A trip South: Black freedom at crossroads

by Charles Denby, Editor
Author of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 4)

WOMAN AS REASON

Urgent appeal for Vera Golubeva

We have just received this urgent communication: The new hedghog tyranny (Yezhovshina) or the usual hogs (Putyshchina) or the usual toughs (Lebedevshchina) or the usual toughs (Kirovshchina) or the usual toughs (Bukharinshchina) of today, and the usual toughs (Trotskyshchina) of yesterday.

At the end of December, 1930 Natalya Mal'tseva was arrested in Leningrad. Publicist, unmarried mother, she offered immediately to work for the Almanac Woman and Russia. She was published at once in the first edition, though she was living in Arkangel and working there at the television office. Her enthusiasm and activity was so great that I insisted that she take a pseudonym. Natalya Mal'tseva became Vera Golubeva. She told me that feminism had become for her the reason to live, and that she discovered herself at last in the fight for rights of the women-mothers.

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

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

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

NEW UNION PROVIDES ANSWERS

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

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

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(Continued on Page 4)
We will not allow the ferocious Stalinist cruelties to spill over to Russia again. The world has heard a lot about it. It will be impossible for the hardened pilli, faith, and hatred, to retain the face, the spirit, the spirit of the old Russia, while the period of interrogation is still going on. After this period it will be too late because in the state of stress where Vera-Natasha will not be able to suppress herself in exile. More distressing on her nerves will be the threat of her daughter being an informant.

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

I would like to inform you that I have been the main editor of the Almanac Woman and Russia, and for this reason have been exiled from the USSR. "Women and Feminist Documents," a feminist book edition in the Soviet Union. Almanac No. 1 and 2 (Rossiyskaya or Russian Woman) a cover name deliverer in the U.S.S.R. and actually published in France, Paris, at the beginning of this year.

Now, back in Leningrad, Vera Golubeva (having written the book) has been named the first of all Almanacs acting as my substitute, as other authors do in different cities of the Soviet Union.

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

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

Mamonova's call for an International Feminist Union demands a response from feminists both here in the U.S. and in other countries. As Marxist-feminists, we were reminded of Flora Tristan's call for an International Workers' Union in 1845, one year before Marx himself called for one.

As Women's Liberation News & Letters, we support Mamonova's call for an International Feminist Union. The basis of such a union must be the most serious discussion of the problems confronting today's women's movement. Our own personal feminism has demonstrated how crucial women's liberation is to the transformation of all society. Does not the condition of women in Russia as described above tend to provide a basis for practicing the idea of a truly international women's movement? And did not the oppression of women in Iran first signal the incompleteness of that revolution? We believe that as such an objective force, we need to work out ways to make women's liberation become a pathway which will help us achieve a revolutionary end and this oppression once and for all, and allow us to begin establishing new human relationships.

We hope to devote space in future issues to a discussion of Mamonova's questions and we invite your ideas and participation.

Women's Liberation News & Letters

Detroit, SF clerical workers fight 'The Blues'

Detroit, Mich.—It has been a long struggle to become unionized for the employees, mostly women, of Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Michigan. In 1978, workers voted on whether to be represented by the Teamsters. The company carried on an anti-Teamster campaign and the bargaining unit was never clearly defined which caused additional problems. The election ended with a large number of challenged votes and it took months before the National Labor Relations Board to determine that the Teamsters would not be the union at "The Blues.""

In spite of all this, employees' desire to be represented by a union did not decrease. This month, some of the employees are saying that they want to unionize this time for or against the UAW. The bargaining unit has been better defined and the general feeling among the employees is that their union won't lose even if 51 percent of the vote. The company is carrying on a pro-company, anti-union campaign, but the workers don't seem to be listening.

Those voting will include all full-time and regular part-time clerical and technical employees, including computer operators, file clerks, data processing employees, radio collection analysts. This is where the heaviest pro-union support lies.

After the Teamster election, the company promised changes that would probably not have uniform treatment of employees. One of the major changes, however, caused much resentment. The new sick leave policy was to have a maximum of two years' leave by the same employee. This is why their interest in the UAW.

There are also other problems, in spite of high representation of minority and women workers, upper management is still 100 percent white male. High production standards, overtime policies, and merit raises are also issues. Again, an important decision will be made by workers here on Jan. 22, 1981. The outcome will not only impact the employees in question, but could extend to many other female and clerical employees in Blue Cross and Blue Shield insurance company.

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

The workers claim that a new computer system installed by Electronics Data Systems (EDS) in November, 1979, were not problems, but work standards and health and safety problems as well. One woman explained, "There have been bugs in the system and the work really began to pile up because we couldn't process it properly. Now we are getting blamed for the decrease in productivity when it's the system that doesn't work. The union also wants the company to consider the health risks in working with Cathode Ray Tubes (CRTs) for extended periods of time. The union also wants the company to consider the health risks in working with systems equipment like the CRTs. All of this is just too much to bear. It's become a way of life, and it's going to stay out until we get our demands that should be granted.

—Strike supporter
Scabs, cold can't stop Arnold's strikers!

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

Mt. Clemens, Mich.—We went out on strike Sept. 15 because Paul Borman told us we had to accept a two-year wage freeze. Jim Andrus, Jack's Supermarkets and Fomatat also, is not exactly startling. But just last week he sent all 400 of us a letter saying that in the way Chrysler workers help out Chrysler Corporation, the way Chrysler workers help out out Chrysler Corporation, we would have to help him out the 34 stores are all over the state. In Northern Michigan they have a different local, and Borman offered them a better contract, but they turned it down. He thought we would give in when it got cold, but we built these shelters ourselves, got a stove and put up signs saying “we need wood” on the side of the road.

As soon as we went out on strike, Arnold's hired scabs to do our jobs. They can't do them very well, since we are each cashiers, stock handlers, snow shovelers and janitors all rolled into one. The scabs are nearly all women, are picketing 34 Arnold's Drug Stores in the 18th week of their fight for a living wage. They have left us with no benefit pay and no protection. They are young and they get minimum wage and no benefits.

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

Recently workers who have been laid off at General Motors South Gate received an unprecedented letter from Bill Harden, plant manager, three months in advance of the March 1, 1981 call back to inform us that “autoworkers will no longer be tolerated at South Gate.”

Most workers I have talked with say GM is the biggest cause of absenteeism and the truth is the corporation has caused 3500 of us to be “absent” for anywhere from a year to 18 months.

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

REAL CAUSE OF QUALITY LOSS

This “high level decision,” in which no doubt Suhar directly participated, is really a cover-up for the 30 to 35 percent reduction in the labor force. This reduction in the number of workers is predicated on the introduction of a new style of mechanized labor — the robots of unimagination. As Karl Marx said over 100 years ago, accumulated labor forms the capital on which replacing workers at the point of production reduces the actual exchange value of the commodity produced (though the quantity of that commodity stays the same. And since it’s a commodity’s use value which makes possible the realization of that exchange value, quality declines accordingly. Productive technology is designed to produce more in less time, but what is actually created is less in terms of total value. So who is responsible for “losses in cost, quality and efficiency?” Certainly not workers whose absenteeism has caused Harden to be “absent” for anywhere from a year to 18 months.

What we want from all union members and supporters in the Detroit area is a total boycott of Arnold’s Drug Stores. We can’t just give out a strike button. We need a total boycott of Arnold’s Drug Stores and we want to see a letter saying “we need wood” on the side of the road.

-Chrysler Jefferson

Detroit, Mich.—The union is right now talking with Chrysler Financial, who they want us to give up our identities. But it’s not right for us to give up our benefits. We can’t really give up any more than we’ve already given up. If we’re giving up any more we’re giving up any more I’m against any more concessions on the contract.

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

Volkswagen will be opening up a new plant in Sterling Heights, but they have already announced they won’t be hiring UAW workers. That’s not right either. But the UAW has organized the workers there, and that’s a big plus. It’s not only the Haitians or the Cubans who cannot leave freely. The racist and anti-poor policies of the U.S. Immigration Department mean that a Latin American worker can almost never obtain a U.S. visa. I know a South American who, though a U.S. citizen, has already spent two years and $750 trying to get her sister a visa, just for a visit. Who has gotten nowhere.

DESPERATE MEASURES

The desperation is such that we see the tragic deaths of 22 Dominicans aboard the Regis Express freighter in September. These were Haitians, were men and women who were talking all that time they would meet death at sea, rather than be returned to Haiti, speaks louder than any words of the conditions of life and labor they have in Haiti. Emigration is not only way for Latin Americans to keep their families alive.

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A Colombian worker told me that in his home city the minimum wage is about $350 a month. Unemployment is the only way he could get $3,000 to his smugglers.

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

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

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION and Marxism and Freedom

A good way of making sure that one understands absolutely nothing about what is going on in China, is to read everything that is printed in the newspapers and shown on TV. What has happened? Could it be that the reason we are told that — at the same time that China's policy was changed to let the union turn its back on what next will be whites — the army's suppression of the Cultural Revolution was finished the mad bombing of Cambodia. That was followed in 1971 in Peking, plotting Nixon's trip to China? It is a fact that — the same time that China's policy was completely reversed to transform the nuclear superpower, U.S. imperialism, into Friend Number One — the reactionary China Lobbyist, Richard Nixon, anointed Mao's China as the "new global power." It is like what I have just been reading in an article about what working conditions are like at the Perdue Chicken processing plant in Arkansas. They say that since this is the way J. P. Stevens was made to listen to reason, it may work on Perdue Chickens.

The point is that we are at a crossroads in the civil rights movement. It won't be whites who will get away with it. What I believe was the way to the right that whatever happens, we are never going back.

One thing that has not changed from the worst days about relations with Russia; he was in the forefront of calling Russia Enemy Number One. But his position was that not only does Russia's "belligerency" have to be challenged, no, it is necessary to make it clear that both the U.S. and Russia were held as the enemies of the masses, Lin was as adamant as Mao against Russia, against the U.S. imperialism, in the initiation of the Cultural Revolution or in suppressing it when it began to have a momentum of its own.

Again Jiang marched to their tune, adding a few violets to the flower bouquet that he did or did not, by then, sprout some "wild ambitions" of her own is not what brought on the crisis in China.

(To Be Concluded Next Issue)

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Black freedom at crossroads of segregation is the system of so-called "Justice." I had a discussion with John Bulett, the Black sheriff of Lowndes County, Ala. Some of the white farmers are talking about relations with Russia; he was in the forefront of calling Russia Enemy Number One. But his position was that not only does Russia's "belligerency" have to be challenged, no, it is necessary to make it clear that both the U.S. and Russia were held as the enemies of the masses, Lin was as adamant as Mao against Russia, against the U.S. imperialism, in the initiation of the Cultural Revolution or in suppressing it when it began to have a momentum of its own.

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The basic problems of "what kind of labor should workers engage in" and "what kind of automation and robot production should they use" are being raised. The question then, as it is now, was one of the capitalist division of labor into the different classes and professions. This crisis is in production and becomes manifest in the market.

The price of gasoline rose, and the government failed to respond. One of the reasons for this failure was the necessity to maintain the price of gasoline. The government's failure to respond was the result of the need to ensure control by the workers.

The government's failure was also due to the recognition of the workers' rights to participate in the management of the factories. The government realized that it was necessary to maintain the price of gasoline and the workers' rights to participate in the management of the factories.

Chrysler, the weakest of the Big Three, is to itself intent and purpose, bankrupt. It has closed plants, laid off thousands of workers, demanded and got labor guarantees, and is now looking for another 500 million to keep afloat for the next year, but cutting workers wages.

State capitalism cannot permit any sector of industry to face a situation down with it, like dominoes, many other industries and the whole capitalist system. They therefore must band together to prevent the immediate crash of the labor bureaucracy, to bolster up dying capitalism to save their collective skins.

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

The role of the labor "leadership" has been that of complete cooperation with the capitalists. They seek and obtain, seats on the boards of directors, the better to understand the capitalists' problems, not to represent the workers. They utter no protests to the introduction of the horrors of unimation and robot production. The automation of the '50s is today's computer-controlled 8-cylinder engines, which they could not sell. Faced as it was with the demand for fuel efficient 4-cylinder cars, the industry was forced to re-tool for these cars. This, of course, is a classic example of the "profit in a Lincoln than there is in a Pinto." The 4-cylinder market was taken over by the Japanese.

Ford, as late as April, 1980, was still trying to make computer-controlled, 8-cylinder engines, which they could not sell. Faced as it was with the demand for fuel efficient 4-cylinder cars, the industry was forced to re-tool for these cars. This, of course, is a classic example of the "profit in a Lincoln than there is in a Pinto." The 4-cylinder market was taken over by the Japanese.

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In the international arena, the workers engage in continuous conflict with the ruling Communist Party. Many forces in Poland are at work to drive a wedge, between the workers who they "compatible" but their unity was urgent for our survival.

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THE AUTOMATION BUREAUCRACY

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In Silesia: Striking Polish miners shook up Party leaders.

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Another example of the hunger for new ideas came in the form of the publication of Thomas Frank's book, "The Genteel Ants." This book challenged the idea that the Japanese were a mass of docile, obedient ants. This book also challenged the idea that the Japanese were a mass of docile, obedient ants.

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The conditions of life for American workers are going downhill — and fast. I am talking about the conditions in the shop, at work, at home, at school. On my block everyone is unemployed or is threatened with a layoff. Now Carter's advisers are beginning to understand that the government stop trying to help the cities in the North and Northeast, and "encourage" the people there to move to the South wherein the sun shines. But when I finished, I had a fine grasp of what was happening with the U.S. working class recently. Your paper should be commended.

Labor archivist Detroit

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

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

Native American Boehm, California

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

Furious Detroit

I believe every word of what John Marcotte says in the last issue of N&L about the conditions of undocumented workers in Detroit. I want to add this story as that of our nation. And I mean every nation. The worker from another country is always second-class or lower, and the workers who try to make workers go along with that idea. Sometimes they even try it when the workers are living in their home country, like today with the campaign to convince autoworkers that their enemy is the same. What I want to say is that the worst offender in all of this has been the union (the UAW), not the companies. They have banned foreign car workers from the Solidarity House parking lot and put disgusting radio commercials on the air boasting U.S.-built cars and U.S. car companies. You would never know the commercials were written by a union, saying: "It's too bad, we fee that it's not Japanese car sales that is causing the big lay-offs: it's the attempt to catch up with Japanese automation. "Our" U.S. car companies are the ones putting U.S. workers out on the street.

Teru Ikuki New York

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

Mark W. Cleveland, Ohio

Ongoing Polish Politeness

Culture took on more life in Poland, not just for the first time, but as a result of the existence of Solidarity and Andrzej Wajda's projected new movie "Man of Iron" (continuation of the "Man of Iron" series, also made in Gdansk in 1970), but with actual release of a movie "Workers of 1900" about the Gdansk strike for the "living wage" (the workers' self-activity is not only the subject and the audience, but the pressure on the government to release the movie and allow it to be seen, The celebrations include one by NOWA (un-censored publishing house) of its 100th publication and an open lecture at Warsaw University by the Flying University. It was, as one Poles stated that: "The changes in national life are occurring at a dizzying pace and at times it seems that Poland has gone ...one big university coffeehouse', with everybody talking and nobody working." I am in Bloomington Indiana Wladyslaw Chicago

A curious phenomenon is happening all over Poland. Wives of policemen are coming to the stations, carrying the gun and the uniform of their husband and saying: "I've decided that my husband is not going to work for you anymore.

Feminist Michigan

WOMYN'S BRAILLE PRESS

We are six blind womyn. Some of us are lesbians; all of us are feminists. We have all felt extreme frustration because we cannot really read and understand material available to those who read print, and we are all committed to doing something about that. We have formed WOMYN'S BRAILLE PRESS, Inc. We plan to begin offering Off Our Backs and Sinister Wisdom on 4-track cassette by February

Subscribers will pay a sliding fee between $5.00 and $18.00 and receive: (1) the quarterly newsletter in large print, braille, or 4-track cassette; (2) the loan of taped or brailled material on request. The writer will keep sub­scribers up to date on services available through the collective, inform them of other women's recorded and brailled feminist and lesbian literature, and pro­ vide space for womyn to submit an­ nonouncements and articles of interest. Donations of funds and volunteer readers are also needed. For more information write to:

WOMYN'S BRAILLE PRESS, Inc.
Box 8475
Minneapolis, MN 55408

Unemployment here continues to get worse. With a November figure of 2,152,874, People are losing jobs at the rate of 3,000 a day. What is good to see is that some workers are now taking action to resist getting sacked. The success of the Gardner's occupation in Manchester was a boost in this respect.

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

Dick Abernethy Oxford, England

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

Thank you for sending the new Vol­ume II of Dunayevskaya's "Political-Philosophic Letters," and for publishing this selection in the first place. I can say that the letter helped me greatly during my move away from the SWP and towards Marxist-Humanism, as Raymond, among others, pointed out. It never went into things in such a truly dialecti­cal way. I hope that the dislike of "for­eign " theories, or "not just a plane, keep people from reading them...

Here in Britain, the SWP's "Right to Work" campaign seems more and more the way away from the collective campaign on the nature of work under capitalism. I am coming to the conclusion that the SWP's "thin" mechanistic trend, with its complete emphasis on so-called "practical demands" and its refusal to accept the human in its inherent structure in the workplace, the SWP actually tries to defuse them into purely economic programs, even when workers have gone beyond that.

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

Jonathan Murphy Manchester, England

(Ed. Note: Copies of Volume II of "The Political-Philosophic Letters of Ray­monD Dunayevskaya" are also available from N&L for $2.00, postage included.)

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

The time for "specialties", or single issue sects is not over either. I'm afraid I don't know any more con­cretely than that how to make links. But the book on nationalism and its current organizational practices might prove instructive. In general, I'm opposed to vanguardism, and I'm trying to do what is needed to bring it. I am now in a study group which read State and Revolution and other works, and is going to try some hard thinking about feminism.

Activist and student Massachusetts
The overall emotion in Cuba today is fear. There are many more Russians coming in now after several years of relative calm. People are not considering what so many are doing there. Though many Cuban food products are shipped out, the dockworkers where we worked, we often lacked these for ourselves. Once I saw dockworkers drop a load of milk into the sea. For many of them being loaded for export, they were so angry about this.

Every worker in Cuba is classified as a "class A" welder you earn 249 Cuban dollars a month. Class "B" makes $180, and so down to those who pick cotton. As a class "A" welder you earn 249 Cuban dollars a month. Class "B" makes $180, and so down to those who pick cotton.

worker carries with them papers that are no lay-offs in Cuba, but you have to keep a record of "voluntary" work. They record the number of jobs you have worked at.

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

Cuban refugee
Galveston, Texas

... FROM BRAZIL...

All of Brazil is now living a very controversial period. While the military government is promising democracy, the right-wing bombs are exploding in newsstands throughout the country. It is often said that the fascists also invaded a Jewish nursery in Sao Paulo, wrecking everything in sight. A police commandant said that more than 21 persons all over the walls. Are we going back to Hitler and the Nazis?

Correspondent

... AND 'NORTH OF THE 49th'...

On news from my Vancouver perspective, my attitude is colored by the fact that I consider this area north of the 49th параллель merely as the "51st state of the Union." The death, however, of the "Canadian nationalism" is flogged from time to time in the Canadian newspapers as a sign of resignation. What occurs up north of the 49th parallel is but a shadow, now bright, now dim, of that which occurs south of the 49th.

I note with some satisfaction however, that N&L is not without a writer from that area. Donald Hardwick, Georgia. Dessie Woods is a 35-year-old Black woman sentenced to 22 years in prison in 1976 for killing a white rapist who attacked her. The same day that Reagan was getting re-elected, Nov. 4, Dessie Woods was getting brutally beaten by a Century Warden Mark Martin in the women's prison in Hardwick, Georgia. Dessie Woods is a 35-year-old Black woman sentenced to 22 years in prison in 1976 for killing a white rapist who attacked her. The warden beat her after she protested a price overcharge incident in the prison commissary. She was then sent to seven days solitary, and threatened with denial of parole.

Letters of support can be sent to: Dessie Woods
PO Box 29084
Atlanta, Ga. 30314

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I. El Salvador, Reagan and Questions for the Left

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

To these can be added the recent killings of U.S. citizens. But where this meant a certain level of outrage here when it involved the rape and murder of three nuns and a community worker, and thus compelled Carter to suspend temporarily economic and military aid to the rightist government, it has meant barely a whisper in response to the most recent killings of two U.S. agronomists, who recently were ever-presently thrown by the Nicaraguan people, as a "moderate" autocratic friendly to American interests. As for El Salvador, all those troubles, according to the learned professor, are due to Russian aggression in the Western Hemisphere through the instrumentality of Castro's Cuba. She thereby erases from the slate Salvadoran history stretching from military dictatorship to military dictatorship, from the bloody suppression of an Indian peasant revolt massacring 30,000 in 1932 to today's so-called "progressive Junta."

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

In 1880, less than one year after that revolution, has come the most vicious coup in Bolivia. It has all the marks of a Pinochet Chiltepe of junta. That coup sharply reminds us of the home-bred rulers of Latin America, in and out of military uniform, who make us so proud of Latin America, as in El Salvador, confront the reality of U.S. imperialist influence. It is a reality which forever blocks movements toward social revolution.

If the 1980s of El Salvador and Bolivia show the twin poles of repression in U.S. imperialism and in the twin revolutions, one that first Nicaragua and next El Salvador will have to be working out, it is asking concretely how Latin America as a continent can move to be free.

We in the U.S. bear a special responsibility in our solidarity with Latin Americans in helping to work out answers. To put it in its most blunt terms: Would the U.S. of Carter or Reagan invade El Salvador with troops if a victory of the El Salvadoran masses over the right wing military was close at hand? If so, then it is asking itself why the U.S. in the United States must struggle to stay the hand of American military intervention, as well as working to lessen the economic and political club the U.S. is now wielding over the Latin American continent.

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

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

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

Fidel Castro's 12-hour speech to the December, 1980 opening session of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Bolivia and the statement of the Bolivian Communist Party, as well as the Bolivian Marxist-Leninist organization, needs to be built? On, what basis? A vanguard? In Latin America, particularly its Southern Cone, there will be an even more ominous threat for the people of El Salvador, and indeed for all those in Central America who are in the throes of revolutionary change. Not only the masses, "the state-plan from above" leading to "social­

In Chile that presence of U.S. imperialism in concert with the fascist ruling junta has meant over seven years of repression. The recent manipulated referendum of the Pinochet government has not changed the fact of deep Chilean opposition to the dictatorship, but it has shown its firm entrenchment. The coup that Nixon-Kissinger helped to bring about has been fundamentally broadened first by Ford-Kissinger and then by Carter-Brezinski, despite the occasional protests about the lack of human rights and the shock of the murder of Allende's minister, Orlando Letelier, by Chilean agents in the heart of Washington, D.C. Reagan is certain to drop even this small voice of protest on human rights. That the U.S. would prefer fascism a self-determination that threatened tooust U.S. capitalism is not surprising. But we need to concentrate our view of popular struggle. Here too it cannot be to look at the reformism of Allende. The 1973 coup has already demonstrated in the most horrible terrors that one cannot hope to "take over" the state in any fundamental sense, if one does not at the same time, take over the instruments of military power of that state.

If, looking here is not a question of re­

If Cuba and Chile take us through the '60s and '70s, was a very revolutionary one direct work with Cubans on mass mobilizations, in land seizures, in the organization of working class shanty towns and communities, in the aiding of the self-organization of workers’ groups in industrial areas, and in huge defense mobilizations whenever the right threatened a coup.

Here too it cannot be to look at the reformism of the Chilean masses, "the state-plan from above" leading to "socialism," which Cuba expressed even when disagreeing with Russia in the early 1960s, and that has now led to an elimination of all reference from their discourses within is a tremendous barrier to completing social revo­

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Dr. Kenneth Bancroft Clark, the renowned Black psychologist, spoke in San Francisco this past December before the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. Dr. Clark revealed to the press his concern about the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan and the growth of random terrorism against Black people.

While Dr. Clark was of the opinion that this terror is dangerous, he did not see any evidence that it was a "systematic Christian, organization" but rather the unstable system of capitalism, which, with its conservative ideologies of states rights, anti-busing of school children, and promises to unleash free enterprise, was not all that much pro-Black, pro-poor, or pro-labor.

Under full sail during the Carter Administration, which was not all that much pro-Black, pro-poor, or pro-labor, the rising tide of racism brought new meaning to the term "violence." It is being currently, organized in the Bay Area against Black families living in predominantly white neighborhoods.

The trouble started in early November, after a fight between a Black teenager and a white one. Since that time, the East Bay Organizing Committee set up a 24-hour watch in front of three of the homes. I've participated in several of the night watches. Most were pretty shocked to hear of racist attacks in the Bay Area, which is known to be liberal, but none believed that such attacks were an indication of the general feeling that was right-wingers now believe they can get away with more since Reagan's election.

Reagan is capitalizing on the attacks, not directly initiating them, by organizing white youth at local high schools and shopping centers. One older Black person is already out there by the "Klaxers" without being able to shoot back. Another watcher said the only way we're going to stop the Klan is to get the whole neighborhood together and aware of what racism is doing to them.

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

San Francisco, Calif.—About 500 people came to a community meeting here Dec. 13 to work out ways to combat racist violence, which has been aimed at several Black families who moved into a nearly all-white community near here. The racially mixed audience came from union activity, church groups, and residents of the communities involved, as well as from the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

The meeting was called by the East Bay Organizing Committee to inform the community of its efforts to stop the attacks and to solicit their help.

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PART ONE: ROSA LUXMBURG AS THEORETICIAN, AS ACTIVIST, AS REVOLUTIONARY

Chapter 1 — Two Turning Points in Luxemburg’s Life: Before and After the 1905 Revolution
(1) A Preliminary Note on the Dialectic in Marx of the Early 1840s, in Marxism, 1902; in Lenin, 1914
(2) Self-Criticism in the Back, 1841-1843
(3) From Economic to Political, Unbound, 1844-1848

Chapter 2 — The Break with Karl Kautsky, 1910-1911: From Mass Strike Theory to Crisis over Communism

Chapter 3 — The Inter-regnum of Luxemburg, and an Excursus into Marx’s New Continent of Thought

Chapter 4 — Marx’s and Luxemburg’s Theories of Accumulation

Chapter 5 — War and Revolutions, 1914, 1917, 1919: Russian, German, World

Chapter 6 — Women’s Liberation: Then and Now

Chapter 7 — Philosophy, Spontaneity, Organization

Chapter 8 — Marx Discovers a New Continent of Thought and of Revolution, 1844-1850

Chapter 9 — The Grundrisse to Capital

Chapter 10 — Philosopher of Permanent Revolution and Organization Man


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

and Perspectives for the 1980s

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

Thus, whether articulated in the Draft Perspectives, “Tomorrow is Now,” or in the completed Perspectives, “In the United States,” there was the mandate to focus on Carter’s drive to war, with an ever-expanding militarization and the reestablishment of registration with its unconscionable magnitude in the Black community, especially among the youth; the move against established leadership may not seem to have a future, but it is a question of dialectic of liberation—of the movement from practice to the actuality and action as befits “a birth of history” is this: If there is a movement from practice to the actuality and action this represents the rejection of the old, and attempt to create the new.

In 1963 we summarised the whole history of the U.S. “New Left” as a battle between Black and the masses of working people, and the masses as the Vanguard. And these dialectical analyses of historic events—events limited to the current situation but stretching over a century or more—were never separated from our activities during the turbulent 1960s with the Free- dom Riders, Freedom Schools and long marches.

In 1983 we published a pamphlet, Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, and created a new category—apartidarismo (non-partisanship) against established parties, be they Communist or Socialist, and created a new category—apartidarismo (non-partisanship). This book will re-establish the principle that the “new Left” is a way out, to the Left.

There is a dialectic of thought—from consciousness to philosophy to the actuality and action as befits “a birth of history.” This is what makes Hegel a contemporary.

The critical question for today’s “birth-time of history” is this: If there is a movement from practice to the actuality and action as befits “a birth of history,” what does that mean? Is it a new upsurge in Marxism-Humanism principle that the “transcendence of the opposition between Notion and Bodily, and that unity which is truth, rest upon this subjectivity alone?” I added: “This is not a new challenge of the barricades, but Hegel is asking us to have our ears as well as our categories so attuned to listen to the challenge of working out, through ‘patience, seriousness, suffering and struggle,’ the new relations in our work of work, production and philosophy to the possibility and actuality of ‘life itself, or life as a birth-time of history.’ This is what makes Hegel a contemporary.

When I told the Hegel Society of America in 1974 that the “Absolute Idea as New Beginning can become new absolute principle for the Hegel principle that the ‘transcendence of the opposition between Notion and Bodily, and that unity which is truth, rest upon this subjectivity alone.’ I added: ‘This is not a new challenge of the barricades, but Hegel is asking us to have our ears as well as our categories so attuned to listen to the challenge of working out, through ‘patience, seriousness, suffering and struggle,’ the new relations in our work of work, production and philosophy to the possibility and actuality of ‘life itself, or life as a birth-time of history.’ This is what makes Hegel a contemporary.”

We have an absolute opposite of that retrogressionism on the part of the ruling class was seen in the magnificent new unforeseen—actually occupations of the shipbuilders and coal mines—working out, through ‘patience, seriousness, suffering and struggle,’ the new relations in our work of work, production and philosophy to the possibility and actuality of ‘life itself, or life as a birth-time of history.’ This is what makes Hegel a contemporary.”

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The latest revolt, for which, we were told, the revolutionaries are looking to us to prevent the U.S. government from aiding the El Salvador regime.

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

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY FOR REVOLT

The demonstration changed the question of creating international solidarity from abstract to immediate, and transformed the discussion on Washington by the idea of freedom present in the ongoing revolt.

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

Marx discovered a whole class, the proletariat, breaking the vise of exploitation, in life and in philosophy, and he included the special exploitation of young workers, university students, trade unions' and peasants have joined to oppose the government.

NEEDED NORTH AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The rally brought home the needed North American revolution, whose leaflets equally emphasized opposition to U.S. military intervention in El Salvador and opposition to draft registration. The presence of the Salvadoran revolutionaries, communists, and a demonstration against registration alone into a powerful statement against the very wars the draft is intended to serve.

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

San Francisco

Chanting "No Draft, No War, U.S. out of El Salvador," 500 demonstrators marched outside the El Salvador consul's office to protest the murder of six leaders of the Democratic Revolutionary Front in El Salvador. The six FDR leaders were pulled from a secret meeting and were assassinated for El Salvador. The shipping companies in the West Coast longshoremen (International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union) announced Dec. 22 that they would refuse to handle any military goods destined for El Salvador. The shipping companies in the West Coast longshoremen (International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union) announced Dec. 22 that they would refuse to handle any military goods destined for El Salvador.

The marchers called for an end to both U.S. military aid to El Salvador and its support of the right-wing regime. The marchers called for an end to both U.S. military aid to El Salvador and its support of the right-wing regime. The marchers called for an end to both U.S. military aid to El Salvador and its support of the right-wing regime.

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Chad

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

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

Since coming to power in 1969, Colonel Qadaffi has used Libya’s oil millions to make what he terms the “Islamic Revolution.” This involves a redistribution of property to the people, a militarization of government, and a suppression of any peoples’ or political parties, including assassinations of opponents as far away as the U.S., and the importation of advanced Western technology, especially military.

Qadaffi is in a hurry to develop an “Islamic” atomic bomb and is spending billions in this effort. He has also broken a promise to employ a 10,000 to 20,000 men in ten years, while increasing the number of students studying nuclear physics abroad.

Despite this, the separation of Libya from the United Nations—and the backing to the end of the murderous former Ugandan dictator Idi Amin, Qadaffi has succeeded in making himself a point of attraction for a segment of the youth and others in the so-called Green Book, modeled on the Koran and on concepts similar to Mao’s Cultural Revolution.

Israel

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

Much has been made of the anti-Semitic policies of the Russians, with justification. But of the 51,317 Jews that left Russia in 1979, only 30 percent chose Israel as their new homeland.

Israel is lax in keeping count on those who leave the country, but last year 20,000 who departed did not return. Those leaving Israel are not confined to new emigrants who find life too hard, but a large proportion of those leaving, like some of the 10,000 families whom the GNP has expressed no confidence in the government and the economy, cause considerable alarm.

Our principal political line in Guyana has to been, the Communist Party of the Islamic Revolution.

Guyana

The following are excerpts of a letter we received from the Working People’s Vanguard Party of Guyana.

Because of state control of paper, and very high prices, we have had to suspend the publication of our weekly, which has become a luxury publication.

Since August, 1979, the police raided our party headquarters and carried off stacks of printed and imported newspapers, a typewriter, and two executive members. The two members were allowed in to them and conditions agreed by Britain were granted and the hunger strike ended without loss of life.

As well as the campaign having politicized and mobilized Iranian people in street demonstrations and increasingly militarily direct action to a greater extent than for a decade, a major reason for British concessions was the massive build up of international pressure.

At the time of writing (Dec. 29) the situation is still unrest. Nearly 1,000 people, including 200 women, with women in Long Kesh (Maze) and 30 women in Armagh jail remain on the “blanket” protest. This will cease only when their own clothes are allowed back and the conditions the prisoners have actually granted. The prisoners have stated that the speed at which the protests ends is entirely dependent on the sincerity and manner of implementation by the British authorities of their proposals. Failure to do this could lead to another hunger strike. While thanking the British authorities for their temporary support and efforts, it is important to stress that the struggle is by no means over.

Ehbbinh Ni Sheldiah

Arab women

A Swiss organization has been formed to protect Arab women from the common practice of killing unmarried pregnant or “adulterous” Arab women by their own families. Women have formed their own groups, as well as the International Women’s Network, which has become a powerful political group in this country.

The killers in these so-called “honor killings” are the police, who have been politicized and have become a political force in the country.

Our principal political line in Guyana has been that the electoral road has been blocked by the PNC regime since 1980 and that the United Nations need for new revolutionary struggle. We also denounced any proposition at “critical support” to the PNC regime or a National Patriotic Front government which included that party. We first denounced the PNC “socialism” as a farce.

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

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

January-February, 1981

France

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

The Communist Mayor was carrying out the line of the French Communist Party leader, Georges Marchais, who is demanding “equal distribution” of foreign workers in France. With elections coming in the spring, the Communist Party hopes to use immigration to win the votes of the white working class.

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

In November, the Political Bureau of the French CP gave the green light to such racist attacks with its statement calling on its members to “stop immigration” and to “repeat what the French workers in Algeria did not do what it promised . . . We approve of the concrete measures taken by Communist Mayors who oppose official pressures to find housing for immigrants that increases the concentration of immigrants . . . We approve of the Communist elected officials who have cut the total volume of welfare aid to immigrants.” (L’Humanite, 11-5-80)

When the French CP did turn about earlier in 1980 from its past Eurocommunist critique of Russian Stalinism in order totally to endorse Russian’s invasion of Afghanistan, some observers wrote that the CP had abandoned “anti-Stalinism” in favor of Russian-style “internationalism.”

In fact, in their policy of racism at home, they seem to be continuing their Eurocommunist critique of “socialism with the West” and of the racist French government. So far the open racism of the French CP has not sparked the type of crisis from intellectuals from the Party that Afghanistan did. Nor has it received the type of criticism from the American CP, Angela Davis included, that its earlier Eurocommunist stance did.

South Korea

Riverside Church, Dec. 12, 1980

Listen to the children.

The little shorties of Korea tell us “The U.S. is a lie.” One young Korean girl exists her bravery in armored combat, in courage, hundreds or possibly thousands of youth die of suicide in Korea since Korea.

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

The night dread of martial law convicts its spell through the streets of Kwangju, the proletarianure of the 1872 uprising filled with furious, fighting youth and tear gas canisters, among which lies the voice of a young man leaving the life of Kim Dae Jung, “The most trusted leader of the nation”—
leave what legacy now, what laws governed them? The streets are covered with a gauzy moon.

We are 300 praying and singing in Riverside Church for the life of Kim Dae Jung. It is not enough to listen to Reverend Coffin for a nation’s life.

Listen to the children as they die.

Teru Ibuki