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 [Continued on page 8]

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, Weston, New York and Philadelphia, and in thousands of other cities and towns, the militancy of the movement has spilled over the Atlantic and into the United States. This is by no means the first time that American people have demonstrated against nuclear armaments. There has been a steady movement since the early 60's, and a new wave of activity has now swept the United States.

The European anti-nuclear movement has had a number of objectives. Some of these are immediate and specific, such as the very real threat of a nuclear war. Others are more long-term and ideological, such as the desire for a world without nuclear weapons. The movement has also been characterized by its use of a variety of tactics, from peaceful demonstrations to more militant actions.

The European anti-nuclear movement has been a powerful force in the anti-nuclear arms movement worldwide. Its success in the United States is a testament to the power of grassroots organizing and the determination of the movement. As the European movement continues to grow, it is likely that it will have an even greater impact on the anti-nuclear arms movement in the United States and around the world.

(Continued on page 9)
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, society could be freed, for it is only in some other form of reformism just when the age of nuclear Titans—the United States and Russia—threatened the women's movement to become a reality. The most revolutionary crises in our age have shown, over and over again, from Russia to China, from Cuba to Iran, from Algeria to Chile. That about a philosophy of revolution activism spends itself in mere antirevolutionary and anticapitalist, without ever revealing what it is that the wretched of the earth are. That wretched of the earth are not only now are called upon to put forth their vision:—from Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Emancipation, and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution by Raya Dunayevskaya.

Dear Sister,

In the quote above, the “vision” is Marx’s vision of revolution in permanence and what made me think many women of my generation might as well be inspired by 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 illnesses, to hospitals, and I don’t know where the money will come from to provide for them...
GM now guarantees a
timeline of slave labor

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

General Motors is now celebrating its big "victory"—getting the UAW to accept a 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 anything like the way we were told about it, there's little chance of GM's guarantee being honored.

Only 32 percent of those who voted approved the contract. Dozens of plants voted it down. And the overwhelming majority of workers rejected this contract, while many 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 which was only to vote on the contract. Most of the workers were saying, "Why bother to vote? They've already sold us down the river. With these give-backs, they're not going to buy most workers out at Van Nays. 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 International Workers of the World circulated for months. Also, the company has charged 60 workers with sabotage for throwing a rock at a police car. The company did not even bother to move in the company. We don't believe they have any intention of closing up. They just don't want to pay off their obligations.

But this talk of a "lifetime paycheck" is just a lot of propaganda. GM is just creating a pool of slave labor. We promise "a better life" to all workers—then we're held off 10-15 years. But the catch is that we're forced to work wherever GM or the state wants us to, and they'll be taken from our "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 work us out to wash windows at GM dealerships or pick strawberries on some farm, pay us minimum wage, and then deduct what we make from our guaranteed income."

If you get the UAW to vote against the boss, by putting out the union contract and a contract which agrees with the workers, you'll lose every penny of that "guaranteed income".

Marginal jobs are all that capital offers

by John Macrote

At Industrial Radiator, Inc., they expect you to know how to read a blueprint, do layout, change die, set up and run the machine. In one plant, 1,200 workers are employed. And this is a union shop, in New York City, in District 65, UAW.

We're told that union has gotten to where the few jobs in the union hiring hall are all like this: "shipping clerk, read and write, good at figures: $150 a week."

I've 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 they will be forced to work for their wages every day in the future.

SELL-OUT REJECTED

But many workers sense these concessions will be at an end. They will be forced to sign on the dotted line and really cost more jobs in the long run to automation and robotization.

At the Linden, N.J. GM plant, workers voted 2,073 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 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 on November 18. What will the workers do to vote for the same old Democrats? Kirkland and the other labor fakers are scared stiff of going anywhere with the power of the working class and the unemployed 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 development of 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 an American business is good for the workers. Both at home—accepting the wage and benefit cuts, and abroad—supporting business unionism and outright military corps, 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.

Bankruptcy at Art Steel is another hoax on workers

Brenx, 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 newspaper.

That $15 million is a bunch of lies. For 65 years the company has made millions every year off these plants. They've never had to close any plant. There are no workers to lay off, only management to blame 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 them. They just don't want to pay off their debt. 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. Expectably if we're still here when the contract comes up.

It looks like the company is trying to have their cake and eat it too. They're working four days but trying to run us to get out the five days' work. We have two hours overtime every day. A whole lot of workers can't make ends meet. They have to put us on five days, unless they guarantee overtime for everyone who wants it.

But the workers came 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 will do anything the company wants, then you'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 being hurt themselves as much as their fellow workers.
Nicaraguense women tell of revolutionary life

Todas Estamos Despiertas: Testimonios de la Mujer Nicaraguanca, Hora, por Margaret Randell (Siglo XXI editors, 1980).

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 the work was done by young women because it often meant that the mothers how important it was for them to be in the revolution.

Melania Devila came from a poor family. At 13 she became a guerrilla and was shot dead in 1979. Her mother, who married in order to get away from prostitution, but her marriage turned out to be even worse than the one she left behind. Her husband beat her. He tried even 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 sister followed her, also to become a revolutionary and was killed by the National Guard.

Then there is Gladys Raze. She was married to a Communist and she became one, too. The Communist party offered her a job as a secretary. However, after the revolution was there, she saw the fighting go on among the Communists—it was 1963, the year of the sino-Soviet split. The party told her she was expected to stay at home and take care of the kids. She refused to do this and broke with them.

We can see from the book how the Nicaraguan revolution was not like the Cuban. Only a very few women joined the guerrillas as active 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 Somoto, and during the revolution they joined the guerrillas and showed strength.

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THE YOUNG REVOLUTIONARIES wanted to know why I began with the chapter on Hegel instead of with the New Passions and New Forces. They wanted to know why I began with Hegel because they thought that the latter would have been more correct, both because that chapter is concrete, is "today," and because it is closer to them in point of affinity which would make it easier for them to then grapple with Hegel. I must confess that—although I have been the beneficiary of the work, which begins with Hegel because that was the development of Hegelian dialectic and dialectically—I have nevertheless advised some active youth who have found it difficult to grapple with Hegel. I have told them that there would have been no Hegel without the real world. I have told them that the reason that Hegel was so worrisome to the Marxist land that called itself Communist—Russia—at the moment of the 1970s became the aim of my work.

PART ONE—"WHY HEGEL? WHY NOW?"

As Professor Kelly, himself, calls attention to the fact: "If Hegel has not literally been to the bar of history..." (p. 239) his statement that "Once the realm of thought is revolutionized..." (Philosophy of the Idea, p. 10) in a word, what we are disagreeing on is the flow from practice to theory and from theory to practice to work out a philosophy of revolution.

Professor Kelly, himself, calls attention to the fact: "If Hegel has not literally been to the bar of history..." (p. 239) his statement that "Once the realm of thought is revolutionized..." (Philosophy of the Idea, p. 10) in a word, what we are disagreeing on is the flow from practice to theory and from theory to practice to work out a philosophy of revolution.

Mme. Dunayevskaya proposes to substitute an unchained dialectic for the dialectics of revolution when he traced the spontaneity of the new world. She stated that Hegel's work was a movement from practice to theory and from theory to practice to work out a philosophy of revolution.

Take the question of the new form in which what was meant by the "New Passions and New Forces" has been elaborated. It is of course, no small reason for how it could still sound so current.

whatever that he is more adept with than I with knowing the direct references to that expression. Therefore, He must have meant to say that "an unchained dialectic" is something more than an unchained dialectic. It is not just a matter of knowing the dialectics of revolution when he traced the spontaneity of the new world. She stated that Hegel's work was a movement from practice to theory and from theory to practice to work out a philosophy of revolution.

Professor Kelly may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now." He may not have made his statement "as of now."
MILITARIZATION AND THE CRISIS IN PRODUCTION

The current world economic crisis leads to a recension, military buildup and the spurning apart of political alliances. The economic crisis leads to an increased emphasis on the balance of forces between the military and the economy. The economic crisis is a result of the military buildup and the economic crisis is caused by the military buildup.

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READERS ANSWER OUR APPEAL. Here's $25 to help out on your Appeal. I wish it could be more, but times are hard. Please $10 on a gift copy of Philosophy and Revolution to your local library.

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Israel Army on West Bank: The Situation

Thanks for calling my attention to the article on Israeli war resisters in the April issue of N&L. First thoughts have to have 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 so close to 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.

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Correspondent Wisconsin

Watching the TV news with Israeli soldiers and right-wing Gush Emunim fanatics shooting and beating Palestinian soliders and right-wing Gush Emunim thugs as "fascists," the truth of it was 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 American Civil Rights movement continue to enlighten many brothers and sisters here in St. Kitts. Please keep them "up to date and sophisticated!'

Please know also that the Rastafari Brethren Movement to publicize the activities of "Jamaicans Deported at Kronen," by Bro. Charles Denby, Editor, in the pages of our publication, Rasta Uter. I am also very appreciative of the efforts of 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...

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Res 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 in its 4th year of reading each month. It gives me news that I don't hear anywhere else. And if it were not for the provision that it would certainly not be able to read it as easily, I probably would not of the times.

Tape subscription is to Minneapolis, Minnis.

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Ed. Note: N&L is available on four track tape cassettes for the blind. Contact: Our Right To Know Ballpress, 660 Broadway, St. Louis, MO 63117.

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I like N&L, especially the wide range of coverage of management interests and the in-depth analysis of current crises. Also, I appreciate the lack of a "bands" approach. But I do wish that you would cover more the psychology of revolution... the capitalists, the state, a generation bureaucracy which is so diligently and creatively working for both of them.

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Women's Liberation, Oakland, Calif.

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

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Worker-student North Ridgeville, Ohio

I couldn't begin to tell you how much I enjoy reading your newspaper. Sufficient it is to say that I have been reading N&L for over a year now, and particularly like it in part of its reading each month. It gives me news that I don't hear anywhere else. And if it were not for the provision that I would certainly not be able to read it as easily, I probably would not of the times.

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Workers' International, Oakland, Calif.

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Our Right To Know Ballpress, 660 Broadway, St. Louis, MO 63117.

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I 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 for one extra copy to help defray costs and/or pay for subscriptions for unemployed readers.

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Subscriber Rollie Creek, Mich.

Thanks to all our readers who have assumed our costs of publication. We know that the same massive unemployment and soaring inflation have hit us hard, but we are certain in need of peoples' support. We have petition against the pipeline that you can circulate.

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Harold Iron Shield, 4301 E. 7th St., No. 63112

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South Dakota Gov. William Janklow has agreed to sell the water rights of the Missouri River to a conglomerate of coal companies for a fee of $1.2 billion. The pipeline will use 2.2 billion gallons per year. Indian reservations near the Missouri River have come along with cities, ranchers, and farmers.

This sale is approved, it will open doors for other proposed coal strip mining pipelines around the nation. With James Watt making the final decision on this particularly crucial policy, the Indians believe they are closer to need of peoples' support. We have petitions against the pipeline that you can circulate.

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Native Americans in Communication, 4301 E. 7th St., No. 63112

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Marxist-Humanism Archives

Marxist-Humanism, 1941 to Today: Its Origin and Development in the U.S.

The newly-digitized and publicized Collection is now available on microfilm for $60. Please write to:

Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs Walker Library Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202

The Guide to the Collection prepared by News & Letters is available for $1.00. Please write to:

News & Letters, 2933 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, MI 48211

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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 hard¬

ware, arms that threaten the lives of millions 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 bureaucracys by contrast are carrying out the opposite agenda. Instead of relying on unity of workers, 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; higher-paid workers against lower-paid 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 capitalists, the state, or the generation 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 hosts to eliminate break time, holidays and days on 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 to the end of the month.

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 move to return to the factory by circulating the call to "take 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 continue to rely on the government and the old trade unions. But the reality of economic development are daily driven from the villages into the cities, long outside the trade unions, and the poorest among them will never belong. One is true of the world wars of the last 30 years, 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..."


In contrast to the union hacks of today who blame workers' unemployment and plunging job conditions on foreign workers, the origins of May Day was 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 he called "the first explosion against the oligarchy of capital which has occurred since the Civil War," the same day in 1866 that Polish workers, proved was possible, representing workers not only on the major league owner 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 newly-formed American Federation of Labor, as the American general strike has been, forever. The history of the May Day movement was the history of industrial action. The same was true of the world wars of the last 30 years, 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...

A Freud-Marx synthesis?


"A civilization which leaves so large a number of its participants unfulfilled and driven to the margins neither has nor deserves the prospect of a lasting existence." Sounds like Marx? No, it was Freud — likely a surprise to observers familiar with the radical formulations of today's psychological professionals that he so shaped.

The 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, universal — both unacknowledging and rationalizing the repressive order of bourgeois patriarchal society. Psychologist-missfli Freud assails his colleagues in their unembarrassed niche, which he calls "the madness of this maddening order which he clearly despises. But far from offering them any "radical" panacea, he says that the only Marxist therapy is revolution. Wanting the previous terrain of the Freud-Marxist encounter, he stakes out his own.

Kovel's book may be described as a "dualistic" opposition to any one-dimensional man tailored to bureaucracy, to pathologizing late capitalism, pathological narcissism. But unlike the standard stories that end happily in cures, this one will never end. And it will not be a ravenous lawyer, a wife-beating worker, a subordinate worker which pushes him or her as fast as they can go. Instead, the standard stories do not end; they have not ended. Neither the exploitation films nor the Black male protagonist has been able to turn off the desire to begin. With Kovel's lucid, clear expositions of psychoanalytic theory, these studies are used as springboards for the author's theory of desire.

This author highly respects the intelligence of his readers. His style is thoroughly discursive, always returning to his central theme. The innate aggressivity, exploiting Freud's Death Instinct (a better word is "drive" — "human beings really have no instinctive drives — they are, in fact, reactive interests and have garnered wide public adherence. Meanwhile Kovel challenges his profession to awaken to humanism.

What this reviewer still swivels is a Freud-Marxist synthesis that can do for our era what Reich espoused decades ago in The Mass Psychology of Fascism: a clarification of today's mechanisms of false consciousness — distillation, disinformation, subliminal propaganda, titillation and seduction by the mass media in the service of capital — all these ideological devices that keep people claviniature, divided, ruled and blind to their own collective interests for the sake of opposition.

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.
The European anti-nuclear war movement crosses the Atlantic

(Continued from page 1)

Carter had actually begun the preparations in Decem­
ber 1979 when he got his NATO allies in West Europe to approve 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 the U.S. moved from present day Britain in 1962, in the aftermath of the Cuban missile crisis. The new
missiles are now scheduled for deployment in late 1983.

They will become "limited" to Europe.

It was in opposition to this escalation that the pres­
cent movement in Europe arose. But what gave it its
strength was the knowledge by workers, intellectuals, and the others that the bag that the "limited nuclear war" be contemplated meant "limited to Europe.

Indeed, U.S. Army war games "played" in West Germany last year postulated a Russian tank invasion from East Germany. The NATO response was to fire
missiles at the invaders from East Germany. The NATO response was to fire
missiles at the invaders from East Germany.

The new greatest inroetas was Reagan's letting the cat out of the

In response to the threat of war from East Germany, the au­

thorities are evidently facing their own problems with

The peace movement, even as they try to bind the whole confron­
tation up, has looked out, however, 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 arma­
ments and preparations for war in their own country, and

and demanded the right to refuse service in the army.

Meeting on the 27th anniversary of the destruction of Dresden in World War II, they took as their slogan: "Swords into plowshares."

As with the slogan began appearing on badges worn by East German youth in several cities, the Communist Party on April 7 declared the slogan banned.

In East Germany as in Poland, in Britain as in West

Germany, in the U.S.A. as in Russia, the mounting un­
rest over the threat of war is tightly tied to the per­
sistent 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 $300 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.A.I., April 1982.)

If unemployment in Europe reaches 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 confronta­tions were officially sanctioned by the government, de­
serted the party to vote for the anti-nuclear "Greens" in two state elections this year. Rudolf Bahra, of the Greens, drew a tremendous response at an anti-war rally when he characterized the SPD today as the party of "moderate extremism."

That is precisely what the new mass movement on

both sides of the Atlantic cannot allow to go on. The rage and innovation of a new generation of active peace activists is reaching Germany, and in Italy, 250,000 metalworkers filled the streets March 26, demanding job security and a living wage.

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Polish people create new forms of resistance to martial law

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 the workers and students movement, having caught its breath, is embarking on new forms of resistance.

Andrzej Slowik, militant worker leader from Lódz, who was one of the 2,000 or so worker guards and a takeover of the factories in December, now faces an "extra" two years added to his four-year jail sentence. The paced efforts to impose a new "military" sentence. Beatings and brutality, including exposure to "severe winter weather, are typical of prison conditions for the thousands arrested by the Militsja and the "Political Police".

Despite this heavy hool 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 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 electronics), since Solidarnosc buttons are banned.

- The whole town of Swidnik made a point of "talking down" to the leaders of the movement, having caught its breath, is embarking on new forms of resistance.

- The strike was a protest against automation unemployment. The number of workers re-hired is all-

- One of the most significant aspects is that the workers are being laid-off in cognizance of their forced military service. In most cases where there is a lay-off we are being bargained by increased computer printouts and forms to fill out. Do not cause of the large number of 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 it was really only when the workers, and the union people. In 1972 we had 8,000 Chrysler people in our local. At the present time we have fewer than 3,000.

But what I think is more significant to me is the union's force and in working class solidarity. 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 divide the working class. This is ever present in new and clever forms:

- 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 had not fully grasped the potential of the union's intellectual activity to shape the political vision of the union.

- The theoretical reflection [...]

- The fundamental— even though never clearly presented—conflict within Solidarity was on the tempo of change. Some people said 'No more strikes they get us nothing'; others said, 'No more day-long strikes, we need a general strike that will...'

- It is hard to say who was in the majority, but the latter were certainly more in number.

- 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 workers and organizers)...
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 at UCLA, 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 movement, which he thought Emanuel this year; Anne Grünler from Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament took up the need for a new anti-nuclear movement in Britain; and Jan M. van der Linde spoke on the importance of church participation in the West German peace struggle.

Smith made a strong point in relating how "the anti-nuclear weapons movement in Britain and elsewhere, where the past year was not called into being by organ- ism is reflected in the proportion of Blacks in the last three years of high school, many students have refused to give up their deadliness. Zumbach seemed to think that the anti-war movement could bring about disarmament without questioning the rule of the exist­ ing state powers.

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 befall the disarmament movement, and the opportunism of those who try to keep the movement in very narrow channels.

—Franklin Dunlevy

Fraternity sexism, racism

San Francisco, Calif.—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!" What we want is the best!" 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 bared buttocks through the front 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.

Annenmaree Wagstaff, an organizer and women's rights activist said, "These men are the future leaders of America and it's important that we use them for the best!" This was a protest against the increase of rapes in that area.

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—Hunter student

Youth Education 1: Discipline and racism

by Jim Mills

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 in support of the student Code of Conduct, fueled a Code of Conduct that really is a call for injustice and for taking away civil liberties.

THE DISCOURAGING OF STUDENTS

Recently a Detroit activist organization, Black Parents for Quality Education, exposed how the school administration is discouraging school students. Black students without due process as a way of handling low levels of uninspired student achievement. From September through May, approximately 17,000 students had been excluded from school! Suspensions numbered 1,302. At the same time, the drop-out rate for Detroit high school students was approximately 17.5 percent, or about 8,200 students out of 47,000 total.

For those lucky enough to shoot for a college education in the USA, America is just as real. The 7,000 college students who protest the alternatives of the U.S. Capitol this spring are fighting the Reagan administration. The anti-war movement forces, cut from student aid of $3.5 billion in 1981 to only $1.8 billion in 1982, is a protest of conditions that gave rise to the student movement.

At the same time a class division is growing along the lines of those who go to college and those who don't, we are seeing increasing numbers of students among college. I'm not only speaking here of tax relief for colleges and private schools that advocate the most inhumanity.

RACISM IN EDUCATION

Take, for example, historically Black Tennessee State University, which merged with the University of Tennessee's Nashville campus which was predominantly white. Though each school started with about 1,000 students, the latter school was run into the dustbin of inferiority. The enrollment at about 7,000 students, two thirds of them Black. The merger is reflected in the proportion of Black students, the last three freshman classes—70, 85 and 93 percent.

It is not so much that such growth in racism comes at a time when the perception of Black young people are disappearing. Fewer and fewer choices are open to young people because illiteracy has reached shaneful levels, or because atonism in academia is cutting out humanities and philos-
France in Africa

Today, under the Socialist Party rule of Francois Mitterrand, France continues to station some 10,000 soldiers on French soil in the West African Republic. The French hold Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Senegal and Djibouti. The French bases are on two Indian Ocean islands and the French are the top foreign force in Asia with 60,000 troops stationed in South Korea. The French have attracted hundreds of people. South Korea remains a militarized American outpost in Asia, and a haven for U.S. "runaway" shops.

France imports 20 percent of its oil from West Africa and uranium from Africa.

France has a huge empire in Africa, and the French are the third largest colonial power in Africa. 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, which is 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 troop seems as unlikely under Mitterrand's government, as it was under Germaine D'estang's government.

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 18,000 people, in order to forestall a movement which now accused of leading the group which had set fire to the U.S. government information office in Pusan. Their movement, known as "Newen" or "Newen" movement, is a movement which seeks to expand its operations in the United States in competition with the United States.

The myth that Automation will provide employment for unemployed auto workers was exploded by the opening of a new Japanese factory in Florence, Kentucky. The factory 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. Robbers will do all the work. The investment in machinery per worker employed is $2.5 million.

Bolivia

The jubilation of the Reagans 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 sense 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 absurd.

Yet it can be pointed out that despite people being driven to the polls at the point of bayonets, 400,000 did not vote—only 24 percent of the electorate. Of those who did vote, 11.4 percent cast blank or defaced ballots—even though they had to do so in clear violation of the law. In the referendum, which would have petuated the misery and starvation that has been 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 Cochabamba. In power since 1960 with the help of Argentine fascist advisors, 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 revolution of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua has been met with a military coup in El Salvador. The victory of the left in Nicaragua will lead to the victory of the left in El Salvador. The workers of both Argentina and Britain have nothing in common with the war aims of their rulers. Their interests are the end of the military régime in Argentina's dictatorship to harass the Sandinista government.

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