

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

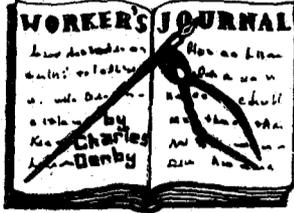
VOL. 28—No. 1

27  13 Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

January-February, 1983

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Unemployed cry 'no jobs, revolution!'



I would like to turn over my column this issue to my colleague Felix Martin, an unemployed auto worker and co-editor of News & Letters. — Charles Denby.

• On Dec. 28 Bethlehem Steel announced that it will permanently lay off up to 10,000 more workers and sharply curtail operation at its Lackawanna, N.Y. and Johnstown, Pa., plants, thus reducing its steelmaking capacity by another 15 percent. The U.S. steel industry is estimated to be operating at 29 percent of capacity, the lowest since the Great Depression.

• The United Auto Workers Union contract, voted on and accepted by Chrysler workers in America and in Canada, was a victory for the workers. The Canadian workers went out on strike and they won what the union leadership wasn't even going to bargain for.

• At one unemployment office in California some unemployed workers were passing out a leaflet they had written called "Unemployment Lines." Workers in the unemployment line began to chant, "No jobs, revolution!" Others who were reading the leaflet in their cars began blowing their horns. It scared the hell out of management at the unemployment office.

BANKRUPTCY OF UNION LEADERS

These three incidents tell much about what is happening in the economy and the labor movement in this country. Never in the history of the UAW has the leadership showed itself to be as much the enemy of the workers as is management. When has the rejection of the union leadership's proposals not meant a strike? It didn't in the UAW after the October rejection because the so-called leadership took lots of time out to spread fear among the workers that the company would close down altogether if they went on strike. And the leadership didn't even want to open negotiations for two more months. It was only the daring of the Canadian workers which transformed the situation.

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Guatemala: the struggle continues

Editor's Note: The Reagan Administration has just announced the decision to supply helicopter parts to the Guatemalan armed forces, claiming improvements in the human rights situation. It is a prelude to a decision to resume full military aid to the government of Rios Montt. Below we print an interview with Nicolas Balam, a Guatemalan active in opposition to the military rulers.

My name is Nicolas Balam, I am an indigenous peasant of the Cakchiquel people, from the municipality of San Martin Jilotepeque in the province of Chimaltenango, Guatemala. I am a member of the Peasant Committee of the Altiplano.

Our committee is a mass organization, the vast majority of whose members are indigenous peasants of the Altiplano, that part of western Guatemala where most of



20,000 waited in line in Chicago for temporary minimum wage jobs as unemployment went above 12 million nationwide.

Two States of the Union

Reagan militarizes economy; masses fight the new Depression

by Andy Phillips

In Detroit, Mich., Mayor Coleman Young declares a "hunger emergency" and makes a national plea for food to feed thousands of starving unemployed residents and their families. Former Michigan Governor William Milliken also pleads for assistance to feed the hungry throughout the state, economically

battered by a nearly 18 percent "official" unemployment rate, the highest in the nation. In Pontiac, Mich., with over 27 percent unemployment, people line up for miles in cars at four in the morning to get one loaf of bread, 20 pounds of potatoes and five pounds of beans.

In Pennsylvania's Allegheny County, which includes the steel-depressed Pittsburgh area, Sheriff Coon makes a last ditch effort to save 42 homes by removing them from the bank foreclosure rolls just before they are to go on the auction block in January.

In Springfield, Colo., hundreds of farmers, including many from surrounding states, rally to try to stop foreclosure on a farmer's land — and are maced and tear-gassed by the local sheriff and his deputies.

In Houston, Tex., an unemployed engineer who left the Midwest seeking work but is unable to find any, kills himself, his wife and children — swelling the number of

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Coming next month: SPECIAL MARX CENTENARY ISSUE

Including these features:

• Marx on Imperialism

For the first time ever in English — A passage from the French edition of *Capital* omitted by Engels in his editing of the German and English editions

• Marxist-Humanism, 1983: the Summation that Is a New Beginning

— by Raya Dunayevskaya

• A 1980s View: Marx, Labor and Marx's Humanism

— a discussion by Charles Denby and Felix Martin, editors of News & Letters

• The Unknown Ethnological Notebooks of Marx

A century after their creation; a decade after their publication — by Michael Connolly

• The development of Marx's view of the Black dimension

— by Lou Turner

40,000 surround airbase, protest nukes

London, England — On Dec. 12, 40,000 women from all over Britain and Europe, Asia and America descended on Greenham Common Airbase, about 60 miles north of London, where the silos are being built to house "first strike Cruise missiles."

The demonstration was called to "embrace the base," circling the base, holding hands, linking arms and decorating the fence with photographs, poems . . . feminist symbols, peace symbols, banners . . . burnt dolls on a piece of fence dedicated to the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. A great colourful collage encompassing the grey concrete building works of the silos. And everything tied together with wool — the spider's web of wool that has become the symbol of Greenham Common.

The estimated 16,000 women needed to encircle the base was tripled. There were hundreds of women at every gate, singing songs, hooting at the police and army patrols. Women had come from all over the country to take part, organising coaches on behalf of women's groups or Committee for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) groups.

DIVERSITY OF PARTICIPANTS

There was a real feeling of solidarity and unity, as mothers held hands with a group of prostitutes fighting police sexist harassment in King Cross London, as lesbian feminists held hands with CND activists. It was "women's power unlimited," as dusk fell and the coaches drove off, candles were lit around the perimeter of the base. . . . There were about a thousand men there that Sunday . . . Some women didn't want them there at all . . . others said it would be alright as long as they did not interfere in the women's activities — it's our day, our action and we don't want any men trying to take it over and intimidate us with their policies.

DEMAND FOR NEW DIRECTION

On Dec. 13 about 2,000 women stayed to blockade the base with pickets at each gate. All action was to be "non-violent" and decentralized. There is a belief that only a movement based on nonviolence could bring about peace — a unity of means and ends and make the movement accessible to those outside, especially the media. The de-



Women protest at Greenham Common.

mand for new directions, as against the centralism and elitism of vanguard parties, has grown out of the Women's movement itself, the concern for democracy being central. However, the threat of being taken over by a left party has actually obstructed ideas moving further than simply being against the strategy and tactics of the vanguard parties.

A cry is going up for a new philosophy of revolution that will let the women speak for themselves and let their creativity be realized. In Britain it is the urgent task of the small Marxist-Humanist group to recreate Marx's philosophy of revolution for today, so that the beginnings of a great movement against holocaust is not derailed by the Labour party but can link up to the war going down in society everyday, that is being fought by rank-and-file workers in factories, mines, mills and dole queues young Blacks on "front lines" whilst raising up Marx's banner of freedom.

P.S. — 44 women were arrested and charged with "Breach of the peace" when they climbed over the fence and entered the camp on January 1, 1983 — a taste of the continuing struggle this year.

— Nigel Quinten

Letter from Poland

The following letter was received by a member of Women's Liberation-News & Letters:

Warsaw 12 xii 82

Dear Deborah,

You might be a bit surprised to receive this letter now, over a year since you sent yours. However, we were distracted since then for some time, due to circumstances beyond our control. We hope that we will be able to renew your correspondence.

Regarding women's organizations there exists one official organization — The League of Women. This League is supposed to represent the interests of women. However, it is made up mainly of elderly women, who treat this work as a sort of filling of free time. Maybe this is due to their age, and maybe not — but they show no concern with problems of the younger women. This organization, which is supposed to represent women's interests, speaks out mainly for children, the handicapped, for the interests of the whole society (asking not to strike), but they do not address any issues solely concerned with women. Only their name says that they have something to do with women — their activities do not.

The present situation in Poland has had great impact on the position of women. Women are now burdened with the crisis. They are the ones responsible for supplying the home with food, clothing the family, and these two things are very difficult. The women have to work for economic reasons in their workplace and on their way home they have to do the shopping. When at home they also have to be economy-minded. The problem is that it is only they that are responsible. They are forced to make attempts to organize a normal life in a disorganized economy.

We hope this letter will reach you, so we could continue our correspondence.

(Signed by two Polish feminists, names withheld)

Merle Woo reinstated

Merle Woo, lesbian and socialist-feminist, has won the first round in her fight against the University of California-Berkeley, to retain her teaching position in Asian-American Studies (see N&L, July 1982). On Dec. 2 a judge ruled that UC reverse its 1980 policy of dismissing lecturers after four years, and ordered that Woo and other lecturers fired under the same policy be re-instated with back pay.

The UC-administration has appealed, and continued support is needed. For more information, write to the Merle Woo Defense Committee, c/o Brodine, 2661 21st St., San Francisco, CA 94110.

WOMAN AS REASON

"Being human means joyfully throwing your whole life 'on the scales of destiny' when need be, but all the while rejoicing in every sunny day and every beautiful cloud."

— Rosa Luxemburg, letter from prison, 1916.

Two women's liberationists I heard speak here in Los Angeles, recently, Robin Morgan and Manuela Saquic, both showed, in very different ways, a passion to explore the dimensions of "being human." The juxtaposition of the two meetings, the differing discussions and audiences for each, also helped illuminate the challenges facing us as feminists in 1983.

Morgan, the better known of the two, is a long-time feminist activist and poet. She edited the 1970 *Sisterhood is Powerful* anthology and is currently editing a new anthology entitled *Sisterhood is Global*, with writings from women's liberationists worldwide. She was on a speaking tour for her just-published book *The Anatomy of Freedom*.

MANUELA SAQUIC

Manuela Saquic is a 17-year-old Ixil Indian woman from Guatemala. She was born into a poor peasant family, and at age 14 joined the Committee for Peasant Unity. In May, 1982 she was one of the thirteen who occupied the Brazilian Embassy in Guatemala City to publicize government massacres of Indian peasants.

Everything about Manuela, not excluding the colorful hand-woven clothes she wore, was an expression of her life. Speaking of these traditional Indian garments, she told us that girls start weaving clothes at the age of seven — there is no real childhood. But it is precisely this life that makes young girls revolutionaries; and especially now with government helicopters bombing the Indian towns.

A woman in the audience said that Manuela's description of her decision to risk her life by participating in the Embassy occupation was reminiscent of Rosa Luxemburg's definition of "being human" as "joyfully throwing your whole life 'on the scales of destiny,'" and said Manuela was one of the best revolutionary feminists she had ever met.

Manuela laughed warmly at this latter designation, and proceeded to talk about the centrality of Women's Liberation in the Guatemalan peasant movement. The men may tell us, she said, that a woman's place is in the home, but we women are thinking and acting with our own minds to bring freedom and a new life for all Guatemala. We won't return to any "traditions" that confine us.

It is precisely such a passion to break out of all confinements that characterized today's Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) from its very birth in the 1960s. Robin Morgan comes from that generation of feminists active in



women-worldwide

On Oct. 29, 2,000 Palestinian women marched, carrying Palestinian and Lebanese flags and black-draped photographs of family members massacred in the raids on the Shatila and Sabra refugee camps, to the site of the largest mass grave for the victims where they laid a wreath. Lebanese troops surrounded the marchers, but there were no clashes. (Information from Womanews)

Thousands of women demonstrating in Paris were participants in a successful campaign by French feminists to force the Socialist government to pay 70 percent of the cost of an abortion (legal up to the tenth week of pregnancy). Feminists point out, however, that very poor women, women under 18, most immigrant women and women past the tenth week are not helped by the most recent decision.

In Dakar, Senegal, women attending a six-day seminar sponsored by the Association of African Women for Research and Development published a declaration which takes up a wide range of women's issues, stating: "Social progress means not only improving the situation of women but changing it . . . by opposing all ideologies that define women's role as subordinate, dependent, or passive." In December, the Committee Against Sexual Abuses held a conference which defined "sexual abuse" as everything from illiteracy to intolerable working conditions. Members of this committee include both African and European women. (Information from Off Our Backs)

The Supreme Court on Jan. 10 agreed to consider reinstating the \$10 million damage award to the estate of Karen Silkwood, labor activist who suffered radiation contamination while working in a Kerr-McGee plutonium processing plant. The damages, awarded by a state court to punish Kerr-McGee, had been nullified by a federal appeals court. Ms. Silkwood was killed when her car mysteriously went off the road as she was on her way to give evidence of health and safety violations to a New York Times reporter and a union leader.

Feminist meetings reflect challenges for 1980s

civil rights and anti-war movements who said "Goodbye to All That" sexism, and set out on uncharted courses, to deepen the vision of revolutionary change.

ROBIN MORGAN

When I heard Morgan speak on *The Anatomy of Freedom*, she read as well from her poetry collection *Depth Perception*. One poem, "Elegy," dedicated to a friend, Florika, who had committed suicide, describes the early rap group they both participated in: "What has died into rhetoric/lived in that room, drew its breath in terror to be born . . . Young and bitter, we wore our rage like cloaks of radiance/Our very hems sparked energy . . ."

How then can she open *The Anatomy of Freedom* with the sentence, "We have no idea what 'freedom' is, or why we as human beings seem to fear it so"?

Morgan continues: "So long as Man is equal to human but Woman is non-Man (and therefore nonhuman) how could we possibly invent anything so comparatively simple as mere freedom? As ultimate a task as imagining freedom would require, after all, every cell of sentient energy available to all of us — yet more than half the species has not been permitted to approach the task."

Since when have feminists waited for "permission" to challenge what is, to formulate, from the depth of our experience and ideas, a new vision of freedom? What were she and Florika doing "sitting on the floor in a circle, those Tuesday evenings", "women's voices, quietly telling/this one's pain, that one's humiliation, her fears/my longings, your visions, our anger"? What have the Manuela Saquics been doing, and all the women in revolutionary movements of the 1970s?

It's not that Morgan doesn't know the "facts" of Women's Liberation, worldwide. One catches a whiff of the excitement of the forthcoming *Sisterhood is Global* when she mentions everything from women in India fighting dowry murders to Russian feminists' underground journals.

Yet for Morgan, these "facts" are shorn of meaning and add up to a "fear" of freedom, rather than Woman as Revolutionary Reason. That is the category Raya Dunayevskaya creates as central to her latest work on *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* — a category that recognizes both the unique freedom dimensions birthed in those 1960s rap groups and the Reason of the Manuela Saquics rising to challenge and deepen all revolutionary movements worldwide.

It is only when feminist thought recognizes the Reason in women's freedom activity, globally, that doors are opened for a new unity of feminism, philosophy and revolution, and ground is laid for realizing freedom in the 1980s.

— Michelle Landau

Detroit laborers shut down GM plant site

Detroit, Mich. — On one side stand construction laborers from predominantly Black Detroit Local 334. Carloads of workers (many from out-of-state) along with trucks carrying construction material stand on the other side, all refusing to cross the informational picket line. One supervisor after another storms up to the picket line demanding to know who the leader is. Detroit police frantically signal to cars and trucks in the huge traffic jam to break the picket line. No one crosses.

From across the street a crowd of ironworkers and pipefitters watch as a project supervisor tries to convince them to enter through another gate. Then one young Black ironworker expressed what many felt: "There is not any reason why anyone out here should be crossing that picket line. This is a union town and all they are trying to do is bust it. Reagan would like that." Another worker added, "They want to make it like Poland!"

That was the scene of the dramatic confrontation which took place for two hours at the main entrance to the construction site of the General Motors Poletown plant (one of the largest construction projects in the U.S.) as construction was delayed on the morning of January 7.

Rank-and-file workers from construction laborers Local 334 had set up what was only to be an informational picket line but which instantly transformed into an act of worker solidarity, in a city with one of the highest rates of unemployment in the nation. The laborers had come to focus attention on the fact that the construction manager of the Poletown project, Barton Malow, was allowed by the Mayor, the City Council and their own union leadership to contract work out to sub-contractors who refuse to use Detroit laborers and instead bring in out-of-state laborers, many of them non-union.

FULL UNEMPLOYMENT

The rank-and-file picket line had started down the street from the Poletown construction site the day before, in front of the Local 334 hall. Local 334 is the laborers' hiring hall for construction covering southeast Michigan. Yet, with 80 percent unemployment in the union, contract concessions that haven't brought jobs, and drastic cut-backs in benefits, as one laborer put it, "to say that union leadership is ineffective is to put it mildly."

Percy Roberson, a rank-and-file member, went on to explain: "The membership had to take matters into their own hands. Construction is going on all over the city. These are our jobs according to the International. But they are building Poletown without us. The work force over there is predominantly white in a predominantly Black city."

"Poletown is federally funded under an Urban Development Grant. So who gave the contract to Barton Malow to bring in out-of-state workers? The construction manager bids lower to get the contract from the city because he doesn't hire us. Instead of calling a state of hunger emergency Mayor Young needs to give us jobs so we can feed ourselves."

RACIST CONTRACTORS

The Local 334 laborers charge that the construction manager and the city are in violation of their AGC (Associated General Contractors) contract. And the earlier destruction of the Detroit Human Rights Ordinance by the court actions of the white contractors' association and the ineffectual defense of the Mayor's office has eliminated any real enforcement of affirmative action hiring on construction sites in the city.

What a minute is worth at U.S. Auto Radiator

Detroit, Mich. — Last week, two workers got three-day lay-offs for being late coming back from break. They couldn't have been more than one to two minutes late. They were tired at break and didn't get up right away and because of this they were suspended for three days.

What makes you mad is that no matter how long you work here they'll never appreciate you. One of these workers has ten years' seniority and the other has two years. The company considers those two minutes lost more precious than all the time they have worked.

There is a lot of racism at U.S. Auto Radiator. With all of the great fights we've read and heard about — like the ones in *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, where people have fought for freedom and against segregation — segregation is still happening inside the plant. It's almost as if there is an invisible sign that says "we'll keep a few tokens."

At the beginning of December, five women were laid off — one Latina, one Arab woman and three Black women. One Black woman was not only laid-off, but she received a notice in the mail the very next day after the lay-off — that said she was fired. On that same day, people in other departments worked overtime.

Last week, four or five women were laid off for the third time. The reason given for it was the moving of the face dip. But it doesn't make sense because people worked in that same area after the face dip was moved on that Saturday. They didn't lay off by seniority either — they laid off who they wanted.

— Woman worker

Over the last two years membership in Local 334 has dropped from 4000 to 2000 due to early retirement and because unemployed laborers are unable to pay their monthly union dues. The laborers are not only concerned about the unskilled out-of-town labor that is taking their jobs, but point to the unsafe working conditions created. Workers have already been killed at the Poletown construction site. "With the teeth out of OSHA, these people are trying to make a profit by making jobs more hazardous," said one worker.

On the second day of the picket line at the Mt. Elliott Dann Road entrance to the GM construction site the laborers reported that they continue to receive strong support from other workers. Concrete trucks won't cross, meaning major construction is halted. Ironworkers, pipefitters, bricklayers, Teamsters, utility truck drivers and others have also supported the picket line.



— News & Letters photo

Pickets stop construction in Poletown.

During the confrontation with management and the Detroit police on the first day there were a number of references made to Poland's Solidarity union movement. Worker solidarity has been the most significant development to come out of the Poletown struggle. It is that kind of solidarity with others in Detroit that the growing rank-and-file laborers movement will need in the coming weeks as they carry their protest to City Hall.

That struggle was already foreshadowed in one of the picket signs a worker made which read: "Mr. Mayor you were here at Local 334 July 1982. We know that you're aware of what's happening to Local 334 at Poletown. We need jobs!!"

— Lou Turner and Jim Mills

Foremen fear ideas of workers at Agar

Chicago, Ill. — One frustrating day at Agar a worker burst out, "I know how to do my job. I don't need someone coming up behind me every five minutes telling me, 'Do this! Do that!' . . . What I don't like is the way they talk to us. I don't have time for that. They should talk to us like I'm talking to you now. Like a human being."

The company pushes us around between jobs, departments and shifts and onto lay-off without any concern about how it affects our health, our families or our lives. One foreman said to another, "You have to tell them everything" — as though we were children. Some of us have been here for over 30 years!

The foremen stand behind us yelling at us to move faster. If we try to tell them that something is wrong or how a job could be done better, they argue with us or just walk away, or try to punish us for insubordination. If two workers stop in passing to say "good morning," the foreman rushes up: "What's going on here?"

We all experience this treatment and complain to one another about it. This is not a trivial grievance. We want to be treated with respect, and we need to move beyond complaining and do something about it.

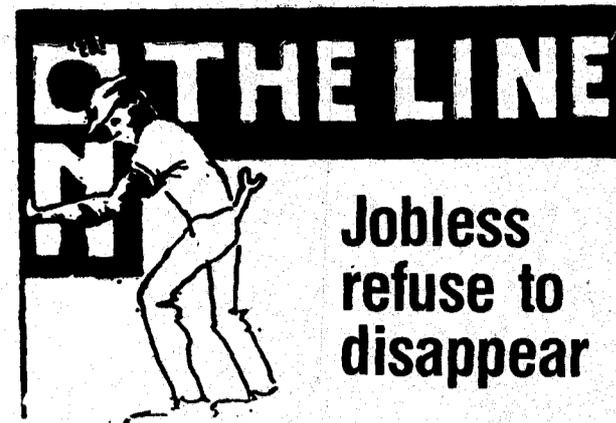
— Agar work

Food stamps mean forced labor under Reagan

Chicago, Ill. — Over the next nine months, the CETA training program will be replaced by Reagan's Job Training Partnership Act program. Trainees will no longer be paid. Instead, they will be expected to rely on unemployment, food stamps or welfare.

We already know that most unemployed people are not eligible for unemployment; many others will lose their benefits if they enroll in training. The rest will exhaust those benefits long before they can complete the training.

A lot of hungry people cannot get food stamps at all. Of those who can, most will have to work up to 30 hours a



Jobless refuse to disappear

by John Marcotte

The Reagan Administration's proposal to tax unemployment benefits would throw us back to the workhouses of Charles Dickens' England, where the theory was that you had to punish the poor for being poor so they'd "disappear." Where the hell are we supposed to disappear to? Where are the jobless, homeless workers — and families — criss-crossing America, filling churches and soup kitchens, supposed to disappear to?

And what happens to Reagan's supposed "work ethic" when it comes to those they call the "working poor," who have a job that pays so low they need a supplement from welfare to cover child care, transportation and so on? Wisconsin, the only state that has kept track as Reagan's new welfare rules cut off the supplements, reports that 40 percent could no longer afford to work and had to quit and apply for full welfare.

NOTHING BUT SLAVERY

The Community Work Experience Program (CWEP) in New York, one of the new federal "workfare" rules now adopted by 33 states, is so far in effect in only 14 counties. It will hurt not only those on welfare but all working people, by forcing welfare recipients to work off their checks on minimum wage jobs, but with no employee status, no workers' benefits and no right to unionize, bargain collectively or strike. It is a throwback to pre-Civil War days when slavery competed with wage labor.

The endless lines at unemployment, the constant rule changes at food stamps, the complicated documentation and harassment at welfare are as if to tell us this unemployment's our fault. But I know when I was working in an office furniture factory last year there was a worker at every machine. Now most everyone's laid off.

But a friend just got a job at a metal stamping and finishing plant in New Jersey and he says it's got hundreds of machines all working away but very few workers in sight. The machines are all automatic and one worker tends four, five or six at a time. There are only 80 workers in the whole plant.

Comparing my factory to this one I see that it is the machine that is in direct competition with the worker, all over the world, and not this or that foreign labor. And behind the machine lies capital, with its greed for ever more profits and its motive force of constant competition.

Here is what my friend's supervisor told him when he was hired: "I have laid-off Ford and GM workers coming around begging for a job. But I'll never hire a single one. These guys were making ten dollars an hour. They'll never be satisfied with four or five dollars an hour. They're doomed forever. No one will touch them."

MINIMUM WAGE PULLS WORKERS DOWN

He is only right in that the minimum wage cannot be ignored by any worker. It not only affects the "working poor" but acts as a force constantly pulling down at each and every worker. Because the minimum hasn't risen in several years I find that \$4 an hour can still be passed off as a "good" starting pay for a union shop just like when I was looking for work a few years back.

But he is dead wrong that it is the unemployed workers that are doomed. They are the ones who will doom this system, because they are not about to "disappear" to please Reagan nor anyone else. We are learning that it is a thin line between employed and unemployed, between worker and welfare recipient.

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week to "earn" them. This work is without pay, without health benefits, and without vacation rights. Failure to meet the work requirement in one month means denial of food stamps for two months!

Thus very little training money is needed since very few will be able to participate. Reagan's economists have already designated 1280 areas in the U.S. — areas like the entire city of Milwaukee — as "labor surplus areas." They know very well that the permanent unemployed army is upon us. So why train people for jobs that will never exist?

— Insider looking out

Guatemalan struggle

(Continued from Page 1)

organize to denounce the repression and for solidarity. Our principal objectives are: to organize the peasantry, both indigenous and Ladino, into the on-going struggle in our country; to join our peasant force with the great mass of workers, since we are the two forces that create the country's economic production and are the most exploited and marginalized; and to work for unity among the masses to contribute to the popular democratic unity, since the rank-and-file is fundamental.

Our basic demands at this time are for the struggle for life, land and work; for freedom of organization and free expression of the peasantry; for freedom of travel; for an end to the repression and the immediate withdrawal of the army from the countryside; and for the independence and sovereignty of our country.

THE SEARCH FOR A NEW SOCIETY

We work through various committees such as self-defense, supplies (food and medicine), popular education and communication committees. For example the entire village participates and uses their creativity in the self-defense committees. There are groups for vigilance, for delaying the army, for communication and for evacuation of children, pregnant women, the sick and the elderly. The delaying group uses bird-hunting guns home-made from water tubing, and cherry bombs and firecrackers to distract the army and to warn the village.

We also make booby traps with sharpened stakes, so that when the army comes shooting and chasing the people they won't dare follow into the forest. Some say we copied this from the Vietnamese, but that's not so. Right in the Popol Vuh, the sacred text of the Maya, are written the different ways of our ancestors fought off Chivalva, the house of hell. And our grandfathers used those traps to hunt deer and raccoon.

It is this same indigenous, peasant people, who are the great majority (not forgetting our Ladino brothers), who must search for a new society, one where human life is respected, where there is an end to the exploitation of man by man, where there is a real freedom, real democracy, where we can all express ourselves, and where we all have rights as well as obligations.

We believe that our indigenous culture had many positive aspects. Though every culture also has its weaknesses, we must develop the positive parts, to bring about a new society for the good of humanity.

The positive aspects of indigenous culture are its form of organization, its unity, its agricultural traditions, and its science. Our Maya priests, who were contemptuously called "sorcerers," had to use their knowledge of medicine and astronomy practically clandestinely.

The indigenous form of agricultural work was communal until 1871, when with the supposed revolution they started to divide up our lands, leaving only a piece of communal land in each hamlet. But among the families this tradition was never forgotten. Even now at planting time one family goes to work with another, and when they're finished they pass on to help another. We call this Cuchubal. Work for pay is practically unknown among indigenous peoples.

THE ARMY OF RIOS MONTT

They have tried many ways to undo this type of organization. But the repression, far from destroying it, has made us go back to it more. Now the army of Rios Montt is building strategic hamlets under the name "model villages," trying to end our whole way of working the land and our traditions.

The army is now exterminating especially the indigenous peasantry, because the large landowners of the southern coast can now mechanize their crops and no longer need our labor. So they don't care if they wipe out the entire indigenous population. Neither does the U.S., which is directly interested in our infertile lands because of the discovery of oil and nickel.

The Guatemalan people know that we face a hard struggle. But we are confident that we will win sooner or later because the whole people is involved. This is not a race struggle. It is a class struggle of the dispossessed majority against the tiny minority that possesses everything.

Nicaraguan women organize, seek support from U.S.

New York, N.Y. — Reagan's no-longer-"secret war" against revolutionary Nicaragua is being met by the increasing organization of the Nicaraguan people and their supporters abroad. Women are in the forefront of many efforts, at the same time as the proposals of the Sandinista women's association, AMNLAE, are producing much discussion about women's liberation in Nicaragua.

Counter-revolutionary soldiers, now located on both sides of the Honduran border with Nicaragua, have been attacking small towns, killing, kidnapping and terrorizing people. At a meeting sponsored by Casa Nicaragua here in December, Dr. Myrna Cunningham told of her experience when she was on assignment for the Health Service in northern Nicaragua.

Twenty armed men attacked her group and beat them; she and a nurse were taken to a camp in Honduras where they were raped and held over night. The men said they received their arms and supplies from the U.S. Dr. Cunningham and others are suing the U.S. government over the CIA operations, in an action

brought by the Center for Constitutional Rights.

The meeting was called to begin a U.S. branch of the Women's Continental Front against Intervention in Nicaragua and Central America, established recently in Mexico by women from throughout the Americas.

Magda Enriquez of the National Executive Board of AMNLAE brought greetings to the meeting:

"In the three years of revolution, we must start by saying that women have not solved all the problems of women's rights. There is still discrimination in getting jobs and doing double duty at home. What is important is that we can say we now have a real opportunity to solve these problems. We could accomplish as much as we did in the past three years because women learned, through the revolutionary process, that they can get out of their homes and do something to change their lives. They got over their fears and learned that they are good not only on the battlefield but in national and international work.

At the same time, the Nicaraguan people learned that women are the equals of men. Women are now government directors of major areas of the country and make up 48 percent of government officials. To struggle for women's liberation was both a political decision and the women's decision."

Enriquez described many of the changes that have occurred and those being discussed, such as the national debate over AMNLAE's proposals for a new Family Code. The Law on Support now under the discussion would require men to support their needy divorced wives and children, children to support aged parents, and people to support divorced spouses who are handicapped. It is controversial because it requires that domestic work be considered a contribution to the household when assessing men and women's support. This touched off an ideological debate on women's liberation in the government newspaper, *Barricada*, and AMNLAE's new monthly magazine, *Somos*.

Enriquez also described how the U.S. counter-revolutionary attacks on the economic front affect women. Because of the U.S. boycott, machinery cannot be maintained so that factories are closing and unemployment increasing. When Standard Fruit recently closed its Nicaragua operation, 400 women were put out of work. Half were heads of families.

She urged us not to underestimate the importance of support work in the U.S., and concluded, "It was easier to fight the dictatorship than it is to rebuild the country."

Guatemalan Revolutionaries Speak



Domingo Hernandez Iztoy — Quiche Indian, founder of the Committee of Peasant Unity of Guatemala.

Manuela Saquic — Ixil Indian from El Quiche, member of the Committee of Peasant Unity.

Rigoberta Menchu — Quiche Indian, member of Vicente Menchu Christian Revolutionaries and Committee of Patriotic Unity.

Nicolas Balam — Cakchiquel Indian, member of the Peasant Committee of the Altiplano

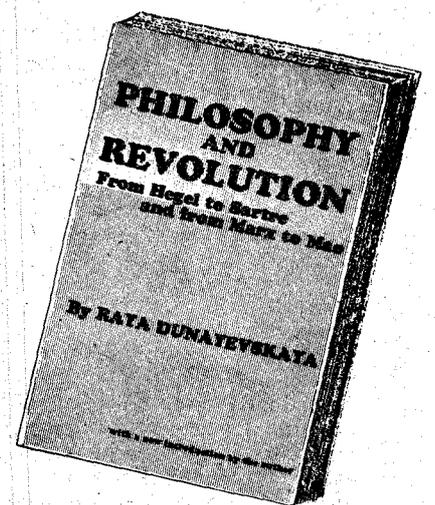
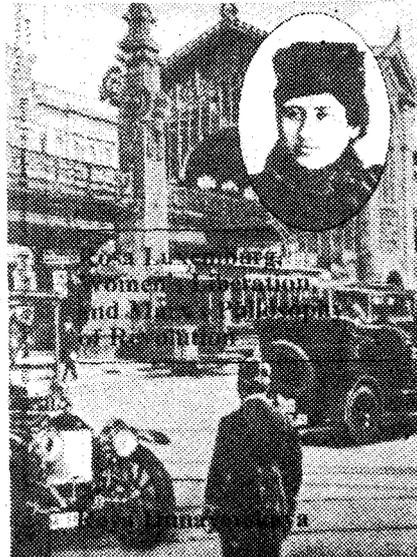
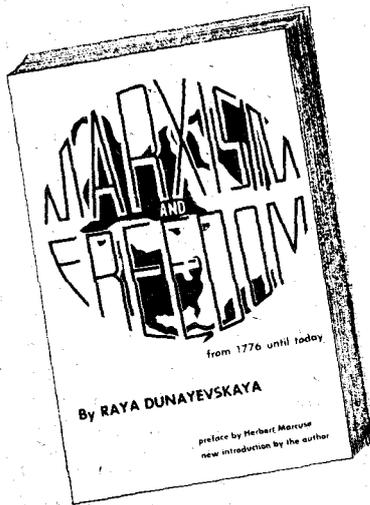
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News & Letters

Vol. 28, No. 1 — January-February, 1983

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

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First English translation of Rosa Luxemburg's 'Martinique'

*Editor's Note: This January marks the sixty-fourth anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg's brutal murder in the midst of the 1919 German Revolution. "Martinique" was written shortly after a volcanic eruption occurred at the port of St. Pierre in May, 1902. It was originally published in *Leipziger Volkszeitung* on May 15, 1902. It has been translated into English for the first time by David Wolff, translator of Luxemburg's "Theory and Practice."*

Mountains of smoking ruins, heaps of mangled corpses, a steaming, smoking sea of fire wherever you turn, mud and ashes — that is all that remains of the flourishing little city which perched on the rocky slope of the volcanolike a fluttering swallow. For some time the angry giant had been heard to rumble and rage against this human presumption, the blind self-conceit of the two-legged dwarfs. Great-hearted even in his wrath, a true giant, he warned the reckless creatures that crawled at his feet. He smoked, spewed out fiery clouds, in his bosom there was seething and boiling and explosions like rifle volleys and cannon thunder. But the lords of the earth, those who ordain humankind, remained with faith unshaken — in their own wisdom.

On the 7th, the commission dispatched by the government announced to the anxious people of St. Pierre that all was in order in heaven and on earth. All is in order, no cause for alarm! — as they said on the eve of the Oath of the Tennis Court in the dance-intoxicated halls of Louis XVI, while in the crater of the revolutionary volcano fiery lava was gathering for the fearful eruption. All is in order, peace and quiet everywhere! — as they said in Vienna and Berlin on the eve of the March eruption 50 years ago. The old, long-suffering titan of Martinique paid no heed to the reports of the honourable commission; after the people had been reassured by the governor on the 7th, he erupted in the early hours of the 8th and buried in a few minutes the governor, the commission, the people, houses, streets and ships under the fiery exhalation of his indignant heart.

THE WORK was radically thorough. Forty thousand human lives mowed down, a handful of trembling refugees rescued — the old giant can rumble and bubble in peace, he has shown his might, he has fearfully avenged the slight to his primordial power.

And now in the ruins of the annihilated city on Martinique a new guest arrives, unknown, never seen before — the human being. Not lords and bondsmen, not Blacks and whites, not rich and poor, not plantation owners and wage slaves — human beings have appeared on the tiny shattered island, human beings who feel only the pain and see only the disaster, who only want to help and succor. Old Mt. Pelee has worked a miracle! Forgotten are the days of Fashoda, forgotten the conflict over Cuba, forgotten "la Revanche" — the French and the English, the Tsar and the Senate of Washington, Germany and Holland donate money, send telegrams, extend the helping hand. A brotherhood of peoples against nature's burning hatred, a resurrection of humanism on the ruins of human culture. The price of recalling their humanity was high, but



thundering Mt. Pelee had a voice to catch their ear.

France weeps over the tiny island's 40,000 corpses, and the whole world hastens to dry the tears of the mourning Mother Republic. But how was it then, centuries ago, when France spilled blood in torrents for the Lesser and Greater Antilles? In the sea off the east coast of Africa lies a volcanic island — Madagascar: 50 years ago there we saw the disconsolate Republic who weeps for her lost children today, how she bowed the obstinate native people to her yoke with chains and the sword. No volcano opened its crater there: the mouths of French cannons spewed out death and annihilation; French artillery fire swept thousands of flowering human lives from the face of the earth until a free people lay prostrate on the ground, until the brown queen of the "savages" was dragged off as a trophy to the "City of Light."

On the Asiatic coast, washed by the waves of the ocean, lie the smiling Philippines. Six years ago we saw the benevolent Yankees, we saw the Washington Senate at work there. Not fire-spewing mountains — there, American rifles mowed down human lives in heaps; the sugar cartel Senate which today sends golden dollars to Martinique, thousands upon thousands, to coax life back from the ruins, sent cannon upon cannon, warship upon warship, golden dollars millions upon millions to Cuba, to sow death and devastation.

YESTERDAY, TODAY — far off in the African south, where only a few years ago a tranquil little people lived by their labor and in peace, there we saw how the English wreak havoc, these same Englishmen who in Martinique save the mother her children and the children their parents: there we saw them stamp on human bodies, on children's corpses with brutal soldiers' boots, wading in pools of blood, death and misery before them and behind.

Ah, and the Russians, the rescuing, helping, weeping Tsar of All the Russians — an old acquaintance! We have seen you on the ramparts of Praga, where warm Polish blood flowed in streams and turned the sky red with its steam. But those were the old days. No! Now, only a few weeks ago, we have seen you benevolent Russians on your dusty highways, in ruined Russian villages eye to eye with the ragged, wildly agitated, grumbling mob; gunfire rattled, gasping muzhiks fell to the earth, red peasant blood mingled with the dust of the highway. They must die, they must fall because their bodies doubled up with hunger, because they cried out for bread, for bread!

And we have seen you too, oh Mother Republic, you tear-distiller. It was on May 23 of 1871: the glorious spring sun shone down on Paris; thousands of pale human beings in working clothes stood packed together on the streets, in



Saint-Pierre, Martinique after volcanic eruption of May, 1902.

prison courtyards, body to body and head to head; through loopholes in the walls, mitrailleuses thrust their bloodthirsty muzzles. No volcano erupted, no lava stream poured down. Your cannons, Mother Republic, were turned on the tight-packed human crowd, screams of pain rent the air — over 20,000 corpses covered the pavements of Paris!

AND ALL OF YOU — whether French and English, Russians and Germans, Italians and Americans — we have seen you all together once before in brotherly accord, united in a great league of nations, helping and guiding one another: it was in China. There too you forgot all quarrels among yourselves, there too you made a peace of peoples — for mutual murder and the torch. Ha, how the pigtailed fell in rows under your bullets, like a ripe grainfield lashed by the hail! Ha, how the wailing women plunged into the water, their dead in their cold arms, fleeing the torture of your ardent embraces!

And now they have all turned to Martinique, all one heart and one mind again; they help, rescue, dry the tears and curse the havoc-wreaking volcano. Mt. Pelee, greathearted giant, you can laugh; you can look down in loathing at these benevolent murderers, at these weeping carnivores, at these beasts in Samaritan's clothing. But a day will come when another volcano lifts its voice of thunder: a volcano that is seething and boiling, whether you heed it or not, and will sweep the whole sanctimonious, blood-spattered culture from the face of the earth. And only on its ruins will the nations come together in true humanity, which will know but one deadly foe — blind, dead nature.

Editor's Note: With the publication of the Marxist-Humanist work Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, we are expanding our "Who We Are and What We Stand For" statement to more fully present our revolutionary philosophic heritage as reflected in all three major works by Raya Dunayevskaya as well as in the archives of Marxist-Humanism over a 30 year period.

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. We stand for the development of a new human society based on the principles of Marx's Humanism as recreated for our day.

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, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of 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.

Where *Marxism and Freedom*, whose structure was grounded in the movement from practice throughout the 200 years from 1776 to Today discloses Marx's "new Humanism," both internationally and in its American roots, *Philosophy and Revolution*, in recreating Marx's philosophic roots both in the Hegelian dialectic and in the actual revolutionary movements of his day, articulated these forces of revolution as Reason — Labor, Black, Youth, Women — of our day. By tracing and paralleling this age's 30-year movement from practice to theory with our own theoretical development for the same three decades, Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. has met the challenge of the "new moments" in the last decade of Marx's life by disclosing in them a trail to the 1980s. It is this trail, these paths of revolution — be it in the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries, including the transformation of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come into a Movement or the emergence of a whole new Third World — that form the content

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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". The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under title the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection* on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

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.

DEGENERATE CAPITALISM AND OPPOSITION — IN USA . . .

Have you seen where appeals for food for Detroit's hungry have gone out in Germany? The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung published a front-page story headlined "Hunger Emergency in Detroit," and after that many writers, teachers, lawyers, etc. started an appeal for Germans to give food and clothing to Detroit. The leader said that he was doing it because the Americans had helped Germany during the Marshall Plan, and it was unthinkable to him that the "richest country in the world is unable to contain starvation."

I live here in Detroit; I know it's true about people going hungry and cold. There are soup kitchens and "food pantries" everywhere now. It says something about the health of capitalism when the most advanced machinery in the plants is surrounded by soup lines. **Unemployed Detroit**

We're really on a powder keg when it comes to unemployment. At the unemployment office, I was talking with a man who had been unemployed for eight months. I asked him how had he been affected? He handed me an eviction notice — he was getting kicked out of his house. That same day I met three other people in that same situation.

Unemployed Pico Rivera, Cal.

Today, Jan. 6, 1983, I walked a picket line with laborers from Local 334 in Detroit, picketing their own union hall. All my life I have been a union man, but this is the first time I ever picketed a union hall. The local in Detroit is 90 percent unemployed, and yet they had to picket their own union for jobs that belong to them.

To me this shows the degeneracy of the union leadership over the last 35 years. They have become just another bureaucracy, like corporate management or government — all parasites, bloodsuckers living off labor. **Autoworker Detroit**

The day after Norman Mayer was shot at the Washington Monument I got to work a little early and found all the other workers in the break room talking about it. What everyone was talking about was how the police killed Mayer after they shot the tires off his truck. "It's terror!" a Black worker said. Most of us agreed that they did it because it was going on national TV and they wanted to make an example of him. Another Black worker said she guessed she was naive, but she'd always thought that if you came out with your hands up, you could surrender and they weren't supposed to kill you. There was a pause and then someone said "Not anymore." **Bottle washer Chicago**

I went to a Chicago Housing Authority office and tried to sign up for one of the ten-week jobs the Mayor is offering just before the election. The newspaper gave a list of places to sign up, but I was told I couldn't sign up at the CHA but had to go to a park miles away.

There were only 22 jobs at this office and dozens of people had already signed up. You had to sign up, then stand outside in the cold for hours until they called you in. One said, "I don't know why I'm staying here: I'm number 62. I'm Black. Those b----- in there don't give Black people nothing! They keep you coming and going. I've got the spirit of Miami. I feel like burning something down!" **Disgusted Chicago**

That "MX dense pack" is the stupidest thing I've ever heard of. I don't think it will really get through Congress, but who knows? Sometimes I think old men really love war. That accident in Tennessee — they're lucky it was only four people who were killed. Any kind of accident with it in a big city area would wipe out 100,000 people or more. Killing one is too many; that's the problem with war. In Denver we have the NORAD and two missile

bases, so folks are accustomed to having the military around. But if they were talking about putting the MX in Colorado, folks would be all over the Federal Building. **Black veteran Denver, Colorado**

When I saw the farmers getting maced and beaten at the courthouse in Springfield, Colorado, I felt that things have gone about as far as they can go in this country before it all blows apart. Reagan and the bankers should remember that Populism envisioned farmers and urban workers together reclaiming what is theirs. **Farm union supporter Michigan**

"Unemployment within the factory gates" is a catchy little Russian phrase. But the American phrasemongers are not about to be outdone. As if to prove that state-capitalism is a world phenomenon not limited to the Russian Empire, our own bureaucrats have given us a new name for their own plans. It's called "planned demographic shrinkage." It comes from John Kasarda of the Univ. of North Carolina, and refers to what the U.S. government should do to counter its increasing population of minorities in general, as well as their concentration among the urban unemployed. But we have a "phrase" of our own: "negation of the negation." That's a wonderful synonym for revolution against such dehumanization. **"Linguist" Ohio**

. . . AND IN ANDROPOV'S RUSSIA

I had a chance to work with Raya Dunayevskaya when she was writing her article on the Andropov ascendancy (Dec. N&L). One thing that was quite interesting to me as she made the rough notes and then the completed article was how intertwined Poland and Russia were. They were both in the headlines with the changing of the guard and the preparations to "end" martial law. She saw them linked in two ways — as revolution and as counter-revolution. In revolution, Poland and all of East Europe have continuously been the Achilles heel of Russian state-capitalism for more than a quarter of a century. But quite sobering was the link of counter-revolution — that the Jaruzelski martial-law regime was the forerunner of the KGB Andropov ascendancy.

That simultaneity of revolution and counter-revolution is something we as revolutionaries have to keep firmly in mind. It is why even an analysis which correctly designates Russia as state-capitalist is incomplete without looking at its opposite, what you stand for, Marx's Humanism. **Eugene Walker Detroit**

In general, I continue to like N&L. But specifically, I do have a question. In the latest article by Raya Dunayevskaya on Andropov's ascendancy, little effort is made to show that this stage of state-capitalism must indeed be the final one. Could one conceive yet another stage? **Student Urbana, Ill.**

I would like to add my voice to the chorus of comments on Andropov. But what I think is important to explain is the vacuity of bourgeois thinkers, such as Fontaine, who wrote in *Le Monde*, "Andropov is open to new ideas." This in reference to one who reformed the KGB with the so-called "psychiatric hospitals." Even though the journalist knew Andropov's history, why the oversight?

These writers don't bring mutual determinations into mutual contact. They treat the objective situation as though it had a life of its own. Instead they focus on "backward" Russian technology, not seeing that many workers there are now being replaced by automation, and the rest worked to death. All these ideologues are thinking about whether Andropov will buy more Western technology. **Activist and thinker Los Angeles**

Readers' View

'TRILOGY OF REVOLUTION': SUMMATION AS NEW BEGINNING

I have read all your theoretic works — *Marxism and Freedom*, *Philosophy and Revolution*, and now the latest one, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. But I must say that I think your slogan for referring to them as "three books, not one" is ridiculous. May I suggest that, instead, a better summation of them would be "trilogy of revolution"? I say this because I think that in these works the dialectic of revolution discloses itself most fully. **Life-long socialist Massachusetts**

Ed. Note: Watch for a special on-going section of Readers' Views beginning next month on this "trilogy of revolution" — comments on the fundamental works of Marxist-Humanism and their relation to the worldwide freedom movement.

I wanted to tell you about an exciting meeting I had with a worker from the closed-down Schwinn plant here. He has been getting N&L for a while. But when I went to visit him I was in for some interesting revelations. He has done a lot of reading, and recently somehow he has been reading Kautsky. He asked me "Do you know of a good book on Rosa Luxemburg?" You can imagine that created a few openings. When I sold him a copy of Raya's new book, he said that "Luxemburg must have been a very interesting woman."

In the discussion he brought up his feeling on Trotsky from his own viewpoint from Mexico: "Trotsky was smarter than Stalin, but his problem was that he didn't think the peasants had half a brain." He is going to be studying the book with our group and I'm sure we will learn a lot from each other. **Marxist-Humanist Chicago**



GUATEMALA: DIMENSIONS OF STRUGGLE AND THOUGHT

It just came over the radio that Reagan lifted the embargo on arms sales to Guatemala's junta, the one led by that mass murderer, Rios Montt. He is going to sell them helicopter parts they say. But the Guatemalans have been saying for the last two years that the U.S. has been doing all this in secret — and more. They are paying for most of the war, and giving most of the advice. Do the American people realize how many are dying? Do they know that the whole of the Altiplano has been turned into a "free-fire zone"? Do they hear the voices of the Indian fighters — the 12-year-old heroes, the peasants who farm and fight with the same sticks, the women who have taken to the hills?

Now is the time to stop this bloodbath, and we in the USA have a great task before us. **Guatemala supporter New York**

Guatemala is in the headlines of the daily papers, and I have seen it in many Left newspapers and special Guatemalan newsletters. But what is so special about how Guatemala is presented in the pages of *News & Letters* is the strong emphasis on Guatemalans speaking for themselves. You really did feel the dimension of Indian peasants and Indian women when you read the December N&L. **Latin American Studies student Los Angeles**

I've completed the first couple of chapters of the book on Rosa Luxemburg and find it exciting — particularly relevant to today's challenges. In my work with a community center in Toronto, we are trying to promote a concept and practice of community control, but often I wish there were more time to work on political and intellectual interests.

In Toronto everyday I notice the escalating byproduct of the capitalist world crisis. There will be literally deaths in the streets this winter (our housing situation is scandalous). I also observe the parallel growth of organized resistance alongside the power-inspired oppression of government and capital. **Roger Toronto, Canada**

I received my copy of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* and have now read with great interest the last chapter. I turned to that chapter after reading about Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* in N&L. Were it not for that source, I doubt that I'd ever have heard of that book, or known that it was finally published. I told several people about it.

The argument Dunayevskaya makes that Marx was continuing to develop his new continent of thought in ever more challenging directions even in that last decade, seems convincing to me. You are going to make a lot of so-called Marxists unhappy with this discovery, but the truth has come out at last.

A question occurs: does Marx necessarily insist, overall, that "the career" of private property will come to a complete end? I wondered if he might have said that the "communism" that mankind must eventually evolve to necessarily excluded all private holdings. I don't think the people would have to own collectively every barber shop, garden, etc. **English professor Buffalo, N.Y.**

When the Chicago News and Letters Committee held a meeting about the Guatemalan struggle, we passed out copies of the December N&L, which had just arrived. There were six or eight Guatemalans at the meeting, and naturally they began reading the articles by Manuela Saquic and Domingo Hernandez Iztoy on Guatemala. But when I looked back a little later, several of them were engrossed in reading Eugene Walker's essay on "Marx and non-capitalist lands, 1873-83." Evidently they thought that even though Marx was writing about Russia 100 years ago, it had something to say to their movement in Central America today. **Learned something Illinois**

Congratulations to Eugene Walker for his thought-provoking piece on "Marx and Non-capitalist lands" (December N&L). It is truly rare when Marx is presented in such a "textual analysis" that isn't at all academic. I especially liked the way those three texts of Marx's last decade were arranged, so that we could follow the way Marx dived ever more concretely into the waters created by his startling breakthrough in the letter to Mihailovsky. **Anthropologist Michigan**

I hope that people will focus on the method of the last decade, rather than think that one can just "apply" Marx on non-capitalist lands of the 1880s to questions of today's Third World. As Walker indicated, the key is the concrete human forces to challenge capitalism, not a particular social form in which they are expressed, much less a question of capitalism's riches being built on the "pillage" of the Third World alone. **Anthropologist Michigan**

BLACK FREEDOM MOVEMENT ON EVERY CONTINENT

I wanted to write you a little about the Aboriginal Movement in Australia. My knowledge (not a lot) comes from an Aboriginal woman friend of mine. Most interesting in the conversation was finding out that it is the Aboriginal women who are the back-bone and driving force behind the movement; keeping it alive and not selling out. Like many women active in the movement, my friend had a white father who after some time lost interest in her mother and left her with all the children...

The greatest demand seems to be for Land rights, as shown by the demonstrations during the Commonwealth Games. There is still a lot of conflict between the tribes on particular areas of land. The protests during the Commonwealth Games were against the racist right-wing Queensland state government for not having fulfilled land promises and taking back from Aborigines what land they already have — not to mention the oppressive rules people must adhere to on the reservations. Land is being taken away from them in other states now too — the Northern Territory and Western Australia. But their struggle is increasingly active...

New reader
Victoria, Australia

When Black youth in Overtown, Miami, rose up last month, many people remembered the Liberty City revolt of 1980. But I also went to look up the N&L Editorial: "Government reports and the ongoing Black revolt" (Aug.-Sept. 1982) where you discussed the 1982 "official" government report on the Miami rebellion in light of today, and in the context of the total, ongoing Black revolt against this racist American civilization. I hope that article is still available to new readers of N&L.

Reader
Florida

I have been reading various literature about communism both from the Western and Eastern countries. I have found some bias against communism by the Western countries. But I have found your magazine to be very practical indeed as it exposes all the merits and demerits about communism and humanism. Unlike magazines which make suggestions and conclusions for the reader, this particular one leaves the reader to come to his own

conclusion, having put forward the case. Your paper helps me to assess the situation in other countries and cultivates some consciousness about myself as a Black man — how I can improve my surroundings together with that of my neighbors as a suffering Black man. The suffering is imposed on us by the colonialists. The imperialist forces should be removed from our shoulders.

Searching for freedom
Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

APPEAL FROM DEFENSE AND AID FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

I received a most moving appeal for funds from the Michigan Support Committee for International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa last month. The Defense and Aid Fund sends help to families of the political prisoners in South Africa. As you know, all opponents of apartheid are under attack today — facing jail, banning, torture or exile. Much of the support for that horrible government comes from Reagan and his friends. So I feel that we have to counter that with our own internationalism, by supporting the freedom struggle there.

In Michigan we have finally established a chapter of International Defense and Aid, and we have begun a program of education and fund-raising, showing movies like "Phelindobo". The appeal I got in the mail included a beautiful drawing of a mock stock certificate, entitling you to be a shareholder in defense and aid of the prisoners. You can join with them by writing to:

Michigan Support Committee
7601 Rosa Parks Blvd.
Detroit, MI 48206

PAKISTAN AND THE CHADOUR

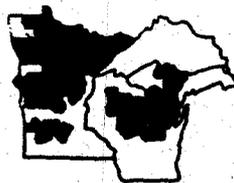
When I heard that the dictator Zia al-haq was coming here to ask for more aid, it made me think of when I was a student back in Pakistan and how I wondered why the U.S. never did anything to stop him.

I was lucky; I graduated from high school before it was made law for women students to wear the chadour. Later I read in a newspaper how a student was killed when her chadour caught on a bus wheel. These accidents happen all the

time. The chadour is very dangerous, it is almost impossible to control and really takes both hands: and if you need one hand to carry books and the other hand to hang from the side of the bus, along comes a tree branch to catch it and you're gone! But it doesn't stop the men from pinching or spitting on you if you're walking alone.

I wish more Americans could visit my country and see how we live. You can't help seeing how terrible the work is or that the workers have nothing. Or just the newspapers — columns and columns are always blank because the censor-cut them.

Pakistani woman worker
Chicago



STOP NUCLEAR WASTE DUMPS!

The U.S. Dept. of Energy has its eye on the Lake Superior region (Wisconsin, Minnesota and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan) as a potential site for an international garbage dump for long-lived, highly radioactive nuclear wastes — wastes that will remain deadly for up to half a million years. The highest concentration of nuclear power plants in the USA is in the Midwest, and you can see the counties being considered for nuclear dump sites (see map above).

In the words of Energy Secretary James Edwards, the objective is to "put the waste in the ground and stop talking about it." Only with the help of an aroused citizenry can they be stopped from such quick-fix methods of getting the nuclear waste problem out of the public eye. Please help us continue the opposition:

Lake Superior Region Radioactive Waste Project
315 West Gorham St.
Madison, WI 53703

LETTERS FROM PRISON

N&L is a fine Marxist paper. However, I often feel that it does not explain what one can do about circumstances. I would like to see N&L explore the rise of capitalism and its effect on the minds of people. The well-ordered world of feud-

alism was destroyed with the rise of capitalism. In feudalism one worked to provide for self, in capitalism one worked for the sake of work. This type of change had to change the personality of man! I would like to see more on this.

Prisoner-subscriber
Pontiac, Ill.



Each narrow cell in which we dwell
Is a foul dark latrine
And the fetid breath of living death
Chokes up each grated screen.
And all, but lust, is turned to dust
In humanity's machine.

Hopefully this letter will find the N&L staff well. For myself, my health is fine; happiness, I'm working on it. Thanks for the paper. I receive much enlightenment from it.

Prisoner
Menard, Ill.

ANTI-NUKE AND WAR IN IRELAND

The question of nuclear weapons is the one issue at the moment where the opposition from below is seriously worrying to Britain's rulers. Opposition to the war in Northern Ireland remains a much less popular cause. The Left-wing Labourites, who are in the majority on the Greater London Council, invited two Sinn Fein representatives elected to the N.I. Assembly for discussion. A real hate campaign emanated from the press, particularly after the Ballykenny disco bombing (carried out by the INLA) which killed 16 people.

Home Secretary Whitelaw issued an order banning the two from Britain, which is strange since Thatcher asserts that N.I. residents are "fully British..." The bombings have not helped the Irish cause. But the point is that, horrific as they are, they are a consequence of the rotten, discriminatory system in Northern Ireland, and the policy of both Labour and Tory governments since 1969. The British war machine comprises plastic bullets as well as cruise missiles and the peace movement here must take account of that.

Richard Bunting
Oxford, England

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EDITORIAL**South Africa: the external war, the internal war**

The four bomb blasts which rocked the Koeberg nuclear reactor construction site Dec. 19 did more than seriously damage South Africa's first nuclear power station. They blew a hole as well in the illusions of that apartheid land's rulers and their allies in Washington that the murderous new attacks launched against the "external threat" — Black opponents in Lesotho and Mozambique — and the relentless jailings and bannings of freedom fighters within South Africa, could pacify the whole southern end of the continent for continuing white supremacist rule.

And as the inquiry into the breach of security at the heavily guarded Koeberg installation proceeded, what was underlined was how no part of the vaunted prosperity of white South Africa can be separated from its contradictory dependence on Black labor. Of the 4,000 employed at the Koeberg construction site, some 2,500 were said to be Black workers brought in by contractors from the "homelands" ghettos of Transkei and Ciskei, where new Black union movements have made important inroads since 1980.

SOUTH AFRICA'S WARS AGAINST LESOTHO, MOZAMBIQUE

In claiming responsibility for the explosions, the African National Congress (ANC) cited the brutal midnight incursion by South African troops ten days earlier into Maseru, capital of the tiny state of Lesotho. Over 40 people, both exiled activists and Maseru townspeople, were slaughtered in that assault, after which South Africa warned Lesotho to stop allowing Black exile activity.

The assault against Lesotho took its place in a vastly widened strategy of aggression and destabilization throughout Southern Africa carried out by the chief of apartheid's armed forces, Gen. Constand Viljoen for his Prime Minister Botha. We had long been witness to their search-and-destroy raids into Angola against the Namibian liberationists of SWAPO and their financing of UNITA guerrillas, as well as efforts to economically destabilize Zimbabwe, once colonialist rule was ousted there. Today, however, secret operations focus as well on an undeclared war against Mozambique, with South Africa supplying and directing armed groups calling themselves the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR). They have attempted to not only paralyze Mozambique's economy, but disrupt Zimbabwean exports and discourage Mozambican support for Black freedom struggles inside South Africa.

Similar motives have governed South Africa's latest scheme as well — the attempt to cede large chunks of KaNgwane and KwaZulu "homelands" to the Kingdom of Swaziland in return for Swazi cooperation with the South

Black Miami Rebellion II

The three days of rebellion at the end of December in Miami's Black Overtown area, which began with the police killing of 21 year old Nevell Johnson, once again focused national attention on the grim reality of Black life underlying the holiday season of this resort city. Nor has it ended, as 1,000 Overtown residents turned out for Nevell Johnson's funeral, a week later.

By the time the smoke had cleared another Black youth, 17 years old, Alonso Singleton, had been killed, 20 people had been injured and 44 Black residents arrested. Reports began to surface disclosing the fact that the policemen responsible for the deaths of the Black youths have both had numerous complaints filed against them by the community.

The larger Black ghetto of Liberty City, north of Overtown, was the scene of Black rebellion in May of 1980. And just this past summer the U.S. Civil Rights Commission had published its report on that riot citing "current conditions in the nation's cities indicate that discrimination based on race and ethnicity continue to permeate and undermine the lives of the urban poor." The government report stated that the causes of the Liberty City Rebellion "are identical to those documented in the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder of 1968."

Thus, not only had there been little progress since 1980, but none since 1968. A Miami City Commissioner noted that, "It could have happened anywhere where there are people who are without money, housing and services. People here are in the streets and it does not take much to ignite a fuse."

That fuse in Overtown, as in most Black communities, is the tension existing between the police and the Black community due to the excessive use of force by the police. Perhaps that is why the very first night of the rebellion saw a direct confrontation between Black youth and the police. Indeed, after the very first reports showing Black youth capturing the guns in a police car and fighting the S.W.A.T. team to a standstill, the media never aired the report again.

With another investigation underway amid calls for dismissal of Miami police chief Kenneth Harms, there are sure to be more inquiries and government reports on the "causes" of civil disorders. However, Black rebellion in Miami has once again shown that there can be no narrowing of the relationship between casualty and freedom.

— Lou Turner

African army against apartheid's opponents. Never mind that the "homelands" are now supposedly independent of Pretoria. The fact is that, having set up these "Bantustan" frauds, and having forced tens of thousands out of their homes in townships around white cities to live in reservation-like zones, the Botha government now fears these very "homelands" will become centers of "subversive" activity. They know very well that unemployment in them is nearly total and even subsistence agriculture close to impossible.

On every front, whether rural or urban, "internal" or "external," the apartheid system since Soweto 1976 has been searching, with U.S. assistance, for new approaches to the problem of how to maintain control. It was thus with considerable satisfaction that Botha's regime re-



— Themba Nkosi

Striking workers seek recognition for their union from Edgars, a retail clothing chain in Johannesburg.

ceived the news, Jan. 4, of the decision of the Labor Party, the most prominent political organization among the nation's 2.7 million "Coloured" (as those of so-called "mixed-race" are termed), to take part in Botha's proposed "expanded Parliament." This proposal calls for three racially segregated chambers: one for whites, one for "Coloureds", one for Indians — and no representation for 22 million Black South Africans. Whites will of course still have complete veto power. Less than 24 hours after Labor Party leaders announced their decision, the U.S. State Department rushed to declare that "a process of change is under way" in South Africa.

THE INDEPENDENT BLACK UNIONS

The Labor Party leaders would do well to remember the gulf revealed between the masses and such opportunist politicking by the rise of Black Consciousness. Not

only did "Coloured" youth declare themselves Black as they joined the demonstrations in 1976, but it was "Coloured" youth's 1980 school boycotts in Cape Town that helped trigger massive strikes propelling an un-dreamed of growth of independent Black unionism, 1980-82.

From a base of less than 50,000 two years ago, the Black trade union movement has skyrocketed to a membership of over 300,000 today. And although this represents only ten percent of the Black urban workforce, the unions have gained at least a foothold in nearly every industry and in all parts of South Africa. What is new is that the many-sided government and corporate attacks which followed initial victories by the unions in auto, mines, food and textiles have not destroyed those gains. In the face of repression union members undertook not retrenchment, but a searching on such questions as whether to declare a Black consciousness philosophy; whether to get involved in openly political questions; whether to register under the government's labor legislation.

As the recession has deepened worldwide, even the South African economy has been troubled, with lay-offs in major industries and a push by the government to force unemployed workers to move to the "homelands." Only a \$2 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), pushed through with U.S. support, has averted major trouble for the economy. But the new unions, far from granting "concessions," have been organizing the unorganized. Some of the most recent strikes have been those by retail store workers in Johannesburg demanding union recognition for their Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union. Its leader, Emma Mashinini, was released in May, 1982, after more than six months in detention, and immediately resumed militant strike organizing.

Seventy-five years ago British troops, having finished with the Boer War, joined with the Boers to crush the last remnants of the Bambata (Zulu) Rebellion in Natal. After scores were executed, they declared the land safe for colonial interests. Today's South African rulers, flush with their new strategies for "containing" the freedom struggles, delude themselves that they can maintain their rule in perpetuity. They know that apartheid would never have lasted this long without the active support of U.S. imperialism, a support which has intensified in an era when not even the Shah of Iran proved a durable ally.

The years since Soweto 1976 have seen such a worldwide movement for self-determination that no land is "safe" for imperialism now. Least of all is the apartheid nightmare secure from the great-grandchildren of the Bambata Rebellion and their quest for liberation now.

Martin Luther King's philosophic dimension

of Christian ethics, it carried a potent revolutionary message by calling for the reorganization of society from a "thing-oriented society" to a "person oriented society" where machines, computers and profits would cease to be more important than people. King went on to declare in the sermon: "If there is any one thing that we must see today it is that these are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression. And out of the wounds of a frail world, new systems of justice and equality are being born."

In this sermon King caught the spirit of the American Black masses, the youth, Third World people and the oppressed around the world.

THE PHILOSOPHIC NEEDS OF TODAY

When King spoke these words, he stood alone. Not one Black leader of national stature would support him. They pressured him to keep his mouth shut and to refrain from, above all, placing the class/race war in the United States ahead of U.S. imperialist interests in Asia.

But we would be doing King a great disservice — who was indeed a great personality — if we assume his philosophical grounds as the point of departure to combat racism, classism and militarism today. Here, I am not speaking of violence vs. non-violence, but the underlying concept of his philosophy that attempts to synthesize opposites within capitalist society without recognizing how deep a revolutionary process must be to overcome oppression.

It was King's failure to recognize this that brought the rupture between him and the Black urban masses who wanted to end capitalism as system completely in the 1960s. He never made a philosophical category out of the Black mass revolt, yet he was the most philosophical of all the Black leaders and did see the struggle in philosophical terms. He had a deep respect for Black masses, but not for their power as reason. What stood between them was his formal philosophical training, which confined thinking and theory wholly to books and not in the actuality of mass struggle.

If Miami is saying anything to us at this moment, it is that we must work out a whole new theory for this practice.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

January 15th was Martin Luther King's birthday. Had he not been gunned down by a racist assassin in April of 1968, he would have been a mere 54 years of age this year. His death was both tragic and untimely but he has not passed from the stage of history, he remains alive in the thoughts of many Black and white Americans and this birthday of his is witnessing a re-discovery both of him and the Black Liberation movement that he has come to symbolize.

This new interest in King is not an accident. It is directly related to the fact that the Black revolution of the 1960s did not achieve total liberation for Black Americans; that racism is still the unwritten law of the land. It is a fact that was once again brought to the consciousness of this country and the world by the revolt of Black youth in Miami last December and by the permanent economic crisis of capitalism and the ever-present threat of a nuclear holocaust. It is within this environment of permanent racism, permanent economic crisis and the threat of world-wide annihilation that King is presently seen as the great personality who fought for the interests of the poor against militarism.

KING'S ANTI-MILITARISM

Thus, today young peace activists and a new generation of Black militants are finding that the opinions that King expressed in his sermon "Why I Am Opposed To The War In Vietnam" is a far better explanation of present realities than the "I Have A Dream" speech. In this sermon, which King originally delivered at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia in April, 1967, he came out against the "giant triplets of Racism, militarism and economic exploitation." He boldly placed himself in categorical opposition to the war by drawing a connection between that war and the war that he was conducting at home. He saw the war in Vietnam as an enemy of the poor, and attacked it as such.

At the same time King placed himself squarely in the corner of Third World revolutions, giving unequivocal support to Vietnamese independence from both French and American imperialism.

Though this sermon was kept well within the boundaries

Two States of the Union: hunger and revolt, Reagan's militarism

(Continued from Page 1)

unemployed workers who are turning to this extreme solution to their problems.

Through the nation, soup kitchens multiply in every urban area from Los Angeles to Boston, from Detroit to Memphis, from Seattle to Miami. Also throughout the nation, the number of homeless families continues to skyrocket, with over three million now listed as homeless — a figure that is greater than those without homes during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The nation's jails fill to overflowing, as many unemployed, youth in particular, turn to crime to get food and shelter, even at the expense of a criminal record. Another side of youth discontent is seen in the more than half million who have refused to register for possible military service.

Meanwhile, the unemployment rate continues to increase, with more than 12 million persons now officially without jobs, or over 10.8 percent — and this does not include the millions who have exhausted their unemployment benefits, are too discouraged even to look for a job, or are underemployed.

The most recent massive unemployment blow came in a new year greeting from Bethlehem Steel, which announced lay-offs of 10,000 workers from its plants in Lackawanna, N.Y. and Johnstown, Pa., who will be added to the 30,000 Bethlehem workers already laid off (see "Worker's Journal" column, p.1). One measure of the steelworkers' super depression is revealed in steel's 29 percent rate of production capacity, which compares with the national industrial utilization rate of about 68 percent.

Underlying these depressed figures is another record: there are over 700,000 bankruptcy cases now pending in the courts, including some half million individual and over 25,000 business bankruptcies filed last year alone. In addition, 43 banks failed in 1982, the largest number since 1940.

According to the latest government figures, unemployment among teenagers has hit a high of 24.5 percent, the rate for Blacks rose to 20.8 percent, for adult males to 10.1 percent, while for adult women the rate reached 9.2 percent. In relation to the latter figure, a startling number of homeless families are headed by women, a point that is consistently emphasized by reporters describing the compositions of the camps of the homeless springing up around urban areas such as Houston, where the promise of employment at one time had offered some hope for jobs.

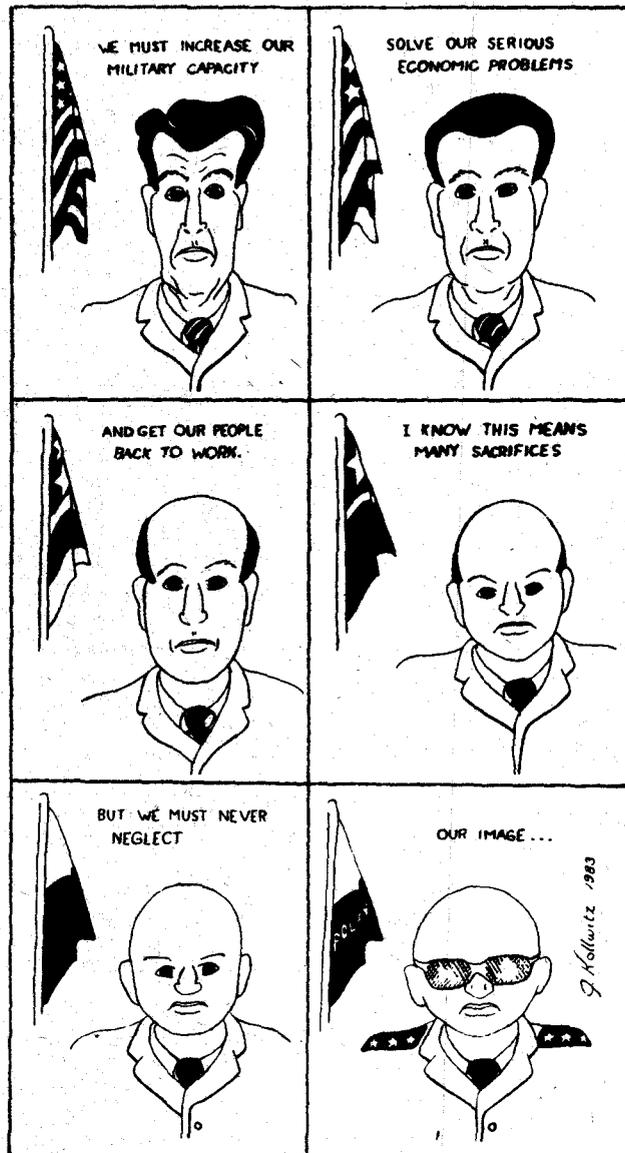
REAGAN'S STATE OF THE UNION: 'FREE ENTERPRISE' AND NUCLEAR MILITARIZATION

In total contrast to these grimly widespread realities, President Ronald Reagan's State of the Union address to be delivered on Jan. 25 will paint a rosy picture of America's future, our "supreme communicator" will insist that the "foundation blocks" have already been put in place upon which "sound, long range" economic growth and recovery will be built. If we all will but "stay the course," there will be such an economic resurgence that the unemployment problems will be solved, interest rates will fall, investment capital will be generated to re-tool U.S. industries, inflation will remain in check and the American dream will once again be within the grasp of all industrious people. Moreover, this will be achieved at the same time that military outlays will be forthcoming, not only to close all of America's "windows of vulnerability," but also to leapfrog ahead of Russia's military posture.

The literal threat of nuclear annihilation is hanging over the world. The latest escalation of this national terrorism by Reagan is his demand for an additional \$8 billion for strategic nuclear forces for the next fiscal year, which would mean a staggering total of \$30 billion for nuclear warfare, or nearly tripling the \$12.1 billion budgeted in 1979. And while Reagan may be forced by public pressure to reduce his military spending aimed at one-world mastery in competition with Russia bent on the same aim, he will insist on his nuclear budget.

Reagan, with a kind smile and gentle tone, will remind us that it has taken over two decades of reckless and rudderless government spending to bring our present crisis upon us, and that recovery will take some time. Our penance for wrongdoing cannot be satisfied with a mere five "Hail Marys" and five "Our Fathers." The sins are too momentous to be atoned for by such simple punishment. And, as Reagan will reiterate, the misery, anguish and suffering which accompany the massive unemployment are "unfortunate" but are nevertheless the price that has to be paid to restore the health of the economy. In a word, our supply-side President will reign supreme in the White House, surrounded by myopic court jesters chanting the long-sterile phrases of free enterprise and free marketplace.

But it was precisely the unregulated appetite of so-called free enterprise capitalism that produced the international economic collapse in the 1930's. That, in turn, ushered



ered in our present era of state-capitalism, with the state dictating and enforcing the schemes concocted by the planners, of both the full state version in Russia and of the "private" version in the U.S.

The capitalist contradictions which resulted in collapse then were not removed by the plans or the planners, and nothing reflects that fact more compellingly than the present degenerating stage of worldwide economic crisis. Marx long ago disclosed the central law of capitalist development to be the permanent unemployed army. This brutal truth is no longer controvertible, since the evidence throughout not only the U.S. but also the world, testifies to this already critical and still growing joblessness in both developed and underdeveloped nations. However, Marx also revealed that worker revolt grows to oppose their degradation, and that part of the second America has hardly been silent and inactive.

Attempting to create an atmosphere of fear and repression, the Ku Klux Klan has scheduled rallies in a number of urban centers, including Washington, D.C. Every effort has been met by massive confrontations by both Blacks and whites who have forced would-be Klan marchers to flee for their lives, often escaping only because of police protection.

WORKERS' DETERMINATION TO FIGHT BACK

Workers, meanwhile, have recently demonstrated a determination and conviction that they will not continue to tolerate the stampede on the part of their so-called leaders to give back the workers' hard-won gains. The Chrysler workers in Canada refused to accept UAW President Fraser's efforts to force a 'take-back' contract down their throats, and instead voted to strike the company. The Canadian workers thus not only won improved contracts for both themselves and the U.S. Chrysler workers, they provided the leadership that challenged their own union bureaucrats and the corporation — and were victorious.

Another sign of labor's determination to halt their backward slide was revealed in the vote of the miners, who replaced their incumbent president, Sam Church, who had miserably failed to effectively represent them, with Rich Trumka, a 33-year-old Pennsylvania miner who campaigned on a platform to restore the might and fighting spirit of the UMWA. Analysts who refer to the totally superficial consideration that Trumka wore a three-piece suit whereas Church chewed tobacco and wore overalls miss the point entirely. If Church had effectively represented the miners, they wouldn't care if he walked around

in a barrel, they would have still supported him, and his presidency.

In sharp contrast to the democratic UMW election, the UAW's leadership succession this summer is already cut-and-dried, with Owen Bieber selected by the union's executive committee to replace Douglas Fraser. The UAW delegate convention to be held in July will simply ratify Bieber's selection, with the rank-and-file auto workers completely by-passed by the bureaucratic structure of the UAW, a procedure that increasingly angers auto workers.

As for the temper of the Blacks in the U.S., who are the most viciously deprived in this depressed economy, the explosion in the Overtown section of Miami (see article, p.8) is but a small manifestation of the seething revolt that is simmering beneath the surface. Just how powerful this sentiment for change is can be seen in the recent coalition of Black churches, which have united to combat racism's resurgence under Reagan. This unity could never have been achieved unless the movement for change from below was not massive and determined.

Meanwhile, other minorities, women and the youth have their own special oppressions and discriminations to battle. Women's liberationists fighting for their rights and recognition face not only a hostile President and Administration, they must also contend with right-wing religionists determined to destroy every gain made by women and to reimpose, if not deepen, the previous discriminatory and subservient relationships.

The two states of the union — that of workers, employed and unemployed, minorities, women and youth; and that of Reagan — stand in stark contrast to each other. The new activities from Black rebellion to rank-and-file labor militancy, from the anti-nuclear war movement to women's liberation, all show a determination to oppose Reagan's nuclear militarization of the depressed economy. The battle is beginning to be joined.

Protest Oroville racism

San Francisco, Cal. — "Stop the Nazis, Stop the Klan, For Jobs and Justice" was the theme on hundreds of banners on December 12 when more than 2000 men, women and children marched in Oroville in northern California. The participants represented about 100 supporting organizations: civil rights groups, churches, unions, Blacks, women, Chicanos, Asians, Native Americans, Middle Eastern, etc.

Busloads came from all over California, Oregon and Washington; some from as far as Texas and Arizona. The news media from all over the U.S., Europe and Japan were there. But most important of all were The Concerned Parents of South Oroville, founded by mothers from the predominantly Black section of the community called Southside. The Black mothers had called for a "National March against Racism."

The events behind the Oroville demonstration started in November of 1981 when an avowed Nazi, Perry Warthan, put threatening racist material in Black homes, on cars, advertised his "dial a Nazi" recorded message in public places and finally recruited some teenagers to spread his poison inside the schools. The Black community responded with such force that the police were compelled to investigate.

Oroville is the community where, in 1979, three young white men went deer hunting and not finding any they came home, stalked and shot to death a Black man. Of that "incident" the mayor told the press that it was "just some disturbed kids who wanted something to shoot at. If it had been a Mexican or a Chinaman they would have shot him. It just happened to be a Black man."

Officials of the all white city government claim there is no segregation — "they have their part of town, and we have ours." Mayor D'Arcy claims there are no Blacks in the Fire and Police departments or city government "because no qualified Blacks applied."

The Black community has no paved streets or street lights, sewers are faulty, unemployment is 35 percent and minimum wage is the norm for those who find work. Threats from the Klan or Nazis has continued for 50 years, and police harassment is a regular occurrence.

That Oroville is a "symbol" of racism in California, has been overwhelmingly proven by the just released California Panel to Investigate Violence Against Racial, Religious and Ethnic Groups in this state. The two year investigation revealed over 400 reports of violence against minorities, from cross burnings to swastikas, from fires to murders. Targets include Blacks, Chicanos, Jews, Native Americans and Southeast Asians. Witnesses testified that harassment and abuses by law enforcement personnel were more significant problems than violence by white supremacists.

Every day the connection between Miami and California becomes more visible. The Concerned Parents of South Oroville and their supporters have declared Oroville to be not only a symbol of racist repression, but a freedom symbol of mass opposition to racism in the 1980s.

— Observer

A young Black British woman writes Charles Denby

An exchange of letters with the Editor

Birmingham, England

Dear Mr. Denby,

I have just finished reading your book *Indignant Heart*, and I must say it made interesting reading, even though you succeeded in smashing my illusions of certain people, namely Angela Davis.

Being on the other side of the Atlantic, it always seemed to me that Americans (Black) were doing more and achieving more than we Black British. But it looks now to me that we are all back to stage one.

I THINK IT would be useful if I told you my age because that would give you some idea of the times I am referring to. I am 23 years old.

At present I have just embarked on a three year degree course in law and I am in my first year. I got hold of your book through a friend who is a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and I became involved with them through joining a group at our college, Students Against Racism. The aim of the group basically is to smash racism and unite the working-class.

I myself have never been politically involved in any groups, but after reading your experience with the Communist Party I began to wonder whether I was doing right by becoming attached to this group.

I COULDN'T MAKE out from your book whether you had joined any other communist group after that experience, but I would be glad of some direction.

Because I am basically concentrating on my course work, I have not had the opportunity to delve more into the policy belief and aims of this party. But I want to do something, not just by talking, but something useful and constructive. The only problem being that I don't know how, or who to join with to achieve something better not only for Black people but all people around the world.

At present I think I lack confidence, but also I am not sure of my beliefs, or what I want out of life. I know you can't tell me, but some guidance might help me off the fence and into the main arena of life. I look forward to hearing from you Mr. Denby.

Yours sincerely
Ms. S.A.Q.

System uses welfare to divide and control

Boston, Mass. — At a time when many people are lamenting Reagan's dismantling of social service programs, rather than demand a return to pre-Reagan levels and types of services we are in a position to evaluate and propose fundamental changes in their structure and implementation.

Social welfare programs often act as a mechanism of social control in maintaining the existing social order. These services act as a safety valve for the pressures which periodically build up in a society that is unwilling to assure a minimum standard of living. They appease "surplus labor" during times of unemployment and mask, rather than correct, the underlying tensions of capitalism.

Social welfare programs divide and cripple groups of people by demanding that they compete against each other for limited social service resources. They also create the impression that government is concerned about the welfare of its citizens.

Both directly and indirectly these programs exercise control over the day to day lives of recipients. These control mechanisms are often integrated into eligibility requirements. For example, strikers are often denied welfare benefits; AFDC regulations dictate the composition of families receiving welfare benefits, and people receiving unemployment benefits must report to the unemployment office every two weeks even if they are not offered jobs when they report.

People come for help as unique individuals but are soon categorized and processed into clients. This obscures each person's individuality, as well as the critical problems in society which both the professional and the client have in common. The emotional neutrality, which professionals are supposed to embody, acts as a model for clients who are told to suppress their feelings of oppression so that they can be good workers, students and wives.

Marxist social welfare under capitalism can aim at transformation both by recognizing the suffering inherent in a capitalist society and by insisting on a truly human response to this suffering. There are a number of ways in which the structures of social welfare can be improved — the decentralization of power and resources being an essential element of change. Communities can democratize federal social welfare programs; cash payments with which to purchase services can be given directly to individuals; alternative institutions such as people's health clinics, hospice centers, women's support groups can be formed, and professionals can organize and put a halt to dehumanizing methods.

It must be recognized, however, that the only way to decrease the need for social services is to change the structure of society itself.

— R.S.

Detroit, Mich.

Dear Ms. S.A.Q.

I was very glad to get your letter. I had gotten some before from Britain and some from Germany (where my book was published in German,) but never before from Black Britain. That is a very important difference. You say that you are 23. I have had a lot of experience in my younger days with the Communist Party in the USA. It was not the same Communist Party that we know today. Back then it seemed to be much more of a revolutionary party. My first experience with the Communists was in 1929, after I had come up from the South and then the Depression hit.

The Communists were trying to help both Blacks and poor whites, fighting to put people back in homes after landlords had evicted them. The time was so ripe for revolution, that you thought that if they were serious about it we would have one. Blacks and whites both were yelling that they should have guns — not for fighting against one another, but for revolution. But what the CP was interested in was running candidates for office. They said they would get "good people" in.

NOW YOU KNOW I was born in the Deep South, and when I came to the North I was looking for complete freedom. When I came back in 1942, after years back in Alabama, I met the Communists again. But now many in the Communist Party were union leaders. I saw what they were doing. And I was through with them when I saw that they were using Blacks on every issue in the union. One friend in the shop was a member or close sympathizer of the CP. When he told them that he agreed with me on the Black struggle in the plants, they arranged to have him fired, by getting him into a fight with another worker. Later they had this worker also fired (he was Yugoslav) for supporting Tito.

So I thought over your question on affiliation with Students Against Racism, and of course I don't know the group, so I can't answer exactly. But because of my experience, I question it. Maybe the Revolutionary Communist Party is for China, instead of Russia. But the point is that the approach to the working class is similar. Anything working people or Black people start they want to get in and lead it. They think that we are dumb and they have to be the ones to lead the movement. They assume that whenever the Black people don't follow their leadership, they are "backward". The truth is that they only end up strangling the movement. They never see actions of the masses as a critique of themselves. You might look again at my critique of the Maoists in the plants in my book, p.p. 262-272.

TODAY I'M associated with News & Letters. We have been a paper and an organization expressing the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism since 1955. This philosophy doesn't separate mental and manual labor. It is determined to see Blacks and other poor people with control of their own lives, thoughts and destiny. I never dreamed before I was affiliated with News & Letters that a worker could be the editor of a revolutionary paper. That is part of the separation between mental and manual under capitalism — and for most of the Left, they repeat it. But for 25 years I have edited this paper, and I am enclosing a copy for you to read and subscribe.

I hope you will be willing to be both a reader and a writer. I would like to know more about the conditions for Black British in Birmingham. I was glad and surprised to hear that you are taking up a law degree. But I don't think that is too common, since I have seen and heard about unemployment and poverty before and since the rebellions in July 1981. Could you write for us some of the news and conditions in Birmingham? (I'm enclosing a report we printed back during the rebellion.)

LET ME say that I was very impressed with how you closed your letter, asking for help in getting you "off the fence and into the main arena of life". The best and only way I know to tell you this is to bring together thoughts of freedom and actions for freedom. That is what our philosophy of Marxist-Humanism is about. Have you ever seen any of the books written by Raya Dunayevskaya? We have been together in the movement since the 1940s. She is the National Chairwoman of News and Letters Committees and her new book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, has just been published. This book, and her two earlier books, are the best things to read, I believe, for helping you into the "main arena of life". I am enclosing a brochure and order form for you on her three books.

Sincerely yours,
Charles Denby

Conference announcement

Common Differences: Third World Women and Feminist Perspectives

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign April 9-13
Office for Women's Resources and Services
610 East John Street
Champaign, IL 61820

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Every worker I have talked with sees that the union leadership is totally out of touch with what is affecting workers. Workers in every industry are experiencing lay-offs, plant closings, wage givebacks which cut their standard of living. But the union leadership at the most pays lip service to the real conditions of workers and unemployed today.

But this state of degeneracy of the labor bureaucracy is not only characteristic of the UAW, which is supposed to be progressive, but of the entire AFL-CIO. It is not a short term question. Ever since the new stage of production called Automation was introduced into the coal fields with the continuous miner in the late 1940s, there has been a sharp separation of labor leaders and workers. Even so militant a labor leader as John L. Lewis did not really grasp what the workers were striking over in the 1949-50 miners' general strike. Where Lewis settled the strike for more royalty money into the miners' welfare fund, he did not have a real conception of what the workers really wanted when they raised the question: We do not want to work with this new continuous miner, what kind of labor should man do?

Not only has the labor leadership continued to be separated from the workers from the early 1950s to today, but they have not understood the kind of crisis that we are living in. When the workers were striking against Automation in the coal mines, they were striking against the new stage in capitalist production which we workers have been living under now for three decades.

THE REAL CRISIS FOR WORKERS

The real crisis for the American workers is that even if the steel industry would recover, the U.S. steelworkers would not. Just as tens of thousands of U.S. auto workers like myself will not be returning to the auto plants, so the steel workers will not be returning to the steel mills. The workers in auto, steel and other industries are being replaced by automated, unimaged, robotized labor — that is, the dead labor of machines.

The astronomical unemployment figures will not change dramatically even if there is some recovery from the current recession. The fact is that high unemployment — an unemployed army — is with us permanently. The labor leaders either do not understand this or are perfectly willing to accept it. It is only ourselves — workers from that first Automation strike in the coal mines to today's unemployment lines — who can refuse to accept being made obsolete.

This is why the incident in the unemployment office where the workers were yelling revolution is not just an isolated incident. Workers certainly want a job. I was reading an article about workers living in their cars, sleeping on church house floors, in doorways, or anywhere they might survive for the night, trying to find jobs so they can make a living for their families. Some freeze to death, some kill their families and themselves, others rob and get killed by the police, some go to jail.

But if this system is unable to provide those jobs and if the labor leaders continue their deafness to what working people are demanding, then the shout of "No jobs, Revolution!" will become a reality. I am an unemployed worker who has been thinking about that possibility. What do you think?

The elections in Brazil

New York, N.Y. — The November elections delivered a resounding defeat to the military government in Brazil. It lost the popular vote but won control of the parliament only because thinly-populated rural areas are over-represented. The election brought forth some old forces such as the Democratic Labor Party whose leader, Lionel Brizola, won as Mayor of Sao Paulo. Brizola had been part of the nationalist Goulart regime which was toppled by the U.S.-backed military in the first of a wave of "modern" type military coups which then covered the whole Southern Cone of Latin America, turning it into a vast torture chamber.

But perhaps even more significant than the victory of Brizola is the emergence of new forces. There is a new Labor Party, independent of the old nationalist leaders such as Brizola and linked to liberation theology. It is led by Luis Ignacio da Silva (Lula), the only major Latin American labor leader to make a great point of supporting both Solidarnosc and the Sandinistas.

Brazil's new working class is also heavily female and women's rights issues have played a part in the mass strikes since 1978. The election involved an important new Black movement, led by Lelia Gonzalez and linked to the Labor Party, a movement which is challenging the myth of Brazil as a multi-racial society.

The election also included the victory of an Indian, Mario Juruna, to a seat from Rio de Janeiro in the Parliament. Juruna sees his mandate as defense of all of the oppressed, which he defines as including Indians, landless peasants, women, Blacks, workers and slum-dwellers.

— Kevin A. Barry

YOUTH

Yol: a film on Turkish life

by Ida Fuller

Turkey today is a country under martial law. During the past two years the military government has imprisoned many youth and other activists on political charges and today there are reports of widespread torture and an imprisonment figure as high as 20,000. A Turkish movie, "Yol," which has recently won a Cannes Film Festival award, not only exposes the martial law government, but also depicts the contradictions of a Middle Eastern society in a way never done before.

The powerful nature of this movie can be shown by the fact that the Turkish government started a campaign of slander against its director, Yilmaz Guney, bombed the theatres where his film was being shown, and then banned the movie altogether. Despite such a campaign, there is news of great popularity and praise for "Yol" inside Turkey.

FOCUS ON KURDS

"Yol" is the story of five prisoners who are released on leave for a two-week period. It is in tracing the relationship of these prisoners with their wives, children, relatives and surroundings that "Yol" brings out multifaceted contradictions. However what makes the contradictions even more telling is that three of the main characters are Kurds in a country where using the word "Kurd" involves a two-year prison term and speaking the Kurdish language entails five years of prison.

Thus, Kurds are always referred to as "mountain Turks." Guney, himself a Kurd, deliberately picks out a very oppressed minority as his main category in order to not let us easily label characters as good or bad and to make us question how those who are oppressed can become oppressors in certain relationships.

Of the three Kurdish characters Seyit Ali is a Kurd who finds upon return to his village that his wife has resorted to prostitution. He is immediately confronted with his family's encouragement to murder his wife and save his honor. Zine, his wife, who was pulled out of the prostitution house by his family, is now chained and half starved by them. It is Zine's father who insists that Seyit "be hard, nurture your hatred," and not be softened by the pleadings of the "she-devil."

Seyit, torn between pity and hatred, finally decides to take his wife (who is very lightly dressed) on a forced

walk through the snow to freeze her to death. It is the scene in the snow that will make one shudder at the sufferings of Middle Eastern women. Zine, who is forced to believe that she is unclean and wants to recant by becoming Seyit's slave, finally dies.

Seyit, at the final stages, is moved and tries to rescue her but even then his dualities are shown when, on the one hand he hits Zine to not let her be numbed by the snow, and on the other hand does so to release his frustration and hatred. Seyit is congratulated upon the declaration of his wife's death. He has saved the family's honor.

Another episode follows the story of a prisoner from Turkish Kurdistan, near the Syrian border. Here one sees the Kurdish fighting spirit alive and well, resisting Turkish martial law officials. It is after our young Kurdish prisoner witnesses his brother's murder by the authorities that he decides to join the rebels in the mountains.

Yet even a Kurd in revolt can have an oppressive character when he deals with women. When our young rebel takes the news of his brother's death to his wife and orphaned child, he immediately reminds her of the law of the community. Now she will be his wife — his property. As Guney says, this movie is about "men who can be courageous, heroes who can rebel, yet at the same time can be very reactionary toward their women."

'YOL'S' MESSAGE

"Yol" has done a great service in bringing out the revolutionary as well as reactionary elements within the Kurdish society. Seeing this movie was one of the experiences that made me sense what it means to want a total transformation of society, one that includes all human relationships. One can see how crucial is a new conception of revolution for movements of social change whether among Turkish, Palestinian or Iranian revolutionaries in the Middle East. That need for an all encompassing view of social change extends itself throughout the world.

But for us as youth, "Yol" carries a very important message. If exposing a reactionary government is not enough and if those who are oppressed can themselves become oppressors, then the task of those with a youthful mind free of ingrained prejudices is to make sure that the old oppressive relations are not recreated in a revolutionary movement.

Guney has been able to show the fervor bursting in a pre-revolutionary situation without mitigating or ignoring the obstacles which can very well stop a revolutionary movement halfway. If we as youth can carry as critical an understanding, then we can build a movement which can transcend those obstacles and head forward.

Life of a Latina Teen

Los Angeles, Cal. — I come from Mexico, born without the attention of a doctor with the help of women called curanderas, and poor like all the rest living in that area which is called El Fuerte.

The children work hard from an early age. They either go with their father to take care of the cattle while he works on the crops, or stay at home to help their mother with the smaller children. Others have a chance to go to school where, from what I learned from my older sister, teachers hit them with sticks cut from trees by favorite students and brought to their lovely teachers.

My brother, the oldest of the boys, now 15, attended school and was well liked by my father. He was his first son. He used to hit my sister and me, and he was never stopped by my father, while if I tried to fight back or start anything, I was whipped with a horse whip. I remember him doing the same to my mother.

I was a second mother for my brothers and sister as I babysat for them while the rest worked or attended school. The school didn't interest people much since many couldn't go and those who did didn't care about learning how to read and write. When I attended school for the first time, I was almost 13. Because of my age they put me in the sixth grade when I came to Los Angeles.

In Junior High, there wasn't much writing expected from us. While we listened to the teachers, we learned history, but they never taught us how to solve problems that are now growing into revolt and killing among human beings. There are our people who need to be taken care of. There are injustices which we must destroy.

All this I realized in the tenth grade as philosophy started to be spread throughout my veins until it reached my conscious mind. My writing started to flow and to improve as we were required to express our ideas in our writing. All this time I worried about my people, parents and friends because they couldn't do much about the poor situation they still lived in. Have I solved their problems now that I have an education? No. Not with the money situation they have been living in until today. I have given my understanding and I have done what I can, but it's not been enough.

Will the rich ever stop having an inhuman conception about the Indian? Will those who, after obtaining sufficiency, still want to be omnipotent? How do we make sure that the demands we are fighting for don't get lost and that the leaders after reaching power don't separate themselves from the masses. If we are to convince someone in changing, does it mean that we are to start our own world?

Dispatches from the army of the unemployed

Los Angeles, Cal. — I've been unemployed eight months now, and a year before that I was unemployed for a whole year. I've already exhausted my benefits and now I'm on an extension. But the question is, what do we do once the extensions run out?

This is what I keep asking the clerks in the unemployment office. They tell me, well, go on welfare when your unemployment checks run out. But what's after welfare? How are they going to be able to keep paying workers these benefits when there aren't any workers left producing things?

If this system has nothing to promise us but more and more unemployment, what are we going to do? We have to begin by getting together to discuss the crisis of unemployment and what kinds of ideas and activities workers can engage in that will truly change this system.

One woman was telling me how tired she was of having to come back to the unemployment office every few weeks to prove she was looking for work. "Why do I have to prove I want to work," she told me. "Can't they see you can't raise a family on \$90 a week? I'm just sick and tired of having to stand in these lines all day. I wouldn't at all mind to see this whole system torn up and replaced." The question is, what kind of society will we put in its place.

I told one of the clerks that every time I come down here I look at the board and see the same minimum wage jobs up. He answered, "We've had our staff cut because of Reagan too. We just don't get around any more to changing the jobs listing on the boards." So the same jobs sit up there for weeks on end!

What I want to know is how Reagan and this system can think they can "cure the economy" by putting half the work force out of work. Who is going to produce their riches for them? Who makes things if not workers? Have they forgotten the simple facts that every worker knows so well? It's not just that Reagan and the others are so stupid — the truth is that this system can't create more jobs. They're too busy converting old auto factories into munitions plants.

The fact that there are no jobs out there is proven in their having to grant some of us federal extensions. They are scared of what working people will do if there are no promises of more benefits made to them. They will tear this country apart.

— Unemployed worker

Youth in Revolt

Three blows against youth in America have come from the Reagan Administration within only one week:

- 1.) A proposal to create a "sub-minimum wage" — at \$2.50 an hour — for teens employed during the summer.
- 2.) A regulation to make clinics inform parents of teenage women who get birth control prescriptions, a "squeal rule."
- 3.) Proposed cancellation of a scheduled 7.6 percent pay raise for military personnel, making enlistees' pay even harder to live on.

In the largest political gathering in Louisiana since the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, over 1,000 demonstrators marched through New Orleans, Dec. 19, protesting the arms race and budget cutbacks.

In Khartoum, the capital of the Sudan, high school youths are staging strikes and fighting with the army on the streets. Economic crisis grips the country, with daily power blackouts, shortages of vital foodstuffs and transport breakdowns. The high school students went into the streets in protest, and the government of General Nimeiri shut down their schools. When schools reopened after 40 percent price increases in basic commodities, so did the student riots.

Hundreds of young East German women have told the government they will not fight to defend the state, demanding the Communist Party head, Erich Honecker, abolish a law drafting women in "times of emergency."

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Editor's Note: Well over 20,000 unemployed workers stood in line in Chicago just for the chance at one of 2,800 minimum wage jobs lasting just ten weeks. Below are comments from two of those workers.

Chicago, Ill. — We are going back to the era of the '30s. People are going to have to go to bread lines, and these programs don't even help us. We are in a Hispanic community and the applications are not in Spanish. This is a real drawback. People come looking for a job and they find they need help to fill out their applications.

People have the right to at least get a reasonable job. A program that lasts only a few weeks is not enough to sustain you. You need to be able to clothe and feed your children. It isn't enough. What we need are some peaceful times and job training so people can have jobs.

— Latino man

A lot of people say it's just a political thing to benefit Mayor Byrne's campaign. I have to hope that is not true — I've been out of work for three years. It's hard to find work in a depression. I think Reagan should stop spending so much money on warfare, A-bombs and the like. Vietnam should have taught him that this is a thing of the past.

Unemployed Black man

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