the Department of Education has reduced federal funding to all programs in public education by 20-25 percent. This is just a starter, because by 1983 the eventual goal is to reduce federal funding by half of what it was in 1981.

To this add "block grants" to the states, without guidelines on how the money should be spent, and lack of civil rights enforcement, especially busing. If this is not enough to push public education back to the pre-civil rights days and beyond, Reagan and Bell would like to deliver a final coup in the form of a tuition tax credit that would give middle class parents the option to send their children to private schools. If Congress enacts this scheme 40 percent of the projected federal expenditure for education would go to private schools.

THE CIVIL WAR AND EDUCATION

Public education alone in a capitalist society, will never end Black oppression in this country. Historically education has always been a focal point for Black liberation struggles which extend back into the antebellum days when it was a felony to teach a Black person to read or write.

It took the second American Revolution, the Civil War, to set the ground for the building of a system of public education and Black people were the most vocal in demanding it. Land and schools were the watch-words of the newly emancipated slaves.

For over a hundred years they have challenged the system's stated democratic principles to provide equal education. The ending of unequal segregated schools was

... the contradictory foundation of American Civilization; its Achilles heel is enclosed not in the "general" class struggle, but in the specifics of the "additive" of color in these class struggles. Precisely because of this the theory of liberation must be as comprehensive as when Marx first unfurled the banner of Humanism.

— American Civilization on Trial:
Black Masses as Vanguard
(News and Letters pamphlet, 1963).

Police dog use draws community protest

Oakland, Cal. — On July 18, an Oakland police officer with a German shepherd dog attacked my 16 year old son as he was trying to get into his grandmother's house after locking himself out. He was standing on a garbage can when the officer charged around the side of the house. He ran up to my son, grabbed him off the garbage can, threw him on the ground and the dog tried to bite him. The teeth of the dog tore the skin on the bridge of his nose between his eyes. When he approached my son, he did not identify himself as a police officer. He gave no warning, worn no regular uniform. My son said he thought he was just some white man attacking him with a dog. My son realized he was a policeman when other back-up units arrived. When my son felt the blood and injury to his face and told the officer, he denied the dog caused the injury.

On July 20, one of the items on the Oakland City Council's agenda was to decide on the permanent use of the dogs and when the council and mayor realized this we individuals and groups present to speak out against the dogs and when the council and mayor realized this we were told the matter would not be discussed and that we would be notified when it would be discussed.

On September 25, I received a notice that the matter would be heard on the 28th. I phoned some people I knew were concerned only to learn they had not received any notice at all. I believe the only reason I received one was because when I signed the speaker's card in July I did not indicate whether I was for or against the dogs.

Oakland's Downtown Merchants' Association proposed and is paying for the dog program to be implemented in the East Oakland area which is 90 percent Black. The city council is elated with this proposal because the money for the dogs will not come from the city. So now Oakland police have become hired gunslingers. That's really what it amounts to when a certain segment of the community because they can pay to have the police provide a special service that protects their interest.

The city council voted not only to approve the program permanently, but also increased the number of dogs from two to five. Again, the safety and concerns of the people are ignored to support and protect the monied and ruling class of this society.

— Imara Safiya

one of the main aims of the Civil Rights Movement. Rescuing the right to an equal education from the ruling class was and is an integral part of all the other rights Blacks have fought for.

Yet today, equal education is an ideological fantasy because schools, like every other institution, are conditioned by the society in which we are educated. The crisis in public education is not simply a structural problem, but a social problem that has a direct relationship to the crisis within U.S. capitalism, and the present state of class/race relations.

The present system of public education is in a dismal and discreditable state. It has failed to provide a real education for Black and white working class students.

FREEDOM SCHOOLS IN THE SIXTIES

The Civil Rights Movement had intervened into the question of Black education on two levels in the 1960s: First it demanded that public schools be desegregated and equal education be provided for all. And secondly, at its highest point of consciousness, the movement organized the Freedom Schools in the South that challenged the very idea of an education that separated itself from the activity of changing society. In the words of its organizer, Robert Moses, the Freedom Schools were seeking, "A new way of life and a new way of thought."

It is from this point of departure that our critique and activity to change the public school system in America must begin.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(continued from page 1)

pointments stretched out, which causes serious problems for many patients and death for some.

THE KLAN'S 'NEW IMAGE'

Part of the so-called new Klan's appeal is that it tells white people that the NAACP represents Black people and that the Klan represents white people. The white media seems to have accepted the new Klan image, because they get invited to appear on television talk shows a lot these days. Recently, the Phil Donahue Show had some KKK members on and it was so disgusting to me that I said that I would never watch his show again.

He had on some KKK woman from Alabama reading from a bunch of documents some quotes from Thomas Jefferson. She would hardly give anyone in the audience a chance to ask a question. Finally, a woman from the audience asked her did she know that she and no other woman was allowed to vote in this country until 1920. Someone needed to tell her that it was Jefferson who proposed to abolish slavery in the first draft of the Declaration of Independence, before the racist plantation owners made him throw it out. But, what I was hoping was that someone would tell that Klan woman that Thomas Jefferson had a family by a Black woman. Jefferson biographers have never gotten over that revelation about our "founding father."

Donahue also had on a young white woman who went to school in California. Her reason for joining the KKK was that while she was in school some Black men supposedly threatened her. She told the principal about it but nothing was done. She finally went to the Klan and the principal fired the Blacks.

If it wasn't for the support and backing of white and wealthy leaders, the Klan could not exist. Those in high offices and positions are the ones who tell the KKK what to do and how to do it. It is with that kind of backing that the Klan in recent years has changed from an "invisible empire" to an openly aggressive publicity seeker. Its rallies grab headlines, while relying on freedom of speech and assembly they would deny others.

HOLLOWNESS OF OUR FREEDOMS

Nothing shows just how hollow those freedoms are when it comes to Black people than the Klan being allowed to march on Nov. 6 in predominantly Black Washington, D.C., the capital of this country. Protesters from all over will be there to march against the Klan.

However, it has been in the South where the greatest grass-roots opposition to the Klan has come out. I recently read in a special issue of Mountain Life and Work on Black Appalachia on how Black people in Louisville, Kentucky expressed their opposition to the court letting the Klan use a local high school for a recruitment rally.

The hypocrisy of the court decision came out in its decision when it stated that, "The court has no right to place prior restraints unless high probability of incitement for violence will occur." One of the concerned parents and active people in the community, Mattie Jones, showed the racism behind the judge's decision when she said: "Do I have to be killed before the court will recognize the danger the Black community faces from Klan activity?" The action of the court gives a green light to the Klan.

The white sheets may be flowing again, but so is the opposition. The new isn't the Klan image — racism is racism in whatever form. What is new is the whole new generation that has arisen to fight the Klan and the "invisible empire" in the White House.

Introduction to Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

(continued from page 1)

Women's Liberation Movement to absorb Luxemburg's revolutionary dimension, not for history's sake but for their demands of the day, including that of autonomy.

Today's Women's Liberation Movement has introduced new and unique aspects, previously raised neither by non-Marxists nor Marxists. But the very fact that the task remains unfinished points to the need to study further Luxemburg's works both as feminist and as revolutionary. And that means grappling with Marx's works, not just as "writings" but as a philosophy of revolution. To do anything short of that impedes the development of the Women's Liberation Movement to its full potential as Reason as well as force.

Three. In this age when the myriad crises reached a global climax with the 1974-75 economic crisis, there is no doubt whatever that, far from being a question of the 1970s, it is a question of what Marx called "the law of motion of capitalist society" to its collapse, the rise of the Third World, and the imperative need for a totally new society on truly human foundations. Even matters such as the publication of newly discovered unpublished works and new English translations of old works — including a new translation of Marx's greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, restoring to it Marx's own "Hegelian" language in "economics" — point to the intense, continuous interest in



Marxism. It far transcends any single decade's preoccupation, or any single revolutionary force's aspirations, be it Labor or Woman, Youth or the Black Dimension. It discloses a passion for revolution, as well as for a philosophy of revolution, that would assure its continuance also after the conquest of power.

It is because Marx discovered a whole new continent of thought and of revolution and because he so creatively held together in unison both concept and practice that grappling with Marx's Marxism has become a matter of global urgency. Whether one looks at the economic crises or their opposite — not only class struggles but the national liberation movements, even where they are now forced to function under the whip of counter-revolution — the fact is that new forms of revolt keep emerging. They have erupted in Portugal; and in China in "the year of great troubles under heaven," when nevertheless there was the spontaneous great mass outpouring even before Mao had said his last hurrah. They have erupted in Iran, and in benighted South Africa, where the Black Dimension is forever rising from the ashes. They have erupted from under Communist totalitarianism, as in Poland and from under Latin American oligarchy propped up by the United States imperialism, as in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

The greatest contradiction in all these crosscurrents stems from the very depth of the economic-political-social crises, which produce a great desire for shortcuts to freedom. Instead of grappling with the working out of a philosophy of liberation for our age, theoreticians look only for "root causes" of oppression. This is good, but hardly good enough. It narrows the whole relationship between

causality and freedom; it impedes the dual rhythm of revolution that demands not only the overthrow of the old, but the creation of the new. In place of hewing out a road to total freedom, it gets hemmed in by one form or another of economic determinism. This is why it is necessary not to be diverted from a return to the totality of Marx's Marxism, which never separated philosophy of revolution from actual revolution: each by itself is one-sided . . .

Gathering together the threads of the three parts of this work was made relatively easy by gathering the threads of Marx's development because there we become witness, at one and the same time, to "how" Marx transformed Hegel's revolution in philosophy into a philosophy of revolution, and to how sensitively Marx had his ears attuned to the voices from below, so that what he had named his philosophy — "a new Humanism" — was continuously developing. Just as the young Marx, in first turning to what he called "Economics," had discovered the proletariat as the Subject who would be the "gravedigger" of capitalism" and the leader of proletarian revolution, so, at the end of his life, Marx made still newer discoveries as he turned to new, empirical anthropological studies like Morgan's *Ancient Society* as well as to the imperial incursions into the Orient and the carving up of Africa.



From the study of primitive communism Marx made still newer discoveries, including, at one and the same time, a substantiation of his early Man/Woman concept and of the way he had, in his summation of the Paris Commune, singled out as its greatest achievement "its own working existence." As will be clear from Marx's letters to Zasulich, in the very period during which he was working on the *Ethnological Notebooks*, he viewed the peasants not only as a "second edition" of the Peasant Wars to assure the success of the proletarian victory, but also as possibly instrumental in still newer revolutions. As Marx dug into the history of the remains of the Russian peasant commune, he did not think it out of the question that, if a union with Western technologically advanced society was possible, a revolution could actually come first in backwards Russia. This was in 1882!

No wonder that our age too feels the impact of the problematic Marx grappled with in his day: the new revolutionary forces that do not easily arise and are not easily imagined, which were so profoundly posed in Marx's new continent of thought and of revolution. Whether or not our age rises to the historic task of transforming reality, of one thing there is no doubt: Marx had hewed out a road, not only for Luxemburg's generation, but for ours.

May 5, 1981
Detroit, Michigan

Raya Dunayevskaya

The introduction printed above was completed prior to Raya Dunayevskaya's completion of the final chapter, "The Last Writings of Marx Point a Trail to the 1980s." Subsequently she wished to add the following paragraph to her introduction:

That seems to have been the first point so misunderstood by post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Frederick Engels, who, without having known of the massive *Ethnological Notebooks* Marx had left behind, undertook to write his own version of Morgan's work — his *Origin of the Family* — as a "bequest" of Marx. When Ryazanov discovered these notebooks, he rushed, before he ever had a chance to decipher them, to characterize them as "inexcusable pedantry." If an Engels, who was a close collaborator of Marx and without whom we could not have had Volumes II and III of *Capital*, could nevertheless suddenly have gotten so overconfident about his own prowess of interpreting Marx as to assume he was speaking for Marx; if an archivist-scholar like Ryazanov could, at a time when he was actually publishing those magnificent early essays of Marx (the 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*), spend a good deal of his first report on the Archives of Marx in asking for 20 to 30 people to help him sort these manuscripts out, and yet pass judgement before he dug into them — it says a great deal about literary heirs but nothing whatsoever about so great an historic phenomenon as Marx's Marxism. Isn't it time to challenge all of the post-Marx Marxists when even those who have achieved great revolutions — and none was greater than the 1917 Russian Revolution — did not, in thought, measure up to Marx? Isn't it time to dig into what Marx, who had discovered a whole new continent of thought, had to say for himself? (Chapter XII concentrates especially on the last writings of Marx in which this author found a trail to the 1980s.)

Workers challenge Reaganomics, unions leaders

(continued from page 4)

tectionist policies which inhibit trade growth. World trade had grown constantly since the end of World War II, but has declined at the rate of \$100 billion a year for the past two years.

Some economists, while acknowledging that hundreds of thousands thrown out of work in the basic industries of auto, steel, rubber and construction will never be recalled, point to the growth of high technology industries as the solution to unemployment. It is certainly true that vast numbers of laid off basic industry workers will never return to their jobs, but it is even more certain that they can never be absorbed in high tech industries — even if all of them could be retrained to fill these jobs, which will likewise never happen. For that matter, even workers in high tech industries are now being hit by lay-offs.

Michigan, and more specifically Detroit, historically associated with the power of organized labor, are the focus of the national attack by capital to destroy that power. Under the impact of the three-year depression in auto, the auto corporations have insisted on, and UAW President Fraser has agreed to, concessionary contracts. When Fraser forced the Chrysler workers to accept the concessions demanded by the company to "save" the corporation from bankruptcy two years ago, he unloosed the flood-gates for the assault on labor throughout the country, but nowhere more so than in his own domain in Detroit.

Thus, the concessions made to both Ford and GM in special contracts; the firing of all unionized Cunningham Drug Store employees in Detroit, changing the name of the chain to Apex Drugs and hiring all scab labor at minimum wage; concessions from Great Lakes, McLouth, National and Sharon steel workers, as well as from

teachers, county, state, city and federal employees, health care workers, Teamsters, Burroughs employees, restaurant workers, bank employees — has meant in short, that every segment of workers felt the fury of the employers who are increasingly pressing their attack against the workers.

ELECTRONIC SWEATSHOPS

What is beginning to emerge, is what are being called electronic sweatshops. With the development of satellite technology, data processing facilities are being installed in Third World countries that are operated mostly by women doing work, in Barbados, for example, for \$1.50 an hour that is performed by U.S. office employees receiving from \$4 to \$12 an hour. Korea, Taiwan, India, Ireland and the Philippines are other areas where such installations are in operation, with one also operating in China that will work 96 terminals for three shifts a day.

This means, of course, that office workers, who for the most part had escaped the ravages of unemployment, are now being swept out of their jobs by the never-ending demand of capital for ever-cheaper sources of labor. This takes many forms, with all of them aimed at destroying the organized power of workers by trying to force them to accept lower standards of living and labor.

Another tactic involves runaway shops, not only from the unionized northern states to the non-union southern states, but also into Third World areas. One example is Mexico, where factories concentrated in the border area are owned by such American industrial giants as GM, Ford, General Electric, RCA, Johnson & Johnson and many others. There are over 600 plantas maquiladoras — assembly plants — employing over 150,000 Mexicans, mostly women, who, while paid less than \$1 an hour, including fringe benefits and social security, received a total of \$1.2 billion in wages last year. The recent devaluation of the Mexican peso reduces their wages even more, and this reduction, although a devastating blow to the standard of living of Mexican workers, is expected to attract additional U.S. capital investments in such factories. One estimate projects that there will be 500,000 Mexicans, or more than triple the present number, working in these plants by 1990.

Now, however, under the sledge hammer blows of the collapse and militarization of the international economy which threatens the very lives of workers throughout the world not only economically but also with nuclear holocaust, there arises a new transcending moment as the exploited and oppressed workers, Blacks, women and youth begin to mobilize themselves.

For the latest opposition to Reaganomics see the in-person report we have just received of the 75,000 who marched in San Francisco, page 5.

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Discussion article from Italy--

Palestinians, the Greens, state-capitalism . . .

Editor's Note: We received the following response to the 1982 Perspectives Report of News and Letters Committees by Raya Dunayevskaya from a correspondent in Italy. The Perspectives report is available from N&L for 75¢ (plus 50¢ postage).

The massacre of Palestine refugees by Israeli soldiers and paid mercenary troops is certainly to be condemned, but the people that I mourn most of all are the Hebrew people throughout the world that, after centuries of struggle to maintain their own cultural traditions in hostile lands, have seen their struggle betrayed by their own leaders and the state created by them. How and why has this happened less than 40 years after the birth of Israel?

The institutionalization of social and cultural values is always a risk because it means that these values become transformed into laws and are regulated by a ruling class. However, Israel still remains one of the freest countries in the world with its kibbutz and free voting rights. The only explanation for all of this is the total decadence of the capitalist state which is a reflection of the actual crisis of the capitalist economic system, be it state or private capital.

Anyone who uses this unhappy event to demonstrate that Israel and the Jewish people are controlled by U.S. imperialism and that the PLO is to be supported as a revolutionary movement shows only what hypocrites they are. The Palestine refugees have been used by every political power and every political group that exists — and this includes the leaders of the PLO — usually with the pretense that they want to help and protect poor refugees.

The Arab and Communist countries used them to protest against U.S. and Western imperialism; Western Europe and the U.S. to protect the Arab people against communism, and by their own leaders who were much more interested in their politics of international terrorism and Third Worldism, and who managed to outdo the German Nazis and their anti-Jewish propaganda, rather than in the lives and deaths of the people whom they claimed to represent . . . No one has done anything practical to help these people and, as usual, the poor have paid.

ECOLOGISTS AND ALLIANCE WITH RUSSIA

The other question brought up in the Perspectives bulletin that is very important and shows the totality of the world conflict is that of the ecologist movement (called the Greens in Italy) and the possibility that it be used as a means to create a new Hitler-Stalin Pact or a new political alliance between Western Europe and Russia. First of all, let us see what is fundamental in the Greens' program and then try to understand how it could be used to unite its cause to Russia's attack against U.S. imperialism.

IN EUROPE the forerunners of the Green movement are the German and Swiss youth. It is not only an anti-nuclear movement but proposes the development of agriculture in contrast to industry, the saving of the soil from chemical fertilizers and food from poisonous insecticides, the saving of seas and oceans along with animals, . . . and people from contamination by petroleum, industrial by-products dispelled by factories, etc.

What is more the youth are asking city councils to finance youth centers in which youth of all social classes can meet to create their own culture . . . The working class is as much involved if not even more so than is the rest of the youth because the centers are formed to find a cultural identity outside of one's work . . . As we can see, there is a lot of idealism, and little economic realism in all of this, and it makes up a bundle of ideas that no Marxist could accept in their totality. However, there is good reason to try and understand and participate in that which is positive in the movement.

There is nothing in the program of the ecologist or Green movement that would lead it towards the support of one or the other of the two nuclear super-giants. Rather it is the U.S. and Western European governments that are carrying forth the battle, and the Greens as well as the Marxist Left risk ending up in the fray. . . .

Western European firms, very often partners of U.S. multinational companies, have made huge investments in Russia and in Eastern Europe. The debts owed to the West by the COMECON countries are enormous, and there is no way to pay them except through the exchange of goods or gold. Russia has a lot of gold but not enough to pay all of these debts.

THE ACTUAL economic crisis has forced Western European governments and banks to insist upon the payment of these debts. Since there is no direct monetary exchange between the two blocks, the only way this can be done is to offer Russia the possibility to import products to Europe. The gasline from Siberia, so much con-

tested by the Reagan government, is one of the best ways to give Russia this opportunity, but it means that Western scientific and technological know-how will be exported to Russia.

The U.S. government wants to . . . maintain its scientific and technological superiority of Russia. European governments, as well as the financial and industrial groups that support them, being in a position of inferiority in respect to the two superpowers, will choose the best deal and, at the moment, the best offer is coming from Russia.

Why should any Marxist group take sides in the midst of this confusion? And why should the Greens be in-

Review: Biography of a Russian dissident

History's Carnival: A Dissident's Autobiography by Leonid Plyushch. Collins and Harvill Press: 1979.

Leonid Plyushch, a Ukrainian by nationality, a mathematician by profession, and an independent Marxist and humanist thinker, was arrested by the K.G.B. in 1972, after lesser forms of intimidation — like dismissal from the research institute where he worked, being tailed by plainclothes agents on the street, and repeated raids and searches of his apartment — had failed to deter him from opposition activities in the Democratic Movement in the USSR.

After spending one and one-half years in prison under investigation, Plyushch was committed to a special psychiatric hospital — a psikhushka as it was known in Russian slang — where his doctor/jailers set out to break him by injections of mind-destroying drugs. He was to spend two and one-half years in that living hell. During his incarceration his wife, Tatyana Plyushch, struggled to tell the world about his case. A campaign for his release was conducted by Amnesty International, the International Committee of Mathematicians and others. In 1976 Leonid and Tatyana Plyushch were permitted to emigrate with their children to Western Europe.

Plyushch's experiences of the class inequalities and the corrupt and brutal abuses of power that went unchecked in "Soviet" society led him to reject the "socialist" pretensions of the single-Party state and turn to an independent study of Marxist philosophy. One major influence was Lenin's State and Revolution with its insistence on the need for thorough-going direct democracy as the first prerequisite of socialism: all public officials to be subject to election and recall; freedom to criticize, and the gradual withering away to the state.

From Marx's 1844 Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts he became familiar with the concept of alienation — how the creations of human activity, including organizations and the state, as well as ideas and the labour process itself have escaped human control and become forces alien and hostile to human life. This led him to put forward — in samizdat — a view of Russia as a state-capitalist society. Later Plyushch met other Marxists who had independently reached similar conclusions; notably Arkadiy Levin and a group of co-thinkers in Kharkiv.

Plyushch gives a remarkable account of the very wide range of influences that helped shape his ideas, including his reading in fiction, poetry, psychology, Russian and Ukrainian history as well as first hand observation of life in Russia. He reveals a sick society where moral hypocrisy and taboo co-exist with a coarsened and brutalized sexuality; where alienated youths turn to street crime and violence out of sheer boredom. He describes cases of motiveless killings and draws an explicit parallel with crime in the USA.

The author details how Russian racism — the same chauvinism that Lenin fought to eradicate — continues to dominate contemporary Russia. Words like "internationalism" are rankly abused as a cover for Russification. Speaking Ukrainian in a shop one day, he was asked "Can't you speak human?" It was this incident that led him to turn consciously to Ukrainian language and culture and take up the cause of Ukrainian self-determination. This he did in solidarity with the other oppressed nationalities striving for their freedom and dignity.

At Babi Yar, the ravine near Kiev where the Nazis massacred 200,000 people, most of them Jews, he took part in protests against the Russian authorities' anti-Semitic refusal to build a monument on the site. He was active in support of the campaign of the Crimean Tatars — deported en masse from their homeland in 1944 — for their right to return to the Crimea and be recognized as a distinct nationality.

This highly original and thought-provoking account of "one man's road to freedom" appeared in English translation in 1979 but without attracting very much attention. I hope this somewhat belated review will encourage more people to read and discuss it. — Richard Bunting

involved? This is really a moment when the unity between theory and practice and practice and theory shows its importance for the creation of a new society.

RUSSIA'S STATE-CAPITALISM

Raya Dunayevskaya brought forth her thesis on Russian state-capitalism already in the 1940s, and all of the events that have followed her first publication on the subject are a witness to the correctness of this theory. However, most Marxist groups and the socialist and communist parties of the world do not accept this theory. Instead they talk about socialist realism, that is, they maintain that Russia and Eastern Europe are constructing a new classless society. These theories deny that there is economic exploitation within the Russian block and often that there are social classes.

The recent events in Poland are enough to show anyone with a bit of common sense how ridiculous the latter thesis is. The huge investments made by Western multinational companies in Russia and Eastern Europe and the credits given to the COMECON countries is even more indicative of the fact that these countries are controlled by an exploitive capitalist system. It is obvious that the multinationals do not make investments to create socialism but to create profits. The Eastern European block has what the managers of the multinationals call a "good investment climate" — low wages, high profits and anti-strike laws.

This is the moment to shout that there are only exploiters and exploited throughout the world and everyone has to decide which side to stand on. Despite the different cultural traditions and the different levels of economic development that exist throughout the world, there is only one world. It is made up of human beings that are divided between exploited and exploiter in a capitalist system in which not only property but also persons become bought and controlled according to the necessity of the system, and it makes no difference if it be a private, a state or a mixed capitalist system. — Margaret Ellingham

Alaska's Tyonek Indians

Anchorage, Ak. — The Tyoneks are an Athabascan tribe of Moquawkie Indians living in a village about 43 miles from Anchorage which is accessible only by air. Some of the Indians are trying to maintain their cultural integrity in the path of economic development, such as the estimated 1.3 trillion tons of coal in the Beluga fields, a hydroelectric project, an on-going lumber camp, and recent state and federal oil and gas leases in the Cook Inlet.

Seizing an opportunity to make the Tyoneks appear racist, the local papers said they were "exiling white residents." Two white families were asked to leave Tyonek because a tribal rule against leasing houses to non-members had been broken. The two families and the two home owners are being taken to federal court by the Village Council.

One of the families, the Pucketts, lived at the lumber camp for four years. In October, 1981 they were allowed to rent a house in the village for the balance of the school year, but in June they refused to move. Mrs. Puckett worked as a secretary in the school and there were some bad feelings in the village when she was hired since she was favored over a native applicant.

The other family, the Slawsons, asked for permission to rent a house in the village after they lost their housing in the lumber camp. Both families got free utilities since the Village Council pays for all utilities.

The Anchorage office of the American Civil Liberties Union has entered the lawsuit on behalf of the home owners saying it is not a native-white matter but a matter of "the present political structure . . . versus the world." That sounds to me like typical liberal doublespeak or just another way of saying when the Indian way of life gets in the path of economic development it is ok to destroy it.

The legal arguments will be based on the village's status as a 26,000 acre Indian reservation which dates back to 1915; the recognition of the Tribal Council as the official governing body of the village under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and the adoption by the village in 1942 of an ordinance banning non-natives, with the exception of government personnel, from being in the village more than 24 hours without Council approval.

The village has survived the harassment of the State Fish and Game Department when it enforces rules which make subsistence fishing almost impossible by allowing fishing only during the commercial season. It has endured the conservative Kenai School Borough which is not responsive to village needs or local input into curriculum and staffing. It may even continue to be a pleasant and healthy place to live, and be able to continue to maintain and preserve the social, economic and cultural well being of Moquawkie Indians. — Anchorage resident

YOUTH What should education be like

Dear Youth:

A few days ago I was talking to a young Latina friend who has just entered her junior year of high school. She was telling me how excited she is this year because she has some degree of freedom in writing essays for her English class:

"I love writing because that is how I can express myself," she said.

"I love reading things about philosophy, history, women, so that even when I don't have time for it, I create time."

However she added, "There are many teachers who claim that you have the freedom to write what you like, but in reality they give you the topic and expect you to write what pleases them."

ESSAY 'TOO PHILOSOPHICAL'

What this friend said about high school essays reminded me of the experience that I had a couple of years ago in high school, when an essay that I wrote on an assigned topic, "What Should Education Be Like?" was labelled "too philosophical" by my teacher. Why? Because it had raised the need for a method of thinking which allows us to not only see the contradictions in life at every moment but also to be able to overcome them.

It was in discussing this topic with other youth that I found out most of them had faced the same barriers in presenting their styles of writing. It was when each of them had questioned contradictions in this society that they got cold responses from their teachers.

This is not alone a problem that youth face here in the U.S. Look at the way in which an 18-year-old high school woman from East Germany not only questions authority but presents something very philosophical about freedom:

"In political education, I sometimes have the feeling that the teacher does not really understand. When we want to discuss truth, we are told, 'that is not necessary for the final exam; you don't have to bother.' But I am interested in such things. It is our first contact with philosophy, and some start thinking immediately that this is something abstract and dry, and we will never in our lives need it.

"I feel stupid when I ask questions. And then the questions are answered in such a way that you lose all desire to ask another question. Our clergyman has the kind of personal contact with people which the teachers don't have. One guy in my class wanted to study theology because the clergyman is so great and does not argue against Marxism in such a primitive way.

"If the teachers were able to make Marxism as interesting as this clergyman does religion, then the clergyman would be out of work. Young people like to argue; that is nothing unusual. They don't want ready-made truths which they just have to swallow."

It is the refusal of young people to accept "ready-made truths" which makes their ideas so crucial for developing any vision of human relationships in a new society. Indeed it is their resistance to authority which can make them more sensitive to new ideas for achieving freedom. But it is also that refusal of youth which makes Marx's Humanism and his philosophy of revolution so concrete for our day.

Youth in Revolt

Maya Ying Lin, when she was a 21-year-old architect student at Yale, won the national competition for design of the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial, now being constructed on the Washington Mall. Her abstract design, a pair of stark, black granite walls which join to make a "V" below ground level, includes the engraved names of all 57,692 Americans killed in Vietnam between 1963 and 1973. But right-wing politicians and "donors" for the Memorial have succeeded in pressuring the Federal Fine Arts Commission into approving an addition to the Memorial, adamantly opposed by Maya and others — an eight-foot high statue, depicting three American soldiers and a 50-foot flagpole.

A noisy demonstration was set off at a Board of Education meeting last month when Isaiah Robinson, New York City Human Rights Commissioner, spoke in favor of the Junior Reserve Officers Training Corps program for the City's schools. As the decision was made to retain and expand the program at a cost of \$86,000, most of the audience chanted, "Money for schools, not for war."

Dutch youth, responding to the earlier eviction of squatters from a building occupied because of an acute housing shortage, swarmed through the streets of Amsterdam Oct. 11 in the greatest confrontation on this issue since 1980. Police used tear-gas and clubs to attack the demonstrators as a state of emergency was declared in the city where it is estimated that in recent years 10,000 people, many in their teens, have taken over office buildings, vacated by companies relocating in the suburbs. The U.S. consulate, closed for several months earlier this year after being damaged by demonstrators protesting U.S. policy in Central America, was ringed by a police guard as demonstrators approached.

The young Marx has been discussed before in the Youth page of News & Letters. However, we as youth need to concentrate on that period of Marx's life not to merely show that Marx, too, at some point was young, but because it was the nature of his youthful, creative mind that led him to break with bourgeois society in a total way in 1844. Here lies one of Marx's greatest contributions to the youth movement.

PHILOSOPHY OF YOUNG MARX

It was before 1844, the year of his break with bourgeois society, that Marx prepared the ground for his total break. In his doctoral dissertation, which dealt with an "abstract" concept like the difference between the Epicurean and Democritean philosophy, Marx singled out Prometheus as one who fought slavery, even if it were only slavery to the gods. By preparing in his thought, such a ground for revolution, Marx was then able to search for new creative forces which were fighting oppression in real life.

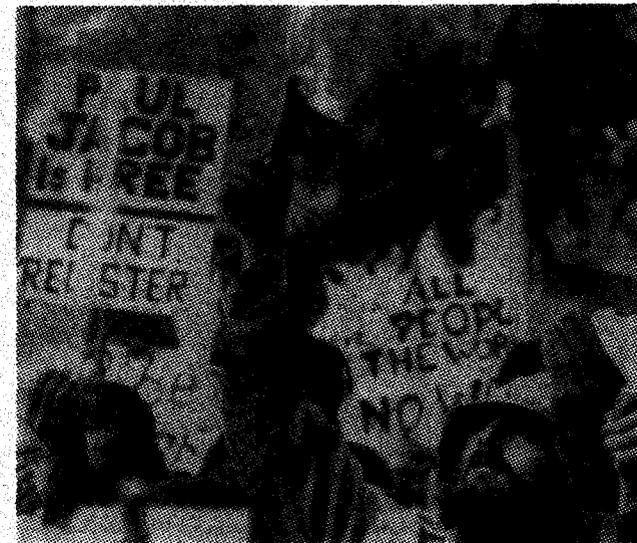
In 1844 Marx found those forces when he singled out the Silesian weavers' revolt because those workers were fighting not just property but alienated labor as well. But more to the point is that Marx's "Promethean" vision had laid the ground in thought for what followed, the activity of workers.

Youth today have no less of a desire for total revolution. If we do want to lay the ground of freedom for our age, we need to first appreciate ourselves as thinkers. If we can generate so many creative ideas even though we are under the threats of our teachers and the education system, can you imagine what we can create if we really do take our ideas seriously as ground for revolution?

It is to this end that those of us who help put together the Youth page of News & Letters are asking you to write down and send us your ideas about life, daily exploitation in this society, and most important of all, freedom. It is only the communication between us that can let us discover what we as youth want in a new society.

— Ida Fuller

Draft protesters arrested



A man burned a draft registration form while 200 people demonstrated Oct. 18, against draft registration outside the office of the Selective Service System in Washington. Fifty-eight people, in an attempt to shut down the building, crossed police lines and were arrested.

Benjamin Sasway, the first man indicted for failing to register for the draft, was sentenced Oct. 4 to two-and-a-half years in a minimum security federal prison. As hundreds of his supporters picketed outside the courthouse in San Diego, in the trial the prosecuting U.S. Attorney argued that Sasway had made the case "a contest between man and the system . . . deciding who it is who makes the final decision" on laws. About 650,000 young men have refused to register.

Michigan readers!

After the Nuclear weapons freeze vote,

"Where Do We Go From Here?"

Announcing a conference sponsored by the Michigan Alliance for Disarmament

Date: Nov. 20

Place: Edgewood United Church of Christ,
469 N. Hagadorn, E. Lansing

Time: 9:30 a.m. until 9 p.m.

For more information, call Detroit
News and Letters Committee, 873-8969.

EMU Blacks protest: No! to racist lecturer

Ypsilanti, Mich. — Black student organizations at Eastern Michigan University (EMU) in Ypsilanti protested for the second straight day, Oct. 20, against the EMU Board of Regents selection for the keynote commencement speaker, Dr. Christiaan Barnard. In a letter published in the Eastern Echo, the university newspaper, the Association of Black Communicators (ABC), one of the organizers of the rallies, demanded that the Board of Regents rescind their decision.

"Barnard has publicly stated that the one man — one vote principle may not be in the best interest of South Africa," the ABC charged, adding that he teaches at a segregated medical school at the University of Cape Town and that he has been accused of unethical medical practices.

The week before the demonstration, a petition was circulated by Black students protesting the selection of Barnard who will also receive an honorary degree.

Although EMU has withdrawn its corporate investments from South Africa because of that apartheid regime's policy of white superiority, University President John Porter supports the choice of Barnard who became famous for performing the first successful human heart transplant 12 years ago.

The editors of the Echo wrote that apartheid and the choice of Barnard contradicts the theme of the December commencement ceremonies, "health and human services," adding mention of a boycott of commencement exercises.

Livermore anti-nuke — what direction now?

Berkeley, Cal. — Several hundred of us from the Livermore Action Group protested at the celebration on Oct. 9 of the 30th anniversary of Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, one of the nation's two nuclear weapons design centers. The protest, whose slogan was "30 Years of Nothing to Celebrate," was billed as a funeral march.

Discussions within the protest started long before people started arriving at Livermore. In fact, they've been raging ever since the huge June 21 blockade in front of the lab. So many people had felt the need not to limit activities to illegal blockades that this legal demonstration was planned. Yet many people I talked to just could not get excited about this rally. Many want to fight militarism on the home front in their own city where unemployment, police brutality and sexual harassment are on the rise.

Several people said that they had gone to Livermore to protest the militarism that pervades all aspects of society, and yet they felt that this demonstration undermined the seriousness, depth and the totality of the struggle.

The gathering took place in a field four miles from the lab itself where lab employees' families were pouring in for a picnic, nearly two miles from even the outskirts of the residential section of the town of Livermore. On the march to the lab, just a small minority passed out leaflets and talked to onlookers. These protesters carried signs such as "Stop militarism — Start humanism!"

The demonstration, in fact, felt more like a Halloween party than a protest of the harsh reality of 30 years of developing nuclear weapons. Most participants wore costumes such as skeletons, dominos and even a Santa Claus, and activities at the morning gathering prior to the march included face painting, dancing and a religious service for worship.

The very idea of a "funeral march" flies in the face of what this movement is about. Rather than representing the victims of nuclear bombs come to haunt Livermore, we are very much alive. Not only are we fighting to hold onto life, but we want to totally change society so that we can live ever more creative, human lives.

— Anti-nuke activist

"The press is the ruthless language and manifest image of the historical spirit of the people . . ."

— Karl Marx

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES**Lebanese factions, Palestinian leaders, Israeli and Arab rulers
All sides cover up Shatila massacre**

The horror over the Lebanon massacre continues to shake Israel and the Arab world as well as Europe and the U.S. At no time has the class nature of the reactionary side of Zionism both stood out so clearly and generated such a massive movement inside Israel to oppose it. That is to the great credit of the Israeli masses, especially the youth.

But on the other hand, the very mass character of the movement against Begin-Sharon inside Israel covers over the fact that, while some oppose the whole genocidal invasion of Lebanon and the occupation of the West Bank, others merely oppose the "excesses." Some are actually appeased now that Begin has ordered an "investigation" of the Shatila massacre, as if the massacres openly done by Israeli bombers over West Beirut were somehow defensible.

The great cover-up of the Shatila massacre has also begun — and not only Begin-Sharon, the Phalangists and the U.S.-French-Italian "peacekeeping" force are involved. Also involved in the cover-up are all Arab governments plus Iran and Russia, and most tragically of all: the PLO and the Lebanese Left.

For while it is true that Sharon's Israeli soldiers allowed and even assisted the Phalangists in performing their grisly massacre at the Shatila camp, it is equally true that it was Lebanese Christians and some Shiites — Phalangists and Israeli puppet Saad Haddad's militia —

who did the bloody job with their own hands.

If in the Christian sectors of Lebanon there was actually open joy on the part of some at the bloodletting, just as ominous, or nearly so, was the deafening silence from the Lebanese Muslim and Leftist community. No political force in Lebanon dared to point a finger at the Phalangist murderers, while all screamed at the top of their lungs against "outsiders" — whether Syrian or Israeli. The PLO also, of course, focused only on the Israeli government.

If one is to judge Arafat's politics by whom he meets with and embraces in a given week, it is ok to massacre thousands of Palestinians so long as one does not make a peace treaty with Israel. Thus he meets with, and supposedly makes up a bit with, General Assad, bloodsoaked dictator of Syria and destroyer of his own city of Hama, in which thousands were killed by his army and police and the city leveled after the Moslem Brotherhood and others rose up against his hated regime. That same Assad, in 1976, assisted the Phalangists in the massacre at the Palestinian camp in East Beirut, Tal-Zaatar, and the following year murdered the Palestinians' best and most principled ally in Lebanon: the leader of the Left-Muslim alliance, Kamal Jumblatt.

Today Arafat is embracing the direct murderer of Palestinians, King Hussein of Jordan, who as the whole world knows, massacred thousands of Palestinians in Sep-

tember, 1970. This is all in the context of the Reagan-Israeli Labor Party so-called "Jordanian solution," where the Palestinians would eventually get a state, but under the tutelage of the reactionary King Hussein.

There is no possible Palestinian national liberation with "allies" such as Assad, Hussein or Amin Gemayel, the supposedly "liberal" Phalangist who, it is true, did try to limit (but not stop) some of the slaughter at Tal-Zaatar in 1976. But even after the total abandonment by their "allies" among Arab rulers in Lebanon in 1982, the PLO leadership — whether Arafat of the "Left" wing now leaning toward Assad — has hardly learned any of the class lessons.

Meanwhile, all remain silent about what is today happening in Lebanon. Under the protection of the U.S., French and Italian troops, the "official" Christian-dominated Lebanese Army has finally, after years of inactivity, "courageously" sallied forth from its barracks with the objective of persecution, murder and round-ups in the already decimated and bombed-out Palestinian and Muslim slum neighborhoods of West Beirut. It is that Christian-dominated but wholly Arab capitalist ruling class of Lebanon whose oppression of the Muslim majority caused the civil wars of 1958 and 1976, and which today is back in the saddle, with the help of America, France, Italy and Israel, plus the acquiescence of the Arab regimes.

how little he cares for human rights and what top priority he places on Indonesian oil and the vast mineral deposits now being exploited in that country by American capitalist interests.

Strikes blanket Britain

More than 600,000 workers in the National Health Service (N.H.S.) here are fighting for a 12 percent increase in their notoriously low wages. So far, this campaign has taken the form of repeated short strikes — with impressive support from other groups of workers. The 22 September Day of Action was a most exciting and powerful display of solidarity throughout Britain: from the English Channel, where sailings of the car ferries to France were halted by strike action; to the Shetlands, where work stopped at Europe's biggest oil terminal at Sullom Voe.

Striking workers shut down most of the country's coal mines, docks and shipyards and all the national newspapers. The millions on strike included bus drivers, gas, water and sanitation workers, teachers and school caretakers and cleaners, gardeners, actors and musicians — all in defiance of the ban on sympathy strikes imposed by new Tory legislation.

The creation of the N.H.S. in 1948, on the principle of free medical care for all, may rightly be regarded as the greatest real achievement of the Labour Party's reformism, but it has always been based on low pay for nurses — and particularly for kitchen staff, cleaners and porters (who are insultingly classed as "ancillary" workers — as if their work were any less vital to keep the hospitals running).

There is a precipitous hierarchy of labor in which a consultant can make more in one hour (60 pounds) than a cleaner earns in a week. Cuts in services, carried through by both Labour and Tory governments, mean overwork for staff and long waiting lists for patients classified as non-urgent. At the same time, there is a boom in private hospitals and insurance schemes which attend to the medical needs of the wealthy and middle classes.

A government "Think Tank" report went so far as to propose replacement of the N.H.S. by a private insurance scheme; but this proved so politically embarrassing that Thatcher had to disown it. This does not stop her from insisting that the seven and one-half percent for nurses and six percent for other health workers presently on offer must be funded partly out of existing health budgets

— at the cost of still further cuts in services and jobs.

In 1979 the hospital workers were in battle against a Labour government as they are against the Tories today. Win or lose this time, their rebellion will continue, as one of the forces for transforming society.

— Richard Bunting

East Timor

On Oct. 12 Indonesian President Suharto and his foreign minister Mochtar Kusumaatadja were given the red carpet treatment at a state dinner in Reagan's White House. Swept under the rug were the confirmed reports of abuses of civil liberties in the Indonesian occupied territory of East Timor. Amnesty International has issued a document citing 4,000 prisoners being held for political reasons at Atauro Island.

The fact is that the brutal Indonesian occupation lives in fear of the freedom movement that came to power in East Timor for one brief moment. On Nov. 28, 1975, the Democratic Republic of East Timor was declared, ending 446 years of Portuguese imperialist rule with a social revolution. On Dec. 7, the paratroopers of Indonesia invaded the island, slaughtering tens of thousands with American-supplied weaponry and driving the survivors into the hills.

American reporters have been denied access to East Timor for the past seven years on the flimsy excuse that the roads were too bad to travel. Australians have brought out reports of widespread starvation and the execution of thousands of people.

Among those killed in 1975 was Rosa Muki Bonaparte, leader of the Popular Organization of Timorese Women, who deserves to be honored for her struggle for "the total destruction of all forms of exploitation . . . to restore to women the position and rights due them in the new society we are building through revolution." Among the practices she fought were the sale of child brides and the practice of polygamy.

The utter hypocrisy of the Reagan Administration, in the warm reception afforded the butcher Suharto, shows

El Salvador

Fifteen opposition leftist leaders and trade unionists were kidnapped in El Salvador the third week in October. They included members from several groups of the opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front and members of the Trade Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers and the United Federation of Salvadoran Trade Unions.

The military, which for several days denied any knowledge of the kidnappings, has finally admitted that they are holding eight of the abducted men, but claim no knowledge of the other seven. The whole incident, involving heavily armed civilians, is bringing back sharp reminders of the kidnapping of 20 members of the Revolutionary Front in November of 1980. Then, six of the Front leaders were found brutally murdered.

The Reagan Administration, which militarily supports this murderous Salvadoran regime, is sending down a State Department representative to confer on the kidnappings with military officials. They are also looking into the refusal of the El Salvadoran judicial system to charge army officers implicated in the killing of two United States land-program consultants last year.

But is our government truly interested in stopping the murders? Hundreds upon hundreds of ordinary Salvadorans are killed as the weeks go by without U.S. government concern. Or is it because another round of Congressional approval for new military appropriations will require another certification of "human rights improvements" in El Salvador?

Jim Thorpe

In 1912 Jim Thorpe, an American Indian, won the Olympic gold medals for the two most difficult athletic achievements, the pentathlon and the decathlon, only to have his medals taken away and his records expunged from the Olympic record books. His alleged "crime" was being paid \$2.00 a game for playing baseball in a semi-pro league.

In 1982 the International Olympic Games Committee has voted to restore his medals, long after he is dead, 70 years too late. Jim Thorpe has long been recognized as one of the greatest athletes that the world has ever produced. He died in abject poverty and only racism withheld the honors that were his due.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

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

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