Haitians dehumanized at Krome

by Charles Denby, Editor

Author of Individual Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

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

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

"THIRSTED FOR FREEDOM!"

Mahoney admits that far from being "detainees," the Haitians were prisoners. "... like all prisoners, they thirsted for freedom." And he goes on to describe how 300 Haitians over a period of a week had fled the camp through a slit in the fence. "It must have been for the indignities my government countenanced, and frustration." Mahoney describes incident upon incident at the camp:
The children were going away. They were awakened at 4:30 a.m. in the barracks. They had come as boat people from the tropics to the near tropics and now they were going to upstate New York.

(Continued on Page 2)

The real state of the union under Reagan

UNEMPLOYMENT LINES

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 3)

POLAND: An Editorial Article

Counter-revolution drives the revolution underground; the resistance continues

by Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairman,

News and Letters Committees

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

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

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

IN THE STEALTH OF THE NIGHT

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

Thus, the First Secretary of the Communist Party, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, pictured himself a "soldier" defaced to "national salvation." With that, he loosened his hordes, cordoned off key production centers—the mines, steel mills, shipyards and textile factories—and raided the hotels and homes where Solidarity members lived. Thousands were rounded up and sent to jail.

The most militant activists — especially socialists like Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Jan Litynski and Karol

(Continued on Page 4)

FOOD STAMP CUTBACKS

Bronx, N.Y. — Reagan's food stamp cutbacks have started to hit home. A lot in my shop don't make enough to support a family without food stamps. We are what they like to call the "working poor."

(Continued on Page 3)
Solidarity with Polish women!

In the 17 short months from Polish August, 1980 to December, 1981, the Polish people created a new epoch. Fundamentally, it is a creative and revolutionary epoch, which made clear how deep the budding Polish revolution needed to become.

That was the beginning of the counter-revolution there is no doubt, but that in the street fighting or in the special camp for women arrested during the crackdown, where they are reported to be showing great hostility to their male comrades, they have shown the women's bravery that is important to remember in this moment of counter-revolution. It is their Reason.

**WORLDWIDE SOLIDARITY OF WOMEN**

More significant than this first act of solidarity is what the women learned in the course of their revolutionary activity. In an interview given this July, Alina Pienkowska said: "The women in Gdansk were very active in building Solidarnosc. ... At that time they paid no attention to the special problems of women, instead they fought for the rights of all human beings. We were able to win our concrete demands that are important to us women ... We must struggle more for the woman's cause. The life of the women of Poland is still very hard, but with the support of the world, the women should not be afraid to deepen. Our solidarity is with the women of Poland and the totality of revolution they envision. The struggle continues."

—Terry Moon

**Garment workers trial**

San Francisco, Cal. — Thirteen seamstresses employed by Naline Lee Sewing Inc. are going through a pre-trial hearing, which some see as an attempt to suppress the women's movement in the face of an economic strike. What the women are asking is that unemployment fraud charges against them are discriminatory (see NL, November, 1981). The women contend that the unemployment office and the police are antibodies against the workers, they are prosecuting the seamstresses instead of investigating exploitation of workers in the garment industry. If you want to protest against this, please express your support, contact: Garment Workers Support Committee, P.O. 1232 Webster St., Suite 210, Oakland, CA 94612.

**BC-BS: poor sick pay policy**

Detroit, Mich. — We now have our contract, here at Blue Cross-Blue Shield. There are some good points in the contract, like time off and the pay increases. We just received our pay increase as retroactive pay. The raises were promised in April, 1981, but the union and company were in the process of negotiating. This is an impressive score. Yet surprisingly I couldn't enter, and when I tried to find a job, there were thousands of people who had been fired and were now looking for work.

**Winnie Mandela banned again**

Winnie Mandela, South African revolutionary, was again banned, Jan. 4, in Brandfort, South Africa. Her husband, Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress (ANC), was sent to Robben Island for life after the infamous Rivonia Trial. Winnie's resistance has been continuous over the years, which shows that her fight is more than a question of one single will. At the age of 47, it is her acknowledged role in the ANC. A few months ago, she was encouraged to join their struggle. On the other hand, the restricted Iranian culture puts no other way before a young woman, except going to industrial schools or to a husband's house.

—I tried to find a job, but there were thousands of unemployed graduates seeking jobs, as well as people who had been fired and were now looking for work. I was forced to accept a job as "honorary" teacher—in other words, to teach for free—with the hope that one day I could work for the Board of Education and earn my living. Today I have been an "honorary" teacher for almost one year. Since the government has established Islamic Ideological Classes, one of the qualifications to get a teaching job is to participate and get good grades in these classes. Under these conditions I am forced not only to remain unemployed and attend these classes with much disgust, but I also have to tolerate the bad conditions of my father's home.

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

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

While the American auto companies were building cars for the rich and upper middle class, foreign auto companies got in on the act. Now GM, Ford and Chrysler are trying to say it’s the workers’ fault. They say our “high wages” caused the market to collapse.

What does have an effect on the ever-increasing cost of the car produced in the U.S. is management efficiency, the need for high profit, and the ever-expanding concentration of capital. The military has the first shot at available money for investments, so what is left is the big corporations have to fight over, and up the interest rates. The ever expanding Automation, and now unimposing, heavy surveillance by the security department. Black discrimination in three separate cases. Since September, Black workers at Leyland have been under especially management’s arguments and threats and advised every­

In December, another 450,000 workers joined the many already unemployed. Workers are tired of hearing salaried “mental” employees say labor costs are too high. Why are they so quick to charge that when the operative word is wage of wealth) are paid at all. I saw my doctor recently, and as soon as I walked into his office he said, “You workers at GM have to take wage cuts, the cost of labor is too high.” I told him that if I asked my foreman to get someone else to do my job, he would fire me.

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

The real state of the union  

(Continued from Page 1)  

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

You have to bring so many documents now that the manager can say they can send you home. They want your last eight pay stubs now. I used to be two, then four. They want Social Security numbers for everyone, even babies. Jesse, utility and phone bills, cards, and if you get lost they can get your records, children’s medical cards, immigration documents, and so on.

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

—Transit maintenance, 267th St.  

February 1982
Poland: counter-revolution drives the revolution underground

(Continued from Page 1)

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

Whether or not General Jaruzelski thinks that the military can rule alone, without Communist Party ideology, makes no difference whatsoever to the masses. Though many analysts are ready to conclude that the Polish Military Council signifies that the "Polish Army Repels People with a Banner" (see section of the Guardian, Jan. 10, 1982), historically that has never been true in a state-capitalist state. Perhaps Lin Biao, as he was in China, thought he could succeed. But Mao proved that the one-party state rests on the Party and its ideologies. Insofar as Poland is concerned, that is the problem that rests in the ground which had been established directly after the 1945 negotiations. Poland has never been true in a state-capitalist state. Perhaps it is all men.

Kazimierz Barkiowski, who was entrusted with the job of waking up the primate of Poland, Cardinal Glemp, on the night of Dec. 12/13, and informing him of the new situation the country was in."

Neither from that statement, nor from what we know of the power play in Gdansk, does it follow that the situation in Poland is the "first attempt to break the continuity of power in a Communist country." Solidarity had no less than 10 million members at the moment of the crackdown. Nor is it only those members on whom Jaruzelski has stumped. Women trying to protect the occupied steel mill in Katowice had theirs broken. In Gdansk, 3,000 women fought to protect the barricaded workers there.

When the darling Silesian miners — including 1,742 in the Piast mine and 1,154 in the Zemgoutes mine barricaded themselves in those hell holes for two weeks, they were stormed with tanks. The Polish rulers admit that their actions against the miners was a "guerrilla war." Solidarity was the "first attempt to break the continuity of power in a Communist country."

The great illusion of the counter-revolution is that they can raise productivity by forcing workers into bitterer and bitterer struggles at gunpoint. Low productivity, as we pointed out when state-capitalism was established in Russia in the 1930s, is not a sign of the "backwardness of the workers," but the exact measure of their revolt.

As one Solidarity courier for the resistance movement put it: "Little work is going on anywhere."

An uninitialized state-capitalism cannot destroy the revolutionary spirit which, once unleashed, had developed like a tidal wave for 18 long months.

THE MANY VOICES OF REVOLUTION

The dialectic of revolution that emerged in August, 1980, established many firsts in the struggle for freedom. In the struggle that emerged in August, 1980, was the first time that East European workers succeeded in establishing an independent union, Solidarnosc — Solidarity. This was the first time that a movement, not only in the form that it has since limited itself neither to a single trade or skill or factory but encompassed the whole nation. It was the first time that a movement that had developed like a tidal wave for 18 long months was ever defeated. The first time that a movement that had developed like a tidal wave for 18 long months was ever defeated.

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Street fighting in Katowice

Demos for Solidarity in U.S.

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San Francisco, Cal.—Since the declaration of martial law, the Solidarity movement has faced continuous harassment and attacks on its members. The Solidarity movement has faced continuous harassment and attacks on its members. The Solidarity movement has faced continuous harassment and attacks on its members. The Solidarity movement has faced continuous harassment and attacks on its members. The Solidarity movement has faced continuous harassment and attacks on its members.

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From 1917 to Today

LODZ AND WARSAW—MOVEMENT FROM BELOW, PLANNING FROM ABOVE

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(Continued from Page 5)
control over food rationing. They followed this in No­
vember and December with the concept of the “active
strike.” But the workers' guards. The key issue was working class con­
trol over food distribution. Andruzej Slowik, a former
workers' guards. Indeed, Kowaleski escaped the Dec. 13
the Lodz edition of the CP paper on Dec. 10, which
by one of the Solidarity leaders, Zbigniew Kowaleski, in
Monde,
that the left of the Solidarity
file
takes a more active stance, and to contrast how the Solidarity leadership and the
movement
in March, 1981 was not answered at once with a call
for the right number of life preservers in the boat.

WHAT NOW? VOICES FROM UNDERGROUND

We must carefully listen to the voices of those who escaped the round-up and are continuing the resistance underground. The recent visits of Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the leaders of the 1968 civil rights movement, to Poland

defended in its court, with the work­
ers against the existing society. Once again, he finds
himself in jail, awaiting trial.

WHAT NOW? VOICES FROM UNDERGROUND
Detroit, Mich.—After ten years of legal battles, the U.S. Supreme Court has now applied the ruling upheld Judge Noel John Wolf's 1979 state court. The State of Michigan to stop interfering with Indian gill net fishermen trying to make a living on Lakes Superior, Michigan and

WHAT NOW? VOICES FROM UNDERGROUND

One of those struggles is the negotiation of a fish
management agreement between the Chippewa, Ottawa fishermen and the Michigan Department of Natural
Resources (DNR). Already the state is trying to harass and intimidate, interpreting into unloving regulations, prosecuting fishermen from the Bay Mills reservation for anything, inspecting their boats down to the smallest detail, and now being charged with not having the proper gill net (under Interim DNR rules), and another for not having the registration certificate, clearly when she was confronted with the counter-revolution that mur­
dered her this very day, 63 years ago, in Germany:

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

—January 15, 1982

Indians win fishing rights

It is all the more important to remember that
Walesa, though a religious man who has accepted advice from the Church, has instead chosen a path that
departed from Stalinism by being made by Solidarity alone. In an interview with Orlana Fallaci, published in the Wash­ington Post, March 4, 1981, Walesa speculated that
"even something with a black skirt (a priest's cassock)." As for assimila­tion with the powers-that-be, he concluded: "I'd rather shoot myself with a gun than..."

Archbishop Glemp's behavior in the immediate con­
text of martial law is seen in the way he first urged Solidarity workers to go back to their jobs. Those who had not been caught were calling for a General Strike. Then (on Jan. 7), after the Polish masses showed their support for the strike, he was really against it, he denied that any brutal conditions to which the internees were subjected, "demanding" that Walesa be present at his meeting with the workers as a hierarch. We know what happened to that "demand."

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

What is needed now? First, foremost and unequiv­
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Just as persistently, we must totally oppose both Russia and the U.S., as well as the national-state-capitalism now ruling the country.

That does not mean that we do not engage in
criticism, not for criticism's sake, but with an eye to

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LABOR VOICES CHALLENGE REAGAN'S BARBARISM

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

I hate, Reagan as much as anybody, and I blame a lot of the unemployment and suffering on him. But it isn't just Reagan; it's the whole system. In 1978 we had 300,000 out of work in the Big Three auto companies. Today we have almost 200,000. And it looks like this is going to be a way of life through the years in between many workers I know either worked only a few months at a time.

When I heard Doug Fraser and the other UAW officers saying "Reaganomics has got to go," I ask why they are doing it. Reaganomics is something that's got to go, it's the whole way this country is run.

Auto worker Detroit

This is not the time to be giving up anything, with times getting harder, if not worse. If the unions and management go for it, that's it. They've talked about giving up our personal days of work if we go on strike. If there are nine working six days a week, you have to be able to take off one day in the month just to rest.

Laid-off GM worker New York City

It was a shock to see how small the milk cartons in our school cafeteria are this year, and for 20 cents a piece. Last year the price was 15 cents. Now it's doubled in one year for less milk. It is because of Reagan's cutbacks. I am a high school sophomore, but I can remember in grade school milk cost six cents. That's too much of an increase for students to afford it.

High school student Highland Park Community College

The Illinois Legislature has passed a bill which the Governor has signed into law prohibiting the purchase and ownership of machine guns in the state. It seems as if in this state it was losing business and profits. The U.S. government has given the state an order to spend $270 million to purchase more efficient killing instruments for soldiers. This is a capitalistic profit. I don't see why. If you look at the same time, the wide distribution of machine guns among the population should help their cash flow and profit picture.

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

Employee Chicago

No matter what they say in the daily papers, the fact is that the cry of the death of 78 passengers and crew on the Air Florida plane that crashed in Washington, D.C. is among people would be "We disconnected, pitty, poor people." I believe this. But Pres. Reagan bears the main responsibility. With the present skeleton crew of air controller seads in the control towers, all "normal" procedures are abandoned. In Washington that day planes which had been de-iced did not move directly out to take off, as they should. Instead, a "manpower-shortage" delay occurred, in this case of 45 minutes to an hour, and the plane re-iced and crashed.

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

Engineer Michigan

FACING MILITARY MACHINE

There's a name, one of the first, that comes to mind when we think of the military machine. Dan Rutten. He is a 20-year-old student at Hope College in Holland, Michigan who refused to register for the draft two years ago.

The Selective Service System already knew that he was about 200 others who have been threatened with five years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

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

CARD member Detroit

I live on an aircraft carrier most of the time. We've been stationed in the Indian Ocean. We're out at sea for 45 days at a time, and the worst thing is the isolation. We don't get any radio stations. There is no life up there, nothing going on. You start talking crazy with the people you work with and you start hating them. On the deck we have to go 50 to 30 feet behind the jets with their engines going. Your head, your chest, everything is burning. There is no purpose of what we do out there. One time we went into Hong Kong just so the admiral could talk to some people. I was so scared of nuclear war as anyone, but we'd be the last to know what was happening.

GM worker Detroit

There are plenty of signs of Thatcher and Reagan - from the new squadron of F-111's, capable of carrying nuclear bombs, is coming to the nearby USA airbase at Upper Heyford. The new F-15's, which were flying for the draft resisters, left, for they were being replaced.

One of the pilots who left the military was active in flight is about 130 days left but who's counting? Believe me, we all are.

Sailor California

RELIGION AND REVOLUTION: FROM NICARAGUA TO POLAND

I wanted to tell you about a new film from Nicaragua, "Thanks to God and the Revolution" (1981). See it if you can. It has very good scenes of revolutionary Nicaragua, some good views from the people othet than the Church and the army. But the main point is the unique relation - more than a tactical relation - between religion and revolution in Nicaragua. The Minister of Social Welfare speaks very well in the film.

The Church in Nicaragua, some good views of the people and the social revolution. The Church "gains ground" did not help the Iranian Khomeini's regime yet another in a line of totalitarian regimes of recent history. The issue is the Church "loss ground"? Islam's "gaining ground"? I'm not sure, but I'm not sure.

Interests reader San Francisco

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

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

Correspondent Milan, Italy

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

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

Detroit Women's Voice
P.O. Box 20142
Plymouth, MI 48170-20142

From NICARAGUA TO POLAND

Knowing the role the Catholic Church plays in the movement in Poland I asked a member of Solidarity, who recently visited the U.S., what he thinks of the Iranian Revolution and in particular the role religion played in it. He explained that the Church is a thousand-year-old institution with a perspective of another thousands of years. There is no question that the Church has been the main force of power in nearly every religious society. The Church is the main power in the world. He was not sure if the Church was going to promote the revolution. But the Church has very good scenes of revolutionary Nicaragua, some good views of the people. But the main point is the unique relation - more than a tactical relation - between religion and revolution in Nicaragua. The Minister of Social Welfare speaks very well in the film. He comes off as revolutionary and humanist. He speaks of Marxism, that when Marx and Marxism and Christianism are not dogmatic, they are very close. He speaks of a theology of liberation.

Another scene like this: a demonstration of a thousand people, all ages, chanting "We want a church on the left" - in the poverty and misery of Montreal. Now, in 1982, with Trudeau declaring his support for Jaruzelski (in the actual double-dealing Communist all over Canada demonstrated its anger and active opposition.

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

Union activist

The struggle of the people of Paris, 110 million, in the morning found the depot empty. They began to search for new ways to go around the police roadblocks. They are very close. He speaks of Marxism, that when Marx and Marxism and Christianism are not dogmatic, they are very close. He speaks of a theology of liberation.

Catholic, Humanist. He speaks of Marxism, that when Marx and Marxism and Christianism are not dogmatic, they are very close. He speaks of a theology of liberation.

From what he gathered he considers the Church "loss ground". "The Church is an important to know soon - Dan Rutt. He is a 20-year-old student at Hope College in Holland, Michigan who refused to register for the draft two years ago.

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Student Montreal

The snow carrying colored lanterns. A lot of people have been killed, people have been killed this year, from satirical versions of Christmas carols to a sad chant of "Hirushima... Nagasaki..."

Richard Bunting England
I have been reading N&L for quite some time, but the column last issue by Raya Dunayevskaya on Marx’s Hegelian method was especially impressive. I have always been somewhat wary of Hegelian terminology. I am not sure that I am the only one in this. But when you see how Marx, even in the 1870s, considers himself a “disciple of Hegel,” even evokes a Hegel-like attitude toward his “master,” you have to re-think the whole thing.

I am presently reading the fascinating book, Karl Marx: Interviews and Recol­lections, edited by Laurens Otter. I write this in a different version of Marx and Engels in Engels’ own words.

Born, “writes the most bitter com­ments against Marx that have come from Engels,” he admitted. “He is no journalist,” he said, “and will not become one. He pores for a whole day over a leading article that would take someone else a couple of hours, as though it concerned the handling of a delicate philosophical problem. He loves politics and changes the change, and owing to his unerring thoroughness he can never be ready to admit a mistake.”

I am interested in seeing Mallory and Underwood’s questions, but the answer that I have so far received is that a comment is at least partly due to lack of knowledge. Indeed, I wrote to one reporter who’d been in Ethiopia and written about the Eritrean events asking if the Falashas were involved, and got a short answer: “not of my knowledge who are they anyway.”

One reason for Begin’s silence on this persecution of Ethiopia’s “Black Jews” would be that they are considered theologically heterodox. Neither of the Chief Rabbis would recognize the Ethiopian rite, for example.

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

**IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS**

The situation in the Northern Ireland prisons is still very bad. The British and/or or more Irish republican prisoners are continuing their protest against work by refusing to wear their clothes, and some have accepted the British concession of a portion of the Five Demands. However, hunger strike. Meanwhile, the Protestant Nationalist political movement, the Ulster Unionists, has been on the rise.

In addition, there is a rise in support for the women prisoners in Armagh, Marion Clegg, who has contracted tuberculosis while in jail. Publicity for her case is very inadequate. Many thanks for printing my exchange of views with Michael Connelly (Dec N&L). Your democratic approach to differing points of view is appreciated and reveals very favorably your understanding of the dialectic of Western European society, post-Marx Marxists, from Engels on, have either overlooked or ignored this passage.

Kevin A. Barry

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

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

The numerous rallies and marches that cris-crossed the U.S. this January have had more than 125,000 marchers in Washington in near-zero weather — not only came in the month of Reagan's State of the Union address, but in the week of his Administration's attempt to grant the tax-exempt status to all-white Christian schools that discriminate against Blacks "for religious reasons."

In Los Angeles, moreover, the protest atmosphere of the King rally was sharpened further by the announcement from the L.A. District Attorney's office that note of the police officers at the racist Signal Hall police station would be prosecuted in the Ron Settles homicide case. Settles was a Black football star whose "accidental" death while in the custody of the Signal Hall police was ruled by the county coroner as "death at the hands of another." For the 300 Black, white and Middle Eastern students who participated in a noon-day rally at Martin Luther King Jr. High School, their reason for celebrating his birthday was to make King's birthday a holiday for their membership.

For the 300 Black students who returned to UCLA that evening to see a film on King and to hear an all-black panel of Black nationalists, the holiday of Black protest and indictment seemed totally diverted into ideological squabbles. Then a young Black man spoke from the back of the theater: "All Black, American or African. However, what he wanted to know was why there weren't any Black women on the panel. This got a spontaneous response from the women in the audience and the panel quickly decided to add a woman from the audience to the discussion.

The call to make Martin Luther King's birthday a holiday, like the movement he led, has moved out of the hands of the "leadership" and on to the legislative halls of the politicians, into the streets. This is only fitting, for it was, after all, the Civil Rights Movement which "gave birth" to King, as well as to a whole new generation of American revolutionaries. We may have reached a threshold of such a re-birth for the 1980s.

—Lou Turner

Poland, Haiti: freedom indivisible

"We think not."

"What if we tell the Amsterdam News really ended up on Reagan's ground? Have they chosen to consider the fight of the Polish working class against the Jaruzelski regime to be in opposition to the Haitian peasants' fight against Duvalier? Why? Because Reagan allegedly "favors" the Poles over the Haitians.

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

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

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

Haitians, supporters march

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

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

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

The procession of men and women, young and old was undaunted by the chilling weather. It was rigorously indifferent, yet the chants, music and even the primitive demonstration was as unique. The march ended at the steps of Clara Barton High School where speakers addressed the throngs principally in Creole.

—N.L. participant

THE HAITIAN REFUGEE MOVEMENT

Needs Your Support!

For more information and to send contributions:

Haitian Refugees Center Inc., 32 N.E. 54th St., Miami, FL 33137, Tel. 305-575-8538

The Haitian Refugee Movement

The universal character of freedom transcends narrow nationalistic and class revolutionary politics.

Every outstanding Black leader has understood this and, more or less, seen Black liberation in terms of the Haitians in the USA. How may it be treated this way — because they are Black. It is in this context that the Haitian movement is currently being crushed by martial law, and at the same time, the Black movement in the USA is being fought against.

The Haitian movement is not only in Africa but in Northern Ireland and Canada as well.

And one cannot speak of the Portuguese Revolution without seeing its origins in the Angolan Revolution.

THE AMSTERDAM NEWS

Today we have the Polish movement of Solidarity currently being crushed by martial law, and at the same time, many of these refugees from Baby Doc's political-economic oppression.

The editorial asks: "Is this really about freedom and liberty?"

Are the refugees 'unaccompanied' kids between 10 and 19 who had arrived without blood relatives. Many didn't consider themselves 'unaccompanied' because they had left their neighbors whom they'd always looked on as kin and now looked to for protection; no matter. Some had relatives in Florida whom they hoped to join. Virtually none of the older teenagers with beards and worker-hardened muscles didn't consider themselves 'minors' at all. They were not only in need of the government's adjustment of government issus like gloves, jackets. tennis shoes and striped orange ski caps. None had ever flown on an airplane, but they wanted to see it. The car took Mauricette to the medical trailer. There stood Mauricette Merci, A24704458, from the port-o-john and laid her on a flimsy cot. Her fetus had been removed. "They dragged Mauricette from her home and raped her," she says. She was flown on a brave that had previously eluded the Haitian political community.

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

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

A new Political-Philosophic Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya

"We think not."

"Poland, Haiti: freedom indivisible" by John Alan

Poland, Haiti: freedom indivisible

"We think not."
Essay-Discussion Article: Marx and 'the party' in the 1850s

by Ron Brekmeier

The various organizations of the Left seem to be at such an impasse as compared to the 1960s, while the organizations of the Right seem to be ruling the roost. But the Left would not be what it is today if it did not have given and overestimated that minority, as we would if we underestimated its organizational presence. To understand the organizations, it is best to take them back to Marx's time and his view of organization.

Marx participated in and gave a direct direction to mass organizations in his life, both during and after the collapse of the 1848 Revolution and the Committee of Correspondence which led up to it, or the International Workingmen's Association (I.W.A.) of the 1860s and 70s. But, Marx's concept of organization was never determined by quantity. As important as those organizations were, they were a false outgrowth of a particular organizational form and considered those organizations to be but moments in the history of his ideas.

THE PARTY AS PERMANENT REVOLUTION

The necessity of workers having their own organization, which was a working out of their own emancipation, was the lesson Marx drew from the experience of the 1848 Revolutions. In his 1850 Address to the Communist League, Marx summarized that development as a learning from the fall of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie who ended supporting another despot, so that for the future the proletariat must delect the world as a whole, revolutionize it, constitute its own independent organization and demands until a total social uprising is reached. The fact that all玛丽 worked to make the historic determinate because of his confidence that his materialist conception of history which he had expressed philosophically before the 1848 Revolutions: the transformation of labor into self-activity into the fullness of revolution.

Marx's life as a revolutionary was an energetic presentation of this idea. The 1848 revolution was the last one in permanence. He never let just any immediate oppositions be the whole but always recognized the tendency he had worked to make of his philosophy, that the full blown—strove to make that the historic determinate because of his confidence that his materialist conception of history which he had expressed philosophically before the 1848 Revolutions: the transformation of labor into self-activity into the fullness of revolution.

In the League, Marx posed his view of transforming reality—the "unveiling of the world as a world of men against a conspiratorial one with a 'German national standpoint'! The lure of a shortcut through action—an insurrection of a few spokesmen and a general popular awakening—made the German emigres when the counter-revolution was firmly entrenched in their homeland. Their conspiratorial philosophy of authorities who were trying to implicate the "Marx party" at the Communist Conspiracy Trial in Cologny, Switzerland.

Marx published the minutes of his original break with the "party of action": "The view of the majority, that party of criticism, was that instead of materialistic. They regard not the real conditions but a more effort of will as the driving force of revolution, as if we were to bring it to pass by 10, 20, 50 years of civil wars and national struggles not only to bring a change in society but also to change yourselves, and prepare yourselves for the exercise of political power" (Vol. 12, pg. 38). On the contrary: "Either we seize power at once, or we die as might as well take to our beds; we are nothing but a dialectical presentation of revolution for revolutionary development..." (Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Vol. 11, pg. 325). When one emigre, August Willich, published an article against Marx's characterization of him. In reply Marx wrote a sarcastic pamphlet, Knight of the Noble Order, a paid agent of Napoleon III.

"The party situation within the proletariat," Marx quoted, "is not that of the League which is a movement of the masses, and its consciousness in its "noble" form took over this for a very long time. Marx extended true to the prehistory of human society. That was from the conception articulated the pivot of humanity's accumulation. The League as past personal history, but rather was the relationship of the League to the 1848 Revolution because that related to the whole of humanity's development.

Though the League was long since gone by 1860, those taking responsibility to extend theoretically the movement and the grandeur of its achievements. No film so sympathetic portrayed one of the great if not greatest episodes and the grandeur of its achievements. No film so sympathetic portrayed one of the great if not greatest episodes of helping, as he could because of his well known historical importance, in the history of the party which grows everywhere spontaneously from the soil of modern society."

Reds: a viewpoint

"Reds" stands alone in the magnificent ambitions of its ambitions and the grandeur of its achievements. No film has yet appeared, Russian or American, to lend such lyrical, romantic beauty to the greatest event of this age..." To be sure, "Reds" is not about the Russian Revolution as such but about that intrepid, young American journalist, John Reed, who despite his upper class, Harvard upbringing, discovered the revolutionary proletariat of the Teens, pursued their struggles for freedom, culture, and the great Russian Revolution, climaxing his peregrinations with the now classic account, Ten Days That Shook the World.

The film is as well a moving love story John Reed (Warren Beatty) and Louise Bryant (Diane Keaton), ranging the world, fusing milieux, from the upper class life in Portland, Oregon, where they first meet, to Fordy Dell's "free love" Greenwich Village, where their love is confined, the I.W.A., the International, the Russian Revolution of 1917. Second, he has done this with superb aesthetic "Reds" stands alone in the magnificent ambitions of its ambitions and the grandeur of its achievements. No film has yet appeared, Russian or American, to lend such lyrical, romantic beauty to the greatest event of this age..." To be sure, "Reds" is not about the Russian Revolution as such but about that intrepid, young American journalist, John Reed, who despite his upper class, Harvard upbringing, discovered the revolutionary proletariat of the Teens, pursued their struggles for freedom, culture, and the great Russian Revolution, climaxing his peregrinations with the now classic account, Ten Days That Shook the World.

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**Peru sanitation strike**

Lima, Peru — As of December the sanitation workers of Lima and the surrounding municipality were still on strike. The main reason for the strike is to demand the retraining and rehiring in other public jobs of 400 sanitation workers laid off in the last year. Another cause of the strike is that the workers have not yet received the raise called for in their contract three months ago. Many homes in Lima report real reasons for the strike. All they have heard are the mayor and congressmen going on TV everyday saying the workers are making demands they have no right to, and that they may lose their jobs if they continue the garbage as slop to pig farms. The workers have denied that.

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

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

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

Talking to the sanitation workers again, they told me they were striking for their jobs back. I don't think some of the workers belong to the government party, the Populus Action Party, and want to support the government and go back to work. This has caused a division among the workers who are living with the other workers wanting to continue the strike.

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

—Observer

**Black workers at bottom of hospital hierarchy**

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

When you walk through the basement of the hospital where I work, you can clearly see that there are still certain dog-emblems in the hospital. About 20 percent of the maintenance and housekeeping staff who do most of the hard dirty jobs are Black. In maintenance, for example, the people who work the night shift are Black.

There is a real hierarchy in a hospital, and at Detroit Receiving there has been colored uniforms so that people can immediately tell in what color they belong. Volunteers wear salmon coats, housekeepers wear striped tunics, and patient transporters wear blue tunics and slacks so that they can’t be mistaken for nurses or professionals. But a long white lab coat (short white coats are for medical students) identifies the wearer as a professional.

When you look around on the upper floors of the hospital, you rarely see a Black doctor or even a Black R.N. I see many young and talented Black nurses who are for medical students' identifies the wearer as a professional.

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

—Woman hospital worker

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New York, N.Y. — Two representatives of the West German anti-war movement spoke at Columbia University recently in an attempt to reach a mass audience of over 200 students. The main speaker, Petra Karin Kelly of the Green Party, stressed the independent, international character of the new European movement. She shocked the audience when she mentioned the fact that today's military jargon considers the Hiroshima bomb to be merely a "nuclear weapon." She made clear her opposition to nuclear weapons everywhere when she said that "a socialist rioter is as dangerous as a taxi driver," and with some aplomb not only for that statement, but also when she singled out the U.S. Women's Pentagon Action and said that "politics is women's work." However, the limits of such a perspective also came out when I raised the question of Poland during the discussion period. After Kelly had declared, Kelly limited her support of the Polish workers to a generalized "Hands Off Poland!" not only by Russia, but also by the U.S. by necessity. The students in the audience, however, had more probing questions. The students wanted to know why the U.S. has not once again joined the rest of the world in attempting to prevent nuclear war, why the State Department allows a million dollars to be spent on nuclear weapons research to be thrown upon us that the Soviet government has spent a mere $166. It is frightening, Kelly said, that "the faculty won't be ejected out when I raised the question of Poland during the discussion period." The students asked why we have to talk about a socialism that we haven't seen yet versus "actually existing socialism" in East Europe, by narrowing her assessment of Poland only to non-intervention from outside, she separated the question of peace from that of social revolution.

---CUNY student

Chicago, Ill. — After five years of avoiding a stand on nuclear weapons, Chicago-based Citizens Against Nuclear Power (CANP) has finally voted to oppose them. The decision comes at a most critical time, when the escalating arms race between Russia and the U.S. has brought us face to face with the threat of nuclear disaster. At the biggest public meeting we (CANP) have had in a long while, everyone voted on Jan. 5 to oppose nuclear weapons. Yet, the differences focused on the word "immediate." Some people thought calling for complete, immediate disarmament was unrealistic and would alienate more people than it would address issues they are sure they can win. This pragmatic attitude has seen CANP leaving the weapon issue behind before.

---Tom Pilian, student

New Beginnings: Cal State University's new voice

Reagan says the budget has to be slashed to pieces in order to "terrorize us by slicing our paychecks, civil rights and social programs so that they may have the money" to develop nuclear weapons. The limits of such a perspective also came out when I raised the question of Poland during the discussion period. After Kelly had declared, Kelly limited her support of the Polish workers to a generalized "Hands Off Poland!" not only by Russia, but also by the U.S. by necessity. The students in the audience, however, had more probing questions. The students asked why the U.S. has not once again joined the rest of the world in attempting to prevent nuclear war, why the State Department allows a million dollars to be spent on nuclear weapons research to be thrown upon us that the Soviet government has spent a mere $166. It is frightening, Kelly said, that "the faculty won't be ejected out when I raised the question of Poland during the discussion period." The students asked why we have to talk about a socialism that we haven't seen yet versus "actually existing socialism" in East Europe, by narrowing her assessment of Poland only to non-intervention from outside, she separated the question of peace from that of social revolution.

---CUNY student

Chicago, Ill. — After five years of avoiding a stand on nuclear weapons, Chicago-based Citizens Against Nuclear Power (CANP) has finally voted to oppose them. The decision comes at a most critical time, when the escalating arms race between Russia and the U.S. has brought us face to face with the threat of nuclear disaster. At the biggest public meeting we (CANP) have had in a long while, everyone voted on Jan. 5 to oppose nuclear weapons. Yet, the differences focused on the word "immediate." Some people thought calling for complete, immediate disarmament was unrealistic and would alienate more people than it would address issues they are sure they can win. This pragmatic attitude has seen CANP leaving the weapon issue behind before.

---Tom Pilian, student

Why a $46 Tuition Increase?

Those whochodzą to Cal State Los Angeles (CSLA) that transferred to a whopping $166 million this past year are happy they paid $80 (Fall 1981) «only» to make up for a budget deficit. However, the board of trustees for the Cal State system decided to impose tuition on all the schools, and with some aplomb, not only for that statement, but also when she singled out the U.S. Women's Pentagon Action and said that "politics is women's work." However, the limits of such a perspective also came out when the question of Poland during the discussion period. After Kelly had declared, Kelly limited her support of the Polish workers to a generalized "Hands Off Poland!" not only by Russia, but also by the U.S. by necessity. The students in the audience, however, had more probing questions. The students asked why the U.S. has not once again joined the rest of the world in attempting to prevent nuclear war, why the State Department allows a million dollars to be spent on nuclear weapons research to be thrown upon us that the Soviet government has spent a mere $166. It is frightening, Kelly said, that "the faculty won't be ejected out when I raised the question of Poland during the discussion period." The students asked why we have to talk about a socialism that we haven't seen yet versus "actually existing socialism" in East Europe, by narrowing her assessment of Poland only to non-intervention from outside, she separated the question of peace from that of social revolution.

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What did not go over at all was the idea that CANP's statement of purpose should recognize the existence of out of control weapons. Unless we can dispel the notion that the small established anti-nuclear groups are the whole movement, CANP will never even begin to be effective. The question of how many people there are and that many of us want more than just no weapons; we want new human relations - freedom.

---Evelyn Wenzlow and Franklin Dmitriyev

Los Angeles, Cal. — The first meeting in the Los Angeles area to discuss the movement was held in West Europe was held Jan. 8 at Frichtman Auditorium. Three hundred people heard speakers from religious, political, and medical backgrounds talk about the importance of building as powerful an anti-war movement here in America.

---Anti-war American
Tanzania

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

For several years, a clandestine group of government supporters among the students has not only taken over the "Punch" board for what it is, a radical left of the administration, but has proceeded to turn it into a place to display "scandal sheets" on the personal lives of individual women students. The alleged purposes of the "Punch" board apparently are to eat at certain dining halls or to come to certain social functions, and then defaming by name and lurid personal details any woman who dares to resist their masters and has been posted late at night with the acquiescence if not the actual complicity of the university administration.

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

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

Taiwan

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

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

The spy network is centered on U.S. campuses where many students are from Taiwan. Such efforts are made possible by the huge sums of money the government allocates to Taiwan's secret police. The administrative committee of dissidents, after their relations were established with Beijing, last July, admitted that they were considering setting up a network of dissidents in the U.S. as "a way of disrupting the activities of the administration." That would even need to be such a movement after 20 years of independence and supposed "Ujamaa Socialism" under President Nyerere, shows the gap between Nyerere's rhetoric and Tanzanian reality.

Cheese stockpile

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

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

These dairy products are purchased by the government to maintain high prices for the agri-conglomerates that control them as their own profit. With- out government subsidies, cheese would be $1.50 a pound cheaper than it is now, and we could afford real butter instead of its substitutes.

Alaska-Canada pipeline

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

A consortium of Exxon, Standard Oil of Ohio, Atlantic Richfield and the construction company will hold joint ownership of the pipeline, which will be financed by billing the gas consumers in the United States in advance of the construction. This would cost an esti- mated $1.5 billion a year and is needed by the Alaskan government to maintain high prices for the agri-conglomerates that control them as their own profit.

Whatever happened to the old capitalist maxim that the consumer provides the risk capital — collected in, government warehouses, along with 848 million pounds of butter stored at a cost of $43 million a year.

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Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year in which the Detroit Wildcat Strike in the Auto industry and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signalied a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "new Humanism," as well as individually "purified of all that interferes with the unification, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead."

In opposing the totalitarian, racist, sexist, ex- ploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom fighters, nationally and internationally. As our Constitution states: "It is our aim ... to promote the firmest unity among workers, blacks and other minorities, men and women, intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bu- reaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate these two mass activities, but see the activity of thinking. Anyone who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the Constitution of News and Letters Committee.