

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

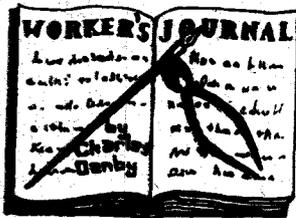
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Mad at Fraser and the union bureaucrats



by Charles Denby, Editor

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

It is no wonder that the GM contract was nearly defeated by rank-and-file workers. As soon as the vote was counted and it came out so close, UAW President Fraser started saying that it was because the workers were so mad at GM Board Chairman Roger Smith. But the truth is that workers who voted against the contract, as well as many who voted for it, are just as mad at Fraser and the union bureaucrats.

Some workers have been surprised at Fraser. He is one leader who used to work in the shop, and workers had felt that it meant something that he had come from
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In Britain, Germany and now the U.S.

The European anti-nuclear war movement crosses the Atlantic

by Michael Connolly

As leaders of the European movement against nuclear war toured the United States for 17 days last month, speaking at college campuses, churches and union halls, they were constantly surprised by the sudden growth of the cause in America. "Our movement has crossed the Atlantic!" was the jubilant cry of Volkmar Deile, one of the organizers of last October's gigantic disarmament march in Bonn, West Germany, as he spoke to a crowd of 20,000 on March 27 in Philadelphia.

As the massive marches in Bonn and London, Amsterdam and Rome had, in the words of the Italian activist Lucio Magri, "stupefied even those who . . . worked to bring it about," so now the multiplicity of forms of the protest appearing in the U.S.A. is forcing all the old organizations — whether Left, religious or pacifist — to run to catch up.

The list of new organizations expands daily, including many on occupational lines. Nurses Alliance for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Educators for Social Responsibility, Communicators for Nuclear Disarmament, Artists for Survival — they have spread nationwide. Physicians for Social Responsibility now counts 16,000 members in 101 chapters in 45 states.

"Ground Zero," a "nuclear war educational project" headed by one of Jimmy Carter's old SALT II advisers, has found its programs in such demand that their "Ground Zero" week (April 18-25) was booked on 450 campuses and in 750 cities and towns. And the campaign for a "nuclear freeze" on the production and deployment of new atomic weapons, East or West, has spread its petition drive into 279 of the 535 U.S. congressional districts, with over 17,000 volunteers nationwide.

U.S., RUSSIA WAR EXPENDITURES BUILD PEACE MOVEMENT

It is clear that the marches, teach-ins, and petitions for nuclear disarmament, as well as the hunger for the facts about the true fate of humanity in a nuclear war, have been spurred on by the stupendous expenditures for war demanded by Reagan's determination to gain "military superiority" over the Russians. His \$1.6 trillion five-year plan for war is simply a quantum leap into a realm of spending for destruction never seen before, not even at the height of World War II. Brezhnev will surely strive to match it.

It is no wonder that the peace movement calls these "leaders" their greatest organizers. Or as Bruce Kent of Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) put it: "Every time they open their mouths, the movement takes another leap forward."

Not only is virtually no one fooled by Reagan's proposals for "arms reduction" or by Brezhnev's counter-proposals for his own so-called "nuclear freeze," but what has assumed palpable, urgent form instead, is the fear of total annihilation of the human race. Thus the wave of publicity, even before it appeared in book form, for Jonathan Schell's essay on *The Fate of the Earth*, was called by the New York Times "the overture to an upcoming clamor," with no less than 40 books on nuclear issues coming out this year. Signs have already appeared at rallies quoting Schell's description of the world after nuclear war, and asking: Do you want a "republic of insects and grass"?

What is new in Reagan's military plans, in addition to the sheer size of the sums to be spent, is the determination to create the basis for a "limited nuclear war," (also called "theater nuclear war"), complete with battlefield atomic weapons, medium-range missiles, "integrated NATO nuclear planning," and the production of the neutron bomb. Central to such a strategy is the accompanying propaganda that seeks to make this unthinkable nightmare thinkable.

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New Editions of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution*



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by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of forthcoming *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*

"I love all men who dive. Any fish can swim near the surface, but it takes a great whale to go downstairs five miles or more; and if he don't attain the bottom, why, all the lead in Galena can't fashion the plummet that will. I'm not talking of Mr. Emerson now—but of the whole corps of thought-divers, that have been diving and coming up again with blood shot eyes since the world began." —Herman Melville

The near-revolution that was aborted at its highpoint—Paris, May, 1968—became an inducement for some intellectuals who had branded the 1950s as a period of "the end of ideology" to refurbish that characterization as what distinguished the quiescent '70s from the turbulent '60s. But, just as the East European revolts of the 1950s proved the "end of ideology" proponents to be

totally wrong, so the 1970s proved to be, not the death of thought, but new beginnings both in thought and in fact. Just as the new movement from practice that had begun with the June 17, 1953 East German revolt extended itself, in the 1960s, to the birth of a whole new Third World as well as a new generation of revolutionaries, so

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WOMAN AS REASON Marx's vision of freedom

"Without such a vision of new revolutions, a new individual, a new universal, a new society, new human relations, we would be forced to tailend one or another form of reformism just when the age of nuclear Titans—the United States and Russia—threaten the very survival of civilization as we have known it. The myriad crises in our age have shown, over and over again, from Russia to China, from Cuba to Iran, from Africa to Pol Pot's Cambodia, that without a philosophy of revolution activism spends itself in mere anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism, without ever revealing what it is for."—from Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation*, and Marx's *Philosophy of Revolution* by Raya Dunayevskaya.

Dear Sisters,

In the quote above, the "vision" is Marx's vision of revolution in permanence and what made me think more about this was a conversation with an Iranian man in Chicago who wants very much to create a women's support group opposed to both the Shah and Khomeini's counter-revolution. However, when confronted on the question of women's right to birth control, to abortion, to control of our bodies, he was evasive.

How can it be, in 1982, that a very committed revolutionary can still be evasive on such a fundamental question? It makes you ask, just what does revolution mean? It made me want to more fully understand Marx's theory of "revolution in permanence."

In her new work, Dunayevskaya points out that Marx's first articulation of revolution in permanence was in "On the Jewish Question." Marx is concerned with "human emancipation," and puts forth his vision:

"Only when the actual individual man has taken back into himself the abstract citizen and in his everyday life . . . has become a species-being, only when he has recognized and organized his own powers as social powers so that social force is no longer separated from him as political power, only then is human emancipation complete."

How is such a total uprooting that reunites a fragmented humanity to be done? Political life "can do this only in violent contradiction with its own conditions of existence by declaring the revolution to be permanent . . ."

By 1844, one year later, Marx had discovered where to begin—with labor, with the human being. In "Private

Property and Communism," Marx sees alienation manifested not only in the division between private and public spheres, but right within the deepest of human relationships:

"For the secret of the relationship of man to man finds its unambiguous, definitive, open, obvious expression in the relationship of man to woman . . . From the character of this relation it follows to what degree man, as a species, has become human, and has recognized himself as such . . . To what degree the needs of man have become human needs is also seen in this relationship, i.e., to what degree another human being is needed as a human being . . ."

If this was the vision all had of what humanity could be, surely there could be no evasion ever on the question of women's right to control our own bodies, especially among revolutionaries. In countries like Iran and India women are forced into ignorance about their own bodies. In India women tell stories of how during their period they aren't allowed to cook, have to stay in separate rooms, and are told any man they touch will go blind. In Iran today there are worse situations, and in many countries there is clitoridectomy.

There is a reason that Manushi, the Indian women's liberation magazine, reprints articles and photographs from *Our Bodies, Our Selves*, a feminist book about all aspects of women's sexuality; there is a reason *Our Bodies, Our Selves* is a best seller in Latin America; and there is a reason why the right wing in the USA wants to end sex education in the schools.

What revolution means to most men, and what it means to most women, sometimes seem like two separate things, with women coming closest to what Marx developed. Marx, like women, wanted "the positive abolition of every kind of alienation."

While Reagan is not Khomeini, we face our own brand of counter-revolution with rollbacks, nuclear war waiting in the wings, unemployment, poverty, and racism and sexism directly from the White House.

Many of us see the need to get rid of Reagan and the whole capitalist system, but now is also the time for us to begin to work out what we are for, what is revolution. For that, women are key. Women worldwide know that the first act of revolution has never been enough to free every segment of society. To Marx, as to women fighting for freedom the world over, no half way measures will do: "Their battle cry must be: The Revolution in Permanence." —Terry Moon

Working women speak

Detroit, Mich.—I am a single mother, and a clerical worker in a large hospital. During a recent departmental meeting, our hospital administrators informed us that there would be no across-the-board raises for hospital employees, citing the slumping economy and high unemployment which resulted in our receiving more patients unable to pay their medical bills.

What I take issue with is the fact that physicians, administrators, and high-technology personnel never seem to bear the real brunt of these wage freezes. In addition to their good salaries, they have enjoyed "professional courtesies" and paid out-of-town trips for years.

Now we're being told that physicians are "doing their part" by having to forego the elaborate dinners that used to precede their quarterly meetings within the institution. Some sacrifice! Meanwhile, we low-level employees forego adequate heating in our homes and perhaps several needed bags of groceries per month because we know our paychecks can't cover them.

Los Angeles, Cal.—I am a Native American working mother with a young son. I live and see things differently than what I read about working women in women's magazines. All you read about are the glamorous jobs. You don't hear about women working in factories, in sweatshops, at the minimum wage jobs.

With Reagan's cuts in welfare a young mother has no choice except to find a job. Then there's the problem of where to leave her child since Reagan's cuts have closed most of the affordable day-care centers.

I worry about what my child is learning while he is away all day. Who is he getting his values from? It's no longer a question of a woman wanting to work outside the home. It is a must. One paycheck will not pay the bills.

How can I find time to develop my own mind? I wonder how much longer I can stand this pressure.

My husband has been unemployed for several months so I am the only wage earner in my family right now. My son will have to have open heart surgery soon and I don't know where the money will come from to pay his medical bills.

I have not been involved in the women's movement very much because the system is trying to deny me my time. But things have got to be changed, and I am struggling to find the time to see how.

Continuing dialogue on 'This Bridge Called My Back'

Editor's Note: The April "Woman as Reason" column consisted of three critical reviews of the book This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color. The reviews generated controversy and discussion within Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees; below we print two responses. We invite all our readers to write and participate in this discussion.

New York, N.Y.—As a Marxist-feminist and member of News and Letters Committees, I was surprised and disappointed to read "A dialogue on This Bridge Called My Back." I found the "dialogue" to be rather undialectical in its treatment of a book which has become a banner for many serious revolutionary feminists.

Bridge comes at a time when the white Women's Movement (WM) has reached a serious impasse in its ability to draw women of color into its ranks. During my recent involvement with the Women's Pentagon Action in New York, I was appalled to see that, at a workshop on racism, the white women (still!) expressed a sincere desire to overcome their racism, but only to feel less guilty . . .

Now with the ongoing work of the Bridge collective, and the establishment of the Kitchen Table Press to print and circulate revolutionary writings by women of color . . . we may finally witness the breaking down of some of the divisions in the WM, particularly colored/white.

Terry Moon, however, states that Bridge "had" to be written to "merely expose" this racism . . . This attitude overlooks the profound energizing principle that informs both the book, and its readers. Radical feminist readers are most excited by the courageous stance the writers take to describe and explore the infinite forms of oppression in their lives, and by the creativity and passion and love of their response . . .

It is not enough for N&L columnists to give lip service to the "struggle for wholeness" and the fearless revolutionary critique presented in Bridge, if one then says, as Moon does, that this is not extended to theory . . . From where, if not from daily oppression and resistance, does theory develop? . . . Marx himself based everything he did and wrote on the belief that inherent in the human species is the movement to freedom, and, yes, that "the appropriation of human actuality, its relation to the object, is the affirmation of human



women- worldwide



About 100 members of the Michigan State Employees Association demonstrated in Detroit on March 30, against government proposals for worker concessions. They chanted, "Lay off the bosses, not the workers."

In Zimbabwe, Teurai Ropa Nhong, Minister of Community Development and Women's Affairs, and deputy minister Naomi Nhwatiwa have demanded that the government withdraw support and recognition from all beauty contests such as "Miss World" in which a "Miss Zimbabwe" was recently entered. The women stated that a national beauty contest was contradictory to the ideas of socialism for which Zimbabwean women had fought and died. (Information from off our backs)

On April 1, 400 protesters, including welfare mothers and union activists, picketed the New York headquarters of Mobil Oil against Reagan's "welfare for the rich." Theresa Funciello, of the Redistribute America Movement, said that none of the money Reagan had taken from the poor through poverty program cuts and given to big business in tax cuts had "trickled down" to the community. The demonstration included a mock appearance by the Reagans driving a limousine and throwing crumbs to the crowd.

activity."

I think that often we as Marxist-feminists are too impatient. Bridge addresses theory both explicitly and implicitly . . . There are many openings for a dialogue with the Bridge collective. Let us see what these are.

—Teru Ibuki

Detroit, Mich.—I attended a conference in Ann Arbor last month of the Michigan Women's Studies Association. About 200 women, mostly white, attended. There were about 10 Black women, six of whom were presenting a workshop called "Perspectives for Black Women in the Eighties." The discussion at the workshop made me think hard again on the whole question of Black feminism and the dialogue I had just read in N&L on *This Bridge Called My Back*.

One of the speakers at the conference called her presentation "Bridging the Gap between Black and White Women." It caused a short but very hot discussion. I have heard this discussion or something like it at every conference I go to, and it is beautifully described in *This Bridge Called My Back*.

The discussion always begins by Black women telling white women how racist they are and making them feel guilty. The Women's Liberation Movement is presented as being a white, middle-class idea, or an organization like NOW. But by the time the discussion stops, they never get any closer to working out a solution to move us forward than they were when the workshop started.

I agree with Terry Moon that what is great about the women in Bridge is that they are proud feminists. And I appreciate Cherrie Moraga's description of the pain she feels in meetings discussing racism in our movement. That is how I feel also. But she does not give up.

What bothers me about Bridge is that even the best women writers in it are just beginning to work out what feminism means to them. They have not begun to try to create a theory of liberation. Maybe they are even hostile to theory now. But I hope that in the future they will try, because that is the only way we can stop having the same old painful discussion at every conference, and begin having one that can lead to freedom.

—Tommie Hope

GM now guarantees a lifetime of slave labor

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

General Motors is now celebrating its big "victory"—getting the UAW to agree to the new contract which will save GM \$3 billion by taking hard-won benefits out of our pockets. But if the actual voting on the contract is any indication, GM's celebration will be short-lived.

Only 52 percent of those who voted approved the contract. Dozens of plants voted it down. And the overwhelming majority of workers didn't even vote—they wanted no part of the whole rotten deal. In my plant, GM South Gate, 1,500 workers came out April 7 for a union meeting on the contract, but only 850 voted. Most of the workers were saying, "Why bother to vote? They've already sold us down the river. With these give-backs, the UAW doesn't mean a thing." Out of 3,600 eligible workers, only 600 approved the contract!

Things weren't very different at other plants. At Van Nuys, the UAW did all it could to prevent workers from voting. The polls are always open 24 hours in a contract vote, but this time, workers had only a four hour period to vote in. Many workers told me they were too tired to go stand in line to vote after work, so they went home first and came back later—only to discover the polls were closed. The truth is that Fraser and the union leadership were scared to death at what would happen if all workers came out to vote.

They had good reason to be scared. The contract takes away all we struggled years to get. No cost of living, 24 less paid days off for the length of the contract, no pay increases. GM tried to sell this on us with the promise to "save jobs" by keeping plants open, and guaranteeing a "lifetime paycheck".

LIFETIME CHAINS

But this talk of a "lifetime paycheck" is just a lot of propaganda. GM is just creating a pool of slave labor. We're promised 50 percent of our base pay "for life" if we are laid off after 10-15 years. But the catch is that we're forced to work wherever GM or the state wants us to, and they deduct what we make from this "lifetime paycheck". So they'll have us working at jobs with slave labor conditions for nothing!

One worker told me, "as soon as I heard about this lifetime paycheck, I knew something was wrong. It sounded too good. Now I see what it's about. They will farm us out to wash windows at GM dealerships or pick

UAW lies at U.S. Auto Radiator

Highland Park, Mich.—We are now back in the plant with none of our demands met because the union turned its back on us. After six weeks on strike (see N&L, April, 1982) the first time we voted on the contract, it was 51 for and 90 against.

But during our last union meeting that called for a second vote on the company's offer both the president of the UAW Local 351 and Region Director Perry Johnson got up to say that if we didn't take this contract, the company would move the plant. They said even if the strike is settled some still may not have their jobs, because work right now is being sent to one of their other plants.

UNION BREAKS STRIKE

A few people said that this is a lousy deal. But the union said that if we decided to stay out, the scabs would go in and we would just be out of a job. We were also told by the union that if any of us were arrested, there would be no one to back us up. They have said, "We don't agree with your strike." With the second vote, it came to 68 against and 118 for.

Our present contract calls for a 60-cent raise, 15 cents in November, 15 cents in February 1983, 20 cents in February 1984, and 30 cents May 15, 1985. And this contract expires Nov. 1, 1985! The Region Director said, "This is a good offer, times are hard." But times are not hard for this company, they are doing very well. Times are only hard for the workers.

JOBS ARE HARDER

There are no other changes whatsoever in the contract. None of our demands have been met. The work we do now is even harder than before. I wish we had a grievance procedure that handled some of our problems. But our grievance procedure gives no control over a dangerous job or speed-up.

One Arab worker was saying, he wished he had never come to this country. You pay taxes to the police and then they beat you up. The law says scabs have a right to work so the government's against you, and the union's against you.

There are just 50 or 60 people working in the plant that usually has over 200 workers. A lot of people were for going back to work because they thought they would lose their jobs if they didn't. But if they weren't so scared we could try to force the company to get everyone's job back. We could just walk out and say this isn't fair.

—U.S. Auto Radiator worker

strawberries on some farm, pay us minimum wage, and then deduct what we make from our guaranteed income. If you come in late, speak out against the boss, or complain about the working conditions, they fire you, and you'll lose every penny of that 'guaranteed income'."

MORE GIVE-BACKS

Even worse is that GM is now given the right to open separate negotiations with individual plants to get even more give-backs. They will pit plant against plant, worker against worker. The UAW is helping them do this.

The Union says 300 workers from South Gate will be able to get jobs in Van Nuys. But Van Nuys has been open less than 20 years, half as long as South Gate, so many from South Gate have enough seniority to bump most workers out at Van Nuys. Why should we be taking their jobs away?

This month is May Day, and we should remember it was the unity of the workers which made this a revolutionary holiday. It began on May 1, 1886 with a movement for the eight-hour day in Chicago, and a few years later the European workers showed their solidarity with us Americans by making it a workers' holiday over there. But today the UAW leaders are doing nothing to show solidarity with the Polish workers. Instead of having us follow their lead, Fraser tells the workers to make more concessions. The Polish workers showed that the only way forward is through struggle.

Fraser and GM are going to be in for rough times. The overwhelming majority of the workers did not vote in favor of these givebacks. They'll have to force it down their throats. If workers don't allow themselves to get pitted against one another, we'll make it hard for them to squeeze more concessions out of us. A return to the spirit that founded May Day in America 100 years ago is the alternative to this latest honeymoon between management and union leadership.

Fight wage cut at Agar Foods

Chicago, Ill.—On March 12, a major meat packing plant, Agar Foods, obtained an agreement from United Food and Commercial Workers Local 500P to reopen a contract which wasn't due to expire until May, 1983. The company is demanding a \$2.13 per hour pay cut, the cancellation of a planned \$.25 raise and a \$.26 cost of living adjustment, and a freeze on all future cost of living raises for three years.

The company's "give back" demand was accompanied by many moves designed to scare and intimidate Agar's workers. In spite of this, the initial response of many workers indicates that Agar faces stiff resistance.

The company proposal would take about \$5,400 a year from each worker and yield over \$3 million. One participant at a union meeting held on March 28, described the workers' response. "The meeting was beautiful. We told them we wouldn't give anything. They can go to hell! My suggestion is to lay off 97% of the supervisors and they would have enough money to last them for a hundred years."

The workers also countered with some demands of their own—no more lay-offs, no plant closing, no contracting work out to other plants, and to begin producing a quality product.

For the past six months there have been a series of short lay-offs and shift and departmental changes climaxed by the lay-off of over 32 percent of the workforce. Rumors of an impending plant closing have been circulating for months. Also, the company has charged that workers have been putting glass and other foreign material in the meat. There have also been some significant increases in worker production quotas.

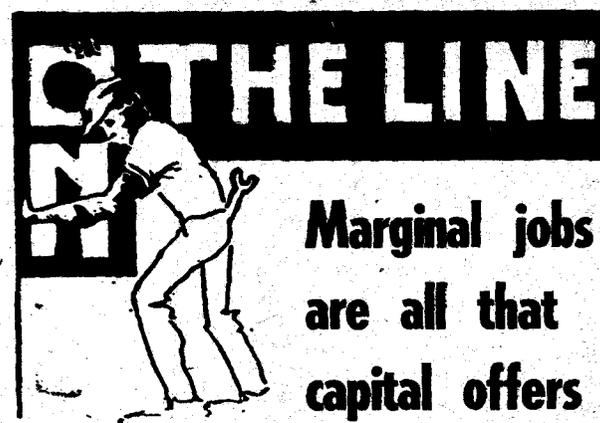
Yet, in spite of all the intimidation, many Agar workers are determined to resist. In the view of one woman. "What the company says is b.s. If they want to close the plant, they'll do it anyway. If I have to go down, I'll do it with my \$2.13."

Bankruptcy at Art Steel is another hoax on workers

Bronx, N.Y.—Alex Burger, owner of Art Steel, claims the company is \$15 million short and has filed chapter 11 bankruptcy. We found out by seeing it in the paper. They don't tell us anything.

That \$15 million is a bunch of lies. For 65 years the company has made millions every year off of these plants, and now in one or two years there's nothing left? The money is there, they just don't want to put it in the company. We don't believe they have any intention of closing up. They just don't want to pay off their debts. They're not as broke as what they put out for the workers to believe. They just want to get us ready to accept anything they might throw out. Especially if we're still here when the contract comes up.

It looks like the company is trying to have their



by John Marcotte

At Industrial Radiator, Inc., they expect you to know how to read a blueprint, do layout, change dies, set up your press and run it—for \$146 a week gross! And this is a union shop, in New York City, in District 65, UAW.

This recession has gotten to where the few jobs in the union hiring hall are all like that: "shipping clerk, read and write, good at figures: \$150 a week." I have met many workers who have run out of their unemployment insurance, and are just trying to get by going from one of these low wage, usually temporary jobs to another.

The unavoidable fact is that many of these workers will never hold a "good" job again. The unavoidable fact is that each one of these recessions leaves a higher number of permanently unemployed. Few workers in my shop would not agree that the system is a failure.

The question is, where do we go from here? Our union leaders have been bowing down to every wage and benefit cut demanded by the companies. The effect is just starting to snowball in one industry after another. Now even the N.Y. Daily News' millionaire buyer says he can only "save the paper" at the cost of half the jobs and millions in wage cuts—and before the deal is even made the millionaire owner of the N.Y. Post is yelling "Me, too!"

SELL-OUT REJECTED

But many workers sense these concessions will at best only buy a little time, and will really cost more jobs in the long run to automation and robotization. At the Linden, N.J. GM plant, workers voted 2,673 to 493 against contract concessions; at the Norwood, Ohio plant the vote was 2,533 to 454. That is a powerful repudiation of Fraser's policies, though the union claims the contract passed nationwide by a slim 52 percent.

The feeling in my shop is that union officials "only care about their own jobs." What happened to Solidarity Day, when one half million workers marched against Reaganism and all it stands for? Solidarity Day II has now been proclaimed by Lane Kirkland—that's supposed to be the November elections, when we're all to vote for the same old Democrats! Kirkland and the other labor fakers are scared stiff of going anywhere with the power and thought of rank-and-file labor on the move.

OUR LABOR BUYS ARMS

Another important question of where do we go from here is that many working and poor people see the clear connection between the stagnant economy, the attack on benefit programs we need and fought for, and the arms and money going to prop up dictatorships around the world. Hardly a day goes by that someone doesn't comment on this in my shop.

The position of the AFL-CIO leadership remains that what's good for American business is good for the workers. Both at home—accepting the wage and benefit cuts, and abroad—supporting business unionism and outright military coups, these union leaders show they are 100 percent capitalist in their thinking.

Workers have their own way of thinking and of fighting, and will fashion their own leadership in the coming struggles, a leadership not afraid to listen and to move.

cake and eat it too. They're working four days but trying to rush us to get out the five days' work. We have two hours overtime everyday. A whole lot of workers feel nobody should work overtime if they can't put us on five days, unless they guarantee overtime for everyone who wants it.

But the company comes around and says to you as an individual, "Do you want overtime?" They're trying to manipulate everybody to their advantage. You have some guys who'll do anything the company wants, they've got so much fear in their heart of losing their job. These guys are so blind, they don't see that in going out only for themselves they're hurting themselves as much as their fellow workers.

—Art Steel workers

Nicaraguan women tell of revolutionary life

Todas Estamos Despiertas: Testimonios de la Mujer Nicaraguense, Hoy, por Margaret Randell (Siglo XXI editores, 1980).

"Right now the participation of women in the revolution is unprecedented. I'm sure that in the next revolution the women are going to be participating even more than now." —Dora Tellez

Every day we hear more and more about the revolutionary developments in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua. What we do not always hear about is how active the women are in those revolutions. This book is great because it presents the participation of women in the Nicaraguan revolution in their own words.

Women have been oppressed through all of Nicaragua's history, all the way to Somoza, and during the revolution they joined the guerrillas in large numbers.

We can see from the book how the Nicaraguan revolution was not like the Cuban. Only a very few women joined the guerrillas when Castro was trying to get power. Today women in Cuba are not given full rights and there is much machismo.

The book consists of several stories told by women who joined the guerrillas. There is Dora Tellez, a commander with the guerrillas. She came from a wealthy family, and decided to go off to fight with the guerrillas at 17 after (as a medical student) she helped deliver her first baby. She thought, here I am bringing a person into the world, don't I have to create a better world for him to live in?

Artists for survival born

Waltham, Mass.—By the fall of 1981 Reagan's rearmament and war rhetoric had me worried sick, and frantically crying out through giant oil paintings. I suffered alone, nervously, for months, unaware of the mounting concern of my neighbors and fellow artists.

One evening, at dinner with several artists and our families the conversation turned to U.S.-Russian war policies and our pent-up anxieties exploded. There quickly followed several open letters to Boston's area artists, urging the use of our expressive talents in the struggle against nuclear madness. In February, two of us had a show and distributed a statement of our purposes at Harvard Medical School's Countway Library. In March, in conjunction with Waltham's concerned citizens Nuclear Weapons Freeze, we mounted a show at Waltham Public Library. Nine artists from our co-op participated, along with several other local artists, and Artists for Survival was born.

Artists for Survival displays works stressing the horrors of war, but also our vision of peace and the joys of life. We incorporate fact sheets, graphics and quotations from religious leaders, scientists, social activists, and government spokesmen.

We try to involve people emotionally through the language of art. We urge viewers of our exhibitions to involve themselves in action to stop the arms race. We hope people will personally confront the pain and tragedy that nuclear war would bring.

Thirty artists came to our first meeting at which we were invited to make banners for a demonstration at the Boston Marathon. On Patriots Day, April 19, we took our banners to both the Boston Marathon and the Patriots Day parade in Lexington. About 40 members of Lexington Nuclear Freeze joined the parade as a contingent, marching behind a big banner with a painting of a bird of peace coming out of a broken bomb labeled U.S./USSR. The response was unbelievable, with 90 percent of the crowd along the route applauding us and waving wildly. Meanwhile the usual police and military groups in the parade only got polite nods.

—Mitchell Kamen

Puerto Rican prisoner shares

New York, N.Y.—Lucinda Melendez GYPSY is a 27-year-old inmate at Rikers Island, a New York City prison. She is a prime example of a Puerto Rican working class woman who has suffered the injustices of this society. But she has always been rebelling.

Even the prison was unable to sustain her. She escaped and went back into her old neighborhood. The people in the neighborhood supported her with food and shelter. Unluckily she became ill and went to a nearby hospital where she was finally taken into custody.

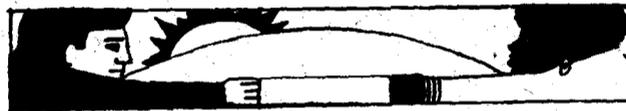
In jail she was placed in solitary confinement. Her writing skill became a great tool. To maintain her sanity she wrote as she had done in the outside world—to relieve her pains, sorrows and frustrations.

Instead of begging for forgiveness in solitary confinement, she acted as if her solitude was the most wonderful thing in the world. When they came to take her for the daily one-hour walk, she refused to come out of her cell. Slowly she convinced the authorities that she was going crazy. Finally, before her time was due, Lucinda was placed with the other inmates.

The book shows how it was the young women who did most of the work. It tells of an 11-year-old girl who is killed for giving out leaflets for the revolution. A lot of times the young girls went and told their mothers how important it was for them to be in the revolution.

Melania Davila came from a poor family. At 13 she became a prostitute. She met a man when in her late teens, whom she married in order to get away from prostitution. But her marriage turned out to be even worse than her earlier life, with her husband beating her. He even tried to get her to become a prostitute again to raise money for him.

But she refused and ran away to Managua where she met some revolutionaries. She joined them, and



went to the mountains with the guerrillas. Her 14-year-old son joined her there as a revolutionary and was killed by the National Guard.

Then there is Gladys Baez. She was married to a Communist and she became one, too. The Communists sent her to a conference in Moscow. But when she was there, she saw all the fighting going on among the Communists—it was 1962, the year of the Sino-Soviet split. When she came home, her Communist husband told her he expected her to stay home and take care of the kids. She refused to do this and broke with him.

When I read her story I could see she was looking for a theory of liberation to help her understand how it could be that the Communists could act this way. It was hard in the revolution for people to find out about Marx's theory. But now I think these women have to work out a theory of revolution. They need it, as do the women today in El Salvador, because machismo is still very deep in Latin America, and they have many battles still ahead of them.

When I finished reading these stories, I thought how great it would be if they could find out about Marxist-Humanism, and discover its connection between women's liberation and revolution. That theory can help them continue their fight, until they create a totally new society for every man, woman, and child.

—Maria Lopez

DNR thwarts Indian fishing

Detroit, Mich.—Despite the fact that Michigan Indians finally have won fishing rights with gill nets (see Jan.-Feb. N&L), the Michigan Department of Natural Resources (DNR) seems determined to undermine Indian rights. At issue now is the restocking of the waters. It appears that DNR has delayed restocking, making it impossible for Indians to make a living off the fishing.

After the favorable court decisions, many fishing families on the Bay Mills Reservation took out loans from banks in order to be able to refurbish their boats, and to purchase new gill nets. This meant borrowing \$1,200-\$1,500 which was to be paid back with a certain percentage of their catch this spring. However there has not been restocking and many are asking whether the DNR and the "sport" fishermen are working together to drive away Indian fishing families. Right now there is no possible way to pay back the loans.

Already many Indian families have had to send their children to urban areas in order to survive. And if things don't improve, even more families will be forced to give up gill fishing.

—Shainape Shcapwe

her struggle through poetry

Because she wants to share her world with others, I would like to let her poetry speak for itself.

—Jose Figueroa

THOUGHTS

I thought I was human, till I saw my reflection in the Frito Bandito commercial.

I thought I was living, till I saw my death in the eyes of others.

I thought all men were created equal, till I saw people thinking, speaking, and living in black and white.

I thought I had the wings of an angel, till the people of this world made me grow up.

I thought there was hope . . . and then there was Nixon.

I thought Nixon's, Rocky's, and all those other dudes promises would come true.

I thought I was born free, but I see we people of color have no knowledge of the world—and the chains of oppression still hold me back.

I thought all this thinking would get me somewhere . . . WHAT DO YOU THINK?

—Lucinda Melendez GYPSY

Honduran resistance deepens

Los Angeles, Cal.—Recently I made a trip back to my home, Honduras. There is resistance to the regime from all parts of the population. A lot of strikes by workers are going on. The women who work in the market are very active. So are the students, who hold rallies to support the revolutions in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

I had a friend who was arrested leading one of these. As the troops took him away, he called out to one of the market women, telling her to get him a lawyer. This Black woman got him the lawyer. The military told him he was lucky, since they were going to make him be "missing."

It's not true that all the revolutionaries are directed by Russia or Cuba. In the past year, a new revolutionary umbrella organization has formed, and many of its members were in the Young Communist League. When the CP told them the struggle of the students had to be kept apart from the struggles of the workers, most of the youth did not agree. The CP did not let the youth voice their opinion, and so they quit and took 60 percent of the membership with them.

Today, the students are very excited about the revolution in El Salvador. Several of my friends have gone to join the guerrillas. They went because they see the people in El Salvador fighting against the same things we suffer from in Honduras—poverty, dictatorship, illiteracy, repression. I hope students here do not believe the lies that Reagan throws around. He just wants to keep the oligarchy in power, at all costs.

—Roberto Cruz

'Missing'—a work of art

Before the movie "Missing" was released, I knew only the sad fact that my college friend Charlie Horman had been killed during the 1973 coup in Chile. "Missing"—a work of art—has brought those events before the American public just when each evening's news shows them repeated all over Latin America.

Several people told me that "Missing" showed them what fascism is really like. They also stressed the great beauty of the movie—the developing relationship between father and daughter-in-law. At the same time Ed Horman slowly understands that his son was motivated by an ardent desire for decent human relations, and was trying to bring them about in life.

As a college student, Charlie rejected the "normal" racism of American society (and also the way men were "supposed" to treat women). When he went South with many other '60s students to join the Civil Rights Movement, he ran up against white Southern "law"—I doubt he was as naive as "Missing" portrayed him.

But the point is not whether Charlie was a leftist or just a nice guy. Fascism indiscriminately destroys all who have a different philosophy of what human life should be—whether in Chile, El Salvador, the West Bank, Afghanistan, or Iran, where even nine-year-old children opposed to the regime will be shot.

The most serious weakness of "Missing" is that it winds up separating the "American tragedy" from the Chilean. There's only the barest mention that the young Hormans went to Chile to participate in the socialism under Allende. We see the dead bodies and hear the Chilean boy at the stadium shout "My father cannot come here," but the freedom movement and even the human life and suffering of the Chileans is not portrayed with the power in which the main story is told.

A recent TV news report showed a Salvadoran mother begging the American newsman to help find her son—taken by the soldiers two weeks before. Fascism is everywhere, but so are freedom struggles against it, and central to them is the world-wide desire for better human relations. As Ed Horman learned the nature of the coup in Chile, he simultaneously began to understand his children and some of what freedom means.

We too can grasp that message with concrete, well-thought-out activities in ongoing freedom struggles, whether in El Salvador or right here at home.

—Susan Van Gelder

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Author's introduction to second edition of *Philosophy and Revolution*

(Continued from page 1)

out of the theoretical developments came the birth of new studies of Hegel and Marx, which were further extended to a study of Lenin's unknown philosophic break in 1914—seen in his *Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic*. Although my translation of Lenin's 1914-1916 Philosophic Notebooks was the first to be made available to the English-speaking world in 1957,¹ it took 1970 to make his relationship to Hegel a highly debatable subject. The occasion was the 200th anniversary of the birth of Hegel and the 100th of Lenin, when many of the conferences on each crisscrossed on a global scale.

I was especially proud of the fact that the paper I presented to the First International Conference of Telos, "The Shock of Recognition and the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin,"² was reprinted in a special issue of the philosophic journal of Yugoslav dissidents, *Praxis* (5/8—1970). In 1973 a new, expanded version of this study was to become an important chapter of *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao*. I had embarked on this work directly after the aborted May, 1968 Revolution, precisely because my view of the situation was the exact opposite of that of the "end of ideology" proponents. I felt digging into Marx's new continent of thought and of revolution would first reveal new beginnings also for the 1970s. That required returning to Marx's deep-rootedness in the Hegelian dialectic, which Marx had recreated as the dialectics of revolution when he traced the spontaneous workers' revolts that were developing. To work out the relatedness of the Hegelian-Marxian dialectics to the problematic of the 1970s became the aim of my work.

PART ONE — "WHY HEGEL? WHY NOW?" — begins with Hegel and continues with Marx and Lenin, stressing the fact that, just as Lenin had to return to Marx's origins in Hegel, not for scholastic reasons, but because World War I was a crisis also of established Marxism, so World War II, following the Hitler-Stalin Pact, made it imperative to remove the perversion of Hegelian Marxism from established "Marxism-Leninism." It was, after all, not the "mysticism" of Hegel's "negation of the negation" that made that state-capitalist land that called itself Communist—Russia—attack "residual" Hegelianism in the young Marx. Rather, the reason that Hegel became so worrisome to the Russian theoreticians was because it was not just the young Marx but the mature Marx, who had recreated "negation of negation" as "revolution in permanence"—and they were witnessing its recreation on the historic scene in Eastern Europe.

Beginning with the very first chapter, "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning, the Ceaseless Movement of Ideas", Hegel is analyzed both "in and for himself" as I cover his major philosophic works—*The Phenomenology of Mind*; *The Science of Logic*; *The Philosophy of Mind*, especially the final three syllogisms—and is examined in the context of today's ideological debates on Hegel.

This point I reiterated also to a Hegel Scholars'

PART ONE

Why Hegel? Why Now?

Hegel • Marx • Lenin

Conference³ that is devoted to strict textual analysis of Hegel's work (and for which I, therefore, delivered a paragraph by paragraph analysis of the final chapter of Hegel's *Science of Logic*, "The Absolute Idea"). I held that it didn't matter "whether the enduring relevance of Hegel has stood the test of time because of the devotion and analytical rigor of Hegel scholars, or because a movement of freedom surged up from below and was followed by new cognition studies." The point is that "there is no doubt that because Absolute Negativity signifies transformation of reality, the dialectic of contradiction and totality of crises, the dialectic of liberation, Hegel's thought comes to life at all critical points of history, which Hegel called a 'birth-time of history.'"

Two very different kinds of criticism were directed towards this book. One came from young revolutionaries; the other from Hegel scholars like Prof. George Armstrong Kelly.

1 This was included as an Appendix to *Marxism and Freedom*.

2 The first presentation of my ideas on the subject appeared in the Spring 1970 issue of *Telos*. This was expanded at that October, 1970 conference, the papers for which were published in book form in *Towards a New Marxism* (St. Louis: Telos Press, 1973).

3 See the papers delivered at the 1974 convention of the Hegel Society of America, in *Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1980).

THE YOUNG REVOLUTIONARIES wanted to know why I began with the chapter on Hegel instead of with Chapter 9, "New Passions and New Forces." It seemed to them that the latter would have been more correct, both because that chapter is concrete, is "today," and because they would definitely find therein a point of affinity which would make it easier for them to then grapple with Hegel. I must confess that—although I hold fast to the structure of the work, which begins with Hegel because that was the development historically and dialectically—I nevertheless have advised some activist youth who have found it difficult to grapple with Hegel to read Chapter 9 first, and they, in turn, have told me that it did help them to grapple with Chapter 1. But the truth is that there would have been no new continent of thought and of revolution without that deep-rootedness in the Hegelian dialectic. In fact, what is needed now is to see that it takes both the movement from practice to theory and from theory to practice to work out a philosophy of revolution.

On the other hand, Hegel scholars have acted as if I "subverted" Hegel, or rather, followed Marx who did so.⁴ This was expressed the most succinctly by Prof. George Armstrong Kelly in his book, *Hegel's Retreat from Eleusis*:⁵ "For the complex linkage of culture, politics and philosophy within the matrix of 'absolute Idea,' Mme. Dunayevskaya proposes to substitute an unchained dialectic which she baptises 'Absolute Method,' a method that 'becomes irresistible . . . because our hunger for theory arises from the totality of the present global crisis.'" (p. 239) Professor Kelly, I feel sure, knows that the expression, *Absolute Method*, is not an expression of mine, but of Hegel's. There is no doubt

PART TWO

Alternatives

Trotsky • Mao • Sartre

whatever that he is more adept than I with knowing the direct references to that expression. Therefore, he must have meant to say that "an unchained dialectic" is not something that Hegel would have considered his second negativity (which he called Absolute Method) to be. It nevertheless remains a fact that absolute negativity is not something I "baptized" as Absolute Method, but Hegel did; and that Marx's singling out "negativity as the moving and creative principle" was precisely because of his profound comprehension not only of economics and politics, but of culture and philosophy—and revolution. And it was again at the period of world crisis, this time World War I, that Lenin singled out that section as "not at all bad as a kind of summing up of dialectics."

WHERE PROFESSOR KELLY STRESSES Hegel's statement that "Once the realm of thought is revolutionized, reality can scarcely hold out," may I call attention to Hegel's statement on his praise of the Idea because of its relationship to reality: "the pivot on which the impending world revolution turned . . ." (*Philosophy of Right*, p. 10). In a word, what we are disagreeing on is today, and our attitude to philosophy and revolution, when in the contemporary world it becomes philosophy of revolution. Professor Kelly, himself, calls attention to the fact: "If Hegel has not literally been to the barricades of strife-ridden cities, or explosive rural foci, he has been in the thick of current ideological combat." (p. 224)

Professor Kelly may not have made his statement as "proof" of any integrality of philosophy and revolution for the 1970s or the 1980s. In *Philosophy and Revolution*, however, I have used such manifestations of ideological debates about Hegel and Marx on two levels. In Part Two—"Alternatives"—I analyzed the theories of revolutionaries of the stature of Trotsky and Mao as well as that of Sartre, whom I called "Outsider Looking-In." In Part Three—"Economic Reality and Dialectics of Revolution"—I covered actual revolution in relationship both to the objective economic situation as well as to the new passions and forces active in the revolution, whether that concerns "The African Revolutions and the World Economy" or "State-Capitalism and the East European Revolts." Indeed, I am especially proud of the fact that the very first paragraph of that Chapter 8 begins with the spontaneous upsurges of 1970 in Gdansk and Szczecin, since they set the foundation for what is happening in the 1980s. The fact that East European dissidents helped in writing that chapter is, of course, no small reason for how it could still sound so *au courant*.

4 See Louis Dupre's "Recent Literature on Marx and Marxism," in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Oct.-Dec. 1974.

5 Pflücker University Press, 1978. The pages in parenthesis in the following text refer to this work.

PART THREE

Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation

Africa • East Europe •
New Passions, New Forces

The particular chapter that the activist youth were anxious to read first because they identified with those "New Passions and New Forces"—not only the Black dimension and anti-Vietnam War movement, but also Women's Liberation and the challenge from the Left in China, called Sheng Wu-lien⁶—was deceptively simple precisely because the struggles were so familiar to them. The truth, however, is that philosophy was as present there as it was in Chapter 1. Take the most exciting color and freedom aspiration of the 1960s—Black—and read Frantz Fanon's profound articulation of the African freedom struggles as being "not a treatise on the universal but the untidy affirmation of an original idea propounded as an absolute." He certainly wasn't leaving it to others to work out a philosophy of revolution. A rereading of *The Wretched of the Earth* will show how very crucial Fanon considered that challenge both in thought and in practice.

Fanon pleaded for a national consciousness that would not stop at any national boundaries but extend itself internationally as the struggle for all, with a new banner, a new concept of humanity: "This new humanity cannot do otherwise than define a new humanism both for itself and for others." It is this work that was read by Steve Biko and the revolutionary Black youth of South Africa; it became the foundation for a new Black Consciousness Movement of global dimensions.⁷

THAT BLACK REVOLUTION was present in the U.S. as well, and here, too, it raised questions that went beyond the immediate needs and demanded to know what would happen the day after the revolution. The reader will find especially cogent the fear that the Black Women's Liberationist expressed that "when it comes to putting down the gun" she might once again have a broom shoved into her hands. The problematic of the day, indeed, is contained in that question of what happens the day after the revolution. That is precisely the uniqueness of today's forces of revolution that are its Reason as well, whether that be the Women's Liberation Movement, white and Black, or the youth.

Take the question of the new form in which what was the anti-Vietnam War youth movement has reappeared in the anti-nuclear movement of the 1980s. This very day (Oct. 10, 1981), more than a quarter of a million youth have been marching in West Germany. This was preceded by the week-long confrontation at Diablo Canyon, as well as massive demonstrations throughout West Europe. In a word, the continuing, persistent, never-ending revolts into the 1980s—whether in East Europe or the Black Revolution; whether Women's Liberation or the anti-war movement or the very latest unemployed youth revolts, white and Black, in Great Britain—signal a new stage also of cognition.

This can by no means be limited to a mere "updating" of Marx's Marxism; if one is to find a trail to the 1980s.⁸ Finding that trail is the indispensable foundation, but not the whole. To work out the problematic of our age, Marx's Marxism must be reworked anew both on the basis of the actual freedom struggles in our age and a new stage of cognition. Whether we call it Absolute Idea as new beginning, or a new relationship of theory and practice, the point is that it is only a new unity of objective and subjective that can release vast untapped creative energies.

Only when the ideal of a new class-less society remains not just an "underlying philosophy" but becomes its practice—at one and the same time uprooting the exploitative, inhuman capital/labor relations as well as creating totally new human relations, beginning with the Man/Woman relationship—can we say that we have met the challenge of our age both in philosophy and in revolution. It is to this that I hope *Philosophy and Revolution* has made a contribution.

October 10, 1981

6 The destruction of Democracy Wall in post-Mao China shows the continuity between Mao and Deng when it comes to fighting against young revolutionaries. See pp. 168-187.

7 See Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought*, by John Alan and Lou Turner (Detroit: News & Letters, 1978).

8 See my new work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which further develops this on the basis of the previously unknown writings from the last decade of Marx's life.

MILITARIZATION AND THE CRISIS IN PRODUCTION

The lead in your April issue, "Deep recession, military build-up and the pulling apart of political alliances" by Raya Dunayevskaya, was tremendously helpful to me in trying to grasp today's economic crisis. This is especially true of the section "That Supreme Commodity, Labor Power, and Accumulation of Capital." I have struggled for a number of years with Marx's *Capital*, but that section caught in such succinct form what Marx was presenting as the crisis integral to capitalism's own development: the decline in the rate of profit. Today it is not a theoretical projection, but, as Dunayevskaya notes, the reality of a permanent lower growth rate for all capitalism, private and state.

I've heard other Marxists try to analyze today's crisis, but they often sound like the other side of the coin of bourgeois economists—the crisis in the market in one form or another. But even more, Dunayevskaya doesn't separate the crisis from the necessity for "a good hefty determined revolutionary push from the masses of workers." Many of today's Marxists seemed to have given up on the American working class. Marxism certainly isn't alone in books, it is in life. That life is both the life of activity by the masses and of living Marxist analysis like Dunayevskaya's.

Activist and writer
California

Reagan talks of military protection for the U.S., but what about protection for poor people within the U.S.—Black, White, Native American, Brown people and Asian-Americans? How is this foreign policy helping the domestic policy? About eight years ago, I was in the military. I was in Germany at the time. I worked in a tank unit, hauling ammunition. There was a lot of ammunition that I hauled during that time — and just think of it—all of that stuff is now considered obsolete!

Young Black man
Unemployment office, Detroit

I heard Reagan speaking today as the advocate of peace. It was peace with war in it, aimed at retrieving his dwindling popularity. I believe that it was meant for the people of Europe, where, as Raya Dunayevskaya correctly points out (April N&L), there is an attempt to pull away politically. There are also economic reasons, including the proposed piping of gas from Siberia to West Germany and other countries in Europe. Reagan's troubles are only beginning.

In May we will have a visit from the Pope. I have read his encyclical to celebrate the 90th anniversary of "Rerum Novarum." It is on work and attacks Marxism. It is in line with the tripe coming from Reagan and Thatcher. I don't need to tell you that I am prejudiced on the side of Paul Lafargue's satire on the same subject. I was illiterate when "Rerum Novarum" was published. I was eight days old.

Harry McShane
Glasgow, Scotland

In the recent auto pact concluded between GM and the UAW, the union toned down demands in wages, benefits and worker control in return for so-called job security. Janesville, Wisconsin is a city dependent on the auto industry for jobs. Last fall some 4,000 GM assembly workers were laid-off in Janesville, and a \$150 million plant modernization project was begun.

Now GM has announced a recall of half the workers for early May, with one important change: 60 new robots and their computers, the reason for the plant shutdown, have been added to the line. Estimates are that GM alone will have 14,000 robots in their plants by 1990, almost three times the number in use today in the entire U.S. auto industry.

What does all this mean for job security? If the present trend continues, we will have smaller numbers of mostly

older workers with less benefits, larger numbers of unemployed, and lots of bright new robots stationed on the assembly line.

Worried plenty
Madison, Wisconsin

The Cal State-L.A. chapter of News and Letters Committees held a meeting April 8 called "Can we stop Reagan's Militarism?" The discussion centered on whether the newly emerging anti-war struggles in North America can afford to limit themselves to single-issue activism.

Some present were active in anti-draft work, others were involved in the Nuclear Freeze Initiative. One student said, "we have to take the issues one at a time. That's why I like the way they're presenting the nuclear freeze initiative. If you deal with more than one issue at a time, you will alienate people." A worker from the now-closed GM South Gate plant responded: "Why is it that when people talk about the dangers of nuclear war, they forget all the killing going on today — like in the mines? If you don't address these things you'll never have workers with you."

Student activist
Los Angeles

I'm all for the nuclear freeze, but it seems to me that even if we got it, they would still use us Blacks as cannon fodder to fight some new "conventional" war. So why should the anti-war forces throw all their energy into disarmament?

Black activist
California

One aspect of the article by Dunayevskaya last month was very exciting to me — the section on the crisis in agriculture. This is a question that most of the Left ignores, even though Marx surely didn't. You see the concentration and centralization in agriculture and are reminded at once of the demonstrations through the 1960s and '70s by first the National Farmers Organization, and then the American Agriculture Movement. That you don't see those same kinds of demonstrations today doesn't mean all is well, but the opposite — it means the family farm is gone.

But what is also true is that there are new social forces created out of capitalism's destruction of the small farmer, like in Lowndes County, Alabama, where the unemployed youth who no longer have a farm to go to are now marching on Montgomery and ready to fight. It is really true that dialectics opens a new view of forces of revolution in a way that the statistics when analyzed by pragmatists never can.

Student of Marxism
Detroit

HUMANITARIANS ALL

It must have been a tough choice to pick Reagan for the National Christians and Jews humanitarian award last month, what with all the other humanitarians to choose from, like Jaruzelski, Pinochet, Brezhnev, and Khomeini. Maybe next year Idi Amin will finally have his chance.

Transit worker
New York

IRAN AND KURDISH FREEDOM

The essay on Kurds and the Iranian Revolution (April N&L) was much needed. I recently attended a conference on the Iranian Revolution put on both by Iranian revolutionaries and Americans opposed to Khomeini's counter-revolution. But in all the sessions on different aspects of the Iranian Revolution I did not hear one word on the Kurds as a revolutionary force. The only mention was as a statistic in a talk on national minorities. Self-determination of peoples is such a central question for the revolutionary movement, and not only in Iran. And yet, the subject is either not discussed, or is presented in

Readers' View

a very narrow-nationalist way.

The linking of the Iranian Revolution and the Kurdish fight into a revolutionary whole, as a test for both, is very welcome.

Appreciative
Michigan



THE E.R.A. ON THE SHOP FLOOR

My supervisor asked me if I had been active in supporting the ERA. I told him yes. Then he said, "Aren't you disappointed with what happened in Springfield (where the legislature of the State of Illinois failed to ratify ERA)?" I said not really. Because, you see, I don't need a law to tell me that I am the equal of you. You may have more money and a fancy car, but that doesn't make you any better. I know what I am and I don't need a law to prove it.

A woman Schwinn worker
Chicago

VOTING RIGHTS MARCH

On Easter Sunday the SCLC announced an "Alabama to Washington, D.C. Pilgrimage" for voting rights, jobs and peace. It will be an extension of the Carrollton to Selma to Montgomery march for voting rights held last February. The pilgrimage started April 19 with a rally in Tuskegee, Ala. and will march through Georgia, the Carolinas and Virginia. The marchers are scheduled to reach Washington, D.C. around July 1.

I know how the march in February

FALKLANDS FIGHT: 'ANTI-IMPERIALISM OF FOOLS'?

I am English but live permanently in the U.S. I am very confused by the situation that has developed between England and Argentina over the Falkland Islands. I feel a great sense of outrage over the Argentinian takeover. It is the same sense of outrage I feel within England or Ireland when, for instance, small farmers are edged out of their livelihood (and lifestyles of generations) by a government living up to the European Common Market ideals of large money-making agricultural businesses.

My confusion of course rests in the fact that I want to see the people in the Falkland Islands able to retain their way of life and their individual freedom. But, here I am left looking at the "conqueror" on the one hand and the "saviour" on the other, and how can I raise my hands in glee that the British government is sailing out to save the Falkland Islanders from the Argentinian government?

There's certainly a lot more obvious freedom to live as you please in England than there is in Argentina. But, ultimately, both powers are centered around the same goal — economic survival in a commodity society — and in terms of such cut-throat survival, how do individual human beings stand a chance to really live creatively? No wonder I am confused.

G. Welford
San Francisco

When I see the Left rushing to support the Argentinian junta over the Malvinas (or Falklands), I can't quite believe it. The Argentine junta has done nothing but torture and execute tens of thousands of workers, students, women's liberationists and Left activists since it came to power. Now, when they are in crisis, and seriously challenged for the first time in the streets by the workers,

raised the spirits of so many people in Alabama. It gave them the strength to fight on in these troubled times. When I saw all the people, especially young people, at the start of the new march in Tuskegee, it made me very proud.

Civil rights veteran
Detroit

Thanks to Gardenia White for her articles from Lowndes County, Alabama, in your last two issues. I have not seen much on the conditions and struggles there in recent years. The TV and the regular newspapers seem to have lost interest.

Long-time reader
Cleveland, Ohio

AN 'EAST WIND' IN THE U.S.

There is a new journal called *East Wind — Politics and Culture of Asians in the U.S.*, published by and for Asian-Americans. In these days of increasing right-wing reaction and racism, Asian people must unite and stand up for our rights, for justice and equality. *East Wind* dedicates itself to popularizing and promoting the many movements of Asian people in the U.S., educating people about important issues in the communities, on campus, and at the workplace, and helping to develop the art and culture of Asians in America.

Not only will *East Wind* reflect the experiences and struggles of Asians in the U.S., it will be part of it. Published semi-annually, *East Wind's* 64-page premier issue will be available in May 1982. A one-year subscription will cost \$6.00, plus \$2.00 for postage and handling.

Write to:

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they become great "anti-colonialists," to be supported "on this issue."

How many times will the Left fall for this? How do you think the Argentinian political prisoners feel about it — or the parents of "the disappeared"? What the junta is doing now can rightly be called the "anti-imperialism of fascists." What the Left is mouthing is the "anti-imperialism" of fools.

Supporter of Latin American freedom
Berkeley, Calif.

As I am writing this letter, the BBC reports that Argentina has landed troops in the Falkland Islands. Whatever this latest crisis will bring, it certainly underlines Dunayevskaya's article on recession and militarization. To escape from their deep political and economic problems at home, Argentina's military rulers have launched this chauvinistic adventure in the South Atlantic. The Tories, SDP and Labour are all saying that Britain should fight for the Falklands if necessary.

So instead of being joined with Argentina in a "strategic consensus" against Russia — which is surely what Thatcher and Nott wish for, as well as Reagan and Haig — we have the prospect of British and Argentinian navies chasing each other around the southern ocean.

It confirms what N&L said in its 1981 *Perspectives Thesis* about the sea bed becoming a source of conflict between state powers. Apart from national pride, what is mainly at stake is the prospect of undersea oil and gas. The task for us is to oppose the whole system of militaristic competition between states which leads to episodes of this kind, starting at home with British militarism.

Richard Bunting
Oxford, England

150 YEARS OF STATE DEPT.

"It seems that the State Dept. was sent by Providence to plague Latin America with hunger and misery in the name of liberty." These words were spoken by Simon Bolivar to the Congress of Bogota, 1832. One hundred fifty years later and still true, I saw them on a banner carried by Latin Americans marching in the March 27 demonstration in Washington against the U.S. war in El Salvador.

Marxist-Humanist marcher
Washington, D.C.

ISRAELI ARMY ON WEST BANK: TWO VIEWPOINTS

Thanks for calling my attention to the article on Israeli war resisters in the April issue of N&L. First, though, I have to tell you how deeply disappointed I was in the part of the front page article on Begin that mentioned similarities between the Israeli-Palestinian situation and the Nazi-Jewish situation. In theory, the Nazis compared the Jews to rats and germs, which meant in practice, their physical extermination. . . . Whatever else, we are not seeing the start of this kind of thing between Israel and the Palestinians. . . . It is best to stick to the topics of self-determination and religious fundamentalism, which are the relevant issues here. . . .

Correspondent
Wisconsin

Watching the TV news with Israeli soliders and right-wing Gush Emunim fanatics shooting and beating Palestinian youth on the West Bank was one of the most upsetting experiences of my life. I can't believe that people only one generation removed from the Holocaust are shooting down youth armed only with rocks and sticks. And when I heard these same youth denouncing Begin's thugs as "fascists," the truth of it was plain to me. Actually, the political roots of Beginism were always planted in the most virulent anti-Arab and anti-Jewish socialist terrorism, going back to Begin's assaults on both before independence.

I share the view that what is needed now is "a mass movement in Israel in support of Palestinian self-determination on the West Bank." It can begin by getting rid of Begin.

Jewish socialist
New York

Ed. Note: For a current comprehensive analysis of the Arab-Israeli conflict, readers can order "Another Arab-Israeli Conflict, or Shift in Politics Between the Two Nuclear Super-powers? Begin's Israel Moves Further and Further Backward to his Reactionary, Terrorist Beginnings" by Raya Dunayevskaya. Available from N&L for 50c plus 20c postage.



DEFEND
INDIAN
WATER RIGHTS

South Dakota Gov. William Janklow has agreed to sell the water rights of the Missouri River to a conglomerate of coal companies for a coal slurry pipeline. The pipeline will use 2.2 billion gallons per year. Indian reservations near the Missouri will be affected along with cities, ranchers, and farmers. . . .

If this sale is approved, it will open doors for other proposed coal slurry pipelines around the nation. With James Watt making the final decision on this particular pipeline, we are certainly in need of peoples' support. We have petitions against the pipeline that you can circulate.

Harold Iron Shield
Native Americans in Communication
P.O. Box 9182
St. Louis, Mo. 63117

READERS ANSWER OUR APPEAL

Here's \$25 to help out on your Appeal. I wish it could be more, but times are hard. . . . Please use \$10 to send a gift copy of *Philosophy and Revolution* to a library. . . .

Old friend
Chicago, Ill.

Freedom and victory greetings to editor and co-workers of N&L. Please know that though you may hear from one friend, you all, your works and your aims, have many friends out here in the ("carry us beyond our borders") West Indies. Your pamphlets on Frantz Fanon and on *American Civilization on Trial* continue to enlighten many brothers and sisters here in St. Kitts. Please keep these prophetic literatures aflame.

Please know also that the Rastafari Brethren Movement continues to publicize the article, "Haitians Dehumanized at Krome," by Bro. Charles Denby, Editor, in the pages of our publication, *Rasta Utter*. I am also preparing to ask the editors of our local newspaper to publish a message in protest.

I send you a small donation. Let us happily fight, for sweet victory is certain. . . .

Ras Eli X
St. Kitts, West Indies

I'm enclosing \$10 which I hope will help a little in keeping N&L going. The publication is an important part of my reading each month. It gives me news that I don't hear anywhere else. And if it weren't available on tape, I would certainly not be able to read it as easily, and probably wouldn't most of the time.

Tape subscriber to N&L
Minneapolis, Minn.

Ed. Note: N&L is available on four track tape cassettes for the blind. Contact: Our Right To Know Braille Press, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217.

I like N&L, especially the wide range of coverage of many different struggles and the in-depth analysis of current crises. Also, I appreciate the lack of a "hard line." But I find it hard to understand some of the theoretical stuff on Marx. I enclosed a small donation to help out; sorry it's so little. . . .

Women's liberationist
Oakland, Calif.

Here's \$5.00 for two copies of the paper for one year. I will take one to work with me. . . .

Worker-student
North Ridgeville, Ohio

I couldn't begin to tell you how much I enjoy reading your newspaper. Suffice it to say that I find N&L a source of great inspiration. In the desert of ideas that characterizes so much of the bourgeois media, you are truly an oasis. I particularly like all the space you devote to your readers' letters — it gives N&L a popular, internationalist character. I do wish that you would cover more the psychology of revolution. . . .

Subscriber
Battle Creek, Mich.

Just received a "sample copy" of N&L, which I found informative and provocative. I'm enclosing a check to cover a one-year subscription plus a little extra to help defray costs and/or pay for subscriptions for unemployed readers.

In solidarity
Columbus, Ohio

Thanks to all our readers who have answered our urgent appeal for funds. We know that the same massive unemployment and soaring inflation that has hit us, is hitting you as well. Yet the only alternative to this nightmare system is the ongoing presentation of Marx's vision of a new, human world. If you haven't sent in your contribution to help us continue this work, won't you do so now?

EDITORIAL May Day 1982: the union bureaucracy's betrayal

May Day, 1982 is not a holiday on the calendar of the union bureaucracy—more than likely, they will need the time to sit down with management and plan further attacks on workers' living standards and job conditions as they attempt to save capital. Communist rulers observe May 1 with a parade of military hardware, arms that threaten workers under their domination most of all.

But 92 years ago, the first May Day meant a general strike and the struggle for the eight-hour day in the U.S. It was the first step of a plan to shut down one industry at a time, the strikers supported by workers still on the job, until all had won the eight-hour day.

Today's union bureaucrats by contrast are carrying out the opposite agenda. Instead of relying on unity of workers in an entire industry, they worked hand in hand with management to exploit every division—workers of one company against another; workers in plants of the same company forced to bid against each other for work; high-seniority workers against unemployed workers—all to strip workers of gains made over the last 30, or even 80, years.

Their sellout is so total that workers wonder which is their worst enemy—the capitalist, the state, or the union bureaucracy which is so diligently and creatively working for both of them.

The union bureaucracy's betrayal is even more disgusting when they act as hatchmen to eliminate break time, holidays and vacation time and so guarantee that more workers will be permanently out of work. Even before GM signed the new contract they announced the lay-off of 150, the first of thousands who will go because paid personal holidays have been eliminated.

But in this "new era of understanding between capital and labor," workers are more and more refusing to follow the plan. GM workers thwarted Fraser's first attempt to reopen the contract. GM then practiced extortion by shutting down four plants. . . . unless it got all it wanted, and the UAW used the new Ford contract as a club against the GM workers. Yet 48 percent of the workers, by the union bureaucracy's own count, voted no.

"The trade unions, he said, are an aristocratic minority. Poor working people could not belong to them; the great majority of workers who, because of economic development are daily driven from the villages into the cities, long remain outside the trade unions, and the poorest among them would never belong. The same is true of the workers born in London's East End, where only one out of ten belongs to the trade unions. The farmers, the day laborers, never belong to these trade unions. The trade unions by themselves are impotent. . . ."

—Report of Karl Marx's speech to the London Conference of the Workingmen's International, Sept. 20, 1871.

In contrast to the union hacks of today who blame workers' unemployment and plunging job conditions on foreign workers, the origins of May Day were internationalist. When the newly-formed American Federation of Labor resolved to begin a new round of agitation for the eight-hour day by an industry-wide general strike beginning May 1, 1890, they sent a delegation to the 1889 Congress of the Second International to gain international support.

The origins of May Day were also as American as apple pie and baseball and not just because in 1890 baseball players went on general strike against major league owners by forming their own Players League. The quarter-century after the Civil War was a period of continual agitation for the eight-hour day, and the 1877 General Strike centered in St. Louis was a highpoint. Marx had called that the "first explosion against the associated oligarchy of capital which has occurred since the Civil War, (it) will naturally be suppressed, but can very well form the point of origin of an earnest workers' party." It was out of this quarter century of workers' agitation that May Day was born.

But when the AFL leaders quickly turned around to cooperate with the owners in what they called business unionism, they did not take the workers, especially industrial workers, with them. Some 45 years later in the brief period from the beginning of the Flint Sitdown Strike in December, 1936 till May Day, 1937, spontaneous sitdown strikes organized the CIO, industry-wide unions, in spite of the obstruction of the old trade unions. It changed the face of the nation, created genuine workers' solidarity, among Black and white, women and men.

But today, only two generations later, solidarity to the union bureaucracy means closing ranks against rank-and-file workers. Thus Lane Kirkland and other officials try to save United Mine Workers President Sam Church from the rage of the coal miners in this year's election. But their days are just as numbered as the capitalist class they have thrown their lot in with.

Solidarity to rank-and-file workers means above all the kind of activity that Polish workers proved was possible, representing workers not only on the shop floor but against the ruling state as well. As many U.S. workers said when Solidarnosc fought to be born, "We need free trade unions, too."

There is no place today for unions that narrow their activity to "saving jobs." A union that is agreeable to working within the framework of Reaganomics will bring back nothing but retrogression from the bargaining table. Workers who have nothing to gain from the existing trade unions can see from the experience of Poland's Solidarnosc that new forms of organization, created by the workers themselves can challenge the old trade union forms, the state bureaucracy, and become a new beginning to transform today's retrogressive reality.

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A Freud-Marx synthesis?

The Age of Desire, Reflections of a Radical Psychoanalyst, by Joel Kovel, Pantheon Books, N.Y. 1981. \$16.50.

"A civilization which leaves so large a number of its participants unsatisfied and drives them into revolt neither has nor deserves the prospect of a lasting existence." Sounds like Marx? No, it was Freud — a likely surprise to observers of the status and conformist function of today's psychological professions that he so shaped.

Freud, according to Joel Kovel in this major treatise that speaks most strongly to his fellow therapists, was "the last great bourgeois thinker." His doctrine was ambivalent—both unmasking and rationalizing the repressive order of bourgeois patriarchal society. Psychoanalyst-misfit Kovel assails his colleagues in their comfortable niche, makes them confront history and this maddening order which he clearly despises. But far from offering them any "radical" panacea, he says that "the only Marxist therapy is revolution." Without discussing the previous terrain of the Freud-Marxist encounter, he stakes out his own.

Kovel has not forsaken the Bronx for Park Avenue, nor concrete experience for abstraction. He calls himself "not a very good Marxist, but one of oft-rejected anarchistic, or humanistic, type." He relates fanciful case histories based on his practice: a workaholic executive, a ravenous lawyer, a wife-beating worker, a sub-proletarian whose psychosis refracts the history of racism, and a spoiled "princess" who typifies the trendy disorder of late capitalism, pathological narcissism. But unlike the standard stories that end happily in cures via psychotherapy, these studies are used as springboards for the author's theory of desire.

Desire starts with the baby's perception of the Other. Transhistorical, spontaneous, and unable to name its object, it is "the endopsychic mark of the negation of the negation." Desire festers in late capitalism, which alienates it from the individual whom Dr. Kovel engages in his consulting room. This desire cannot be reconciled with any one-dimensional man tailored to bureaucracy (posited by non-clinician Marcuse). A Sartrean psychoanalysis, one oriented toward freedom within a Marxist framework, reconstructs desire, forgives its hatred to which it readily turns when thwarted.

Kovel taxes the master, Freud, with the error of dualism: opposing nature to civilization. Instead, the dialectical position is monistic and recognizes the enmeshing of the historical and transhistorical, individual and society and strives to resolve alienation—whose root, in common with psychology as a discipline, was capitalism's sundering of the workplace from the home. Marxism is charged with a positivistic bias and "has never explained labor's conservatism" (as did Reich). The two continents of thought do not overlap but, each compensating for the other's lacks, fit together like "an immense jigsaw puzzle."

This author highly respects the intelligence of his readers. His style is serious and his method discursive, always returning to his central theme.

The innate aggressionists, exploiting Freud's Death Instinct (a better word is "drive"—human beings really have no instincts) posit a "human nature" which serves reactionary interests and have garnered wide public adherence. Meanwhile Kovel challenges his profession to awaken to history.

What this reviewer still awaits is a Freud-Marxist synthesis that can do for our era what Reich essayed decades ago in "The Mass Psychology of Fascism": an elucidation of today's mechanisms of false consciousness—mystification, disinformation, subliminal propaganda, titillation and seduction by the mass media in the service of capital—all those ideological devices that keep people chauvinistic, divided, ruled and blind to their collective best interests, coupled with a program for opposition.

As capitalism threatens an end to history, it is surely time to widen our understanding, beyond political economy, of why history is so overdue in putting an end to capitalism.

—A. Fortunoff

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

In 1915 the fledgling NAACP launched a nationwide boycott campaign against "The Birth Of A Nation" in an effort to have that film either banned in its entirety, or, failing that, to have those scenes depicting Blacks as unconscionable savage brutes eliminated. This boycott became national news, divided the country politically, caused some cities to close down the showing of the film and finally resulted in D. W. Griffith, the filmmaker, removing some offensive scenes.

Since last February, the NAACP has taken Hollywood on again and has threatened to organize, by this spring, a nationwide boycott of 43 "white listed" films which exclude Blacks from significant roles in front of and behind the camera.

JOBS AND IMAGE

However, there is a difference between the present conflict with Hollywood and that of 1915. This time the NAACP has expressly separated the employment of Black actors and other personnel from the imaginary roles that Blacks are forced to play in Hollywood films. Now, for the NAACP it is simply the problem of getting more jobs for Blacks. "It's a labor problem," says Collette Wood, the Executive Director of the Hollywood chapter of the NAACP. "We don't want to try and censor what they do."

Yes, it is a "labor problem," but by taking this "jobs only" attitude to the extent that the Black image on the screen becomes inconsequential, is to misunderstand precisely why Hollywood has never employed a great number of Blacks in so-called substantial roles. When one cuts through the "objective reasons" that Jack Valenti and the Hollywood producers give for not hiring Blacks, one comes face to face with the reality—that within that realm of myth-making, Blacks can only play a narrow range of culturally acceptable roles defined by white society.

Hollywood believes that the success of a picture at the box office is dependent upon Black actors playing a subordinate role in any relationship with a white actor. This is America's social image of Blacks, and Hollywood as the purveyor of class/race cultural images dares not step too far out of line. But Blacks do not accept that image of themselves. And since Hollywood is only able to bring to the screen a Black character who lacks the full dimension of humanity, it is now avoiding Blacks altogether.

The extent to which Hollywood has gone in the direction of eliminating Blacks from the screen became

Blacks excluded from films

apparent to the NAACP last December when the organization was preparing to give its annual Image Award to the best actress of the year and discovered that only Cicely Tyson had had a large enough role to qualify. It also came to light that of the 240 films released by Hollywood in 1981, there had only been a dozen major roles for Black actors. In fact the peak employment for Black actors occurred in the middle of the 1970s during the spate of Black exploitation films.

Sidney Poitier has looked back at that period with a great deal of anguish. While he knew that many Black actors were getting jobs that lifted them out of poverty row, he realized that the whole show was a gimmick to make a quick buck for the producers. Neither the exploitation films nor Poitier's films were sufficiently about Black people and who in fact we really are.

A NEW CARICATURE FOR BLACKS

The Black revolution of the 1960s destroyed forever the Sambo and Mammy caricatures that American racism had created in its class culture. Their destruction did not end racism; it sent racism on an urgent quest for new caricatures—a new shorthand to define Blacks within a new context of the American classist/racist society.

This is nothing new; Blacks have been invented and re-invented in every cultural medium from art to music, from film to literature, at every new historical period. We have seen the stereotypes change from "Uncle Toms" to "Super Spades," from gentle loyal slaves to mad ravishers of white women in the popular class/race culture of the country. These were not harmless, inactive caricatures, but anti-Black social forces attempting to compel Blacks to remain in an oppressive position of exploitation.

No medium of American culture escapes these stereotypes. Harold C. Schonberg writing in the New York Times last January on "Opera's Black Voices" questioned: Why are there so few leading Black male singers in the operas? The general conclusion was that stereotyping and prejudice demanded that Blacks be kept in subservient roles. While it's OK for a white male to make love to a Black woman on stage, the idea of a Black male making up to white women "arouses prejudices and stereotypes . . ."

Hollywood, caught in a narrow vision of humankind, can't find a fundamental human equivalent for Blacks, hence it avoids dealing with the matter as far as possible. This is an essential aspect of the Black actors' predicament as well as their present unemployment.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from page 1)

the shop, maybe he was a little different from the other bureaucrats. But that changed when he went onto the Board of Directors of Chrysler. It became completely clear that he was over on the side of the company.

WORKERS ARE ASKING

The question workers are asking is why should they give all these concessions to a company which is turning profits of hundreds of millions. Roger Smith claims that if GM was profitable last year, it wasn't from the sale of cars, but the workers know better. And yet the workers were asked to give up lots of benefits. GM got the vote through with threats of even more plant closings.

I was talking with a Ford worker who told about conditions at Rouge since they signed the new take-back contract. He said they had all thought that the line was going full speed before the new contract and they didn't think it could go any faster, but since the contract was signed all the lines at Rouge had been speeded up.

He said that now when you can't keep up with the line, they move you to another line, where the speed may be a little lower, but where they still figure out how to work you as fast as you can possibly go. They recognize some people cannot work quite as fast as others, but they are determined to find a job for each worker which pushes him or her as fast as they can go.

He said that almost everyday you see these movements of workers from one line to another. And now there is no calling of your steward or committeeman. As far as he knew this seemed to him like the system in Japan, where they move workers around to find a job where they can be made to work as hard as they can. They are trying to find out how much a person can do.

THE REAL ANGER AGAINST UNION

Of course one expects this from the company, but the real anger now comes against the union which goes along and in fact actually helps the company in its disciplining of workers.

The truth is that this betrayal by the union bureaucrats has been going on for a long time. Twenty years ago this very month I wrote about it in my column on the 18th UAW Convention (1962). Here is what I said:

"Some workers were discussing what the recent UAW Convention meant to them. On the question of double time pay for work over eight hours one worker said: 'Everything possible is done by these union leaders to avoid the real issue. We do not want overtime, we do not need it if we can work eight hours a day and 40 hours a week steady. This is just a trick of Reuther's to avoid even trying to help the unemployed. As long as he can say to those that are still working—see, I got you double time pay for overtime work—as though our very existence was just to get more money, is that all we should be interested in? For years we have been yelling for a 30 hour work week with 40 hours pay and now he comes up with double time pay.'

"Another worker said 'Those leaders are such fakery they should all be outstanding quarterbacks on some football team. I attended a meeting at the Dodge local union hall a week prior to the convention where Emil Mazey spoke on the unemployed. Mazey blasted Kennedy and the Administration for not doing something for the unemployed workers. He said that one out of every four unemployed workers is Negro and something must be done.

"When they negotiated the contract with the auto companies they did nothing about overtime work. They gave the companies the green light to work those employed all they want to.'

"The day after the convention a sign went up on the clock that we were going on a nine hour schedule starting the next week!"

The names of the union leadership may be different today and the economic conditions even worse, but the truth is that this union leadership is, if anything, also worse. There is no doubt that if a real change is going to be made, not only will the names of the leadership have to change, but the very form that the workers create for their movement. The form of the union, what it has become in the last 20 years, cannot be the form the workers will choose when they move to change these conditions.

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The European anti-nuclear war movement crosses the Atlantic

(Continued from page 1)

Carter had actually begun the preparations in December 1979 when he got his NATO allies in West Europe to agree to the deployment of 108 Pershing and 464 cruise missiles on their soil, the first missiles capable of reaching deep into Russia from NATO countries since U.S. missiles were withdrawn from Turkey in 1962, in the aftermath of the Cuban missile crisis. The new missiles are now scheduled for deployment in late 1983. They will be facing 300 new Russian SS-20 rockets.

It was in opposition to this escalation that the present movement in Europe arose. But what gave it its greatest impetus was Reagan's letting the cat out of the bag that the "limited nuclear war" he contemplated meant "limited" to Europe.

Indeed, U.S. Army games "played" in West Germany last year postulated a Russian tank invasion from East Germany. The NATO response was to fire "battlefield-size" nuclear rockets, incinerating the tanks, retreating NATO troops and the villagers of a town called Hattenbach at a temperature of 7,000 degrees — all hypothetically, of course. It is nevertheless a "hypothesis" that Europeans live with every day, since there are currently no less than 6,000 nuclear weapons deployed in West Germany alone, with another 3,000 in East Germany.

THE LEAP IN ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT

Against this prospect of a perpetually radioactive future, the European anti-nuclear movement has continued to grow and spread across the continent. From late March into April, it seemed to extend worldwide, as 200,000 rallied in Hiroshima March 19 at "Ground Zero," where the first A-bomb destroyed the entire city; in Italy, where some 200,000 marched in Milan; and in the U.S.A., where the sudden popularity of "nuclear freeze" has sent dozens of politicians, Republicans and Democrats, scurrying to jump on the movement train for their own ends.

But it is in Germany and Britain where the mass character of the movement has already sent shock waves through all the old political organizations. Far from petering out after the enormous demonstrations of last fall, the West German movement drew 150,000 into the streets of 25 cities over Easter week, with banners proclaiming: "Reagan, Brezhnev, Schmidt — your wars are not ours!" Inside Schmidt's Social-Democratic Party (SPD), such a deep split was revealed over his support for NATO missile deployment, that the collapse of his majority in the Bundestag seemed a real possibility. SPD officials have seen many of their rank-and-file desert the party to vote for the anti-nuclear "Greens" in two state elections this year. Rudolf Bahro, of the Greens, drew a tremendous response at an anti-war rally when he characterized the SPD today as the party of "moderate exterminism."

So deeply has the disarmament movement "infected" today's Germany that former World Bank head Robert McNamara urged Reagan to publicly announce that the U.S. would not be the first to use nuclear arms in Europe, as a way to "defuse anti-American sentiment." That trial balloon was rejected immediately by Secretary of State Haig.

THE MOVEMENT IN EAST EUROPE

Across the barbed wire in East Germany, the authorities are evidently facing their own problems with



Thousands march in Duisburg, West Germany, against deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe by NATO.

the peace movement, even as they try to hush the whole confrontation up. What has leaked out, however, is that some 6,000 East German youth attended an anti-war conference in February in the city of Dresden, sponsored by elements in the church. They denounced armaments and preparations for war in their own country, and demanded the right to refuse service in the army. Meeting on the 37th anniversary of the destruction of Dresden in the World War II, they took as their slogan: "Swords into plowshares." As the symbol from that slogan began appearing on badges worn by East German youth in several cities, the Communist Party on April 7 declared the symbol banned.

In East Germany as in Poland, in Britain as in West Germany, in the U.S.A. as in Russia, the mounting unrest over the threat of war is tightly tied to the persistent revolt from within the ranks of workers — employed and unemployed — who are facing the most severe economic crisis since the Great Depression. The more than \$500 billion that will be spent this year alone on the arms race worldwide is undermining the whole system of production, and intensifying the shortage of capital that has plagued the global capitalist economy with ever greater urgency since the 1974-75 crisis. (For the fullest analysis of the relationship of the current economic crisis to militarization, see "Deep recession, military build-up, and the pulling apart of political alliances" by Raya Dunayevskaya, in N&L, April 1982.)

With unemployment in Europe reaching the highest levels in 50 years, strikes and demonstrations have broken out from Belgium to Italy, and from France to Ireland. Belgian steelworkers, whose bloody confrontation with police in March made headlines across the ocean, are now in the sixth week of their strike against 18 percent unemployment. In Luxembourg, April 5 saw the first general strike in that land since 1922. And in Italy, 250,000 metalworkers filled the streets March 26, demanding job security and a living wage.

Yet despite the appearance of mass demonstrations by workers and the unemployed just as this spring's anti-war marches began to cover Europe, movement activists like Dan Smith, head of European Nuclear Disarmament, report that the movement continues to have problems reaching out to labor and minorities, Black especially. For others, both here and in Europe, the discussion of questions of class struggle, Black freedom or women's liberation are openly considered "side questions" which might "dilute" the movement.

Such unidimensionalism brings to mind debates within the original Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament of the late 1950s and early 1960s. That massive mobilization — in Britain, Japan and the U.S.A. — did succeed in forcing the U.S. and Russia to sign a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963. Yet even as the treaty was being signed, Kennedy was escalating the war in Vietnam, and both the U.S. and Russia quickly found new ways to test their mounting and ever more sophisticated stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

LINKS WITH BLACKS, WORKERS, WOMEN

In today's Europe, and especially in Britain and Germany, where the struggle against nuclear war has truly assumed a mass character, any single-issue concentration on "nuclear freeze," bereft of links to workers, the Black movement and women's liberation, and mired in a pragmatism that sees activity alone as the answer, will sooner or later open the doors wide for capitalism to perpetuate its barbaric rule. The fact is that today there is no separating the movement against nuclear destruction from the needed social revolution.

In both Britain and Germany now, the necessity to avoid a unidimensional view of the movement has been made urgent by the threat of resurgent racism in a time of economic crisis. As Thatcher faces an increasingly militant Black Britain, her police force has suddenly emerged as a political power in its own right, impatient with the civilian politicians (including Thatcher) and appealing to white racists in the population as a whole for a crackdown. For the first time the London police issued crime statistics by race, in a carefully orchestrated campaign that had the Daily Mail headlining "Black Crime: the Alarming Figures" and the Sun screaming "Black Mob's Rampage of Death."

Similar attempts to encourage racism as a lifeline for the system are also underway in Germany, where hate campaigns against the four million gastarbeiter (foreign workers) now include anti-Turkish racial epithets scrawled on walls, election slates calling for gastarbeiter expulsion, and actual assaults in the streets. Everywhere the ruling class is searching for new ways to erect a wall between recognition of the nuclear threat to human life and the crisis in production.

That is precisely what the new mass movement on both sides of the Atlantic cannot allow to go unchallenged, as we organize for the huge demonstrations to come — June 6 and June 10, when Reagan visits London and Bonn, and June 12 in New York, for the opening of the UN Special Session on Disarmament. If today's rapidly growing anti-war movement can open new ground in thought as well as in creative activity, in its vision of a truly human society, the mass demonstrations in June can really become points of departure for putting forever behind us the threat of nuclear holocaust.

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Polish people create new forms of resistance to martial law

After more than four months of martial law in Poland the military repression continues unabated, while all signs are that the Solidarnosc movement, having caught its breath, is embarking on new forms of resistance.

Andrzej Slowik, militant worker leader from Lodz, where Solidarnosc had called for worker guards and a takeover of the factories in December, now faces an "extra" two years added on to his four-year jail sentence. The prosecutor has appealed his "overly light" sentence. Beatings and brutality, including exposure to severe winter weather, are typical of prison conditions for the thousands interned under the Jaruzelski military junta.

Despite this heavy heel of oppression, resistance is ever present in new and clever forms:

- 1,700 underground publications have appeared across Poland, with 20 established in the Warsaw region alone. Some bulletins have regular issues of up to 4,000 copies, while others are produced by two or three people. All have a considerable readership and circulate from hand to hand.

- Many Poles wear tiny resistors (used in radio

Excess Chrysler office bosses

Highland Park, Mich.—I am a member of Local 889, UAW, at Chrysler Headquarters. It is salaried work, mostly clerical. The work you do ends up in computers, so you are reduced to filling out forms. After all the things we have given up, all the things we have sacrificed (and the "Equal Sacrifice" buttons they gave us) we have found that the union personnel are being laid-off with no management personnel being laid-off in corresponding numbers.

In most cases where there is a lay-off we are being barraged by increased computer printouts and forms to fill out. So one person is now in effect doing several persons' work. In my area in 1979, we had approximately 12 personnel and six managers. We now have six, and four managers. Actually no manager got laid-off, they went to other jobs.

Supposedly there has been centralizing since the early '60s, but the only people being centralized are union people. In 1972 we had 8,000 Chrysler people in our local. At the present time we have fewer than 3,000.

One of our problems is the union itself. At Highland Park we have approximately 10 units of Local 889, each and every one going their own different way. And naturally management uses that to the very best they can, playing one unit against another, doing a lot of what they call transfer of operations from one unit to another. In this transfer of operations, there is always a loss of personnel, the union part never management.

So right now I don't think much of the concessions. I didn't think much of them at the time but a lot of folks were worried about their jobs, so they voted yes. But what I think is more significant to me is the number of people who did not vote. There was supposed to be about a 60 percent vote, but there were approximately 20 percent not voting. I think I would consider that a no vote.

—Chrysler clerical worker

Union won't resist Schwinn

Chicago, Ill.—The other day we had a leaflet circulating in the plant talking about decertifying the union. It claimed it was put out by some workers. But I don't believe it because if the workers looked at what they would lose by decertifying the union, they wouldn't do it.

Some part of management has to be behind this thing, trying to make it look like "concerned workers." It was trying to blame our short weeks and lay-offs on the union. People in the plant aren't paying too much attention to the leaflet but they are dissatisfied with the union and the company plays on that.

On Friday we got our checks and some who just got back from lay-off had double dues taken out. The contract says to take out 2 hours pay per month for dues and they took out four. But when they go to the supervisor about this, he says the union did that.

The contract states that the company can change the vacation providing they notify the union by Jan. 15, which they didn't. So the company just went and changed it by themselves and posted it on the board in January. Everyone was concerned about it then and didn't want it changed. Here was a chance for the union to make a stand. Instead of doing that they sat down with the company and compromised.

They should have called a meeting and sent out letters letting everyone know this question had to be decided. They were saying people wouldn't show up to a meeting, that too many were on lay-off. But that's no excuse. Their job is to make sure everybody is notified.

—Schwinn worker

electronics), since Solidarnosc buttons are banned.

- The whole town of Swidnik made a point of "taking a stroll" right at 7 p.m., when the TV news came on. (In an attempt to stop this, the government moved up the curfew time.) Others publicly boycotted the uniform-clad newscasters by putting their flickering TVs on the windowsill facing the outside.

- Radio Solidarnosc broadcast for the first time in early April with an underground eight-minute message urging continued struggle for the release of detainees and the "restoration of human dignity."

- Warsaw students show up for class in drab scout shirts and dark sunglasses in mock imitation of Jaruzelski.

- In mid-April, 500 people gathered in Warsaw's Victory Square to commemorate nine miners murdered in the early days of martial law.

- Reports increase of brief work stoppages in Gdansk, Warsaw and other cities.

The following are brief excerpts from a statement, smuggled out of prison, written by the socialist intellectual Adam Michnik, one of the founders of KOR, jailed under martial law:

"Solidarity did not expect a military coup and was taken by surprise. The responsibility for this is not borne by the rank-and-file workers, but by all those who (like the author) were called on account of their intellectual activity to shape the political vision of the union.

"The theoretical reflection . . . on the theme of altering the system limped along behind the events. Beyond hasty formulas there was almost no political reflection whatever. Practice finally outstripped theory.

"The fundamental—even though never clearly presented—conflict within Solidarity was on the tempo of changes and their extent . . . Some said 'No more strikes they get us nothing'; others said, 'No more half-way strikes, we need a general strike that will force the government to make real concessions.' It is hard to say who was in the majority, but the latter were certainly more vocal.

"These were the ones—mostly young workers from the large enterprises—who demanded radical action

from the leadership of Solidarity, and the prevention of this became more and more difficult (although both Walesa and Kuron attempted it).

"The power apparatus was despised more and more and not taken seriously enough. Almost no one believed it could succeed in using Polish soldiers to attack Polish workers . . . the attempt to terrorize Polish society with the help of the Polish army was hardly imaginable.

"Nevertheless . . . with a bayonet one can spread fear, terrorize, kill, fight victorious battles against an unarmed people. But a bayonet . . . makes an uncomfortable seat. And with a bayonet, you cannot expunge 15 months of freedom from the memory of human beings."

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Report from Italy: Fiat strike, end of labor consensus

Milan, Italy — Working class solidarity in Italy, which really characterized the immediate post-war period, hit its peak at the end of the 1960s when the three labor federations that control collective bargaining decided to unite their programs. In 1980-81 the structure showed its weakness and, by now, the unions have broken down into factions while many of the strikes are carried on by unions that call themselves "autonomous."

The strike at the Fiat auto company in Turin in 1980 is an example. The laying-off of 25,000 Fiat auto workers, many of whom were employed at the highly technologically advanced Mirafiori plant, paved the way for a 35-day strike of the Fiat workers. Later, auto workers and machinists of other companies joined in. The strike was a protest against automation unemployment and the attempt of the companies to decrease the cost-of-living "wage escalator."

The strike was such a failure that for the first time in Italian history workers were marching through the streets asking to go back to work. Naturally, there were also large numbers of workers that continued picketing and wanted to continue with the struggle.

Just a year later, Fiat decided to lay off another 80,000 workers, on top of the hundreds of thousands of auto workers and machinists who have been laid-off or fired in Italy in the last few years. The unions, government and industry negotiate, but rather than a strike it would seem that most workers are trying to save the savable—their jobs.

CLASS STRUGGLE HIDDEN

What has happened to create such a breakdown in the union's force and in working class solidarity? The roots are to be found not only in the economic crisis but also in the development of the labor movement from 1963-64 till now. The 1960s represent a period in which the unions lost their revolutionary character and began to form policies of integration into capitalism.

At the same time, even more office workers, foremen and state employees became organized and active in the labor movement, production workers losing their dominant role as the base of the labor movement. This was the first change in the social composition of the working class; it was followed in the '70s by structural changes in the unions' policies and contracts which tended to alienate young workers and in many cases divide the working class.

The labor contracts of 1974-75 ushered in the use of the "wage escalator." This meant that the capitalist class had accepted price inflation as the only means to accumulate capital, and in the same way the union be-

came a sort of electronic calculator of prices and wages rather than a representative of workers that wish to contest the exploitation of the system within and without the factory.

In the same labor contracts, the Cassa integrazione was another step towards the integration of capital and labor. The idea was that laborers would be laid-off for a certain period in order to give time to management to introduce into the factory technologically advanced machinery. The government would pay around 90 percent of the workers' salary while they waited to be hired again.

There is an obvious contradiction in this policy: technologically advanced machines mean automation unemployment. The number of workers re-hired is always less, and the government, in debt up to its neck, will not finance this type of unemployment insurance forever. In fact, both the Cassa integrazione and the "wage escalator" are under attack by industrial and government leaders.

They put the burden of the economic crisis on the backs of the workers: it is the workers' fault if the cost of labor is high, their fault if prices increase, their fault if the government has to pay unemployment benefits and increased benefits for the old, their fault if the capitalists do not want to make new investments.

UNIONS HAIL AUTOMATION

But let us turn back to the example of the strike at Fiat. Why so much dissension among the workers, and why so little support for the union? Office workers and foremen have never really identified with production workers. In automated plants the foremen have the job of controlling the machines that in turn control the rhythm.

Then there are the alienated youth. Most youth have entered the factory or the office when the union itself was offering only words about working class solidarity. Thus, the youth tended to seek social solutions outside of work and class identification. Also the work conditions in the automated factories are undoubtedly very much felt by the workers, but the unions glorifying automation as salvation do not recognize problems.

Finally, it is not to be forgotten that the working class struggle is international. Although at the moment there is no practical means for the organization of an international working class movement, it is very important that all workers are conscious of the internationalization of capital because the capitalist class and its managers will do all in their power to break down international working class solidarity, transforming it into a sort of nationalist, racist type of competition among workers.

—Margaret Ellingham

Debate and dialogue in anti-nuclear weapons movement

Los Angeles, Cal.—Three leading activists from West Europe's new and massive anti-nuclear weapons movement spoke here, April 3, to a crowd of 150 at St. John's Church. Dan Smith (chairperson of European Nuclear Disarmament) spoke on the origins and development of the massive protests which blanketed Europe this year; Anne Grinyer from Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament took up the need for a new anti-war movement in the U.S., and Dorothee Solle spoke on the importance of church participation in the West German peace struggle.

Smith was most on the mark in relating how "the anti-nuclear weapons movement in Britain and elsewhere the past year was not called into being by organizers . . . but arose from below by the common people . . . as a genuine spontaneous movement." The demonstrations which reached figures of half a million last year, he said, were sure to deepen and broaden in the year ahead, despite Reagan's newly-found posture as a "peace" advocate with his "zero option" proposal for confusing the anti-war forces. In truth, Smith said, Reagan's policy is no more in the interests of disarmament than is his continued defense of genocide in El Salvador in the name of "elections."

Where the audience was left wanting more, however, was in hearing about what lessons the rapid growth of the movement in Europe could teach the anti-war struggles here at home. Smith conceded that the movement has had problems in reaching out to

Black youth and labor, but he concluded, "I really don't see any way out of the problem."

Perhaps one way some answers could have been worked out would have been through back and forth between the speakers and the audience—but the sponsors didn't so much as allow for questions and answers from the floor! There's no doubt, however, that youth will be discussing those questions raised by the meeting in the future, in their community, in their schools, and in their workplace.

—Marxist-Humanist

New York, N.Y.—Helen Caldicott spoke at Hunter College recently. She is an Australian-born pediatrician who has been involved in informing the public about the health effects of radiation and the dangers of nuclear war. She is the author of *Nuclear Madness, What You Can Do!*—a powerful book that contains some very useful and urgent information about nuclear power and weapons production. She makes very clear connections between the nuclear power industry and the military.

However her talk had a shockingly mild tone. She talked about how we are all God's children and that we must love each other. She told us that we should write letters to our Congressmen, and she stressed the power of voting.

Apparently she forgot that on page 75 of her book she states that although one of the main issues on

which Jimmy Carter was elected was his anti-nuclear power and weapons proliferation stance, he allocated "\$1.7 billion for (nuclear power) development in his 1978 budget." Even though he stated his commitment to "eliminating nuclear weapons from the face of the earth . . . his Administration has overseen a rise in U.S. arms exports of 17 percent; to a total of \$13.2 billion in 1978, maintaining America's role as the world's chief arms supplier." Maybe this page was torn out of her copy!

Reagan's war on the poor here at home, and increasing U.S. intervention abroad makes it extremely vital to make connections of nuclear power, weapons and the military—all as an integral part of a world system oppressing and destroying us.

I was really astounded by Caldicott's simplistic thinking. At Hunter College people are beginning to take ideas seriously and refuse to accept simple explanations.

—Hunter student

Chicago, Ill.—About 200 came to an anti-nuclear conference here recently. People were certainly interested in information and discussion, but I was quite bothered by the tone of some of the speakers which amounted to lecturing us about our "complacency" and telling us to fork over money to the cause.

Thus one speaker, Carl Johnson, a doctor from Colorado, gave a long technical speech and succeeded in horrifying the audience with slides from Hiroshima, but failed to give any impression that we could do anything about it.

Another speaker, Andreas Zumach, a West German disarmament activist, expressed doubt about U.S.-Russia negotiations, but then talked about influencing the governments to take "small steps" toward disarmament, as if the imperialist powers could ever bring themselves to give up their deadliest weapons. Zumach seemed to think that the anti-war movement could bring about disarmament without questioning the rule of the existing state powers.

Despite the lip-service he paid to internationalism, opposing regimes in El Salvador, South Africa and Afghanistan, he said that the West European anti-nuke groups shouldn't openly express support for Polish Solidarity for fear of provoking more pressure on them. He complained that several groups had abandoned the anti-nuke movement for Solidarity support work and accused them of having illusions about how fast things could change in Eastern Europe.

His attitude toward Poland was sad proof of the need for a total philosophy. We need it to be prepared for both the repression that's sure to fall on the disarmament movement, and the opportunism of those who try to keep the movement in very narrow channels.

—Franklin Dmitryev

YOUTH

by Jim Mills

Education 1: Discipline and racism

A crisis in America is creating young revolutionaries daily, and it can be seen in the schools. In Detroit, a walkout this spring by Northeastern High School students pointed a finger at the bankruptcy of the school board, including Superintendent Dr. Arthur Jefferson, that unanimously voted to close their school. How wrong those administrators are in thinking that closing schools is a solution to such a crisis was the students' message.

But the situation in the Detroit Public Schools reflects the crisis in Reagan's America in other ways. The answer to student restiveness over an educational system that seems more like preparation for unemployment than for opportunity, is stricter discipline and a Code of Conduct that really is a call for injustice and for taking away civil liberties.

THE DISCIPLINING OF STUDENTS

Recently a Detroit activist organization, Black Parents for Quality Education, exposed how the school administrators use the student Code of Conduct to discipline students without due process as a way of hiding low levels of uninspired student achievement. From September through January, approximately 17,000 students had been excluded from school! Suspensions numbered 1,592. At the same time, the drop-out rate for Detroit high school students was an incredible 17.5 percent, or about 8,200 students out of about 47,000 total.

For those lucky enough to shoot for a college education the crisis in Reagan's America is just as real. The 7,000 college students who protested on the steps of the U.S. Capitol this spring are fighting the Reagan administration budget that would cut federal student aid from \$3.5 billion in 1981 to only \$1.8 billion in 1983. Cuts in the Pell grants for disadvantaged students and Guaranteed Student Loans means that colleges would be more and more for the rich only. When they chanted "We need brains, not arms," and "Books, not bombs," they opposed cuts that would make hundreds of thousands ineligible for educational assistance.

At the same time a class division is growing along the lines of who goes to college and who doesn't, we are now seeing the escalation of a racial separation among colleges. I'm not only speaking here of tax relief for colleges and private schools that advocate the most vulgar, openly racist doctrines of white supremacy.

RACISM IN EDUCATION

Take, for example, historically Black Tennessee State University in Nashville. It merged with the newer University of Tennessee's Nashville campus which was predominantly white. Though each school started with 5,000 students, the planned racial balance has been ruined by dropouts and transfers of whites that cut enrollment to about 7,700 students, two thirds of them Black. The white flight from the new Tennessee State is reflected in the proportion of Blacks in the last three freshman classes—70, 86 and 93 percent.

It's not so difficult to understand that such growth in racism comes at a time when the alternatives for young people are disappearing. Fewer and fewer choices are open to youth today, whether because illiteracy has reached shameful levels, or because the grip of pragmatism in academia is cutting out humanities and philos-

ophy, and expanding technical and professional enrollments because there, supposedly, are where the jobs are.

Those limitations, linked with the phenomenon of more and more students having to work full time and go to school at the same time—which makes education like a job instead of a growing experience—means that under Reaganomics the capacity to make judgements and decisions is being taken away because there are fewer choices.

In addition, the military has become the only path for many young people because it will pay for college or because it's the only job in town. With those kinds of alternatives, surely lots of youth will choose one of their own—revolutionary change.

Education 2: Reagan's hatchet

There has been much discussion over the detrimental effects of the Social Security cuts for the elderly and handicapped, but what of the survivors benefits given to children of deceased or handicapped parents. Under original provisions a child could receive benefits until 22 years of age provided they were enrolled in school, the cut-off normally being 18.

Needless to say, and especially in these times, students who received Social Security were counting heavily on it to help finance their college education. I guess I should be speaking in the past tense for a rather grim and stark reality has taken over.

Due to Reagan's insatiable need to increase the military budget, he's decided to deny thousands the right to a college education. Now in order for a high school senior to continue to receive Social Security benefits they must be enrolled in college as full-time students by May 1.

The first thing that hits you is the absolute illogic of the statement. Most of us planned on graduating from high school before we entered college but not if we plan on playing by Reagan's rules. Fortunately through the benevolence of many colleges and with the cooperation of the high schools many students have refused to give up.

Personally, my senior year, which started off with the promise of being really beautiful, has taken a kind of nightmarish quality. Sure it is hard work trying to be a full time college student and still go to high school. But that is not the worst of it. What has proven to be the hardest is giving up the luxuries of being able to participate in senior activities, and belonging to the various clubs and groups at school, or just plain goofing off when the urge hits you.

But that's not the total picture either. Ask yourself who are the kids who receive Social Security; they're the ones who already have had to deal with the death of a parent, or watch a parent struggle with the emotional and not to mention physical turmoil involved in adjusting to becoming handicapped. I say this to point out that it's not like these kids have had it easy and this is the first real problem of their lives. Rather these are people who faced many disappointments and hardships and heavy responsibilities in their young lives already and there is no justification in the world for burdening those who are so heavily taxed already.

—High school senior/college freshman

Fraternity sexism, racism

San Francisco, Cal.—At the University of California Davis campus 300 women and children of all races recently marched, chanting "Out of our homes and into the streets. We won't be raped, and we won't be beat!" This was a protest against the increase of rapes in that area.

As the parade passed Fraternity Row, a member of Sigma Nu told the women, "You'd better not come around here if you don't want to be raped." While three members showed their bare bottoms through the frat house windows, other jeered and threatened the marchers. At Sigma Alpha Epsilon (SAE), house members publicly exposed themselves, urinated, spit on the women, including one with a baby in her arms, drove a car menacingly into the march, and called the women "dykes."

Annemarie Wagstaff, an organizer and women's rights activist said, "These men are the future leaders of tomorrow and it is important they recognize their behavior," and Robin McNight, march organizer and coordinator of the U. C. Davis Rape Prevention Education Program insisted, "We can't write this off by saying it was just fraternity behavior and boys will be boys." But the University of California said it could not discipline the men as the incidents did not happen on campus.

At the University of California at Berkeley, fraternity members vandalized a Jewish students' residence with swastikas and anti-Semitic slogans. Campus and community refused to accept this as "a youthful prank," and the fraternity was suspended.

WOMEN AND MILITARY MADNESS

Coming in the June issue of News & Letters

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

Just as World War I sent the reformist labor bureaucracy of the Second International scurrying to support "its" respective national bourgeoisies, so today's world crisis over a few islands in the South Atlantic sees the Argentine and British labor bureaucrats rallying around "flag and country."

In Argentina, the fascist General Galtieri had just murderously crushed a massive labor demonstration March 30, arresting 2,000 workers and intellectuals. Then, demonstrators had chanted, "It will end, it will end, the military dictatorship." When Galtieri occupied the Malvinas/Falkland Islands a week later, the same Peronist labor unions (and the small Communist Party) called a mass demonstration to support Galtieri unconditionally. Just a week earlier, the regime had appeared to totter.

In Britain, the rotten and reactionary Thatcher government had in the past year seen its popular support plunge in the wake of Black and white youth riots

Rulers use Falkland crisis to stem revolt

and massive labor marches against unemployment, and a huge and growing anti-war movement. Suddenly, all sorts of jingoist British chauvinism and nostalgia for



Just days before the Falkland crisis, soldiers tried to control the tens of thousands protesting against the Argentinian government.

the empire came to the surface to support Thatcher's naval expedition to the hilt.

Meanwhile the rest of the Left has decided that imperialism is the main enemy. The Trotskyists, both American and British sects, are firmly advocating the sovereignty of the fascist military Argentinian dictatorship over the islands.

Quarrels among dictators and the remnants of the British empire over questionable spoils have no interest for the working class. Of greater interest to Latin Americans are the military forces being trained by Argentina's dictatorship to harass the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

The workers of both Argentina and Britain have nothing in common with the war aims of their rulers. Their activities should be devoted to turning any war into a civil war. The real enemy is at home.

COMING NEXT ISSUE: THE FALKLANDS, ANT-ARCTICA, AND THE GLOBAL CONTEXT OF THE CRISIS.

France in Africa

Today, under the Socialist Party rule of Francois Mitterrand, France continues to station some 10,000 soldiers plus military advisers in Gabon, the Central African Republic, the Ivory Coast, Senegal and Djibouti. French bases are on two Indian Ocean islands and the French air force has Jaguar strike aircraft stationed in Senegal and Gabon.

Altogether there are some 350,000 French living in Africa, and some are in high echelons of government. Sixty-five thousand French are in the Ivory Coast—a third employees of the Ivorian Government. One out of four people in Libreville, the capital of Gabon, is French. In Chad the salary for civil servants often comes from Paris.

The key to the French relationship is as well economic. Many French-speaking colonies are tied to the French-backed CFA franc, meaning French fiscal influence and control. Thirty-seven percent of the Ivory Coast's imports come from France, and the French own one-third of the country's manufacturing industries. France imports 20 percent of its oil from West Africa and gets the bulk of its strategic minerals such as cobalt and uranium from Africa.

Meanwhile defense treaties remain in force with several former colonies, and withdrawal of French troops seems as unlikely under Mitterrand's government, as it was under Giscard d'Estaing's.

Korea, South and North

Late in March, the totalitarian U.S.-supported military regime of General Chun Doo Hwan in South Korea mobilized thousands of police and briefly arrested 16,000 people, in order to find two fugitive youth now accused of leading the group which had set fire to the U.S. government information office in Pusan. Their manifesto read: "The United States should not make Korea its subordinate country, but leave this land. The United States has supported this military regime which refuses democratization, social revolution, development and reunification."

Moderate church dissident circles describe the new generation of youth rebels as "radical non-Communist activists." A new stage of opposition was reached in the May 1980 mass uprising in Kwangju, where students and workers rose up, only to be massacred by Chun's troops, backed up by the 40,000 American soldiers still in Korea. This year, new union and church groups have begun to demand: new labor laws, the creation of "real unions," a minimum wage, and the eight-hour day. Some meetings have attracted hundreds of people. South Korea remains a militarized American outpost in Asia, and a haven for U.S. "runaway" shops.

North Korea, on the other hand, is today somewhat "independent" of Russia and China, as well as of U.S. imperialism. It is possible that it has industrialized even faster than the South which makes it appealing to certain sectors of the Left, despite the great suffering and exploitation of the masses.

On April 15, the government of the "great leader," Kim Il Song, celebrated his 70th birthday by spending millions of dollars on lavish ceremonies. His son, 40-year-old "hero" Kim Jong Il, is marked to succeed his father in what some are calling the world's first Communist monarchy. But that same week what was long suspected, but not provable due to the closed nature of totalitarian North Korea, was reported in the world press: There are at least 105,000 political prisoners living under brutal conditions in concentration camps.

The national independence yearned for so deeply, after 35 years of Japanese occupation and the immensely destructive Korean War, has proved to be bitter fruit indeed under the two militarized regimes which divide the Korean nation between them. This situation was created after 1945 when the two superpowers, Russia and America, with help from China and Japan, divided Korea into "zones."

Beware! Robots at large

The myth that Automation will provide employment for unemployed auto workers was exploded by the opening of a new Japanese factory—in Florence, Kentucky.

It is a fully automated machine tool factory costing \$15 million—a small price as factories go. The number

of people employed will be only six for the entire operation. Robots will do all the work. The investment in machinery per worker employed is \$2.5 million.

The Yamazaki Machinery Works Ltd. is planning to expand its operations in the United States in competition with the skilled trades that now build machine tools. UAW President Doug Fraser and his allies in the Democratic Party are advocating that Michigan become the center for future robotics production in the United States. If his pipedream was to become reality it would require an investment of \$750 billion to employ just the 300,000 auto workers currently laid off in the auto industry.

Marx pointed out long ago that capitalism requires ever increasing amounts of capital as the rate of profit declines and unemployment increases.

Bolivia

Once again, on March 29, a nationwide general strike called by the underground Confederation of Bolivian Workers (COB) shut down the country. It was called to protest drastic cuts in the standard of living of the masses, due to a devaluation of the currency by the government in the context of Bolivia's depression economy. The strike paralyzed most factories, mines, banks, schools, transportation, oil facilities and airlines.

Three days earlier, six protesters were killed by the fascist military at a demonstration in Cochobamba. In power since 1980 with the help of Argentine fascist advisers, the Bolivian military has failed so far to break the power of the labor movement, the strongest in Latin America, despite the murder, torture and imprisonment of thousands.

El Salvador

The jubilation of the Reaganites over the large turnout in the El Salvador elections has been dimmed (even for them!) by the majority attained by the coalition of the right wing. To conduct an election in a country torn by civil war makes no more sense today than it did in Vietnam. To point to a huge turnout where voting is compulsory, with death squads to enforce it, is asinine.

Yet it can be pointed out that despite people being driven to the polls at the point of bayonets, 400,000 did not vote out of the 1.5 million eligible to do so. Of those who did vote, 11.4 percent cast blank or defaced ballots—even though they had to do so in clear plastic ballot boxes under the eyes of the soldiers. This was enough voters to have placed third among the political parties.

What chance did the revolutionary opposition really have? The guerrilla forces were barred from the ballot, and if they tried to campaign they would have been shot on sight. The only choice offered was which of the oppressive right-wing parties would continue to receive arms from Reagan to dominate the country and perpetuate the misery and starvation that has been the lot of the people over the past 100 years.

Not only does this put the lie to Washington's claim of "free elections," but one must also question the very basis of a bourgeois election that limits the franchise to 1.4 million out of a population of 4.7 million, of whom half are 15 and under—many of whom are in the forefront of the freedom fighters.

The election is over, but the real issues remain to be settled by the masses of El Salvador, not by the exploiters and their friends in Washington.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

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