

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

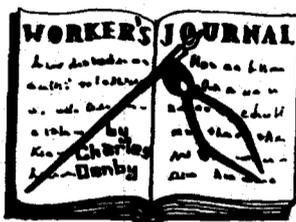
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March on Washington 1981 and 1963



by Charles Denby, Editor

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

The labor leaders for almost the first time in their history have been asking the rank-and-file members what is wrong, why haven't they supported the leaders. They have been yelling recently that they have to listen to the rank-and-file at their meetings.

Practically every member of any union could begin to say what is wrong when they tell you that these so-called labor leaders are today much closer to the company, look out for the company's interest more than the workers' interest. Perhaps these leaders began to change their tune about listening to workers because they knew they needed rank-and-file support to make the Solidarity March on Washington a success.

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The trail in the 1980s for transforming reality

by Raya Dunayevakaya, National Chairwoman, News and Letters Committees

Editor's Note: Below we are printing brief excerpts from the five part *Perspectives Thesis* delivered to the News and Letters national meeting over Labor Day weekend. The table of contents of the full report and information on its availability in bulletin form can be found on page 4.

One of the latest confrontations between the Polish workers and the Communist bosses has been taking place in Silesia ... where, in 1844, a revolt inspired Marx to practice what he was working out — his discovery of a new continent of thought and of revolution. In 1844 they were not miners, but weavers; they weren't asking for workers' control of production in so many words. Rather, they were smashing the machines that were taking their jobs away — and they were burning the deeds to that property. Marx declared that to be a higher stage of workers' revolt than the great French Revolution that

had overthrown the feudal regime but had not questioned the property of the bourgeoisie.

Silesia, 1981, is the region where workers at the Huta Katowice steel complex placed a white wheelbarrow in front of the manager's office to let him know he could be carted away; that they wanted to elect the manager.

Just consider what has been accomplished in Poland: in a single year they have established a free trade union, Solidarity, which has creative political overtones; they have established a Peasants' Union, another historic first for any state-capitalist country calling itself Communist; and now they have carried on not only a printers' strike but are demanding access to all mass media — including TV and radio.

The establishment of Solidarity had its political precedent many years before, in the establishment of KOR, a small group of workers and intellectuals, who certainly had visions not only of a free trade union but of a workers' state. Among its leaders from the start were Kuron and Modzelewski, who, in the early 1960s, penned an "Open Letter to the Party" in which they declared Poland to be a capitalist state.

What is of concern for 1981 is a comparison of 1844 and 1981 as they concern not only Poland and Solidarity, but Marxist-Humanist perspectives which are spelled out in Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* ... That is why this *Perspectives Report*, instead of beginning as usual with the objective situation, has started in an "upside down" way. It is from the new final chapter of the book that we have the title for this Report: "The Trail in the 1980s for Transforming Reality." We want to deal with it as it is in fact and as new moments for it were discovered by Marx in the last decade of his life.

Starting out "upside down" does not mean we will leave out of sight the Armageddon that Reagan-Haig-Weinberger-Kirkpatrick are getting ready to unleash. Who would have thought that Haig could possibly have been pictured as "soft" on so-called Communism? But Weinberger has succeeded in doing exactly that. With such Hot War rhetoric in a Cold War situation, it may seem that we are on Cloud Nine to try to get our heads straight first with theory in such "abstract" realms as a book, rooted as it is in what Marx elaborated in the last years of his life — but it is, in truth, that ground, that theoretical ground that was established, which will disclose a revolutionary trail to the 1981-82 *Perspectives*.

The first of the three moments of Marx's last decade was the French edition of *Capital*, in which he expanded those magnificent sections on the concentration and centralization of capital. To us, it had become the ground for a theory of state-capitalism. In concrete terms it meant that, far from accepting the Hitler-Stalin pact as any act of a "degenerated workers' state," we were fighting both against Russia and against Nazi Germany as

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A half million gathered in Washington for Solidarity Day in opposition to Reagan.

Blacks, women, other movements join

Solidarity Day: the depth and breadth of labor

Detroit, Mich.—You could feel the electricity in the air Friday night as we boarded a UAW bus to go to Washington, D.C. for Solidarity Day, Sept. 19. That excitement grew as we travelled through the night meeting other busloads of workers at each stop from all parts of the mid-west, north and south.

We were coming to present our own demands and to oppose Reagan's cut-back take-back, "let them eat catch-up," militaristic, anti-human policies. AFSCME workers chanted "All fired up—can't take no more!" as they took their place, with the biggest delegation, at the head of the march to the rally site.

Official estimates may have put our numbers at a quarter of a million, but everyone there will tell you there were many more—perhaps up to half a million. The march up Constitution Ave. never really ended, since workers were still arriving even after the speakers had begun talking.

BLACK PARTICIPATION

The last big demonstration in Washington I took part in was against Nixon in 1970, and then it was thousands of young white students. What struck me so forcefully on Solidarity Day, 1981, was the participation of Black people. Black workers came in numbers

above their percentage in American labor. You knew something new was happening to see Black and white workers marching together in almost every single labor delegation.

There were also contingents from organizations like SCLC, but especially from the NAACP, especially from the South, and especially Black youth. Two young Black women came with the Pender County, N.C. NAACP, and one wore a placard that read: "Give me liberty or give me death." She said she had come because Reagan was eliminating what Blacks had won in the Civil Rights Movement, under the old racist cover of "states' rights." The only alternatives she saw were liberty or death. Many Black workers chose to put an NAACP visor over their union caps, and to march with the NAACP contingent.

You also felt women's liberation very powerfully—and it wasn't only because at least a third, and maybe up to a half of the participants were women. Women's liberation was the large number of women workers, teachers, hospital workers, clerical workers, and many others. It was the smaller groups of women in delegations like the carpenter and electrical workers, demanding that affirmative action be saved. It was the NOW delegation marching near the front, demanding "ERA-Now!", and being cheered as they came by. It

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WOMAN AS REASON

Feminists Against Militarism conference

Dear Sisters,

On Sept. 12-13, ten women from the Chicago and Detroit Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees participated in the Feminists Against Militarism Conference held near Kalamazoo, Mich.

This conference, which had such poor publicity that the organizers thought we would get no more than 110 women, brought together over 200 women from the mid-west, many from the Chicago and Detroit areas, but some from as far away as Kansas City. There were several distinct groups at the conference, including the Maoist/Stalinist Left, separatists, independent women's liberationists, and Women's Liberation-News and Letters.

It was exciting going to this conference the week after our national WL-N&L meeting and the News and Letters Committees Plenum, as it was our first opportunity to ground our activity in both that experience and in our preliminary study of Raya Dunayevskaya's new book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

Whether it was a workshop, plenary or individual discussion, WL-N&L was force and reason at this conference. The most direct connection was our workshop, "Feminism, Anti-Militarism, and Revolution: In Rosa Luxemburg's Day and in Ours."

One element that came out of our workshop and throughout the conference was that women were feeling desperate in the face of Reaganism and the threat of nuclear war or nuclear power accidents. As one woman said, "The problems seem so immense, nothing will be solved overnight." What impressed me about this workshop was that we ended up discussing what is freedom — in other words, what are we fighting for.

Another example came from Jane Kennedy, who had been part of an anti-Vietnam war group that destroyed draft files. For this she spent something like five years in prison. In one workshop, she said we need to "not just stop a war or slow one down, but get at something more fundamental." But she ended by saying, "maybe what's going to happen is that we will just blow ourselves up."

It was that feeling that made women almost frantic to unite. What I spoke of throughout the conference was that we can always unite on activity. But this is the beginning of an international movement. Don't we want to define it?

Why does an anti-militarist conference have speakers and workshop leaders who are for Russian or Chinese militarism? Why does a feminist conference have to have a debate on "who is the real enemy, men or U.S. imperialism," when we would never pose that kind of dichotomy? Your enemy is whoever has his foot on your neck. And doesn't our very new name — Feminists Against Militarism — mean that when we fight for women's liberation, we extend that to fighting to end militarism? We need to address all questions, both how to unite to overthrow, but more importantly, what are we fighting to create?

I don't know whether it was our work at the conference itself or in helping to plan it that caused the reorganization of the Sunday agenda, but on Saturday night, groups of women demanded that the conference steering committee meet. Over 50 women attended that meeting, complaining that people's real politics were not being expressed. Thus they demanded and won an expanded plenary for Sunday, where all were encouraged to speak, but limited to three minutes.

Stop Family Protection Bill!

Dear Sisters,

What discussions have you been having with other women and men about the Moral Majority's "Family Protection Bill?" (See N&L July '81.) Have any organizations been formed where you live to publicize and oppose it? Here in Detroit we formed a "Coalition to Stop the Family Protection Act" and held a demonstration on Aug. 26.

Neda Azad, an Iranian feminist, and Diane Lee, a Black feminist from Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees, spoke. We received good media coverage, with the local news radio station airing news briefs about the demonstration and about the Bill for two full days. And the leaflet we had distributed here brought in responses not only from Michigan, but from Wisconsin, New York, and Alaska!

Please write us about what you are doing, or if you would like more information about the Bill or a copy of our leaflet. **THIS BILL — IN ANY FORM — MUST BE STOPPED!**

—Women's Liberation-News and Letters, Detroit.

To me, this was a real turning point, because despite the almost frantic feeling of wanting to unite, women were refusing to be manipulated and misled and were demanding to see what they might be uniting with. It made me think of the beginnings of the Women's Liberation Movement, and what it meant to really break from the Left, to question not only their male chauvinism, but their narrow concept of what is revolutionary change.

Now, at the beginning of a new stage of that movement — Feminists Against Militarism — is the time to break with any narrow idea of revolution, and start on new ground.

—Terry Moon



Women carry banner of "March For Peace 1981" through the streets of Paris, Aug. 6, on the final leg of a summer anti-nuke march that began in Copenhagen, Denmark.

In Greenock, Scotland, 250 workers, mostly young women, won a victory last month against Vanity Fair Corp., the owner of Lee Jeans. The workers had occupied their factory on Feb. 5 after the company announced it would be laying them off and moving operations to Ireland. The women received widespread support from workers in Britain who held benefits, including a showing of the movie "Norma Rae," linking organizing against inhuman working conditions in U.S. textile mills (Vanity Fair owns mills in Alabama) with their own militant struggle.

Dessie Woods was released from prison on July 9 after a federal appeals court ruled there had been insufficient evidence to convict her of the armed robbery for which she has already served six years. Woods and Cherly Todd, both Black, had been hitchhiking in 1975 and were threatened by a white insurance salesman who was subsequently killed in a struggle over his own gun. A national support movement has worked to free Dessie Woods and to fight the racist, sexist system of injustice known as the U.S. penal system.

In New York City on Aug. 5, a large group of women tradesworkers (carpenters, laborers, bricklayers), women trying to enter the trades, and their supporters, marched in front of the Urban Development Corporation and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs to demand jobs entitled to them under Affirmative Action guidelines.

(From Womanews, New York City)

Over 700 women attended a Black Women's Summit Conference in Washington, D.C., the week of July 31. The conference was organized by 68 national Black women's organizations, according to Representative Shirley Chisholm, "to call together the Black women of this country, pull together their collective knowledge, power and resources, and make their voices heard." One focus of organizing will be for the extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which is under attack by right-wing legislators.

Feminism Lives is a new journal published by the Radical Feminist Organizing Committee, who welcome inquiries and will be glad to send you an introductory copy. Write to them at 109 Ellerbee St., Durham, NC, 27704.

Azanian woman speaks

Nonsikelelo Albertina Sisulu, former leader of the mass protest by Black women in South Africa against the passbooks, has just been released from a 17-year banning order.

Ms. Sisulu was prominent in both the African National Congress (ANC) Women's League and the Women's Federation. Her husband, Walter Sisulu, is former Secretary General of the ANC and is now serving a life sentence on Robben Island. Although they have been married for 37 years, the Sisulus have only been together for a total of less than five years. Two of their four children are now in exile, while the youngest is being detained in an unknown prison under the South African Terrorism Act.

Despite the banning orders and the inhuman restrictions on their lives, Albertina Sisulu has been so anxious to regain her political voice that she spoke only one week after the expiration of her ban, on the 25th anniversary of the mass protest by Black women against the passbooks. It was at this protest she stated: "It felt so good to be among people and to speak to the people. I spoke about the role of women." Soon to be 70, Ms. Sisulu's determination for the freedom movement in Soweto is unflinching, even though she may be faced with another ban. Through her demand to let her voice be heard world attention is again focused on the struggle for freedom in South Africa.

—Diane Lee

Socialist feminism in Peru

Editor's note: ALIMUPER (*Action for the Liberation of the Peruvian Woman*) is a group of socialist feminist women fighting sexism and capitalism in Peru. They have published many documents and translations on women's liberation in general, and the struggle of Peruvian women in particular. Here we print excerpts from their statement, "Towards a Socialist Feminism" ("Hacia un Feminismo Socialista"). Look for more dialogue with our sisters from the land of Flora Tristan in upcoming issues of N&L.

ALIMUPER defines itself as a feminist socialist movement—antipatriarchal and anticapitalist—reaping the most valid watersheds of historical materialism to comprehend the economic oppression of women, and beginning here, to develop its own theory . . .

Inasmuch as ALIMUPER defines itself as anti-capitalist, it raises at the same time an antipatriarchal banner, because it considers the struggle to be on two fronts: the economic and the cultural . . .

ALIMUPER defines itself as an autonomous group, recognizing that women are an oppressed social sector with specific forms of oppression . . .

Because we begin with EVERYTHING PRIVATE IS POLITICAL:

- We fight against the patriarchal capitalist system which values men over women.

- We fight against the division of labor by sex, and the awarding of differentiated roles for men and women.

- We fight for control and decision over our body.

- We fight for the transformation of the institutions of State-Family-Church . . .

- We fight for the participation and decision of women in the course of society . . .

- We fight against all appearances of sexism . . .

- We fight to gain our autonomy as individual human beings . . .

Socialist feminism, rejecting all the patriarchal pre-capitalist, capitalist and "socialist" models based on violence, racism, war, imperialism, aggressiveness, hierarchic power, profits as the essence of success, competitive spirit, free enterprise efficiency, bureaucratic collectivism, militarization of life and of people, and organized repression, is seeking a system of humanized life, where women and men together live in true equality, free from traditional sexist roles, so that women find a new identity constructed autonomously, that replaces the inferred and mystified one of today which is based on "functionalism" of the female within masculine precepts. We can develop in this way our potentialities as feminine human beings . . . In the same such society, men also will be able to develop their possibilities, free of the burdens of patriarchy . . .

ALIMUPER as a socialist feminist movement doesn't try to be a messianic organization of the masses which would centralize the "correct line." We want only to be an element that impels the awakening of consciousness, especially of the most oppressed of our sisters so that through their own organizations, each sector may develop their methods of work and action around autonomy and creativity.

ALIMUPER, Jr. Quilca 431, Apartado 2211
Lima, 100, PERU

Postal workers in opposition to new contract

New York, N.Y.—This Post Office contract is so blatantly bad we know no one who is in favor of it. The mail ballot was a fix. Most of the negotiations were just a smokescreen. They never managed to achieve any better working conditions, better retirement, nothing. The money becomes the main issue and that is the smokescreen.

How can our union officials allow that productivity clause in the contract? The PO expects one person to do the job of two, as long as they can get away with it. For us this productivity clause is just more exploitation. For example, if there are a number of people out sick and there are two workers in the station, the supervisor will say to them, "Split the third route." This is extra work added on in your eight hours. You don't get overtime! You go to the union and they say, "Do it."

This contract has nothing about safety or having the PO treat you like a human being. We are exposed to asbestos, formaldehyde and all sorts of things. They give us lectures every week on safety, but the conditions you work under throws it all out the window.

If you are driving collections everything is on a time schedule. You can't check your jeep or drive like they tell you to—you have got to drive fast. There is no way you can keep up with the schedule. You start jumping lights. The pressure is tremendous. You're in a kind of double compromise. If you should miss a mailbox you can get suspended for two weeks. If you come back late, you don't get paid for that time. And

NY bosses harass immigrants

New York, N.Y. — I used to work in an optical shop. A lot of people from Latin America — Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, Peruvians, Colombians and Haitians — worked there.

The conditions for aliens working in New York are very hard. Some of us have an alien card, but many don't have it. The bosses take special advantage when they employ people who are illegal aliens. They pay only the minimum wage.

When you work in a factory awhile you are supposed to increase your wage. But after you are there several years and go up to maybe \$4.25 an hour, they try and have an excuse to get rid of you. They put you out and employ someone starting at the minimum wage.

Immigration authorities are always looking for illegal immigrants. When they catch one or two or five in a factory and send them out of the country, then the bosses have the opportunity to employ new people without a green card at minimum wage.

It is a lie that the immigrant worker takes the job from a citizen, because no U.S. worker will work long for \$3.50 an hour. It is lies from the state department and from Congress when they say illegals take the jobs from Americans.

There is harassment all the time, with the bosses looking for an excuse to kick you out of the factory. They look for a new rule every day — don't wash up 15 minutes before the bell rings. Anyone who goes earlier than five minutes before the bell will be punished — will be fired.

We might earn \$150 a week and yet have to pay the union \$12 a month, and if we don't attend a union meeting they take a \$10 fine out of our pay. Twice a year, April and August, they take a half day's pay out for the union.

These conditions are getting worse—low wages for the immigrants and, in New York, the landlords every day raising the rent. Everything is getting high. The subway is now 75c. It is very difficult to make a living, the inflation is killing us. If things continue like this for another five years, then the immigrants will have to go back to their countries, because we cannot afford this kind of life.

—Latino worker

if you hit a box before the scheduled time you can get suspended.

This is how the PO is run—intimidation, fear, blackmail. If you step out of line you can get a seven day suspension. That's the frameup—to give you such a ridiculous suspension that the union can get it cut down, and it makes it look like they have done something for you.

For women it is very bad in the PO. There is equality in the amount of work they expect from women and men, but inequality in behind the scenes treatment of women. Men make very explicit sexual advances, very snide remarks, and this includes management.

The PO does absolutely nothing to make you job more interesting, to make you feel more human, to give you a little more dignity. They keep you in a rigid strait jacket. Anyone who shows any kind of initiative or intelligence they want to stamp out.

This is only a touch of the story. We would like to hear from other postal workers who agree with this story or would like to bring out their experience. Write us c/o News & Letters.

—The real postal workers

The new inhuman Chrysler Corp.

Detroit, Mich. — A worker who works at Chrysler Jefferson was talking about how many changes have been made in working conditions since Chrysler obtained the government loans and asked all workers to take a cut in pay. One thing the company does not want is for a worker to do any thinking, and at the pace of those automation machines you really do not have time to think, from the time you start to work until the whistle blows for lunch. And all you can think about then is how fast you can eat your food to be ready to start again.

The company has the speed of the line so fast that workers do not have time to do any good work on their jobs. Many cars came off the line with parts missing because they do not give a worker time to put it in place. When they are bought, they end up going back to the factory two or three times. On the '82 models going to the dealers, something like half of them have faulty brake lights.

The metal that the company uses now is so thin that if you file it you will rub a hole through the metal. Or take the way customers will have to jack up these new cars to take off a wheel. It will have to be under the car, because the bumpers are of rubber.

Every worker now works under a computer, and the computer says everything about your work. If you take a day off, the computer will say when you can come back to work and how much time you will be disciplined for missing a work day. The foreman and the superintendent do not have a word to say about it.

One worker was off for one day, the first time in three years, and the computer gave him four more days off. Meanwhile another worker who was missing almost every week, ended up with only one day off.

The workers have been discussing the way this computer is working and have asked the union leaders about it. All they will say is that that is the way the company operates it. There doesn't seem to be much use asking the union.

—Chrysler Jefferson worker

NY transit workers defy union

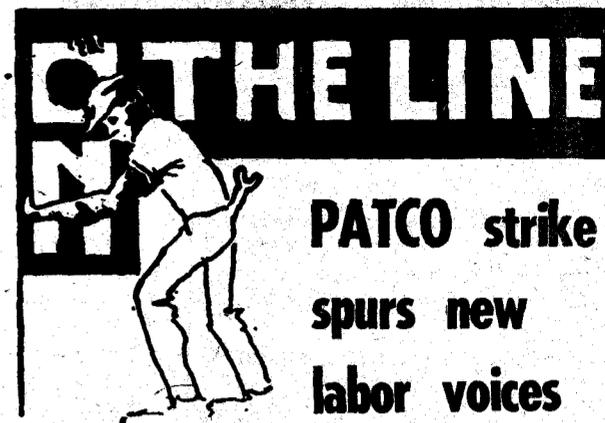
New York, N.Y. — The Transit Authority (TA) is now threatening to take away our COLA with the phony issue of "productivity," which John Lawe and his "clever" lawyer allowed the TA to put in the contract. How can you measure production when you're not producing anything? We're repairing, maintaining and running the system. The only productivity would be the number of passengers carried.

We had a union convention in San Francisco. It's a big junket for union officials to fly out there, even though our international headquarters is right here. It's like the AFL-CIO always going to Florida or someplace. This time a lot of dissidents, especially motormen, were elected as delegates from New York.

Elections are in December for union officers in New York, and John Lawe is in trouble. He may not even run. One dissident Executive Board member was transferred and demoted to token agent and then kicked off the Board by John Lawe for opposing the last contract. He got a lawyer and won his case and now John Lawe is in contempt of court.

If real dissidents would win control this time, I feel they should stay on the job and not work full-time for the bureaucracy. There's no way a person can stay honest up there with that salary, those benefits and all that corruption. Look what happened to George MacDonald once he got up there.

—Transit maintenance, 207th Street



by John Marcotte

The air traffic controllers' strike has been closely followed in my shop. A young Black friend, when he heard that the controllers' union (PATCO) had supported Reagan, said, "They get what they deserve." But then he added, "But now I'm with them anyway. I want to see them whip Reagan." That is the mood in the shop. The point is not that the controllers make four times what we make. The point is this is the start of Reagan's attack on all labor.

Reagan's treatment of these workers should serve as a lesson to any who voted for him thinking, "Reagan is against the poor and Blacks, but I don't care, I'm white and skilled." There's a white worker I know who voted for Reagan, and he's still defending him today. The Black worker next to him said, "Doesn't he see that Reagan is against the poor?" So he asked him, did he consider himself poor or what?

He answered, "I'm middle-class." "You're making \$8,000 a year and you consider yourself middle-class? Just because your folks left you a house? Did you vote for Reagan just because you're white and he's white?" shot back the Black worker.

WHAT UNION NEXT?

The Latin Americans in my shop say it's a shame on the U.S. labor movement that the only help the controllers have received is from air controllers in other countries. It's great to see that international solidarity,

From the airport picketers

We demand a four day work week—a total of 32 hours a week. You need the time off, there is so much pressure. We were "offered" a 36-hour work week with four extra hours at time-and-a-half, but we would be scheduled to work the extra four hours. This is just another way of saying a 40-hour week. Yet Drew Lewis says that "we don't need all these controllers."

Wages are not our big issue, it is human rights. Because we are government employees, they try to tell us we have no human rights. When we walked out the FBI told a union rep in Battle Creek who is divorced that if she did not go back to work they would take custody of her child and throw her in jail.

—Striking PATCO member, Detroit

but what about basic labor solidarity here, that could end the strike in a few days by grounding all the planes? We ask ourselves at work, what about the mechanics, baggage handlers and clerks? They know their unions are next if Reagan can break the air controllers. All the talk from all the big-shot national union leaders doesn't mean a thing as long as the planes are still flying.

But that may be changing. The fact that 200,000 marched in New York's first Labor Day parade in 13 years was totally unexpected, and no coincidence. That the 4,000 PATCO strikers who marched there were cheered all the way, and that local support demonstrations have been held at airports from Houston to San Francisco to Boston, shows that rank-and-file labor is beginning to move nationally to oppose Reaganism. The San Jose local of the International Association of Machinists sent a resolution to their president, William Winpingsinger, calling for shutting down all major airports for 48 hours (they got no answer). This is beginning to happen all over the country.

"US VS. REAGAN"

In my shop we are so disgusted with our sell-out union leaders that we never support any meeting or activity the union holds. But this time it's different. I'm amazed at how many bought bus tickets for the Sept. 19 Solidarity Day in Washington, D.C. The workers ignored that it was the union selling the tickets — they went because it's us against Reagan. (See story, p. 1.)

What Sept. 19 showed was the beginnings of a new U.S. labor movement. What forms it will take, what vision will guide it, what heights it will reach, the workers themselves will decide. And Marxist-Humanist philosophy, with its vision of a new class-less society, has an important part to play toward that end.

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Perspectives: the trail in the 1980s for transforming reality

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well as imperialist USA. . . .

The second moment brings us close to the movement from practice. It is the 1875 elaboration by Marx of the Fetishism of Commodities, after the Paris Commune clarified the form of workers' rule, as freely associated labor.

The third — the totally new element of those three new moments, which we have first discovered with the new book, is nothing short of the question of colonialism as not only characterizing "The So-Called Primitive Accumulation of Capital," but rather appearing in the latest stage of industrialization — that which we now call imperialism. . . .

Marx's "new moments" that have created the openings for the 1980s were all unfolding when he was, at one and the same time, working out his *Ethnological Notebooks* and, in the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, projecting the possibility of revolution in Russia ahead of the West. This Overview, then, is not all that "upside-down," is it?

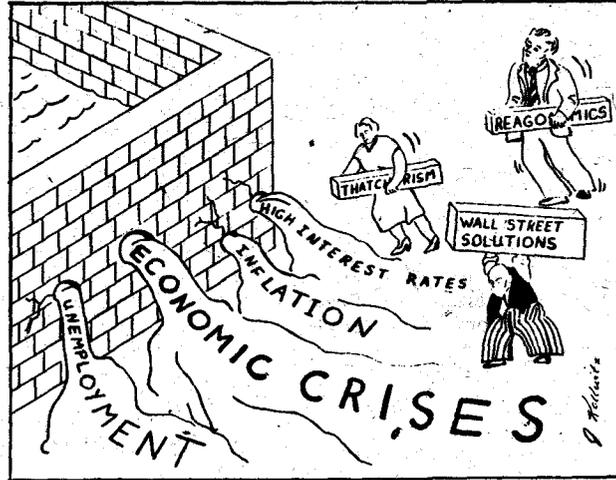
AS THE RETROGRESSION is proceeding in the country, with everything from union-busting to unemployment to cutting wages as well as cutting relief to the marrow of our bones, the Third World is likewise getting the short end of the stick. There is an outright genocidal war in El Salvador, which U.S. imperialism is propping up. There is the one-minute shoot-out with Libya, which is by no means limited to the new macho image of the Reagan Administration with Libya being made the guinea pig for that image. That piracy on the high seas in the Mediterranean actually relates to both the Reagan Administration's rejection of the agreement reached on the Law of the Sea, and to the whole stratospheric militarization presently being carried out.

The U.S. has no less than five new weapons-building programs: 1-Trident missile-launching submarines; 2-New warheads for the land-based Minuteman III missiles; 3-New strategic and tactical nuclear bombs; 4-New long-range air-launched Cruise missiles; 5-The MX.

For such life-destroying weapons, there seems to be no end of enough money. It keeps inspiring this Administration to cut more and more money from the bare necessities of life for the masses in order to have no less than the mind-boggling sum of \$1.5 trillion for nuclear weaponry during the next five years. That may be an impossible sum for ordinary people to imagine — especially those living below the poverty level, where Reagan is preparing to further strip food stamps, hot lunches for children, and social security — not to mention turning the clock backwards on affirmative action and anything else that could possibly be dreamed up by anti-woman racists like Jesse Helms and Strom Thurmond. And, of course, they're not planning to do anything to assuage world hunger.

By most estimates, more than 500 million people suffer from serious malnutrition today. Half a billion individuals are crippled by hunger, and one billion are below minimum nutrition. No less than 80 percent are women and children. Some 100,000 children every year become blind because of lack of Vitamin A.

The poorest nation in the world this year is Somalia, where more than a million refugees huddle in 33 camps. They are just as undernourished in India, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Cambodia, Pakistan, Indonesia. Worst of all is sub-Saharan Africa, where the food supply is so limited that fully 70 percent of the population is not getting enough to eat. Matching the African starvation are countries in Latin America such as Bolivia, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic and Haiti. And where Kirkpatrick holds that "authoritarianism is the lesser evil" — referring to El Salvador and Honduras — Jacobo Timerman, the imprisoned Argentinian editor, puts it bluntly: "The 'lesser evil' in Latin America is fascism."



A case of putting square pegs into round holes.

What is new in today's anti-nuke movement is that they have connected with the hungry of the world, the unemployed youth in their own countries especially. In a special feature on "European Youth in Ferment" (*Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 4, 1981), one activist in the CND, Jenny Edwards, is quoted as pointing out that world hunger is not limited to the Third World. Every country has a fourth world of the hungry within it, she points out. . . .

U.S. IMPERIALISM HAS no peers when it comes to militarization. In spite of the fact that Reagan is trying to make it appear that he has to embark on this because Russia has won the race. . . . Haig has not succeeded in getting what he claims: "consensus of strategic concern." For example, Saudi Arabia, which talks a great deal against Russia, acts and also emphasizes in rhetoric that not Russia, but Israel, is the enemy. For that matter, Israel, which is the loudest against Russia and keeps proclaiming that loudly for America's ears, is, in fact, after the Arab lands. Begin's view of "Eretz Israel" is as deeply imperialist as is Russia's in East Europe, U.S.'s in Latin America, China's in Tibet or over-reaching into Russia. And that is just contiguous lands.

As for South Africa, nothing could be more chummy than the U.S.'s relationship with that apartheid country. Where the world knows SWAPO as an indigenous force, and knows South Africa as the enemy, Reagan is still trying to make Russia the enemy there. If any proof be needed that South Africa's apartheid nature doesn't stop at its own borders, the world has been witness to all its imperialist incursions into Angola, into Zimbabwe (where it has just gunned down Joe Gqabi, leader of the ANC, in his own house in Salisbury), into independent Mozambique in hot pursuit of dissidents or just in support of its mercenary army, UNITA, which tries to usurp an independence movement.

AS AGAINST WHAT CAPITALISM, private or state, considers "One World" — how to dominate it — the revolutionary dialogue between continents is expressing itself in freedom struggles. They are seen in South Africa, where the revolts have been ceaseless; and in England,

where they were waged by the most exciting, elemental revolt of youth, Black and white. They are seen in El Salvador, where, despite the genocidal war and a whole half century of military oppression propped by U.S. imperialism, the Salvadoran masses are continuing their battles; and in West Germany, where the anti-Americanism as well as the struggle against their own government (despite the Berlin Wall of East Germany which they hate as much) is expressing itself in a massive anti-nuclear movement. They are seen in Italy, where despite a vicious anti-abortion campaign waged by both the Government and the Pope, and despite the attempt on the Pope's life which produced great sympathy for him, the Women's Liberation Movement nevertheless won its struggle for abortion rights; and in Poland, where the most historic type of revolt from under Communist totalitarianism has continued to develop.

The revolutionary dialogue in each country has actually become a dialogue leading to revolution across Western borders, as well as class solidarity which has proven its internationalism. . . . It has inspired workers throughout the world. Indeed, many have moved from strikes to occupation of factories, and all the way to Scotland, they are wearing "Solidarity" shirts. But, again, the philosophic rudder of Marx's Humanism is yet to be embraced by the organized working class, though it is certainly involved in massive struggles.

Between Reagan's genocidal war in El Salvador, union-busting in the U.S., racism everywhere — from favoring the so-called "reverse discrimination" cases to trying to remove the Civil Rights Voting Act — there would seem to be no doubt that all except the very privileged and bloated rich are on to his game and stand opposed. Unfortunately, that is not true. He has not only straight-armed Congress to pass his budget cuts, but even the masses who do see his union-busting have not fully caught the new stage involved in the PATCO strike.

Here is a group of people who are certainly conservative, certainly middle-class, certainly well-paid. They surely must rankle people who can't conceive of earning \$30,000 a year. Yet there they are — on strike, and militantly so. They foreshadow a new militant force you would hardly expect to feel alienated; but they do. They represent the computerized field. A reactionary Administration is bent on creating "labor productivity" by firing ever more people and working those computers with supervisors, a few strike-breakers willing to cross picket lines, and more and more machines. These strikers, too, were wearing Solidarity shirts. Whether they will also turn to a philosophy of revolution is another question.

CLEARLY, OUR RETURN TO the U.S. from the global journey continues to show the revolutionary dialogue between continents, and makes it all the more clear that this richest, most militarized nuclear Titan, out for domination over the whole world, is goading the other state-capitalist nuclear giant, Russia, which is out for the same goal of world domination, toward the ultimate confrontation. It is this absolute evil which must be confronted by a totally opposite absolute — the freely associated forces of revolutionary humanity hungering for truly new human relations.

The fundamental, theoretic ground for this confrontation. (Continued on Page 5)

News and Letters Committees Perspectives Report

THE TRAIL IN THE 1980s FOR TRANSFORMING REALTY

(As it is in Fact and as the "New Moments" Marx Discovered in His Last Decade Which Created Openings for the 1980s)

by Raya Dunayevskaya

- I. Overview — Silesia, 1981, Silesia, 1844; Relationship of Movement and Philosophy to "the Book"
- II. The New Federalism: Pax Americana Imposed the World Over, Be it the One-Minute Shoot-out over Libya, or the "Two-and-a-Half Wars" with Neutron Bombs
- III. On the Way to the Holocaust: Capitalist-Imperialist Alliances and World Hunger
- IV. The Revolutionary Dialogue Between Continents (Whether from South Africa or England: Whether from El Salvador or Poland; Whether from Asia or the Other USA)
- V. Historic Moments for Transforming Reality, Beginning with the Movement from Practice, Marked by Theoretic Turning Points (from Marxism and Freedom and Indignant Heart through Archives and Philosophy and Revolution to Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution)

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The trail in the 1980s

(Continued from Page 4)

tation is found in the book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. That is why I began this *Perspectives Report* in an "upside down" way, which would allow us to look simultaneously at revolts and philosophy as movement.

Take Part One: "Rosa Luxemburg as Theoretician, as Activist, as Internationalist." Luxemburg's name may not be famous to the American masses, but today's masses struggling against our militarized world will find an affinity with Luxemburg in her historic period of 1905 to 1919. The affinity is not only to her anti-militarist revolutionary activities, but to her concern with form of organization — a preoccupation of our day which permeates the Women's Liberation Movement especially.

Or take Part Two: "The Women's Liberation Movement as Revolutionary Force and Reason," and the way in which the Black dimension is presented there. In a single year, 1831, we see for the first time anywhere, as a unit, both Maria Stewart and Nat Turner. Or consider the way the 1848 Revolution and Margaret Fuller are combined. Or go all the way to Marx's last writing in 1880 where we discover both the Iroquois and women in general knowing how to "knock off the horns" of male chauvinists; and then see the Igbo women's affinity to that kind of "Women's War" as they were fighting British imperialism in 1929. We learn that it is not only what you are against, but what you are for that determines the struggles.

To complete the unfinished task for 1981, we turn to Part Three: "Karl Marx — From a Critic of Hegel to Author of Capital and Theorist of Permanent Revolution." Every single chapter shows that thought-diver called Karl Marx so constantly recreating the revolutionary dialectic in his most original Historical Materialism that it could illuminate everything from the ancient Greek philosopher, Epicurus, who was his subject way back in 1841, to John Brown, who heralded the Civil War in the U.S.; and from the Paris Commune to the *Ethnological Notebooks* — and, after illuminating all this, still leave us a trail for the 1980s.

We are on the threshold of the jubilee year of Marx's death, and it is high time to draw a balance sheet of his heirs so that we can measure the needs of this age and, once and for all, meet the totality of the world crises with the totality of Marx's philosophy of revolution in order to complete the transformation of reality. It is this which imparts a special urgency to the classes we are proposing* in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. The urgency arises from the actual activities involved in our work this year — whether that be in anti-draft, anti-nuclear, anti-militarist movements; or in the Women's Liberation Movement as it fights the so-called "Family Protection" Act; or with Labor struggling against unemployment and recession.

We will be trying to catch the historic link to Marx's Marxism by seeing Marx's "new moments" in the 1880s as a trail to the 1980s. We will be elaborating our own history, whether we concentrate on the 25 years of News and Letters Committees or the 40 years since the development of the theory of state-capitalism. From the very beginning that was never separated from the new forces of revolution of our age — beginning with the Black dimension and extending to youth and to women's liberation while never departing from rank-and-file labor.

This is the year — on the threshold of the 100th anniversary of Marx's death — which will give us both the new book and new editions of *Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution*. That surely creates new openings for organizational growth.

*A series of eight classes on

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Solidarity Day: the depth and breadth of labor

(Continued from Page 1)

was the older women who came to protest Reagan's callous move last week to cut social security. It was the speakers who made a link between the women's movement and labor, not only Eleanor Smeal from NOW, but also Steve Dwyer from PATCO. NOW's placards for the ERA were carried by almost every union group by women and by men.

THE DIVERSITY OF LABOR

More than even the sheer number of workers who came, what constantly amazed me was the breadth and depth of labor's ranks who came. There were tremendous contingents from unions like the public employees, machinists, auto workers, teachers, as well as steelworkers, miners, hospital workers, carpenters, communications workers, painters, electrical workers, and many, many more.

But there were also smaller groups, like the FLOC delegation of farm workers who came early in the morning from Ohio, to protest Reagan and let other workers know about their strikes in the tomato fields (see story, p. 9). A group of Hispanic teachers came to say "no" to Reagan's racism, and "yes" to continued bilingual education. There were also groups numbering only in the dozens, like artists' and doctors' unions, and even a group of congressional research assistants!

I spoke with one older Black woman who had come with a small group of laundry and dye house workers in Atlanta. She caught the mood of so many different sectors of labor gathering together when she said that Reagan's policies, from higher food prices and lower wages, to strangling food stamps and social security, were killing everyone.

The rally speakers represented labor, the Black movement and civil rights, and women. Not a single politician dared show his or her face. Some Michigan representatives sent their aides around when we were eating breakfast to invite us to an afternoon reception, but no one I talked with had the slightest interest in going.

OTHER MOVEMENTS PRESENT

Many other movements were represented on Solidarity Day, from anti-nuke to gay rights, and I don't know of any groups, including the Left, who were actually excluded from the march. But what I think made this Solidarity Day, 1981, so new was that so many issues, demands, and questions were raised, and that every one was raised by labor.

You saw that when hospital workers asked, "Community health for the good of all—are nuclear weapons?" and when Pennsylvania AFSCME members signs said "Keep TMI shut down." Many workers in many different unions carried signs against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and for the strengthening of worker health and safety programs at home. And there were quite a few white workers carrying placards demanding the extension of the 1965 Civil Rights Voting Act.

The AFL-CIO may have facilitated workers' participation in Solidarity Day, but I know it was even greater than they had counted on. For many, this was the first time they had come to a mass protest. But even more than the intense hatred of Reagan's Administration was the desire to totally change our lives.

To me, that was the genuine new feeling of solidarity that brought us together.

—Mary Holmes

Washington, D.C.—"Seeing all of us together, Black, white, Hispanic, realizing that we are in the same boat and doing something about it, was a good feeling," said a Black worker from my shop in District 65, UAW. A lot of us went down on our union's buses to march in Washington on Solidarity Day. A Latino worker felt it was good that "Reagan sees that we are imitating Poland's Solidarity union."

It certainly was a tremendous feeling to be there. It was significant that the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CSPES) was cheered and applauded all the way with their chant of "Money for Jobs not for War, U.S. Out of El Salvador."

It was youth with anti-nuclear signs. It was an elderly Black woman who looked like a veteran of many civil rights marches—the sign in her lapel naming the small town in Georgia where she had come up from.

I asked a South American fellow worker if he thought that this march could be the start of a new labor movement in this country. He thought a bit and said, "Well maybe. I think that the thing that got to people was the way Reagan fired those 12,000 air controllers. They have families and he doesn't give a damn. That was an open attack against the working class, all of us."

The speaker from the air controllers union, PATCO, caught some of the development that the strikers, and other workers who may have voted for Reagan, have been going through. He spoke not only of his right to strike but expressed his bitterness at a government which wants to do away with anti-discrimination laws, with the right of a woman to abortion, with school lunches, and asked how you can have a strong defense of the country when people are starving at home.

Eleanor Smeal, President of NOW, did make a very good point when she said, "It is no coincidence that the 'right to work' states are also the states that refuse to pass the ERA. They are calling for a cheap labor pool with their call for states' rights."

And yet not a single speaker on the platform dared mention El Salvador—probably because AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland is a good friend of Salvadoran President Duarte. What about the 1,000 Salvadoran trade unionists who have been murdered for trying to organize unions? What about the whole role of the AFL-CIO with the CIA in Latin America in destroying militant unions and setting up business unions in their place?

And what about the attitude of our own union leaders to the rank-and-file that had a lot of my shop mates swearing that they would never support anything the union does again? Our union sold more tickets than they had buses for. So a good 50 workers were left behind. One of them told me, "The attitude of our organizers and shop stewards was 'to hell with the members'. They jumped on the first bus and every member was left to fend for themselves."

—John Marcotte

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 4)

1963 MARCH ON WASHINGTON

This 1981 March on Washington brought to mind the huge 1963 March on Washington during the height of the Civil Rights Movement. A big difference in 1963 was that the rank-and-file were then pushing the leaders and the leaders were responding to them.

Naturally in 1963 some of the labor leaders tried to control the march. There was nearly a blowup by the late Walter Reuther and a priest from New York over what John Lewis of SNCC planned to say. Lewis had a very militant speech on what was needed, especially to have a march through the South like Sherman had marched through Georgia during the Civil War.

Reuther and some of the labor leaders were saying that we have Kennedy, a Democrat, in the White House and we should not attack him. But Kennedy was not supporting the March, was not there, and only met with a few leaders in private after the march.

Today it is different. We have a Republican in the White House, and so the labor leaders don't care what you say about him. This march is different than 1963 in that today's was more a labor march. Some said there were more than 500,000 present. There were Black and white, and many Blacks who had never had the chance to be in any union.

There were even workers who admitted voting for Reagan, but were sorry today that they had done so. Some could not believe how quickly Reagan wants to change everything that the federal government has been enforcing. Now it is supposed to be up to the states.

Delegations were there from many in the Black movement—SCLC, NAACP, and many independent groups.

No politician was allowed to speak to the workers at the Washington March. I heard that former vice-president Mondale tried to talk to a rally the same day in San Francisco and was booed.

REAGAN GOT A MESSAGE

People were saying that the PATCO speaker, not their president but the man who had been jailed, gave the best speech. We know that they make a great deal of money and that as a union they had supported Reagan. But when we are all in the same boat, it causes us to begin thinking the same way, and people begin to change their thinking. There seemed to be more support for women's rights also.

The march was called by labor, but there was almost every progressive element of our society present to take part and to raise their voice against Reagan policies. Union members were joined by civil rights and women's rights activists, environmentalists, as well as those who wanted to protest altered federal policies on unemployment, aid to the aged and to the disadvantaged.

It was said that Reagan was at Camp David and ignored the marchers. But he got the message. As one worker said, "while some people are starving to death no one can tell me he did not get the message." He might try to ignore it. But something must be done to stop Reagan and his mad rush to take away everything that people have fought for and gained over a long period of struggling.

SOLIDARITY DAY: MANY VOICES OF LABOR REVOLT

Over ten thousand women, workers, youth and minorities converged on MacArthur Park on Sept. 19 in a Los Angeles "Solidarity Day" against Reaganism. The rally here was one of the most multi-dimensional and massive to be held in our city in years. In addition to several hundred members of PATCO, the striking air controllers union, being present, busloads of workers from the machinists union, the service employees, teachers and longshoremen poured into the rally.

The protest in MacArthur Park was preceded by a rally of El Salvadoran revolutionaries, anti-draft activists, and women's liberationists who marched to the main rally to show their solidarity for the struggle against Reagan. Korean, Taiwanese and Latin American organizations also participated in the march.

"I've never seen a rally with so many groups, so many different races, all together in one place," one worker said. It gives you hope that more demonstrations like this can spell the beginning of the end of Reaganism.

**Demonstrators
Los Angeles**

When I came back to Detroit after Solidarity Day, I was really angry at the way the newspaper reports had underestimated the number of people who came. I had gotten up on the steps of the National Museum, and when you looked out, people covered the entire area. It was good to see so many different people protesting, because I had gotten a little afraid that people were just going to hide for four years until elections. But so many there had endorsed Reagan — obviously he hasn't lived up to their expectations.

I thought it was also good that other groups and policies mixed in with labor, and that everyone got together. Since Reagan has been in office, it is clear that he really wants to eliminate everything, especially what is important for labor. It had really gotten my morale semi-negative, but Solidarity Day energized me.

**High school student
Detroit**

Ten thousand union members and their supporters jammed into a small square near San Francisco's waterfront — the same spot where the 1934 General Strike began — to celebrate Solidarity Day. The rally was organized by the Northern California Council of Trade Unions, the International Longshoremen's Union, the Teamsters, the NAACP, NOW, United Latin American Citizens and many others.

John Henning, the head of the state AFL-CIO, set the tone of the rally by comparing the protest to "the great civil rights movement of the 1960s when Blacks organized to fight for their liberty." Speakers from PATCO were cheered but politicians like Walter Mondale and Mayor Diane Feinstein were booed, Feinstein because of her obvious anti-union policies in San Francisco.

**Proud to be there
San Francisco**

We have been working under new conditions this year at GM South Gate. We have robots setting the speed we're going to work by. We have the first generation of robots; they're still anchored to the deck. Workers right away watched the robots and saw what they were supposed to do themselves. But at first they couldn't understand why the robots were anchored. Then they came up with the idea that the company had to anchor them to the deck, because if they let them go home like they do workers, the robots wouldn't come back.

**GM worker
South Gate, California**

Reforming the Social Security system is no mystery to workers in my shop. They say:

Lower the retirement age to 55, so you still have a few years to enjoy your retirement. By 65, factory work has you all broken and used up — if it lets you live that long.

Raise the benefits to something you can live on.

The money is there. Take it from the military spending.

**Factory worker
New York**

In Poland, people are already beating up police. This is in a system that cannot allow independent street demonstrations. The Russians will move as soon as they figure out how. In 1956 they waited for a distraction like Suez to crush the Hungarian Revolution. I remember. I was there. Today maybe they'll wait for Sadat to invade Libya or something. The Russians are like chess players, waiting for the right time to move.

We sure could use something like Poland over here. I just read in U.S. News & World Report that in the U.S. today, "unions are on the run." The New York Labor Day march was big but organized too much from the top. I didn't go. Workers going to these marches are generally people very close to the leadership, like in the Transit Workers Union.

**Machinist
New York**

It was a beautiful feeling to go on the 100,000-plus strong New York Labor Day march with my daughter. It was definitely anti-Reagan and anti-Koch throughout. There were a lot of Blacks, Hispanics and Asians, but also a huge percentage of young and old white workers, maybe even a majority. There were a lot of skilled workers, especially from the building trades. Many brought their whole families. It was great to see them all together, with many more than anyone expected.

Labor feels really put up against the wall by Reagan. PATCO for example supported Reagan. Now they feel totally sold out by him. Young PATCO marchers gave a militant tone to the whole thing. Their spirit reminded me of Blacks in the 1960's. It was a great day for labor.

**Teacher
New York City**



**RACE, CLASS
AND WORLD
DIMENSIONS
OF FEMINISM**

I attended a conference of "Feminists Against Militarism" last week. Even though most of the women were white and middle-class, I was very excited about the idea that women were coming out against Reagan's military budget. But what displeased me about the conference started at the Plenary session, where immediately they began to apologize for not having more Black and Third World women there. This happens at every conference I go to.

Then they had a workshop on "Racism and Classism," and more of this question came out. I told them that the only way that the gap between Black and white women can be closed is by ending "business as usual." You can't wait until there is a conference, and then read down the list of speakers, say "our conference needs some color," and then try to call Black and Third World women.

The struggles of minority women have to be an integral part of the lives and

Readers' View

OUR READERS WRITE ON HEGEL, ON FEMINISM . . .

Please send me two of your publications — *Outline of Marx's Capital and Dialectics of Liberation*. Raya Dunayevskaya's rediscovery of Hegel is, to me, very interesting. In my opinion Hegel has never been well understood by the Left in Australia. Thus you can understand that I have found her writings new and sometimes difficult.

I am, at the moment, trying to grapple with some aspects of Hegel's thoughts. In particular finding out that certain of his broad political concerns are of interest, as Raymond Plant points out in his book on Hegel. The concepts of the decline of the community in the modern world and the general fragmentation of modern culture — if connected to Marx's thoughts — can, I feel, be of great use in understanding our world.

**New reader
Victoria, Australia**

I came across an ad for *Philosophy and Revolution* in a copy of another Dunayevskaya book, *Marxism and Freedom*. I am a 1960s political person, with a couple of degrees from the university here, and am very impressed with Dunayevskaya's grasp of socialist history and theory.

What's going on in Madison? I have no inside information, but the women's liberation movement is strong. It has obtained results on job-related issues like equal pay and working conditions, on stopping sexual harassment on the job and in the classroom, on ERA, on abortion, etc. There are two women's newspapers: *The Feminist Connection* and *Free For All*, a "worker-owned socialist-feminist collective." Originally begun by mostly university-educated, middle-class white women, it has tried to bring in as partners — I'm not sure how successfully — minority women and their issues, and women clerical and blue-collar workers and their issues . . .

**New subscriber
Madison, Wisconsin**

. . . ON IRELAND, ON N&L

Thanks for your pamphlet "Ireland: Revolution and Theory." I learned a lot from it, and I've been active in the Irish liberation struggle for 10 years. It is not common knowledge what Marx's role in the Fenian times was. No one talks about it today, not even the Left groups here or in Ireland. I can't say I agree with everything in the pamphlet. You aren't very fair to the IRA when you say that they led the movement astray in 1972, I think. Isn't it more a question that no one knew where they were headed back then? I know I didn't. It was all too new, and we had so little background.

**Irish liberation activist
Bronx, N.Y.**

You asked what I thought of N&L. I like the content very much, especially the reports from foreign countries. In the regular media, the only foreign information is military news. I also like the letters from people commenting on their own work environment. It is such a relief to know that there are people concerned about the way their work lives are being run for them, instead of by themselves.

What I don't like at all is the tone of the paper; the rhetoric seems to trivialize the contents. Since I'm sending you a check for a subscription, you can see which aspect I consider more important.

**New friend
California**

work of the conference participants year-round. Our struggle as Black women isn't a last-minute decision, but a continuous, everyday fight to change this racist, sexist society.

**Black feminist
Detroit**

I think you should know that at the Feminists Against Militarism Conference, we passed the following resolution, and sent it to Tatyana Mamonova, the exiled Russian feminist, at the "Mouvement de Resistance Internationale des Femmes a la Guerre" in France:

"Let it be resolved that this conference . . . opposing militarism in all its forms and everywhere in the world, is sending this message of our solidarity to the Russian feminists in exile. We recognize that we face a world-wide stage of militarism. We recognize the bravery and reason of feminists opposing militarism in Russia, China, all over the world as well as in the USA. We recognize that our fight against militarism in the U.S. is part of this worldwide movement."

**Socialist-feminist
Chicago**

DISRUPTING FORD'S MUSEUM

Although the chants and signs of a handful of protesters injected a bit of reality into the scene at the dedication of the Gerald Ford Museum Sept. 17, most of the "other America" in Grand Rapids, Michigan was behind the scenes.

Mingling behind the lines of observers were hundreds of junior high and high school kids. The Kent County schools closed for the day, and they had joined the throng to witness all that power seated on the speaker's platform.

"Are you going to register for the draft?" I asked many of them.

"That's a dumb question. Of course not," was the strongest response, but the others were no different.

Although the protesters disrupted Reagan's lecture briefly, the student youth may well disrupt Reagan's militarist program.

**Museum protester
Michigan**

'POPULAR FRONTISM' AND U.S. BLACK REVOLT

I am worried about the dangers of Popular Frontism. It seems like nothing but various organizations uniting to try and get a piece of the pie. If you look at what took place at the First National Congress of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) in Chicago Aug. 21-23, you can see the pitfalls along this road. Discussion in the workshops was greatly curtailed, for example, because the emphasis was to work on a few ideas, so that when the congress convened, the workshop could say that it had "accomplished" something.

There was also a fear of "contamination" of Marxist ideas. It was agreed that no individual who has membership in a multi-racial organization, whether of any Left group, can assume a position of leadership in NBIPP. In addition, only those individuals who can show past involvement in civil rights and knowledge of Black history can be voted into leadership.

You wind up with the same old clique. You wind up with the same old attitude that the masses of Black people are "ignorant," that they are the "foot-soldiers."

**NBIPP Congress participant
Chicago**

DEFEND DENNIS BRUTUS!

All readers of N&L should know about the vicious attack against Dennis Brutus, Azanian poet in exile from apartheid South Africa, by the Reagan Administration and its Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Only a few days after Reagan took office, on Feb. 6, 1981, Prof. Brutus was ordered to leave the USA. His applications for a visa renewal have been denied.

Dennis Brutus is not only a great poet. He is also a tireless fighter for Azanian liberation. He has organized international boycotts of South African sports teams, and led demonstrations against U.S. corporations' investment in South Africa. Now at the same moment that the U.S. government brings in the infamous Springboks rugby team, and shelters them with police and secrecy, they are determined to expel a scholar and freedom fighter.

Don't let them get away with it. Prof. Brutus is fighting the case. He needs your support. For more information, contact:

Dennis Brutus Defense Committee
39 S. LaSalle St., Suite 825
Chicago, IL 60603



LATIN AMERICA'S REVOLUTIONS

I have been here in Nicaragua about a year now, and soon I am going to return to Europe and my studies. I spent the year working in the Ministry of Health, helping with popular health education. There is a great campaign going on in Nicaragua on this question. Here we work hard. Every day, Saturday and Sunday, day and night. No holidays, no vacations. The work is without seeing the end. But you can see the first results.

I think the Revolution is going in a good direction. Socialism is coming "poco a poco." But the question of women is a very difficult one. I didn't work in the women's organization. But I think that the difference between our society and the society here is very large. Here you have to always see the problem in the context of the Revolution. If the Revolution is beaten, there will be no path for the women to liberation.

Perhaps the economic problem has to be resolved first. And today, with the counter-revolution in private industry, in the haciendas, and in the civil service,

there are great dangers. The life of the people hasn't changed much in the economic aspects. But two years is a short time. We have won much equality, human conditions of work for men and women and schools for all the children. The universities are full of students. Everybody likes to study now, and has the right to do this. Most of the people are reading and studying in the evening after work. We have kindergarten for the children whose mothers are working, and if you don't have money, you don't have to pay . . .

European feminist
Managua, Nicaragua

A Dominican co-worker just came back from visiting his country. He reports, "The youth are anxious to go fight in El Salvador, to fight for the liberation of Latin America. But since they cannot leave the country they do what they can with support activities there. They

have been showing films of the Salvadoran revolution to the peasants in the countryside."

Besides El Salvador, what people are discussing most in the Dominican Republic are, he says, the coming presidential election and the recent discovery of oil.

Metal shop worker
Bronx, N.Y.

UNCOVERING CIA MURDER

I want to appeal to you to support the Donald Freed Defense Fund. Donald Freed is the author of *Death in Washington: The Murder of Orlando Letelier*. He is being sued for \$90 million by a group of retired spies called the Association of Former Intelligence Officers, who raised a war chest to finance the "test case" against Freed. They plan that it will scare off other writers and critics of the CIA.

In this case we are all under attack. The plaintiffs want to hide the documented evidence that George Bush was one of those involved in the cover-up; that the leader of the assassination team was a covert agent of the CIA; that Alexander Haig plotted to murder Chilean General Rene Schneider. The defense needs your financial help. Make checks payable to: Donald Freed Defense Fund. Mail to: c/o Jean Anderson, 3760 Cardiff Ave., Los Angeles, CA. 90034.

Tony S.
Santa Monica, Cal.

Help end the division between
mental and manual labor

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OUR NATIONAL MEETING: VIEWPOINTS FROM NEW FRIENDS

What really impressed us about your national meeting was how much the organization really is like what we read in N&L. All in one meeting you see stories about what is happening in the shops and women's liberation, and discuss questions like Marx's concept of permanent revolution. That was completely new to us — and exciting.

Activist-observers
Chicago

I am a musician, with a literary avocation — I've been known to write musical plays. So I have a commitment to experience, to the aesthetic, to creating new in art. Often this appears to be in conflict with the amount of time, effort, soul, involved in recreating society.

Yet all my life I've found that I can't create musically unless it is tied up with changing this society we live under that works against the development of our powers. We are striving to develop powers based on the sensuous world. But society demands that even art be geared to what is marketable. In saying "no" to that, I am asking myself to live now on a human basis, asking myself for a commitment to revolution . . .

I read Marx's 1844 Essays, because I was inspired by Raya Dunayevskaya's commentary. He challenges us in a poetic way to make nature into human nature. To begin to answer that challenge I think it's time to actively join the forces for freedom . . .

Pianist-composer-poet
New York City

After the experience I had at the national meeting of News and Letters Committees, I'm looking forward very much to the classes this fall in Dunayevskaya's new book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. The reason is that the meeting pulled me toward wanting to learn about Marx's thoughts, as he figured them out himself, instead of as all those who followed him have interpreted them. I never understood before how much his theory of permanent revolution could mean for our world today . . .

Middle Eastern friend
in the USA

N&L presents to me an honest representation of the world the way it really is. I mean both the horror of it, and what people are doing to be free. It's a whole new language to learn in Marxist-Humanism. At the conference, I kept thinking about how I first read *Indignant Heart*. I felt at home with Charles Denby as a thinker. He expressed so much of what I had been thinking in all the battles I ran into challenging the system of the working world on my job in the restaurant. I haven't won all those fights, but I feel that now I have a basis to keep up my activity . . .

Working woman
Michigan

I want to thank you for inviting me to this meeting. My own perspectives have been enhanced by what I have

heard here. In the Perspectives Thesis by Raya Dunayevskaya I liked especially the relationship of capital and imperialism to world hunger. I have contributed a little effort to the struggle against starvation in Africa/Asia/Latin America. You see programs on TV about the horrible conditions, but in the Left, little is said. They are perhaps preoccupied with the political-social struggles in Europe.

What also impressed me was the dialogue you have had with non-European groups in England, especially with South African groups like the Black Consciousness Movement. From my own past experience, I know the kind of attacks that their movement is facing from the Stalinists. In spite of the Communists' profession that they aren't racists, that they are internationalists, they have a tendency that whenever you come up with something they didn't think about, they immediately put you down and give you a label. Stalinists don't understand why Black Consciousness arose and its necessity in the political struggle. They simply call Black Consciousness "racist."

Marxist-Humanism is listening. You see their movement as the development of a revolutionary idea and people. I feel that your philosophy is truly revolutionary, and I look forward to success in spreading the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism . . .

Veteran Black activist
New York

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ESSAY ARTICLE The French edition of *Capital*, 100 years after

by Kevin A. Barry

With every new capitalist crisis Marx's greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, comes ever alive. This has been especially true in recent years when the myriad world economic-political crises coincided both with the transcription of the last writings from Marx's pen—*The Ethnological Notebooks*¹—and a new translation of Marx's *Capital*.² Naturally this was supposed to have taken into consideration the authentic French translation which had been edited by Marx himself. Unfortunately, that is not true. It is quite shocking to realize that over 100 years after the publication of the German and French editions of *Capital*, and after several different English translations, that we still do not have in English (or apparently in any other language) the complete text of *Capital*, Vol. I.

I. THE ENGELS EDITION

Despite the claim of the newest English translation by Ben Fowkes to have restored philosophical language omitted by Engels (who supervised the first English translation in 1886), Fowkes in most respects follows Engels slavishly and acts as if the task was to restore "whole sentences omitted by Engels" for the English-speaking public by consulting not the French edition edited by Marx but Engels' Fourth German Edition as rendered with a few additions in the East German edition of *Capital*, Vol. I (Marx-Engels Werke, Vol. 23, 1962). Fowkes takes the East German edition to be definitive and appears to translate innocently from it, without consulting the French edition directly. While he may thus include some passages not in previous English editions, he appears in his preface to view the French edition as a mere "popularization".

As a result, we still end up with an incomplete English edition of *Capital*. This means that whole pages are left out of sections such as from the chapter on "The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation". In addition, there are many places where Marx has alternate sentences or paragraphs for material included in the German editions. In many cases these alternate texts appear to be later and more polished formulations, but in any case we do not have these alternative texts to compare. Finally, in a few cases, we lose phrases or sentences from the French edition (and presumably from Engels' editions) which had previously appeared in English. In every case I examined, Fowkes seemed to accept unquestioningly the East German edition.

In citing a few examples of the rich differences in the French edition, we must never forget that the French edition was no mere translation. Not only did Marx, in editing it himself, make more precise many basic formulations but greatly expanded some sections, especially the crucial section of Accumulation of Capital as well as the most discussed Fetishism of Commodities.³ In the Postface Marx called attention to the changes he made, singling out the sections on Accumulation of Capital and Fetishism of Commodities and concluding that the French edition "possesses a scientific value independent of the original and should be consulted even by readers familiar with German." Marx left with Engels the task of incorporating the changes from the French into a new German edition on which he was working on his deathbed. When Engels issued the Fourth German Edition in 1890 he said he scrupulously followed Marx, and it was so accepted by the post-Marx Marxists. But Engels was not only hampered in the task by his own earlier attitude of preference for the earlier German edition, but he did not, in fact, incorporate all of Marx's changes. As he wrote after reading one chapter of the French:

"Despite all my respect for the artistry with which it has been turned into elegant French, I'm very upset by this pretty chapter . . . It would be in my eyes a big mistake to take the French as the basis of the English translation . . ." (Engels to Marx, Nov. 29, 1873).

Marx replied immediately to Engels that if he were to read "further" in the French text, he would find those parts that were "better than in German" (Marx to Engels, Nov. 30, 1873).

Earlier, Marx had given his view of this matter: "Even though the French edition . . . may be the work of someone quite knowledgeable in the two languages, he (the translator) often translated too literally. I was therefore compelled to edit anew, in French, whole passages which I wanted to make readable . . . Later it will be all the easier to translate the whole from French into English and the romance languages." (Marx to Danielson, May 28, 1872).

In the more than a century since the appearance of the French edition, it is these two sections on Ac-

cumulation and on Fetishism of Commodities which have become pivotal. The objective economic development of capitalism as well as post-World War II debates on alienation have made them so. In a word, the significance of the translation is not only an academic question but one that affects contemporary analyses.

An examination of the long chapter on "The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation" reveals whole paragraphs and pages that have yet to be included in any English or German edition. Fowkes' translation does include one key paragraph from the French edition



1871 Paris Commune: Citizens and National Guard spontaneously threw up barricades to prevent the army from seizing the cannon. Marx, under the impact of the mass self-activity of the Commune added to sections of the 1875 French edition of *Capital*.

which has finally made its appearance in English, some 100 years after Marx first included it in the French edition of *Capital*, but it appears as footnote rather than within the text as Marx had written it:

"But only after the mechanical industry had struck root so deeply that it exerted a preponderant influence on the whole of national production; only after foreign trade began to predominate over internal trade, thanks to mechanical industry; only after the world market had successively annexed extensive areas of the New World, Asia and Australia; and finally, only after a sufficient number of industrial nations had entered the arena—only after all this had happened can one date the repeated self-perpetuating cycles, whose successive phases embrace years, and always culminate in a general crisis, which is the end of one cycle and the starting-point of another . . ." (p. 786).

II. THE FOWKES TRANSLATION

Should we be so glad that the growth of a whole new Third World and the debates over imperialism since 1900 have finally forced that paragraph out into English, that we forget that Fowkes apparently includes it only because the "official" East German edition now does so? (Marx-Engels Werke, Vol. 23, p. 662).

Had he examined the passages nearby in the French edition, he would have noted immediately whole paragraphs and pages on the rise of the unemployed army, still to be included from the French edition, for example:

"We have just shown that the accumulation, which makes social capital grow, simultaneously reduces the relative size of its variable part and so diminishes the relative demand for labor. Now, what is the effect of this movement on the wage-earning class?"⁴

Marx continues for several pages to describe this "effect", but none of this material is included in the English (or the German) edition. While this may not be as "new" as the above-cited paragraph on the world market, surely it is high time we had it in English so that readers could decide for themselves.

The entire deleted section would appear quite relevant to any discussion of unemployment and the current capitalist crisis. Marx related this edition to the working class movement of 1875. It was completed at the same time as the *Critique of the Gotha Program*. In the letter which accompanied that *Critique* to Germany, Marx wrote: "I shall be sending you in the near future the last parts of the French edition of *Capital*."⁵ This was because, as we pointed out above, Marx emphasized only a week earlier, "it (the French edition) possesses a scientific value independent of the original and should be consulted even by readers familiar with German."

That Engels did not follow the advice as scrupulously as he thought is clear from a scrutiny which shows fairly quickly that Engels' edition has some limits, as whole sentences and even paragraphs are still "missing" from the current English and German editions of *Capital*, Vol. I. The why of this is amazing since Engels' contribution was both prodigious and painstaking. No other Marxist could have given us Volumes II and III of *Capital* from Marx's notes as did Engels.

But it is also true that no other Marxist or non-Marxist was ever shown the page proofs of *Capital* for comment before its first publication in 1867. And while

the letters between Marx and Engels in 1867 show a great theoretic gulf between the two men, it is also clear that Engels was of some help in achieving a more "popular" presentation of the material. The fact, however, which hits you from their correspondence is the very small extent to which Marx had a serious theoretic dialogue in the actual working out of *Capital*. Even Engels was, as late as 1867, asking the most elementary questions about *Capital*.

III. ALTERNATE TEXTS IN THE FRENCH EDITION OF CAPITAL, VOL. I

The Fowkes translation follows the German edition in several points where the French edition appears to offer a more fully dialectical view by Marx of the same problem. For example, in the concluding section on the "Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation", the English (and German) text describes independent artisan production thusly: "The private property of the worker in his means of production is the foundation of small-scale industry" (p. 927). The French text has this type of private property as the "corollary of small-scale industry" (p. 1237), a formulation which de-emphasizes the category of private property and sees social relations as a totality.

In the section of the chapter on "Machinery and Large-Scale Industry" entitled "The Factory", the English (and German) edition states: "All work at a machine requires the worker to be taught from childhood upwards, in order that he may learn to adapt his own movements to the uniform and unceasing motion of an automaton" (p. 546). At precisely the same point in the text the French edition reads: "Any child learns very easily to adapt his movements to the continuous and uniform motion of the automation." (p. 953) This formulation from the French edition seems more in keeping both with the experiences of workers in modern capitalism and with Marx's own statement a few sentences later (in all editions that: "Lastly, the speed with which machine work is learnt by young people does away with the need to bring up a special class of worker for exclusive employment by industry."

But the very next sentences are rendered again quite differently in the two texts. The English (and German) version appears to see some positive effects on the working class from machinery

"The work of those people who are merely attendants can, to some extent, be replaced in the factory by the use of machines. In addition to this, the very simplicity of the work allows a rapid and constant turnover of the individuals burdened with this drudgery." (p. 547)

Here the French text reads:

"As to the jobs performed in the factory with simple operations, the machine can for the most part take their place and, because of their simplicity, these jobs permit the periodic and rapid turnover of the people performing them." (p. 954)

Here the focus is on the "freedom" gained by the capitalist over the worker and not on any possible "benefit" to the worker from machinery. This is in keeping with the footnote to this very sentence in both texts, where Marx quotes a factory inspector who states that "perhaps self-acting mules are as dangerous as any other kind" to the working class, after describing some accidents with modern machinery.

None of these alternate texts have yet appeared, even as footnotes, in any English edition of *Capital*. Fowkes also carries his "literalness" in translating from the East German edition so far as to remove from his English text several passages which had been in previous English editions and which are also in the French edition. This is true of the famous phrase also in the section "The Factory" where Marx comments on the boring and dehumanizing character of capitalist production by stating that modern machinery "deprives the work of all interest."⁶ Here Fowkes gives us the word "content" rather than "interest", making the whole passage more abstract, but dutifully following his East German "original."

Inexplicably, we lose a whole sentence from the section on commodity fetishism: "The religious world is but the reflex of the real world."⁷ Fowkes removes this sentence completely, as does the East German edition. I hope to return to this soon so that we should finally know the whole of the French edition in English. Here I wished to single out the most important changes that have most relevance for our age. What is of equal importance is to take issue with the attitude of the post-Marx Marxists who, beginning with Mehring, and including Ryazanov, behaved as if the last decade of Marx's life was nothing but "a slow death." The truth is the exact opposite. On every subject from philosophy to organization, from the "Woman Question" to the latest economic developments, including colonialism, Marx was his most creative self.

The last decade of Marx's life, 1873-1883, was a

(Continued on Page 9)

1 Karl Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*, transcribed and introduced by Lawrence Krader, (Humanities Press 1972).

2 See English translation by Ben Fowkes, Penguin Press, 1976.

3 The philosophical importance of these changes and their relationships to the Paris Commune have been discussed in Chapter 6 of *Marxism and Freedom* by Raya Dunayevskaya. As for the more recent debate with Jean-Paul Sartre on the Fetishism of Commodities, Dunayevskaya's critique is in Chapter 2 of *Philosophy and Revolution*.

4 Marx, *Oeuvres*, I, ed. by M. Rubel, Paris: Gallimard, 1963-68.

p. 1141, my translation.

5 Marx to Bracke, May 5, 1875.

6 French, p. 956; Kerr edition of 1909, p. 462.

7 French, p. 613; Kerr, p. 91.

Ohio farmworkers' rally opens fourth year of tomato strike

(Editor's Note: The following are excerpts from interviews held with Baldemar Velasquez of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, FLOC, and Alfonso Salinas, a farmworker. The interviews were conducted at a strike and boycott rally held in Leipsic, Ohio at the start of the tomato harvest.)

We are picketing the tomato fields here in northwest Ohio to establish our presence, to show the growers and companies that we are not going away, and to feed the national boycott against Campbell Soup and Libby's.

Today we have delegations of friends from all over the U.S. who are helping us organize the boycott in major cities. We are sending staff people to the ten largest cities in the U.S. and Canada this November.

But even the growers have admitted that they have not been too successful in breaking the strike. And this after having invested a lot of money in machines and new varieties of tomatoes. Soon they will understand

that it is too expensive for them not to negotiate contracts with farmworkers in northwest Ohio.

One of the things we are after in that contract is the jobs on the machines as well. They said that the machines eliminate two-thirds of the entire hand-picked work force. Well two-thirds should not have to work because you have children out there, mothers with babies, old people.

What we are trying to do is make the fields a safe place for adults to work. If the adults get good wages working on the machines or picking, then the rest of the family doesn't have to be out there, and they can be fed, clothed and educated.

The Reagan proposal on the change in immigration laws will have catastrophic effects on farmworkers in the U.S. We will have a temporary workers' program which is a new name for the old bracero program. There was a notorious failure of the government to protect those workers coming here from Mexico. It's going to affect farmworkers trying to organize themselves like we are at this stage. There would be no way for us to legalize, to certify a strike. When you certify, then anything that the employer does to break that strike is considered an unfair labor practice. We don't have that right. So when we can't certify a strike, and the grower says he can't find local people to do this work, he will qualify automatically for temporary workers from Mexico or Haiti or wherever else, who will be brought here to break our strike.

I'm from Brownsville and since last year represent Texas on FLOC's Board of Directors. I organize people in Texas where the people came to know of the cause in 1978 when the strike began, because there have always been a large number of people coming to work in Ohio who live in Texas. In '78 we organized ourselves with FLOC and helped as much as we could. Two thousand ceased picking tomatoes when the strike was called.

There are few families who came here from Texas and Florida, because so many went to other states or are doing other work in order not to break the movement. Ten families are here to initiate the picket lines.

We have FLOC health clinics which have done good work, but the doctors can only see people on Tuesday and Thursday. Seventy or eighty people will arrive at each clinic at 3 p.m. to sign in and to wait until the doctors arrive at 6 p.m. If a patient arrives late it can be 2 a.m. before they go home, and then to work early in the morning. It is a good service, but very delayed. That is why we want health insurance included in the contracts FLOC is struggling to win, so that we can go to hospitals—something we can't afford to do now for lack of money.

In our paper, Nuestra Lucha, we give people instructions about pesticides. In the past when the tractors passed, spraying pesticides, the people would return to picking right away, which affected them gravely. Now with FLOC bulletins, the people are more prepared so they won't receive the pesticides, especially the children. The ranchers still aren't interested in the safety of the working people, just in the amount of crop.

FLOC is seeking staff persons to work fulltime on the Campbell Soup/Libby Boycott in major cities beginning in October, 1981. Training period provided. Salary based on need (negotiable). Send resume to Ray Santiago, FLOC, 714 1/2 S. St. Clair Ave., Toledo, Ohio 43609, (419) 243-3456.

Diablo Canyon blockade

Avila Beach, Cal. — "There are thousands of us here trying to blockade this power plant, and this time it's not just for show. We're going to make sure Diablo Canyon never opens, and we intend to stay here as long as it takes."

This view from an organizer of the week-long effort to blockade the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant was not just words. Hundreds of anti-nuclear youth and activists continue to pour into this protest, even after more than 700 have been arrested while attempting to cut off all land and sea access to this plant.

On the fourth day of the blockade, Sept. 17, some 700 construction workers were prevented from entering the plant site by the protesters. Some workers expressed sympathy for the protesters, and promised that if Pacific Gas & Electric, the plant operator, failed to pay them for missing that day of work, "then you're going to see a protest like you never saw." Meanwhile, over 2,000 other protesters continue to camp out four miles from the plant, readying themselves for additional blockade attempts and near-certain arrest.

The Abalone Alliance has been coordinating the efforts of some local anti-nuclear groups, spanning from Humboldt County to San Diego. Most of those arriving here have come committed to a stay of at least one month and probable arrest. The Alliance describes the action as "not symbolic but intended to obstruct the opening of the plant." The organizers also hope to focus additional public attention on the risks of nuclear power in general and Diablo Canyon in particular, forge closer relations with the resistance to nuclear energy taking place in Japan and West Germany, as well as connect to the long-fought community-wide struggle here against government attempts to make the central California coastline a "national sacrifice area." —Participants

Berkeley support

Berkeley, Cal. — On Friday night, Sept. 18, a demonstration of several thousand supporting the Diablo Canyon occupation appeared in the streets of Berkeley. A leaflet had been put out earlier in the day, and announced on KPFA, but few people heard about it beforehand. But as the marchers came down the street, they were joined by hundreds in a candlelight procession. Many who jumped into the demonstration were high school students; some were older people. All the signs were hand-made. Everyone was looking for a way to support the Diablo Canyon occupation, even if they couldn't go down there and get arrested. It was a great spontaneous experience.

ESSAY ARTICLE

(Continued from Page 8)

tremendously productive period for him, both philosophically and organizationally. While this period saw the decline and demise of the International Workingmen's Association, Marx had no such narrow concept of proletarian organization as to limit it to a formal party or association. As he wrote to an American comrade years after the break-up of the International: "Things are going, splendidly on the whole (I mean by this the general development in Europe), as well as within the really revolutionary party on the Continent."⁸

A few months later, he and Engels made the following points in a declaration on the tenth anniversary of the Paris Commune:

"... the Continental governments who after the fall of the Commune by their persecutions compelled the International Workingmen's Association to give up its formal, external organization... little did they think that ten years later that same International Labor Movement, more powerful than ever... would bind them together into a new and greater spontaneous International, outgrowing more and more all external forms of organization."⁹

The last decade also saw Marx's concept of organization as critique of existing "half-dialectical" concepts as in his famous *Critique of the Gotha Program* (1875). Only with the belated (1972) publication of his *Ethnological Notebooks*, have we been able to see the full extent of the deep theoretical probing into non-Western and primitive society, into relationships of peasant to worker, and of man to woman.

We can see this attitude even in "personal" letters such as the one he wrote from Algiers to his daughter Jenny Longuet (March 27, 1882) just a year before his death: "I wish that on a beautiful day I could waft Johnny (her son) over here with a magic cape; how my little darling would be amazed to see the Moors, the Arabs, Berbers, Turks, Negroes... and the costumes (most of them poetic) in this oriental world, mixed in with the 'civilized' French (and so forth) and the tedious British." But these ideas were hardly kept only for Marx's private notebooks.

He gave a very new and interesting theoretical answer to Russian Marxists who thought the only, the "inevitable" way was that Russia follow the developments outlined in *Capital*, Vol. I rather than possibly passing in a different way toward a new society from their agrarian commune:

"Now the question is: can the Russian *obshchina*, though greatly undermined, yet a form of the primeval common ownership of land, pass directly to the higher form of communist common ownership? Or on the contrary, must it first pass through the same process of dissolution as constitutes the historical evolution of the West?"...

"If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for a communist development".

That he wrote this not in a private letter but in nothing less than the 1882 Preface to the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, and the fact that that Preface also devoted considerable discussion to the United States, none of this prevented all Marxists since, Russian and "Western," from ignoring it. It is high time to grapple with the totality of Marx's works, especially his final years, from the French edition of *Capital*, through the *Gotha Program* to the *Ethnological Notebooks*.

⁸ Marx to Sorge, Nov. 5, 1880.
⁹ Marx and Engels to the Chairman of the Slavonic Meeting, March 21, 1881, in celebration of the anniversary of the Paris Commune.

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Native peoples' fight against Quebec government

The Quebec government, with its rush for energy in hydroelectric form — of which Quebec is the richest country in the world — has begun a systematic campaign of intimidation and terror against the Native peoples in an attempt to push them off ancestral lands.

On June 11, 400 armed game wardens and troops of the Para-military Quebec Police Force (QPF) invaded the Micmac Reservation at Restigouche, a community of about 2,000, in what MacLean's Magazine (June 29, 1981) described as an invasion "From land, sea, and air . . . With neither name tags nor badges to identify them." People were dragged from their homes, beaten, racially insulted, and threatened with death. This invasion was made under the direct orders of Premier Levesque, on the pretext that the Micmac were depleting the salmon in the river there. Shortly after, in a shooting incident near the Reserve, QPF bullets seriously wounded two Micmac, Larry Caplin and Dwight Bear.

Incidents have occurred at other reservations of the Montagnais, Attigamek, and Naskapi, smaller communities at La Romaine, Mingan, and others. At the Les Escoumins Reserve (population 110), 300 vigilantes attacked a group of 30 Montagnais and the QPF didn't answer the call from the Indian group for four hours. At Mingan, two helicopters and 30 QPF para-militaries harassed the Montagnais community, July 13, as they celebrated mass. One Indian described it as a "mini-Vietnam." At Caughnawaga, part of the land is being dug away for a ship's passage and there are plans for a new dam there.

ENERGY RUSH, LAND GRAB

These acts are seen by most Native people as a first move in a long energy rush and land grab. Various hydroelectric projects such as "LG-2" and "LG-3" are projected with 15 dams in planning which will extend through Labrador to the coast. There are vast stores of minerals and also hunting and fishing reserves. As for the salmon rights, 40 kilometers of the Mingan River, through Montagnais land, are owned by an American, though no Canadian is allowed to own frontage on a river.

While claiming to protect the environment, the Quebec government is willing to destroy it, just as in the James Bay Project, to produce more electricity and extract more natural resources. There is also a power struggle between the federal and provincial governments over Indian affairs. The federal government has been

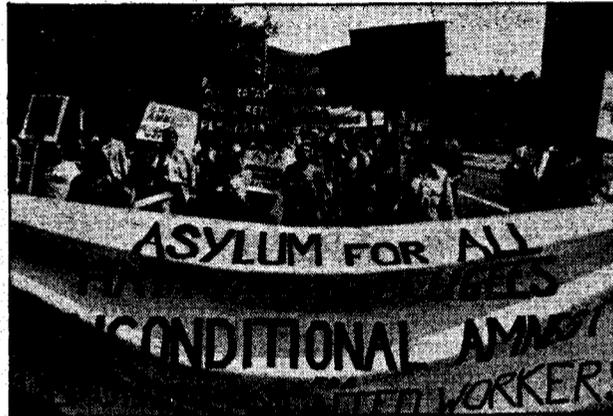
as bad as Quebec in its energy grab, and since it is a known enemy and Native people can also put pressure on a broader level if they are united across the whole of Canada, most seem to prefer to deal with the federal government.

RESISTANCE GROWING

Resistance is deep and growing. The movement may very well spread across Canada or much further. Farther south, the U.S. is trying to take over more and more Hopi and Navajo land for the sake of "energy development" (see N&L, Aug./Sept. '81).

Though some English Canadian moderates have sided with the Indians, most of the Quebec Left and intelligentsia have been strangely and disgracefully silent. It seems that Levesque's idea of sovereignty/association applies only to his own narrow elite, and the "enlightened" intellectuals are crawling behind. They will soon learn that self-determination is universal to all peoples.

—B. Gardner and friends



A demonstration supporting Haitian refugees took place in Brooklyn, N.Y. on Sept. 5, two days after more than 1,000 Haitians in Florida's Krone North detention center rebelled against racist, brutal and inhumane treatment. As the refugees face increased beatings and denial of medical care, the Reagan Administration continues to deny them political asylum and is now attempting to force many detainees to Glasgow Air Base, Montana, where winter temperatures reach -40° F.

Rugby protesters oppose S. Africa apartheid

Albany, N.Y. — Thousands of people turned out on only one day's notice and in a driving rain to protest the Springboks rugby match. The most dramatic moment came as the several thousand anti-apartheid marchers surged through the streets from the Capitol to the stadium, passing through Black and working class neighborhoods. Hundreds of working class residents, mostly but not entirely Black, came to their windows or stood on their porches to cheer and wave to the demonstrators. Those cheering ranged from Black children to white women in their sixties. "Freedom yes, apartheid no!" and other chants soon grew into ones against Mayor Corning and Ronald Reagan for inviting the Springboks.

Among the marchers, young Blacks and white students from the Albany-Schenectady area as well as local working class and middle class people were clearly in the majority, although several hundred came from other cities and states. The last-minute court decision to schedule the match made it impossible for many thousands who wanted to, to come from outside the area. But the predominance of local grass-roots people meant far more spirited and original slogans — often led or made up by young Black women — than is usually found when the organized Left predominates. There were also appeals, with some success, for onlookers to join the march.

While Reagan and South Africa (and Mayor Corning) may have thought a small city like Albany would not oppose the Springboks, September 22 showed massive Black as well as white outrage that their city was the only one openly to sponsor this racist sports match. It was as if they wanted the whole world to know they had not invited the Springboks. As one local Black activist put it: "We've had committees in the high schools and colleges on this for weeks. I expect thousands, white and Black, to come out from Albany High and SUNY." And they did. The demonstration was about half Black and half white.

Nothing showed more graphically the two worlds in Reaganland than, on one hand, Mayor Corning (in office for 39 years!) and his political machine and his racist police — and on the other hand, the very warm reception anti-apartheid demonstrators received both downtown and in the working class neighborhoods. This message was clearest in one of the most popular chants: "One, two, three, four, let's throw the Springboks (soon alternated with Reagan or Corning) out the door!" Sud-

denly, South Africa was no longer "foreign policy" but part of the "daily" concerns of the American Blacks, youth and workers of this city.

—Kevin A. Barry

Chicago, Ill. — "Soweto to Chicago, racism must go!" chanted about 300 people as we marched to the South African consulate to protest the apartheid rugby team touring the U.S. The crowd was about half black, half white, mostly young, and militant.

There were about 500 of us at the rally's beginning, but a lot left before we started walking, partly because of the long speeches. Some politicians got campaigning time because the coalition leaders' foremost goal was to get the City Council to pass an ordinance banning the team from Chicago. That was pitiful compared to the slogan "Racism must go!" but that's why they gave so much time to these opportunists and ignored the true opponents of racism to the point where 200 left early.

The best speaker, a black woman representing SWAPO and ANC, got tremendous cheers when she called for freedom for the peoples of Southern Africa.

We also heard Dennis Brutus, the Black professor whom the U.S. wants to deport to South Africa, where he's sure to be sent back to jail.

The tour sponsors are so afraid of mass demonstrations like the ones in New Zealand and Australia, that they kept the game's location secret until the last minute. But even hiding in Racine, Wis., out of town and out of state, many people were there to protest.

—A young Marxist-Humanist

Organization and News & Letters

Bulletin No. 2

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BLACK-RED VIEW

Dellums' non-alternative

by John Alan

Congressman Ronald V. Dellums is among those prominent Blacks who have been vocalizing the idea that there must be an alternative to the Reaganism of the Republican Party and the empty rhetoric of the Democratic Party. He has set forth his idea of an alternative in an article called: "Against the Reagan Tide: The People's Mandate," published in *Freedomways*, First Quarter, 1981, Vol. 21, No. 1.

This article deserves a hard critical look because much that has been developed in it are ideas that have lost their validity as serious ideas for a fundamental social change in world society since the advent of state-capitalism as a world phenomenon.

PANACEA OF NATIONALIZATION

Dellums proposes that political and economic democracy can be achieved by the willingness "to legislate against the continued control of the oligopoly and the multinational mentality, which stifles economic justice and worker productivity. We must promote decentralization, not through more bureaucracy, but through the transfer of capital control of the corporations from private and corporate investors to various forms of public ownership and control . . . We must recognize the need for a national economy which includes and encourages efficient public enterprise, worker-managed companies, cooperatives, nationalizations where necessary . . ."

There is nothing new about this program, either in theory or in practice. Governments have been nationalizing capitalist economies or intervening into their control for a great long time in Europe and in the United States to offset unsatisfactory levels of production and the sluggish rates of capital accumulation. They have underwritten "social consumption" by the institution of the welfare state, not because of their concern for humanity, but out of the subjective fear of revolution and the objective fear that the whole system of capitalism will collapse.

However, what Dellums' alternative does reveal is an utter lack of knowledge of why we are faced with the crisis of Reaganomics, which is not simply a political problem but a problem of a decadent system of social production, brought on since the 1960s, by an overwhelming growth of technology in production compared to the ever decreasing numbers of workers needed to operate it. The decline in the number of workers needed means a decline in the rate of profits that production requires to grow, since it is only living labor that produces the surplus value. This, plus the high cost of energy, is drying the well of capital that is needed for future expansion of production.

THE HAVOC OF REAGANISM

Reagan's budget, that strikes down social programs and welfare, is nothing more than the political reflection of the hunger for capital, a hunger that is so rapacious that it has brought Wall Street to the brink of challenging the military budget.

Congressman Dellums is keenly aware of the social havoc that Reaganism is creating, both at home and abroad and the closeness to which the administration has moved toward a war with Russia. He has delineated in his article the 50-year failure of the Democratic Party to make any fundamental change in the social structure of the country, and yet, probably because he is a congressman, he persists in the delusion that, what he calls the democratic left, can legislate vast social changes.

We know from concrete experience that state control of production and the creation of a welfare state is not synonymous with the "Economic Bill of Rights" that Dellums would like to believe. This is a truism that won't go away, whether we examine the so-called communist states, where the state is in absolute control of production, or state control in countries like England. In both cases the contradiction between labor and capital remains. Wage labor, that hallmark of the exploitation of the worker in the interest of capital, is not abolished; the state assumes the role of a universal capitalist under the conditions of capitalism.

It is the relationship between worker and capital in the production process, that Marx said, involves the whole of human servitude, "and every relation of servitude is but a modification and consequence of this relationship."

Contrary to Congressman Dellums' opinion, the alternative is not private vs. public ownership of production, but labor emancipated, along with the whole of society, from the grip of capitalist production relationships. And this is achievable not by "collective political action" as Dellums has proposed, but by labor, with all the other oppressed groups, acting as a social force for revolution.

YOUTH

News and Letters international youth gathering

(Editor's Note: Over Labor Day weekend an international youth discussion was held as part of News and Letters Committees' yearly gathering. Those attending were from across the country, Europe, Asia and Latin America. Below we print excerpts from the discussion by four of the participants. A bulletin containing the full proceedings is available for 50 cents plus 50 cents postage from News & Letters Youth, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, MI 48211.)

Youth a cheap commodity on job market

by Vicki McKay, a Black high school student

Ever since I entered high school, I planned on going to college and entering the field of my choice. I find now as a 17-year-old senior that several doors are being closed in my face. And who's to blame?

When the Marxist-Humanist perspectives first came out, I was a little confused as to what purpose they were to serve. In the past few weeks, it is rapidly becoming clearer why one needs a very clear understanding of events in order to see how they truly relate to you. So what are my perspectives? As I see it, I have two very real options. When I graduate this coming May, I can continue my education or go to work. Unfortunately these two choices are becoming rare commodities.

The college scene has become a virtual nightmare. Reagan is busily sucking dry all financial aid, scholarships, and federal grant monies. If one is successful in financing an education, will it be worth it? Due to Reagan's budget cuts, colleges are finding it necessary to cut back on staff and the offerings of academic programs. Why go to an institution of higher learning and get nothing? It does teach one to wonder how the Navy, Army, Air Force and Marines have all offered me four-year scholarships to the school of my choice plus the buying of all my books with a \$100 a month spending allowance. I guess it all makes sense when you figure that Reagan is itching for a fight.

Richard Kennedy, University of Michigan vice president for state relations, says "The schools that concentrate on defense research will do fine under the Reagan Administration, but our emphasis is on social sciences, natural sciences and health." Those are being substantially reduced. These anticipated massive cuts will go toward destroying things like desegregation research at Wayne State and recent breakthroughs in cancer diagnosis discovered at the University of Michigan.

It's no wonder so many graduates now opt for directly entering the job market. Only many are finding that they are running up against just as many walls. Youth is not a highly valued resource in the work world, and the problem is compounded when dealing with minorities. This summer I was unemployed though I tried various avenues. The few jobs that were available were in fast food places where workers are overworked and underpaid. And now businessmen want to be allowed to pay something less than the minimum wage to the city's many unemployed young people.

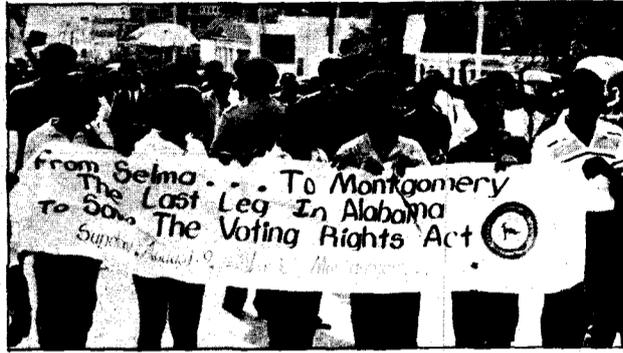
What's out there for our city's youth? And do they know how to go about inquiring? That was the theme of a unique training program I was in this summer. It took place at the Detroit Pre-employment Center. For a three-week training period, students from 17 to 21 years of age are taught how to make it in the business world.

Part of our training included learning how unions work. We signed contracts with management (the staff), we elected representation and worked with grievances. The center comes through on its promise to teach you how to seek and retain employment, but unconsciously (and maybe not so unconsciously) they taught us something else too — the true relationship between labor and management.

It was emphasized over and over at the center that the slightest infraction of the rules on labor's part allows management to run roughshod over them. When students pointed out or complained about certain rules or practices they felt to be unfair, it was always thrown in their faces that management already had a job and you were in no position to make the rules. In essence, we are at the mercy of those who have the money. We can either like it or lump it. And lumping it doesn't buy food, clothing and shelter.

If I had to make a summary of all that I have learned this summer it would be that I have a very rough and rocky road ahead. It sounds so cliché-ish and yet it's a very concrete reality. One thing that does trouble me greatly is the announcement from the Reagan Administration that Blackness will not be "in" this season. With all the subtlety of a hurricane, he is trying to erase all the good achieved by us, for us. He's having his bit of success now, but it won't be for long.

A restless spirit is growing among the people and we are being pushed to our limit. We are tentatively pushing back right now, but if circumstances continue on as they are now, the people's cry will turn into a full-fledged roar.



Marches, rallies and meetings have been taking place throughout the South to continue enforcement of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Senator Strom Thurmond is leading the attack to change the preclearance sections which protect voters against racist practices. In Montgomery, Ala. some 3000 marched to support the Act.

From the ranks . . .

by Laura Davies, an ex-military enlistee

Just as Rosa Luxemburg decades ago watched Germany's capitalism extend into imperialism, today we are seeing the United States progress (or regress) in the same way. Our most recent escapade, in Libya, seemed to many Americans a thing to be proud of, yet it was nothing but military and political folly.

And as the "Morocco Incident" was ignored by German leaders, very few of the United States congressmen voiced dissent against the Libyan dogfight. "Any opposition might harm the electoral victory they counted on for the 1912 (or 1982) elections."

With Vietnam, war lost its legendary glory. But with Reagan, star of the fantasy war movies of the '40s, war has become again a hero's game. Yet it's a game without winners, and one that the United States is a major participant in, a major loser. Our part in the worldwide war machine has to be stopped, and we must stop it.

Cease training and supplying foreign armies. End the false advertising concerning our own military forces. Educate the young, who can be so taken in by offers of "adventure" and free education. Tell them the truth—that they're there to kill their fellow human beings.

* * *

When we speak of the military, remember that there is a great tendency to generalize. Many of the people are, indeed, premeditated warmongering murderers, especially in the higher ranks. But many are people like you and me who are just pulled in, blinded by offers to have adventure, or to "be all that you can be."

Once the enlistment contract is signed, the enlistee no longer has any constitutional rights. Although the constitution no longer applies, the Uniform Code of Military Justice does govern you. Under the UCMJ, the Captain, or whoever your commanding officer may be, has total and absolute power. The most outrageous thing is that there's a catchall clause in the UCMJ, Article 137, for any infraction not stated in the previous articles. If you do or say something—anything—that's not accepted, they just throw it in under article 137 and you're guilty!

With the majority of the new enlistees searching for a way out of the military, once they find what they're in, not to mention searching for a philosophy of change, a philosophy of revolution, the potential within the military should not, cannot, be ignored.

Youth and Latin America

by Peter Wermuth, News & Letters youth columnist

We are trying to project and practice the fullest expression of what Marx meant when he said his new continent of thought was spelled out as critical-practical-revolutionary action. As the new book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* has shown, we are the first generation of post-Marx Marxists capable of understanding what that fully means, much less being the first to practice it. And practice is what is required for youth as a revolutionary category to become a reality.

There is no doubt that Reagan's massive militarization will result in intensified protests by youth here at home. And there is also no doubt that the effort of U.S. imperialism to prevent the spread of revolution in Central America will make El Salvador a central concern for

us all year. What we have coming off the press that defies how we will be intervening in this movement is the new Spanish-English pamphlet, *Latin America's Revolutions: in reality, in thought.*

All four essays in the pamphlet illuminate what genuine solidarity for the El Salvadoran revolution means — not simply saying "U.S. Hands Off Central America", as important as that is to do. The movement here also has a responsibility to aid the revolution there by working for the American revolution here at home.

We have to ground anti-war action in the movement from practice: the ideas and demands for freedom expressed by Blacks, Chicanos, women's liberationists, working youth, the unemployed. The method by which those demands can come together is by projecting a vision of total human liberation in anti-war action, that is, to relentlessly criticize all those who would separate the idea of freedom from movement action on a daily basis.

Not to connect theory and practice in this way, however, fails to allow youth as revolutionary category to unfold. Consider a recent article by Orlando Nunez Soto, himself a Sandinista who describes how much the youth contributed to the Nicaraguan revolution. After showing that over half of all persons in Central America today are under 25 years of age, he writes, "They were the enthusiasm of the revolution."

But when it comes to drawing a theory from those facts, he simply groups youth and students — along with women ('housewives'), merchants, low-level bureaucrats and petty-bourgeoisie into a category called a "third force" for national liberation. This simply reduces youth, like women, to a mere marginal tactical ally of the proletariat, rather than a category of revolution in its own right that would inform the direction of the revolution. In the process, the specific demands and ideas of those youth in the revolution do a disappearing act — you never get to hear what they wanted from the revolution.

It leads to grasping youth as force, but not as reason, which opens the back door to one more variant of vanguardism, as always, based on the concept of the "backwardness" of the masses.

Black anti-war activities

by Gene Douglass, a young Black worker

"You are lost as soon as you go into the service. Nineteen years in the Marines and I got out to go on skid row. What I didn't realize was that I was being trained for that. The MIAs are right here — we are like ghost people. They see us, but we are really there."

Those comments are by a Black Marine veteran. The Black youth revolt of the 1980s can be a beginning against the direct attack by the Reagan Administration, the right-wing push for the next year, possibly in the Third World of Latin America or Africa. But ideas like those of this Black vet are needed against the attack of Reagan against Black revolutionary reason.

We want to show these links of Vietnam vets and today's Black youth in a high school leaflet that would say: During the Vietnam war, Asians, Blacks, Latinos and Native men and women accounted for only 10 to 15 percent of the military forces of this country. But the casualties and fatalities were 30 to 40 percent.

The militarist war has made a direct attack upon the Black mind. The fact that there are 100,000 Black veterans in South Central Los Angeles alone shows the need for a truly anti-militarization movement. Therefore, our high school leaflet would say that in 1981, Blacks make up 45 percent of Army personnel, but only 6.2 percent of the Army officer corps. Blacks receive dishonorable discharges at four-and-a-half times the rate of whites. Over half the people in Army stockades are Black and Latino. And most Blacks and Latinos are classified as E-1 and E-2, the lowest levels, and receive the dead end, lowest-paying jobs in the Army.

The Black movement of the '60s saying "Hell No! We Won't Go!" showed a new direction for the 1960s anti-war movement, but the relationship from the beginning was an abstraction. Left up to the college campuses, the connection to the military or to Black youth as Reason of revolt was not made a reality.

A new reflection of organizational beginnings has shown itself within the young unemployed Black youth of today. The lack of jobs is in direct relationship to capitalism's state of production, where the first negation against the system is deploring unemployment, but the second negation is stating what you are for, jobs organized in a human way. This is where we need to be working now.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

Today's Germany: freedom movements and ideas

In West Berlin

Over 30,000 anti-war demonstrators greeted General Haig when he stopped off in West Berlin to deliver what the bourgeois press is calling "a philosophic defense of Western values." His "noble" words about a "democratic revolution" and his accusations against the other superpower, Russia, could not cover over the Reagan Administration's own aggressive war posture and support of bloody dictatorships — from Chile to South Africa to El Salvador to Western Europe.

The mostly-young demonstrators filled blocks and blocks as they marched from the Gedachtniskirche, a bombed-out church left standing as a reminder of the horrors of World War II — to the Berlin City Hall where Haig was to speak. This was the same place where John F. Kennedy delivered a similar speech 20 years ago, including the line "Ich bin ein Berliner," but by 1981 the youth were just as disillusioned with militarized bourgeois democracy as with the totalitarian state-capitalism on the other side of the Berlin Wall.

While it is true, as the bourgeoisie shouts to the skies, that the Communist Party joined the march for its own reasons, it is equally true that the demonstrators came from a whole range of political groups which included the youth wings of the two ruling parties — the social democrats and the free democrats — plus groups further to the Left, such as Alternative Liste. Gay liberation, teachers, artists, religious groups and others composed the 60 groups co-sponsoring this "Day for Peace," while the "Women for Peace" took the lead position in the march.

As the march ended near City Hall, 1,000 angry masked youths surged forward, fighting with the 7,000 police present to protect Haig. They smashed windows and built barricades with burning cars. While the bourgeoisie shrieks against this violence as if it proved the hollowness of the demand for peace, the youth of West Berlin have drawn world attention to a new generation of anti-war activists which is by no means limited to West Germany, and which is certainly more independent than ever before of both superpowers.

South Africa

In August, the racist South African government violently dispersed 2,500 Black squatters, women and children camped out in the winter rains under thin plastic sheets. Their crime? Trying to live with their husbands and fathers who work in the Capetown area. The regime's "homelands" laws have made the Black majority "legally" foreigners in their own land.

Also in August, South Africa once again launched a murderous raid into neighboring Angola, an independent country which supports the liberation movement in Namibia, which South Africa has been illegally occupying. The thinly-populated territory of Namibia (one million people may have as many as 70,000 occupying troops.

Angola reported that 45,000 South African troops invaded, destroying not only bases of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the Namibian independence movement, but also killing Namibian refugees and Angolan civilians and soldiers. A white South African draft resister, Peter Moll, stated recently: "For example, a soldier in one of those units may be sent to a village in Angola . . . He has been told by intelligence that (the guerrilla) is there. The soldier's got to get him, but he can't find him, so he kills everyone." Despite these terror tactics, the freedom movement grows stronger daily.

Recent months have seen increasing student-worker unrest inside South Africa itself. There have been at least 70 strikes by Black workers in 1981, virtually all of them considered illegal. At Sigma Motors, in Pretoria, owned partly by Chrysler, 4,000 Black workers recently ended a two-week strike. They had demanded \$4.50 hour (versus \$1.56), plus official recognition of their union, the National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers of South Africa. They returned with a small wage increase and are continuing to fight the firings of several union leaders. At the national level, the government has arrested and banned hundreds of union leaders, while employers have fired thousands of workers.

International solidarity with the revolutionaries grows daily. New Zealand has recently experienced a series of massive demonstrations against the Springboks rugby team, on tour there from South Africa (See article, p. 10).

While even so conservative a document as the Rockefeller Foundation Report on South Africa, *Time Running Out*, concludes that "revolution is in the making

In East Berlin

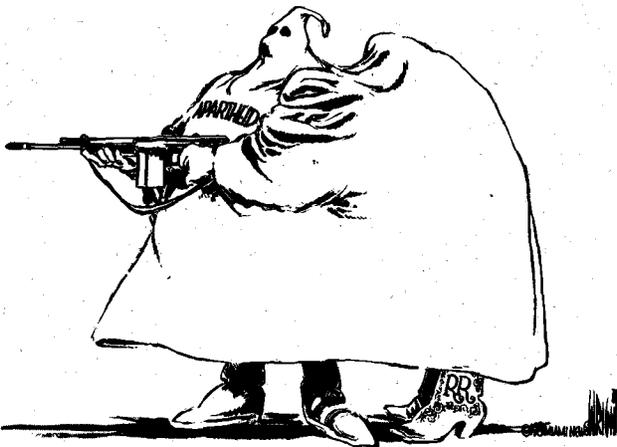
The following leaflet is being circulated in great numbers in East Berlin, especially in the schools and scientific institutions. It was composed and printed in East Germany by "activists from the capital of the DDR" who state that "unfortunately, under present conditions it is impossible to present such thoughts to a broad public without friendly assistance from the West." Reprinted in *Der Spiegel* (August 3, 1981), one side of the leaflet makes "fundamental democratic demands" for "freedom of conscience, association, speech, and assembly, freedom for all political prisoners and general amnesty," and "free, secret and equal suffrage with free listing of candidates." We reprint the front side of the leaflet below.

Appeal to All Activists

The 10th Party Convention is over. What is the balance?

Much spectacle and propaganda, like nothing seen since Goebbels. The rulers rule on and flatter themselves with the pose of absolute patriarchs. With vague promises — "when you work more, you will earn more" — they whitewash the fact that they will use our money to rule on in their own interests and to their own advantage. Their interests are not ours! They spend our money to keep us in ignorance—and in fear, through the police and state security — to prevent by force a democratic renewal. Without this renewal, socialism can never be realized. They exhume the unholy ghost of Prussian militarism, and step forward with a school-masterly air as the spearhead against the democratic forces in the Warsaw Pact. They suppress independent thought in all fields and drive thousands into silence, the prisons, and emigration. The developments in Poland show how we can defend ourselves. The conditions here favor us even more. Why should we wait until we are hungry to set change in motion? Let everyone do their own thing wherever they are. Let us break through the silence and isolation and blow the lid off the garbage can.

Without democracy no socialism, as Rosa Luxemburg once said — that is the demand of the day.



in South Africa," the Reagan Administration now says that it will remain "neutral"—neutral that is, in favor of the regime. It vetoed the UN resolution condemning the recent invasion of Angola as "one-sided."

New York's Black newspaper, the *Amsterdam News*, commented (9-12-81): "It is a policy so steeped in folly and imbecility, so destitute of principle that it would shame a nation of barbarians . . . We need to begin to build a mass movement to support African liberation . . . Perhaps it is time to begin to work towards building a real moral majority in America."

Turkey

The following information has been received from the Democrats from Turkey:

After the military takeover in Turkey in September, 1980, the constitution and the parliament were abolished; political activities were suspended; democratic rights annihilated, and about 100,000 people detained and put under arrest. Thousands of workers, trade unionists, professors, students, and intellectuals have been tortured. At least eight persons have been executed by hanging.

We want to draw your attention to another very serious trend which has been gaining momentum in the last months—the oppression of free thought and art. In ever-increasing numbers, artists have been arrested and jailed, not because they've been engaged in any political "subversive" activity, but only because of their works—novels, poems, plays, articles, films, songs, etc.

Three newspapers and 20 periodicals have been closed and the editors of the leading newspaper,

Algebra der Revolution

(German edition of
Philosophy and Revolution)

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Published by Europaverlag

Since its publication in March, 1981, *Algebra of Revolution: Philosophy of Liberation from Hegel to Sartre* has been reviewed in several publications including *Der Eisenbahner* (The Railwayman), Vienna, a newspaper of railroad workers, and *Einkaufszentrale für Öffentliche Bibliotheken*, Reutlingen, a public library journal, from which we print the following excerpts:

The investigation has as its special merit that it not only describes the philosophical foundations of revolution "from Hegel to Sartre," but expounds Hegel's central categories as the nucleus of all revolutionary theories that followed; they concern the author as the "seriousness and suffering of the negative" through which each effort toward revolution must pass. With an appreciation of socialism that refuses to reduce it to state property, Trotsky's former secretary hits hard at the various models of revolution, and covers especially here the problems of the Third World (China, Africa, Blacks in the USA) with a meticulous and fact-filled presentation, which can be offered for years to come as an original supplement.

Philosophy and Revolution also available in
English (Delacorte Press) Spanish (Siglo XXI)
Italian (Feltrinelli)

from News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd.,
Detroit, MI 48211

Hurriyet, arrested. The publication of books has been made very difficult, producers in TV and radio have been dismissed, and the heads of the press agencies, TV networks and other cultural institutions replaced by army officers.

We urge all artists, writers, poets, musicians, journalists and other democratic-minded people to contribute to the fight for democracy in Turkey through all means — by writing letters to the government of Turkey, by reflecting the struggle for democracy going on in Turkey in their works, by explaining the facts about Turkey to the broadest circles.

Let the writers, poets and artists of Turkey know that they are not alone. Let them know that one day art will win . . . that one day free thought will win. Let them know that one day we will win!

Religion: a big business

John Cardinal Cody of Chicago has been accused by the *Chicago Sun-Times* of diverting thousands of dollars to a woman friend. We are not concerned here with the morals of the Cardinal, but with the system that could make it possible, perhaps even legal.

The Cardinal controls over one billion dollars in Church assets for the Chicago Archdiocese, for which he is accountable to no one. Other bishops and archbishops throughout the country are similarly unaccountable, except for the admonition that the money is to be used for "church purposes." Practice has shown that anti-abortion, anti-ERA and other similar funding falls within this category.

The Catholic Church is not alone in the control of billions of tax-free dollars, usually collected from poor people that can ill afford the contribution. Baptist preachers grow rich from inflammatory radio and TV fundraisers, all tax-free. The Mormon Church conducts highly profitable businesses while paying no taxes. The Moral Majority is funded largely from tax-free church funds.

Religion today is a big profitable business. Shouldn't it be subjected to the same taxation system as other capitalist businesses?