

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

VOL. 27—No. 5

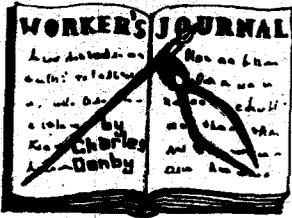


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Land and freedom in Lowndes County



by Charles Denby, Editor

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

For over 100 years—ever since the end of the Civil War—the struggle for land has been near the center of Black America's quest for freedom. In the South today, hard-won Black landholdings are under attack, not alone by nightriders, but by the powerful effects of capitalism on agriculture and on rural society as a whole. Last month Lowndes County, Ala. civil rights activist Gardenia White visited Detroit and participated in a discussion of this question with myself and Ethel Dunbar, former "Way of the World" columnist for N&L. Both Ethel Dunbar and I also are from Lowndes County. Here is part of our discussion:

(Continued on page 8)

Self-determination, class divisions, social revolution

Palestinians oppose Begin's reactionary crackdown on the West Bank and Gaza

by Peter Wermuth

The "vote of confidence" that Menachem Begin managed to win by one vote on May 19 in the Israeli parliament proved neither "confidence" nor "no confidence" so much as the total absence of any genuine alternative in that body to the reactionary Begin government's imperialist drive. Far from demonstrating any fundamental differences on the crucial question facing Israeli society—its 15 years as occupier—the Labor Party is being called "Likud II," at the very moment when Begin is intensifying his

thrust for "Eretz Israel."

Thus, no sooner did Begin supposedly fulfill his "Peace Agreement" and lower the Israeli flag on the Egyptian Sinai on April 25, than he launched a new bombing raid on Lebanon, intensified his vicious military attacks on unarmed Palestinian demonstrators in the occupied territories, and deepened his effort at bringing the West Bank under complete Israeli military control "for eternity."

FROM THE SINAI TO THE WEST BANK

Far from the Sinai disengagement signalling any new era of "peace," its return was followed the next day by an Israeli Defense Ministry decision to install no less than 18 new Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, while on the West Bank Israeli troops opened fire on hundreds of Palestinians demonstrating for land, freedom and self-determination.

It is not so much the ideology of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), as if that stood for full freedom, that is attracting the Palestinian people, as it is that every new atrocity of Begin's occupation literally drives them closer and closer to the PLO.

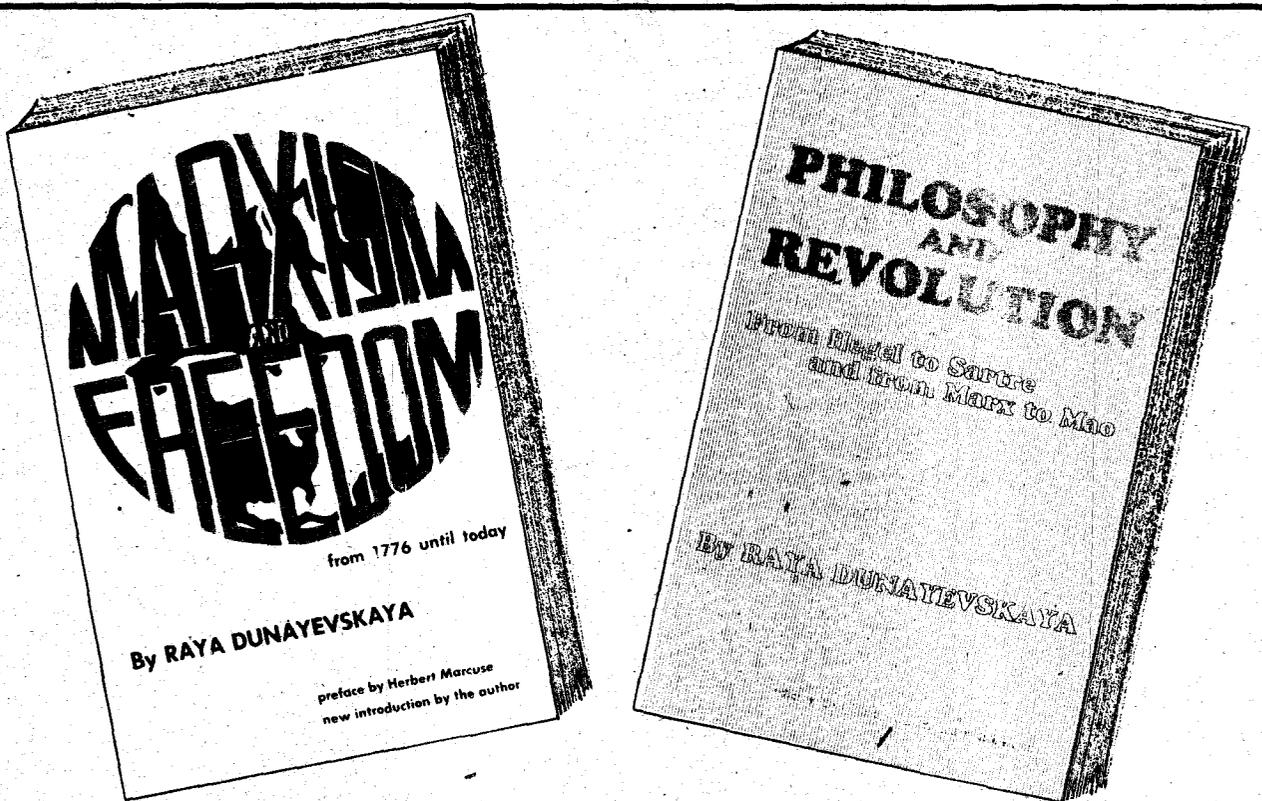
Into that Middle East tinderbox, all — from the superpowers like Russia and the U.S., to the small powers of the area — have entered for their own counter-revolutionary purposes. Because we are reaching a new point of crisis it becomes necessary to look at the events of the last few months in greater detail, doing so in a manner where the need for a philosophy of revolution in the Middle East is not separated from the drive for social revolution itself.

The world was witness in March, April and May to the most brutal repression the Palestinian people have ever suffered under Israeli rule. So far Israeli troops have killed 15 Palestinians, wounding hundreds and jailing thousands more.

The Sinai return was made all the more dramatic by a confrontation between the Israeli army and several hundred ultra-nationalist Jewish settlers there, who refused to vacate the town of Yamit. Begin tried to take the wind out of the right-wing outcry over "Jew fighting Jew" by clamping down on the Palestinians. Thus, in May he announced that "the West Bank is not occupied territory. It is the land of Israel." He says Israel will now demand full sovereignty over the area when the Camp David accords expire in three years, and plans to settle 80,000 more Jews there by 1985 to ensure it. As if this were not imperialistic enough, Begin then informed the Knesset that "the western portion of Israel is the West Bank"—implying that the East Bank, the nation of Jordan, is also part of his mythical "Biblical homeland!"

Begin's neo-fascist rhetoric knows no bounds, but it is not just rhetoric. He means what he says. This was proven over and over again in the past three months, as Israeli military and civilian authorities have moved to extend complete control over the West Bank, from firing Palestinian mayors not to their liking to setting up "village leagues" to interfere with the Palestinian community groups, who all oppose continued Israeli occupation of their land.

(Continued on page 4)



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New Introduction to *Marxism and Freedom*

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

A passion for Marx's philosophy—which he had originally called "a new Humanism"—emerged in the 1960s with the birth of a new generation of revolutionaries as well as a whole new Third World from under Western imperialism and followed the first revolts from under Communist totalitarianism in East Europe in the 1950s. This interest in the new continent of thought and of revolution that Marx discovered has gained a new intensity today, the eve of the 100th anniversary of Marx's death.

I am glad to say, that I have not had to change a single word in my analysis of Marx's oeuvre, though, in the intervening 25 years since the first edition, some previously unavailable writings of Marx, like the *Ethnological Notebooks**, have become

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ON THE INSIDE

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Black women protest police court 'justice'

Los Angeles, Cal. — Very early in the morning of April 15, Deputy Sheriff Robert Armstrong went to the house of Delois Young, a young pregnant Black woman, and demanded entry into the house, without identifying himself as the police. (He says he suspected that drugs were being dealt from that house, but in a search no drugs were found.) When she opened the door, he came in shooting.

She fell down, and he shot her again in the stomach while she was lying on the ground. Her unborn, full-term baby died, and Ms. Young was hospitalized in critical condition from multiple gunshot wounds in the abdomen. At the pre-trial hearing, Judge Nancy Brown released Armstrong on his own recognizance (O.R.). (And just a year ago, under the guise of

self-defense, Armstrong had shot a 16-year-old Mexican-American in the head at point blank range!)

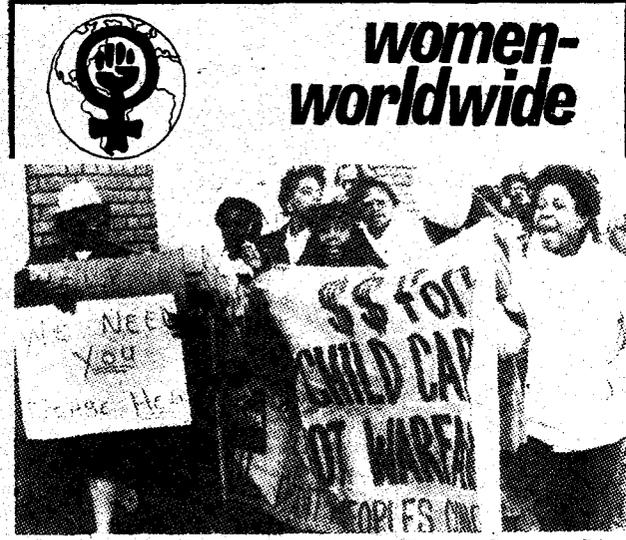
Everyone in the community was outraged. I was standing in line at the bank, and talking with a woman who had a beautiful two-month-old Black child. I said, "It's terrible, what happened to the other baby." There were about six other Black women there, and they all involved themselves in the conversation. We decided to meet that afternoon to discuss what we could do to protest both the shooting and the O. R. release.

On April 23, we held a demonstration and press conference at the Criminal Courts Building. Over 40 women came, some with their children. We read our statement, and it was printed in the *Los Angeles Times*. We went back a week later for Armstrong's arraignment. This time there were about 80 women; they had all heard about it through word of mouth.

Before the demonstrations, I had called the community organizations, headed by Black males — SCLC, the Black United Front — and they had told me, "Well, sister, we'll really support you," but they didn't do anything. Those organizations express an interest in what's happening in the community, but in terms of actually following through on something, they're nowhere to be found. Now, some of the brothers from the organizations have decided to do something about this.

The women who have been participating so far — they're not attached to any organizations. A lot of them would be considered "apolitical" by these "political" people. They're welfare mothers, housewives, students; just Black women, who see that life in general is expendable by this system, and Black life in particular.

At our press conference on April 23, an 18-year-old Black woman read our statement, which concluded: "All of us, especially Black women, ask, 'Who will be next?' . . . From the murder of Eula Love to that of Ron Settles, and now to the murder of an unborn Black life, we see and understand that the police assault on our community is total . . . We as Black women demand an end to this system of 'justice' based on the legal and political abuse of our community." —Bobbie Joyce



Young mothers, students at Wayne County Community College, demonstrated in downtown Detroit on April 27 against the closing of five subsidized on-campus day care centers.

The Namibia Women's Solidarity Campaign is petitioning for the release of Ida Jimmy, a Namibian woman active in SWAPO whom they fear has been transferred to a South African prison. She was arrested in 1980 for addressing a rally in her home town and was sentenced to seven years in prison. Contact SWSC, 96 Gillespie Rd., London N5, England. (Information from Outwrite, London)

In Turkey, 91 women political prisoners being held at Mamak Military Prison are on trial for assaulting their male jailers while on a hunger strike to protest prison conditions. Since its takeover in 1980, the military government has banned women's organizations, jailing women activists and forcing others to go underground. (Information from Womanews, New York)

Ida Nudel, a Soviet woman who demonstrated against KGB human rights violations by hanging a paper banner from her Moscow apartment balcony, has just been released from four years in exile in Siberia, the first year of which she spent as the only single woman in a barracks of 50 men. She received 10,000 letters of support from 40 countries while in exile. (Information from Sojourner, Boston)

Mother's Day Blockade

Berkeley, Cal.—Sixty-eight women were arrested on May 10 for successfully blockading the streets into the Lawrence Livermore National Lab. Over 300 supporters turned out for the post-Mother's Day All Women's Blockade, to disrupt "business as usual" at the Lab.

Monthly demonstrations at the Lab, organized by the Livermore Action Group, have focused attention on the facility's heavy involvement in weapons development (such as the neutron bomb) and its ties to the University of California. This Mother's Day Blockade was part of a state-wide build-up for a massive demonstration and blockade to be held at Livermore on June 21. That rally will conclude a series of activities around the U.N. Session on Disarmament.

Past blockades have only caused minimal disruption to the Lab, since as protesters blocked one gate, guards would funnel cars through another. This time however, as cars zipped by them to another gate, the women took the initiative and sat down in the streets. The sit-down brought traffic to a halt until the police had arrested all the blockaders, over an hour later.

The idea of an All Women's Blockade was born out of the many hours spent in jail after demonstrations at Livermore earlier this year. Leaflets passed out at the demonstration pointed out that Mother's Day was actually started by Julia Ward Howe in 1872 as an international day of protest against war and for peace. —Women's Liberation—News & Letters participant



WRITE ON!

Note: See p. 10 for a review of Nawal El Saadawi's *The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab World*.

VOICE OF WOMEN, 529 Baudhaloka Mawatha, Colombo-8, Sri Lanka. \$10.00/year.

Voice of Women, the feminist publication from Sri Lanka, should be considered a serious contribution to the struggles of Third World Women, since in its efforts to seek the liberation of women it does not limit its opposition to imperialism alone, but as well speaks of oppressive class relations at home, the patriarchal society, and the power of religion.

Thus the March '81 issue, which discusses the conditions of life for the women tea pickers and the striking nurses, presents as well as careful analysis of birth control methods in Sri Lanka and condemns the trade unions for dismissing women's demands as "women's issues unworthy of their attention." The many short articles show the editors' appreciation for women speaking for themselves, as well as international solidarity. —Neda

DETROIT WOMEN'S VOICE, P.O. Box 20103, Ferndale, MI 48220. \$6.00/year.

Detroit has long been without its own feminist newspaper, and *Detroit Women's Voice* was conceived "in hopes of overcoming the lack of communication in Detroit's feminist community." The paper, which began publication in March, provides a "forum for women to air ideas, have their work published, and promote women's issues from a woman's point of view."

This perspective is evidenced with articles ranging from discussion of racism to information on cervical caps. Regular features include "Dateline: Women," with world news, as well as poetry and photography. —S.

WOMEN AT WORK, ACTU Working Women's Centre, 258 Flinders Lane, Melbourne 3000, Australia. \$5.00 (Australian)/year.

This is an interesting and very international trade union newspaper devoted to the activities of working women in Australia, especially in the areas of health and safety. The March/April issue carried stories in seven languages including Greek, Italian, Spanish, Turkish and Arabic on clerical workers fighting health problems caused by new video display units; striking nurses; effects of community service cuts on women; and also an article on demonstrations in celebration of International Women's Day in France. —S.C.

WOMAN AS REASON

How can we end rape?

Dear Sisters,

We live in a society where, within this past year, two Chicago policemen joked with two rapists and then let them go despite the plea of the woman who had just been raped and badly beaten; where De Paul University's student newspaper was banned for reporting a rape on campus; where children as young as three are being taught self-defense, as one out of every ten children will experience rape, incest or some form of sexual molestation; where the "Yorkshire Ripper," who murdered and mutilated 13 women in England, is seen as a hero by the prisoners and staff where he is jailed.

Whether it is this reality or the fact that all of us know someone who was raped or molested or have experienced it ourselves, women fighting back against this kind of violence has always been an important dimension of the Women's Liberation Movement.

In the early 1970s I was with one of the first anti-rape groups in the country. We called ourselves Women Against Rape (WAR), published a pamphlet, gave talks on rape and demonstrated self-defense. To do that we had to study what rape was, and when I found out, that was the only time in my life that I wanted not to be a woman.

We found that rape was not an act of sex but of violence and that the satisfaction was not found in orgasm but in the degradation of women. I remember thinking that this is the bottom line—rape really tells you what it means to be a woman, how we are used and despised.

What kept plaguing me at the time was the question, how do we stop rape? I felt that our group was just putting a bandaid on a gaping wound. Yes, the laws should be changed; yes, the court system needs to be transformed so it's not the woman who goes on trial; yes, we need rape hot lines and rape victim advocates. But all that is after the fact, after the rape.

TAKE BACK THE NIGHT

The movement called Take Back the Night (TBTN) that began in Germany in 1977 and spread across Europe and then to North America, is a beginning in trying to work out the question of how to end violence against women. The desire to take back the night, and the marches that bring thousands of women into the streets, reveal more than a passion to live without fear. Freedom is more than that.

While TBTN organizations do not always reflect the greatness of the TBTN movement, what is clear is that women are rejecting our status as Other, as non-human being, as a being that has no actuality of our own and thus a being used in the most vile ways.

Today I am active in the TBTN coalition in Chicago that is working very hard to plan a July march and conference; but the question remains—how do we end rape? I am sure I am not the only one who is frustrated because so much of the movement's energy goes into mere legalities. And yet the way revolution has been presented to the TBTN movement by the Left, many women don't see that as a way to end rape either.

At a TBTN meeting two months ago, one Left group said that TBTN was a good "strategy" to help build the Women's Movement. Another harangued the women present, yelling at us that the "real revolutionaries are fighting imperialism" and that trying to end rape and violence against women in Chicago is a diversion.

HOW DEEP A REVOLUTION

Nor is this the only barrier that keeps today's TBTN activists from seeing revolution as the way to end rape. The fact is that women have seen revolution after revolution fail to really transform one of the most basic human relationships, that of Man/Woman.

By 1982 it is clear that the first act of revolution will not do it. It never has. My question now is, how do we in TBTN begin to work out how to have a revolution that doesn't stop with only overthrowing a Shah or a Reagan, but continues to so deepen that the whole idea of what it means to be human is transformed?

Perhaps one place to begin is looking at the TBTN movement and seeing that it has independent revolutionary validity because it does challenge capitalism's dehumanization on one of the deepest levels.

What seems important in thinking about how to have a revolution that will be so long-lived and permanent so as to actually end rape, is for us in the TBTN movement to make sure that our passion to create a society where we can at last be whole, fearless, creative human beings, is right in the midst of every fight for freedom. —Terry Moon

DETROIT-AREA READERS! Visit our Women's Liberation Library, with books and feminist journals from around the world, 2832 E. Grand Blvd. Rm. 304. Call 873-8969.

GM lays workers off, then steals their pay

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

The first union meeting of GM South Gate workers since the new contract was an explosive one. At this meeting women outnumbered men 11 to 1. They came to find out why our local union leadership was so quiet about the clause in the new contract that gave GM the right to take \$100 a week from our SUB check to pay back the so-called TRA over-payment.

The Trade Re-adjustment Act (TRA) was supposed to help workers out when laid-off because of foreign imports caused by giant corporations like GM raising prices for greater profits, creating a market for foreign imports, which caused the lay-offs and plant closings.

GM GRABBED TRA

Our plant at South Gate was down for a year on account of foreign imports. While we were laid-off we were paid TRA, plus our unemployment benefits and drew our SUB benefits. Then we were called back to work. When we returned to work the company took \$30.00 from our weekly pay check to pay on the TRA fund, which the union leadership had agreed to.

What workers can't understand is what right does the company and union leadership have to this money? Did the government really set up TRA to benefit workers when foreign imports caused them to be laid off? If this is so, what right does our union leadership have to steal it back for General Motors? If the government allows this, why didn't it just give the money to GM in the first place? Or is this just another way the government has figured out to subsidize big business in the guise of helping workers?

Our SUB fund is part of our negotiated wage package put aside to help pay our bills when we are laid-off. So it really is our money—a part of our wages—which GM keeps its hands on. When the fund reaches

UPS deal disgusts drivers

New York, N.Y.—The proposed settlement between UPS and our union is a case of some fat cat getting a pay off. All we'll get is 47 cents COLA and the increase in medical benefits payments that was due us last year! They're not giving us a thing except what they owe us already!

Our union, Teamsters Local 804, is no way what it was ten years ago, when it was more independent of the International. They don't do a damn thing on all the ridiculous harassment that comes down. I've been driving 15 years and now they say we have to make 12 stops an hour, or else. They hire only part-timers for the loading. They work them like animals for four or five hours and tell them, if you complain we'll get rid of you. They get no seniority and less benefits. And a much higher accident rate.

—UPS Driver, New York

New York, N.Y.—We've been working without a contract since April 30. UPS made \$150 million last year, and they want us to take a three year wage freeze. The proposed contract gives us only COLA, and 25 cents to keep our medical benefits the same. If inflation pushes up the cost of medical over that, they'll take it out of our COLA and we won't even see that.

Before, I got 20 hours overtime a week. Now they got a curfew on us. They still load us up like before, but we've got to finish and get back on time.

What's going on is clear. Roy Williams and the other top International leaders are under Federal indictment. So they're working for the government. They'll say, here, we settled your master freight contract, and now your UPS contract without a raise, so be lenient with us. It's all a sell-out. We should strike, but they read the mail ballots the way they want to.

—UPS driver, New York

NY Transit pact still secret

New York, N.Y.—Our new transit workers' contract has a six percent raise, but it is cancelled out by the fact that they didn't update our health insurance. The benefits are still at 1973 levels, and inflation has made that a joke. It also is a three-year contract instead of the normal two years. That in itself is a give-back.

There are also "work rule changes" agreed to by local president John Lawe in binding arbitration. Are safety rules going to be "relaxed" on the tracks and trains now? The answer may be in the new contract, but you can't get a copy. I already asked for one, but like the 1980 contract, I don't expect ever to see one.

We already work under unbelievable conditions: filth and dangerous situations every day. We're also not the "fat cats" the newspapers portray us to be. Up to two or three years ago, we weren't even covered by unemployment compensation. Our workmen's compensation is terrible. You have to wait 10 weeks or more to get a dime if you're out on an injury because the Transit Authority says it has a backlog—the TA is "self-insured."

—Transit worker, 207th St.

100 percent payment for 52 weeks, GM doesn't put any more in. The amount that was going into the fund GM keeps.

THEIVING SYSTEM

In reality, this has caused hardships for laid-off workers. The same week they took \$100 out of my SUB check, my rent went up \$50, my groceries cost more, utilities have gone up and I am mad as hell.

As long as the ruling class controls the only means working people have to make a living, things can only get worse. The working class—women, Black and youth—are the forces in this country who together can transform this old, thieving system into a society where people produce for people. On May Day the Polish workers by their great activity showed the way for all working people to rid themselves of this horrible society that destroys people for profit.

Job safety only for machines

Detroit, Mich.—At U.S. Auto Radiator where I work we have recently returned from a strike (See April and May N&L) but the working conditions continue to be terrible. It was raining one night while people were working in the area with the automatic face dip. The roof was leaking badly. Workers began saying, "We can't swim!"

But the company only protected that new machine. They covered it with plastic while, at the same time, telling the men to continue working. The only reason no one was electrocuted from all the lights in the area was because of pure luck.

Workers in that area work very hard. Although the machine is called automatic, this particular part of the machine isn't. That means, everything has to be done manually. Workers have to pick up those extremely heavy frames, dip them into the acid, turn them around and dip them again.

Not only do the workers in that area have to worry about the heat and odor coming from that machine—they now have to worry whether they will die from electric shock!

If we call in sick or skip too many days away from forced overtime, the company gives us a warning. Why should we get a warning for skipping overtime? Before we had forced overtime, five days meant 40 hours a week, now five days means 50 hours a week.

There are people who can be laid off, while others are working overtime. Even the layoff notices will say "lack of work." This simply isn't true. It's a good chance we will do 10 hours overtime this entire week.

—Woman worker

Demand union rights at NJ PO

The following are brief excerpts from **THE ALTERNATIVE**, a new rank-and-file newsletter, put out by postal workers at the Bulk and Foreign Mail Center in Jersey City, N.J.:

On Monday, Feb. 22, Jeff Perry, M.H. steward on T3 Bulk for 8 yrs. was removed from his position by Aaron Preston, Local 300. This action came only weeks after Perry exposed that a postal worker who died had not received proper medical attention. Again the unions conveniently covered up management's blunders . . .

A petition containing over 200 signatures was delivered to Local president, Aaron Preston, calling for Jeff Perry's reinstatement and an investigation into his removal . . . Preston stated that "200 names don't impress me."

It should be known that just prior to his removal as shop steward, Perry had initiated a grievance asking for the removal of General Supervisor William Halsey for compensation fraud and for denying mailhandler Vasic continuation of pay for an on-the-job injury . . . Jeff Perry and 8 other people are involved in a nation-wide suit against Laborer's President Fosco, Trafficanti and Accardo, and 13 other union officials, for embezzlement of funds and racketeering.

Our demands are: 1. Reinstatement of Jeff Perry as shop steward. 2. Election of shop stewards. 3. Hold union meetings. 4. Removal of Aaron Preston as Local President. 5. Rid our union of corruption. 6. More job protection in compensation related cases.

Hospital workers in Great Britain stage 24-hour strike

Oxford, England—Today (May 19) there is a 24-hour strike of workers in the National Health Service, as part of their campaign for a 12 percent wage rise. The workers are continuing to deal with emergency cases and provide basic essential care for patients, while refusing all other work.

The strike is strong among kitchen staff, cleaners and porters, and is also supported by some technical and administrative workers. A minority of nurses belong to unions and are involved in the strike; however the majority belong to the Royal College of Nurses,



Union leaders fear action by rank-and-file

by John Marcotte

District 65, UAW has a reputation as one of the most militant and democratic unions. These are the conditions in the unionized direct mail production shops in New York organized by District 65:

The work week is 37½ hours. There are no coffee breaks. The contract minimum is \$165 a week, but only \$150 if you hire in from outside the union. Overtime is mandatory if they have it, and if there is no work for your machine they lay you off for one day, or several. New workers must work 800 hours to get a paid sick day. In non-union shops the conditions are, of course, a lot worse.

The contract covering some 1,200 direct mail workers in various small shops expired April 30th. The Association of bosses is demanding give-backs, including return to a 40-hour week, and the minimum wage and six months probation for new hires.

On April 29th, workers met at the union ready to strike if need be to gain their demands of \$30 a week raise, COLA, more holidays and sick days, and other changes to the contract. There were a lot of calls from the floor for no extensions to the contract, especially by workers from La Salle, the biggest shop. So vice-president Bill Tate got up, and gave a thundering speech against the bosses, in which he managed to turn the tables on the workers who wanted to strike.

BLAMES WORKERS

He said: "You workers from La Salle! It's your fault if we're here today facing a strike. Your boss is the most powerful in the Association, and if you had done your job right on the shop floor, you would have him so scared of you that he would be running to us at the union to come tool you down."

When he was done turning the other workers against the La Salle workers and making himself sound more militant than the militants, he finished the job, killing them with democracy: "We're a democratic union. Any shop that wants to strike, come up front right now! You'll be on strike tomorrow."

Unspoken, but heard, was, yes, you'll be on strike—a small shop, alone, and with the union just waiting for you to trip up. So the vote was called, not whether to strike, but whether to "extend the negotiations day by day, and at the first sign of any b.s. we strike!" That sounded stronger than a two week extension, and passed overwhelmingly.

The union and Association first sat down to negotiate 11 days after that vote. Three weeks later, the union had dropped its demands to \$20, infuriating the workers in the shops, who said, "Who authorized them to go down on our demands?" The Association had not even withdrawn its give-back demands.

UNION WON'T BE THERE

A former shop steward told me, "The negotiating committee cannot stand up to the union. They go in the first day with all your demands. But the very next day the union tells you you're asking for too much. If you don't go along, but say my people authorized me to fight for these, you'll find yourself being told, shut up!"

"Then sooner or later, you'll have a problem in the shop, and you'll come to the union for help and they won't be there. The union can't stand no competition. If you're too militant in fighting for your people, they'll get rid of you. This is why I resigned as steward."

As long as they see only individual militants confronting them, the union bureaucrats will manipulate them and try to isolate them. But what they fear most is mass activity by the rank-and-file—once that begins, none of their tricks will halt it.

which has a no-strike rule.

Coal miners at one colliery in South Yorkshire are taking strike action in support of the health workers. Sympathy strikes of this kind, representing a particularly high level of class consciousness, were frequent in the militant years of the late '60s and early '70s, but have been rare in the harsher political and economic climate since then. It is really encouraging to see it happening again, especially as miners in other localities are also debating whether to join the action.

—Strike Supporter

Palestinians fight Begin's reactionary rule

(Continued from page 1)

The response of the Palestinians to Begin's effort to enforce a de facto annexation has been two week-long general strikes, hundreds of rallies and demonstrations, and dozens of riots against the stationing of Israeli military forces in their communities. The revolt has spread from El Bireh and Ramallah on the West Bank to the Gaza Strip and Golan Heights, and even into the heart of Israel itself.

In the forefront of all the struggles have been the youth. They were among the first to come into the streets to protest the creation of the Israel-sponsored village leagues, after several students and teachers at Bethlehem University were beaten up by league members for their left-wing views. Reports indicate that the primary and secondary schools were completely shut down during the general strike called over the dismissal of four West Bank mayors. In the street protests, the bulk of the participants have been under 18—testified to by the fact that Israeli soldiers did not stop from killing a 9-year-old and 7-year-old who were protesting.

One of the most active centers of student resistance has been the Ramallah Women's Training Center, which is a West Bank secondary school run by a UN agency. This is hardly accidental, for the new wave of revolt has seen a new depth of participation by Palestinian women. The first ones who came into the streets after the military authorities removed the mayor of El Bireh were the women, and the Palestinian Women's Organization has been an active force in many of the protests.

Other new forces are becoming involved, the latest being the Israeli Arabs. Long considered not to be concerned with conditions on the West Bank, they for the first time initiated actions in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle in the occupied territories. A general strike of Israeli Arabs was called on Land Day, March 30, and rallies of up to 10,000 were reported.

These past few months have also seen the beginnings of an opposition to the Begin government's occupation and militarism on the part of Israeli Jews.

● On April 28 at Nahal Telem, 1,000 Israelis traveled to the West Bank intending to disrupt the dedication of a new Jewish settlement there. They were met with a road block three miles from the town, and prevented by the Israeli army from moving on. But 50 of the protesters managed to slip through the military cordon and succeeded in disrupting the ceremony that was to proclaim the West Bank part of "eternal Eretz Israel."

● A month earlier, some 50,000 demonstrated against Begin's rightist policies in a Peace Now demonstration in Tel Aviv, carrying placards such as "The Golan Heights is Syrian" and "No Annexations."

● A new student group has been created to bring together oppressed Jews and Palestinians — the Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit. This committee was formed in Tel Aviv in November to support the struggles at Bir Zeit University on the West Bank, which has been closed five times for being a center of left-wing Palestinian student activism. The committee has held several rallies at Bir Zeit and other West Bank schools, for the first time bringing together Jews and Palestinians in a united freedom struggle in the occupied territories. Some 2,000 Israelis marched in its contingent in the Peace Now rally in Tel Aviv, and it also brought 59 Jewish students to a Palestinian demonstration of 500 at Bethlehem University earlier this year.

Begin's hypocrisy in shedding tears over "Jew fighting Jew" in the Sinai is seen in his crackdown on these new Jewish Left activists. His government arrested five Israelis (four of them Jews) at Hebrew University in May for wearing buttons printed by the Bir Zeit Committee, which show Israeli and Palestinian flags flying side by side.

CLASS DIVISIONS: ISRAELI, PALESTINIAN

While it is only a beginning, this emergence of new relations between Jews and Palestinians in the freedom movement upsets the image that all Jews think as one,

and that all support Begin's racist West Bank policies.

Just as there are deep, crucial, class divisions within Israel, so within the Arab world and in the Palestinian movement the class divisions are present and bound to come to the fore, for the spectre of a growing independent Palestinian movement is opposed by more than Begin's Israel. The same day as Israeli Arabs held their general strike in Israel, Palestinians held a solidarity demonstration in Amman, Jordan, whereupon King Hussein ordered his troops to open fire on them. By the end of the day, three lay dead, 60 more wounded.

That the PLO has been most vocal in condemning the Israeli atrocities, but completely mute concerning this massacre by a "fellow Arab regime" shows how far



Palestinians demonstrate on West Bank

narrow nationalism and its fixation on Israel as enemy number one have limited its revolutionary vision.

Today it is this narrow nationalism, often wearing the cloak of religious fundamentalism, which the rulers are eager to exploit in order to hide the internal class divisions, both in Israel and the Arab world.

All through the Middle East the religious right is on the rise, from Iran to Egypt and from Lebanon to Iraq. It is within the Palestinian movement where Muslim fundamentalists have been active at Bir Zeit University. A professor who taught Darwin's theory was attacked for "fighting with God." Women students who refuse to wear a head scarf are constantly harassed.

Religious fundamentalism now pervades all aspects of Israeli society, from the limitations on the right to abortion to religiously-inclined education, and from stores closed on the Sabbath to anti-Muslim hysteria whipped up against Palestinians.

"Peace" for Begin means no more than a cloud cover for striking out against all Palestinians and Jews who dare contest his imperial rule. In a word, there is peace neither now nor in any future projected by Begin who seeks to extend the boundaries of an imperial "Biblical homeland."

Indeed, just as Labor is constantly losing against Begin because it is now seen as no more than a Likud II, so Begin is constantly "capitulating" to the small minority of fundamentalist religionists because that is what he needs for his, by now, almost neo-fascist occupation. It is the same ploy he used in his terrorist beginnings when he opposed those Jews who would accept anything less than his concept of a "Greater Israel."

WHERE TO NOW?

For the Israeli masses, and especially the Israeli Left, a totally new direction is crucial. Those 15 years as occupier have challenged the very nature of Israeli society. The class composition of Israel, when there is a massive Palestinian laboring force inside, has changed dramatically. The ideological debate within Israel has switched decidedly to the right. Almost a full generation has grown up as occupier. The full impact of such an occupation on the Israeli masses is what the Israeli Left has not yet come to terms with. The newest demonstrations in support of the Palestinians are important. However they are but the barest of beginnings.

For the Palestinians, the last 15 years has meant a dramatic growth in their movement for self-determination. Of necessity it has meant their open opposition to the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. But these 15 years have also exposed the narrow nationalism of the Arab ruling classes. They have tried, from Jordan to Syria to Saudi Arabia to Egypt, to destroy any independent movement of Palestinians and insisted on equating Palestinian self-determination with anti-Israel. The two are not synonymous. The Arab ruling class fears a self-determination whose guiding principle would not be anti-Israeli, but a class-less Palestinian society, because it would challenge their own class rule.

This is not to deny that Israeli and Palestinian self-determination do have deep conflicts with each other. But those conflicts can never be worked out so long as the ground remains that of the reactionary leaders of Israel or the Arab states, and the counter-revolutionary designs of the big powers. Only a full uprooting of the existing class societies in the Middle East carried out by Arab masses and Israeli masses can begin to work out the conflicting aspirations of the peoples of the Middle East.

*See "Begin's Israel Moves Further and Further Backward to his Reactionary, Terrorist Beginnings," Political-Philosophic Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya, Jan. 5, 1982, News & Letters, Detroit.

EDITORIAL Direction of anti-nuke movement

Ronald Reagan has jumped into the disarmament follies with both feet. He announced a "disarmament" plan, to reduce by approximately one-third the nuclear warheads on the land- and sea-based missiles of both the U.S. and Russia. Instead of the approximately 7,500 missile warheads that each side now has, the number of these mass killers would be reduced to 5,000.

It is "follies," because the whole history of disarmament talks from the 1963 nuclear test ban treaty through SALT I and SALT II has been for show, and has not led to disarmament in any sense. Rather, these talks have been green lights to allow for specific nuclear armament expansion which each side decided upon. They were "gentlemen's agreements" to continue the nuclear armament build-up along predetermined lines.

Thus, it comes as no surprise that Reagan's latest proposal will do nothing to halt research, testing and deployment of a whole host of our newest weapons from MX to Pershings and Cruise missiles. And the same would be true for an entire range of nuclear terror weapons that the Russians would be developing.

However, this is not to say that the anti-nuclear movement which is demanding disarmament is a folly. Far from it. This mass movement has spread at an unprecedented rate in Western Europe; has been the determinant of the revolutionary movement in Japan for more than two decades; and is now developing right within the front yard of one nuclear titan, the U.S.

GLOBAL MOVEMENT

It is precisely this global movement which has forced both Reagan and Russia's Brezhnev to try and "outdo" each other in disarmament pronouncements. In truth, they are playing for, and in fact with, the hearts and minds of the peoples of the world. It is their fingers which lie on the nuclear trigger, so we cannot ignore their disarmament posturing. But it is this anti-nuclear war movement which has seized the initiative and has forced the two nuclear titans to make peace gestures.

What is needed now is dialogue and debate within the anti-nuclear war movement, a debate not on the false promises of one or another nuclear power, but a debate within the movement itself on what directions we need to take. Among the issues being debated are unilateral versus bilateral disarmament; the single issue of nuclear disarmament versus linking to other issues: the class system, imperialism, racism sexism.

Within the coalition of organizations that has called for the massive June 12 disarmament march and rally in New York at the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, these issues have in part been responsible for a split in the movement. One tendency, the traditional peace movement organizations, wants to limit the demonstration to getting rid of the nuclear arsenal. They call for dismantling Russia's as well as the U.S.'s arsenal. But their call has been devoid of the economic-political context of the system which produces nuclear weapons. Such single issue campaigns as Nuclear Freeze can thus end up being co-opted into narrow election politics such as Kennedy for President.

ANTI-NUKE AND BLACK STRUGGLE

A second tendency in the New York rally demands U.S. disarmament now without waiting for the super powers to come to an agreement, and is trying to build a broader movement that is anti-imperialist, anti-racist, anti-sexist. Certainly one of the weaknesses of the anti-nuke movement thus far has been its isolation from the Black struggle, and its failure to find ways of encompassing a workers' movement. However the fact that masses of people are joining the movement today is not merely a quantitative question. Multi-issue is hardly any improvement over single issue if it is seen only as a mathematical adding up of groups and concerns.

Instead, the development of a growing anti-nuke movement hinges on its relationship to the emerging human forces for deep social change within the United States. One important relationship has begun in that there has been the participation of a large segment of the Women's Movement in groups such as Women's Pentagon Action and Women Against Military Madness.

New York, on June 12, will no doubt have a massive turnout. But what about June 23 in Washington, D.C.? How many of us in the anti-nuke movement will see the crucial integrality of our struggle with the Black struggle? For two months the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's "Pilgrimage for Voting Rights, Jobs, Justice and Peace" has been marching through Alabama, Georgia, North and South Carolina and will arrive in Washington around June 23. It is as much an anti-war march as is June 12 in New York.

The challenge to the anti-nuke movement is not alone unilateral versus bilateral disarmament, or single versus multi-issue. Rather we need to ask how can the movement develop itself not alone as anti-nuke, but for a new, human society; for a recognition that it is not nuclear power that is the determinant of the societies we live in, East or West, but human power, in all its creativity and Reason.

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Thousands in Peru protest poverty conditions

Lima, Peru—A huge march of 10,000 slum-dwellers from Comas to downtown Lima, in February, demanded that the government extend water and sewage services to their area. These problems are accompanied by others, such as the rise in the price of gasoline and the continuing devaluation of the national money.

This bears directly on the enormous inflation which raises the price of food and clothing—problems which translate into anguish in the daily lives of the population. The level of malnutrition rises as the worker has to work longer hours for less milk, bread and butter. It now takes the average Peruvian one hour and 27 minutes of work to buy a liter of milk, and 12 hours 13 minutes of work to buy a kilo (2.2 pounds) of meat.

Anti-war feeling in Britain

Oxford, England—Although there has been quite a powerful surge of pro-war feeling which has revived the flagging support of the Thatcher government, British popular opinion is far from being united in support of military confrontation with Argentina. Both among workers and intellectuals there is extensive opposition.

On May 15, I took part in an anti-war march in Oxford. There was no formal organization to speak of. Apparently what happened was that a few young anti-nuke activists took the initiative by putting up posters calling for a demo, and succeeded in getting about 100 people, almost all of whom were youth. The Labour Party and union Left activists weren't there; nor were the Left groups, except a few paper sellers. The middle aged element of CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) wasn't there either. Only the youth who are not bogged down in the "mass organization" mentality have been able to respond with the necessary urgency to this sudden crisis.

—Richard Bunting

Lakota Indian protest

Fort Totten Indian Reservation, North Dakota—Three Lakota Indian men are refusing kidney dialysis treatment to protest the closing of an Indian Health Hospital at Fort Totten. The three are not taking these life-sustaining treatments because the hospital on the reservation has closed for all but certain out-patient services due to the cutbacks for health services in the Reagan budget.

They need the treatment four times a week and were obtaining it at the hospital on the reservation. Now they are forced to drive as much as 40 miles to Devil's Lake. Two of the men had originally moved to be close to the dialysis treatment center. Faced with the long distance travel they have taken a stand not only for themselves, but for all others on the reservation who will be without health care services. In winter they would face impossibly long drives in severe weather. The men are writing reports of how they are doing on small cards which they put up in the post office.

Since April there have been tremendous cuts in Indian health services. Indians on the reservations, where unemployment is astronomical, are dependent on federal social service programs to a large extent. Right now, people are afraid of dying on the Fort Totten Reservation. They are literally scared of starving to death.

—Shainape Schcapwe

The protests take different forms: mass marches like that of Comas; fleeting appearances of groups placing homemade bombs in wealthy shopping areas; and the confrontations in Ayachucho, an area with guerrillas. These events have obliged the government to take formal notice of the wide support for protests. It has established a commission to attend to the most urgent problems. But its economic policy has given the final blow to the people; it continues to favor capitalist development that is far from the needs of the workers and poor.

The government is making Lima and Peru a cheap place to hold events like the Miss Universe contest (July 26), which trivializes women and has nothing to do with Peruvian women's reality. The feminist organizations, along with Left, are preparing a big demonstration against the contest, and are circulating a letter to the government demanding that it not officially support the contest, as the organizers claim.

The search for alternatives and new organizations becomes more and more necessary. The movement of poor women has spread its activities, working for solutions to problems such as health and child care which are generally thought to require socialism to solve. The Left is still fractionalized, like the recent split between the PSR-PLNM (Revolutionary Socialist Party and Party of Mariateguist National Liberation). The UDP (Popular Democratic Union) links the economic problems with those of human rights to build a front against the capitalists.

—Peruvian woman



*And you, O fallen brothers, out of your silence
Your voices will rise in the mighty shout of freedom,
As the hope of the people flames into pains of joy.
Pablo Neruda*

Chilean resistance grows in the face of severe repression

"It is possible to see in Chile what we saw in Nicaragua. We cannot permit them (the Resistance) to succeed." So said James Therberge, the new U.S. ambassador to Chile, and former ambassador to Nicaragua (1975-77). For while the Reagan Administration would make Nicaragua into another Chile with its Latin American commando force, the Chilean popular resistance has been growing.

On April 1, thousands of workers and their families held a "March of Hunger" in Santiago to protest the lowering of their salaries.

On March 7, pobladores (residents of the shantytowns) in the Conchali sector of Santiago battled police from behind barricades of burning tires set up to protect their homes. The police had come to evict them from their land takeover.

In the last week of February, Resistance fighters blew up five power plants, blacking out all of Valapaiso and Vina Del Mar. The radio station of the Resistance, Radio Liberacion, has been interfering on a regular

INS arrests immigrants

Los Angeles, Cal.—So far over 800 people have been arrested as part of "Operation Jobs," the Immigration and Naturalization Service's (INS) national campaign to arrest "illegal" immigrant workers.

Most of the workers arrested here have been Hispanic. And most come from Mexico. They are forcing many they arrest to sign a "voluntary" deportation slip—they say if you don't sign this slip they will go after your family and your friends next and deport them, too. The raids are very racist and they are getting a lot of people in the community angry.

What INS does is go after Hispanic people or Hispanic-looking people in a plant or a factory and demand to see proof of status. They have raided plants and arrested up to 200 people at one shot. INS is going after those "illegals" who make more than the minimum wage so that they can turn around and give these jobs to native workers.

I live in Boyle Heights where some of the raids have occurred. The feeling here is fear. People are afraid to go out. Even after the raids stopped, you hardly saw anyone at the supermarket. Business is down 50 percent in the eastern part of the city. Parents are keeping children at home, away from the playground, away from the stores. And the priest at Guadalupe church has told his parishioners not to come to church for the next few weeks.

They act as if the undocumented are criminals. What they do is what everyone else does—work and pay taxes. Only this government turns around and uses their tax money to arrest and deport them. They have broken up a lot of families this way. And they have created all sorts of family conflicts.

If this keeps going on there will be a big revolt. People will just get fed up with what is going on. A revolt will make a big impact and it might take the form of a boycott against some government agency. Black people boycotted in the South during the Civil Rights Movement. Once the common people unite you get an incredible power that none of these government agencies, not even the INS, can control.

—Latino

basis with broadcasts on TV channel 4 in Chile, broadcasting news of Resistance actions.

This growing resistance comes in the face of the recent severe repression, which increased after the farcical "plebiscite" in March, 1981 which was supposed to grant legitimacy to the fascist junta. The Chilean Human Rights Commission has documented some 1,800 political arrests in the year ending in February, 1982.

On Feb. 25, the president of the Public Employees Union, Tucapel Jimenez, was found murdered on the outskirts of Santiago. Jimenez, who had served as an intermediary for the junta in dealing with labor, had recently become an outspoken critic of its "isastrous economic policies" and, one week before his murder, had called for a "common front" in the labor movement to campaign for reforms in Chile's economic policies. There has been a tremendous ground swell in Chile calling for a full investigation of his murder.

(Information from Inside Chile Today, PO Box 1270, Cathedral Sta., New York, NY 10025 — \$5/year).

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ANTI-NUKE AND A PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION

The May lead on the growth of the anti-nuke movement and the new introduction to *Philosophy and Revolution* both confront the anti-nuke movement with the demand that it not stop short at mere negativity. The breadth and depth of the movement—becoming qualitatively new as rulers began speaking of “winnable” nuclear war in Europe—shows clearly that far from the masses being uninterested in ideas, the idea of destruction is certainly opposed. And Reagan himself continues trying to remedy his “slips” by diverting thought away from his intentions.

The lead didn't leave it at the level of immediate, but shows integrality of economic crisis in Europe and here, and problems faced by movement reaching Blacks, labor. Also it was exciting how it expressed the dialectic with the movement crossing continents. The emphasis wasn't on critique but the new opening for the freedom movement.

Women's liberationist
New York

With the new Introduction that you printed last month, *Philosophy and Revolution* is a new book. In the nine years since its first publication life has illuminated what was present only in theory. When the book came out in 1973 Dunayevskaya said that we still had not reached new moments either theoretically, or in new beginnings in activity; that we were still in the 1960s. The new Introduction shows the very different type of revolutions that did occur in the 1970s—Soweto, Iran and so forth. But back in 1973 you could not see it in practice. And in fact the Left's answer at that time was only that activity had to be more and more intense. But the greatness of Dunayevskaya in *Philosophy and Revolution* was that she was able to anticipate in theory the new stage that would have to emerge from practice. She argued that it would not be merely more activity, but a new type of revolution, posing new questions, seeking different pathways. We have certainly seen that emerge. It points out the revolutionary nature of theory to anticipate the next stage of revolution even before it has fully emerged from practice.

Marxist-Humanist
Detroit

Here in Hawaii we are most concerned with the arms race. There are more nuclear weapons stored in Hawaii than in any other state and people feel that it is the first state that would be hit in the event of hostilities. I don't know whether or not that is true, but we have a lot of support for Ground Zero and Physicians for Social Responsibility.

Our legislative session that just ended voted \$65,000 for our spouse abuse shelter and our rape crisis team got a grant-in aid of \$15,000. . . . I hope you are effective in changing things before it is too late. I will help all I can.

A feminist against nuclear war
Kapaa, Hawaii

A lot of people talk about nuclear war and how horrible things will be if the bombs drop. What I want to know, is why these same people don't talk about the killing going on everyday in the plants. People die everyday digging that uranium ore out of the hills. I have two uncles who've already died of cancer from working there. The holocaust is going on right now.

Worker
Beaumont, Cal.

I was really disturbed by the conference held in April to plan the mass demonstration against Reagan June 10 when he is at the NATO summit in Bonn. The German Communist Party

(DKP) packed the meeting of about 1,000 and made sure that any resolutions which condemned both superpowers for the threat of nuclear war were buried. Those who tried to introduce resolutions calling for solidarity with Polish “Solidarity,” and for support of the struggling peace movement in East Germany were denounced as “supporters of imperialism.”

The DKP has never gotten anywhere with most workers or students in West Germany for one very good reason—anyone can see that what they have in East Germany is not a workers' state but a police state. With “help” from the DKP the German peace movement will be in big trouble.

Anti-war activist
New York

Your article on the “European anti-nuclear movement crosses the Atlantic” was beautiful. It made me want to get involved in that struggle, and also to help link it to my other concerns—like fighting sexism and racism.

Hunter College student
New York City

I very much appreciated the new Introduction. At a time when we are witnessing a revival of activism and mass organizing to win back many of the rights we thought we had already won in the last two decades, it is important to recognize the crucial point on the relationship of theory and practice that Dunayevskaya raises here: “It takes both the movement from practice to theory and from theory to practice to work out a philosophy of revolution.” Otherwise, won't we end up with one more incomplete movement as we did in the 60s?

It is not only a critique of activism alone, it is also a critique of those so-called theoreticians who talk about the “quiescent” decade of the 1970s. In the Introduction Dunayevskaya shows that theoreticians and all of us have a great deal to learn from the movement of the most recent period—from the WL movement, the Iranian Revolution, or the Polish events. She provides a way of helping us link the movement from practice to theory with a movement from theory to practice.

Iranian feminist
Detroit

NEI
TIL ATOMVAPEN

This spring most of our work will be concentrated on our signature campaign for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the North. The campaign was launched last April and will be concluded before summer 1982. The basis of the campaign is a petition addressed to the Norwegian parliament and government.

According to opinion polls a majority of the Norwegian population support this request. Thus, a public opinion survey conducted in mid-August last year indicates that 74 percent oppose the use of nuclear weapons in the defense of Norway, by Norwegian or allied forces. Seventeen percent are in favor. Fifty-three percent are in favor of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the North. Twenty-eight percent are against.

Nei til atomvåpen
(No to Nuclear Weapons)
Oslo, Norway

Readers' View

INTELLECTUALS

No one is as dumb as an intellectual. Did you watch that magnificent movie “With Babies and Banners” on public TV? And did you have to suffer through that horrible commentary on it after the movie by people who know nothing, beginning with Roxanne Baxandall, who was determined to prove to us that there was “nothing new” about the Women's Emergency Brigade that arose to defend the Flint Sit-down strike in 1936-37?

I know she meant that women are always rebelling. But never before in history had we seen women in the center of establishing the first great industrial union—taking up everything from cooking to fighting, and from organizing workers to debating the right-wing.

Then there was the woman from CLUW, glib as hell, and trying to say that the bureaucratic unions of today, with their concession-minded “leaders,” were the same organizations that the rank-and-file built in the birth of the CIO. All these intellectuals showed us was how to forget history, when it is history involving revolutionary women.

Furious
Detroit

FALKLANDS AND THE LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS

I attended a CARD (Committee Against Registration and the Draft) meeting a couple of nights ago and some of the Trotskyist Left put through a plan for a demonstration on the war in the South Atlantic. The slogan was U.S., Britain Hands Off Malvinas Islands! This is supposed to be how we show our solidarity with Latin America and oppose U.S. imperialism. But not a word was spoken about the Argentina military junta and its neo-fascistic rule. Reducing everything to anti-imperialism, is no genuine solidarity with Latin America. Haven't we learned about the enemy being at home and not just abroad from the Iranian Revolution and subsequent counter-revolution? Here too, the Trotskyists are blind to all but U.S. imperialism.

Anti-draft activist
Detroit

There was a special meeting of CISPES with three speakers from Central America—two from El Salvador and one from Nicaragua. It was a bilingual meeting with Chileans, Guatemalans and other Latin Americans in the audience. The El Salvadorans presented the present situation as one leaving no room for negotiations with the Right taking over the government meaning the legalization of fascism. One El Salvadoran woman from the floor brought in what the FDR is doing in the liberated zones like hospitals and turning over land to the peasants.

The Nicaraguan was head of the national library and an important intellectual there. He focused on Pastora's defection and revolution/counter-revolution solely in terms of the struggle against U.S. imperialism. He said the danger now is that the U.S. will set up a puppet government and finance an invasion.

The Falklands War was brought up from the floor and what everyone was emphasizing was the great new Latin American solidarity against U.S. imperialism. What it made me think was that the troubles Reagan is having with Cuba-Russia as the determinant in Latin America being blown up in his face, means the American revolution they are all ignoring, is a lot closer than anyone thinks.

Latin-America watcher
Chicago

ROSA LUXEMBURG

Let me tell you some exciting news—I am doing an independent study course on Rosa Luxemburg! I read the articles you sent, and found them stimulating. Yesterday, in honor of May Day I spent the whole day reading Luxemburg's *Reform or Revolution*, which is pretty heavy material—insightful, thorough and challenging. She was certainly an amazing woman—poet, artist, lover of nature, and exquisite political writer.

It seems to me that Luxemburg's view is that women's oppression stems from proletarian oppression. She notes that the lack of rights for women in Germany at that time was “only one link in the chain of reaction that shackles people's lives.” So the capitalists are responsible for women's oppression? What would she say about women's oppression within the proletariat? Will the abolition of capitalism mean liberation for women as well as the proletariat? I am thinking now of what happened to women during and after the Algerian revolution. . . . These are just some questions that have popped in my mind from reading some of Luxemburg's works.

Feminist
Kalamazoo, Mich.

The Falklands crisis is both farcical and potentially tragic. What a measure of the complete irrationality of a world divided up into competing capitalist nation-states, that such an isolated, barren place, left for so long to the sheep, the penguins and fewer than 2,000 human inhabitants, should now be the prize for which Britain and Argentina are poised to go to war.

The mass-circulation press here is full of patriotic ballyhoo about the heroes of the battle of South Georgia, and the gallant men-of the naval task force. And of course there is the usual sexist drivel about the anxious women who wait behind. What is worse is that Britain's war fleet to the South Atlantic has the support of the majority of the parliamentary Labour Party as well as the Tories.

I have been explaining my own anti-war views to people at work. My friends at Leyland are doing the same. I try to make clear what I am for: solidarity with the workers, women, youth and intellectuals of Argentina who are struggling to bring down that fascist junta.

Richard Bunting
Oxford, England

It is absolutely true that U.S. aid to Britain over the Malvinas/Falklands should be opposed, as well as Britain's imperialist actions. But why must that be linked with supporting Argentina? Most disappointing is the statement of El Salvador's liberation front, the FLMN. El Salvador is precisely where the Argentinian junta was cooperating with the Reagan Administration to destroy the guerrilla forces. And yet the FLMN issues a statement hailing the Argentinian seizure of Malvinas/Falklands. Yes, the statement goes on to point out Argentina's role in helping Reagan, but the main point is still this popular front against imperialism. Far from being any genuine internationalism, it only shows that much of the revolutionary movement still does not have a total vision that links overthrow of the old with the creation of the new. They are forever “stagifying” a movement which will never bring forth a full social revolution that we so desperately need.

Latin American student
San Francisco

BLACK AMERICA TODAY

The SCLC Pilgrimage to Washington for the Voting Rights Jobs and Peace seems to have suffered what we used to call in the Civil Rights days a "white out." The first day or two of the march there was some coverage, but since then nothing. What kind of a reception are they getting? Are rural people joining the march? And what about the students?

**'60s Civil Rights worker
Cleveland**

I've just returned from a very high spirited demonstration against Reagan that occurred in front of a fancy hotel. Some 7,000 demonstrated for jobs and peace as Reagan addressed a \$1,000-a-plate Republican fund-raiser. The speeches at the demonstration were nothing exciting and it may be that the Democrats are trying to use all this. But nevertheless, the demonstrators really showed their opposition to Reagan.

**Anti-Reagan demonstrator
Los Angeles**

If you want to know why Black America is anti-militarist, all you have to do is look at the condition both inside and outside the army. Have you followed Boston? There is such race-hatred there



Since both the Russian overlords and the American bourgeois press act as if there is a continuity between Lenin's attitude and that of contemporary Russian imperialism toward Polish national liberation, I wanted N&L readers made aware of the following passage from Lenin's 1917 lecture on the 1905 Revolution, given to Swiss youth on the eve of the February Revolution:

"In December 1905, Polish children in hundreds of schools burned all Russian books, pictures and portraits of the tsar, and attacked and drove out the Russian teachers and their Russian schoolfellows, shouting: 'Get out! Go back to Russia!' The Polish secondary school pupils put forward, among others, the following demands: (1) all secondary schools must be under the control of a Soviet of Workers' Deputies; (2) joint pupils' and workers' meetings to be held in school premises; (3) secondary school pupils to be allowed to wear red blouses as a token of adherence to the future proletarian republic."

**Kevin A. Barry
New York**

In Madison, I have secured a progressive statement of support for Solidarnosc from my union, United Professionals for Quality Health Care, 1199/Wisconsin (affiliated with National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. I wish we could communicate it to Polish health care workers.

In part, the resolution reads: Whereas the Polish people have formed an independent, self-governing trade union, Solidarity; Whereas Solidarity has included in its demands calls to improve the wages, benefits and working conditions of Polish health care workers; Whereas Solidarity's demands include calls to improve access to the quality of health care for Polish workers; Be it resolved that 1199W/UP urges the government of Poland to immediately lift martial law . . . We recognize that building a strong, nationwide union among our fellow professionals that engages in practical international solidarity actions is one of the ways to support the Polish people, and make their struggle our struggle.

**Health care worker
Wisconsin**

that Black parents have scrapped their hopes of getting anything out of busing. And now there are horrible murders, like the one where a Black youth was beaten to death by a white gang in a Boston train station.

Meanwhile the state employment offices seem more like a recruiting ground for the military than the way to a real job. That the army is in any way upward is a lie. W.E.B. DuBois showed this in 1917, but it is still true today. Mutiny is frequent among Blacks in the military. Is it any wonder why?

**Black youth
Los Angeles**

I believe that prior to any revolution the questions of racism and sexism must be worked out. All the internal sexual and racial divisions have to be eradicated before we start talking about the process of revolution. If not, then opinions about the process will most probably be racist or sexist. Previous to everything is to break-down the stereotypes.

I believe with Malcolm X, that this means respecting separatism. He did say that the role of whites in supporting the Black struggle is to convince other whites. Third-world groups must first consolidate themselves. However, your theory of "Black masses as vanguard of the American Revolution" is a thought-provoking concept . . .

**Young activist
New York**

**ANTI-MILITARY
RECRUITERS**

The organization called "Clergy and Laity Concerned" is doing something great in Chicago. They are demanding to be allowed to go to "Career Days" in the Chicago Public Schools and set up their tables right next to those of the military recruiters for the Armed Forces. They have claimed the right to represent the "other side, the side of peace and jobs at home."

**Impressed
Illinois**

IRAN

On the second anniversary of the Khomeini government's closing of all universities in Teheran, 60 Iranians, members of various Iranian student organizations marched from the UN to Union Square. One hundred students were killed on that day two years ago, and the demonstrators were not only commemorating those who were murdered by the Khomeini regime, but were also showing their solidarity with all—women, students, workers, and national minorities — who are continuing the struggle to turn the counter-revolution in Iran into a revolution. One chant called for the support of women's liberationists in Iran, and women were very much in the forefront of the demonstration as they are in the student organizations represented.

**Participant from Women's Liberation
N&L, Hunter College, N.Y.**

APPEAL FOR KURDS

For over three years the continuous struggle of the Kurds for self-determination has been under attack by Khomeini's counter-revolution. Kurdistan, blockaded by Khomeini's armed forces, urgently needs your help. According to Mohsen Salehi, a Kurdish representative, "As a consequence of economic blockade, Kurds do not have sufficient fuel . . . the sick and injured have no medicine, children do not have enough milk."

Help keep the movement ongoing at this difficult time. Please send your medical and/or financial support to E&A, BOX 07170A, DETROIT, MI 48207.

**New introduction to
Marxism and Freedom**

(Continued from page 1)

available. This is so because then, too, my stress was not on the fact that I was the first to publish in English Marx's now-famous **Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844**. Rather, the emphasis was on the integrality of the "New Humanism" of the young Marx in the mature Marx's greatest economic work, **Capital**. Here is how the late Herbert Marcuse** expressed it in his Preface to the first edition: "Dunayevskaya's book goes beyond the previous interpretations. It shows not only that Marxian economics and politics are throughout philosophy, but that the latter is from the beginning economics and politics."

Nor did the work stop with the dialectical relationship and integrality of Humanism in Marx's economic and political works. (See Part III, "Marxism: The Unity of Theory and Practice.") It also revealed the unknown American roots of Marxism in the Black dimension. This, too, did not stop with the analysis of the Abolitionist movement leading to the Civil War, or the struggle that followed it for the shortening of the working day, but encompassed the historic impact it had on the very structure of Marx's **Capital**. Because Marx had caught the significance of the Black dimension that early, it made it possible for me to develop those American roots through to our age, so that the last chapter of my work, "Automation and the New Humanism," brought in the very latest developments—the initiation of the Black Revolution in the U.S. with the Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955-56.

TO THIS AUTHOR, what makes the republication of this work urgent are the myriad crises that characterize today's world—especially the drive to war on the part of the two nuclear Titans, U.S. and Russia, and the need, instead, for a struggle for the minds of humanity. What compelled the first edition was the transformation of the first workers' state into the state-capitalist society that we know. The Hitler-Stalin Pact had demanded not only a rejection of any conception that Russia was a workers' state, as Trotsky still maintained, but a fundamental analysis of how that transformation into opposite happened. The theory of state-capitalism that I initiated back in 1941 was developed both on the basis of Marx's analysis of the economic laws of capitalism and a concrete study of Russia's first three Five Year Plans. (See Part V, "The Problem of Our Age: State Capitalism vs. Freedom.")

Because it is the ideologues not only in "the East" but in "the West," and nowhere more vulgarly than in Reagan's USA, who keep attempting to devise that monstrous amalgam of opposites — exploitative state capitalism calling itself Communism, and Marxism, a philosophy of liberation—the task of clearing the air and our heads with Marx's Marxism retains its validity.

The structure of **Marxism and Freedom** was grounded in the movement from practice to theory as well as the movement from theory to practice. I began with the age of revolutions: 1776 in the U.S.; 1789-93 in France; 1848 in Germany; and 1871, the Paris Commune—and the relationship of each of these actual revolutions to the intellectual revolutions: the rise of Classical Political Economy; the Hegelian dialectics; and Marx's recreation of that in the dialectic of proletarian revolution. I then continued to an analysis of the problems of our own age.

By the early 1960s, when the Sino-Soviet conflict came into the open, a group of revolutionaries in Japan who were translating **Marxism and Freedom** asked me for permission to add my 1961 essay, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung." This new Chapter 17 was included also in the second English edition. The third edition further added a Chapter 18, "Cultural Revolution or Maoist Reaction?" Both are included in the present edition.

THE RELEVANCE AND URGENCY OF MARXISM for our day has reappeared also in the Iranian Revolution. I was delighted to learn that in 1980 a group of revolutionaries in Iran translated both my selection of Marx's Humanist Essays and the chapter from Part Two on "Worker and Intellectual at a Turning Point in History: 1848-1861." The intellectuals I had been dealing with were Lassalle and Marx. The intellectuals the Iranian revolutionaries had in mind were those who became part of the government when Khomeini gained power, and those who wished to continue the revolution. The near civil-war there now proves all over again that rulers can kill those who are fighting for freedom, but they cannot kill the idea of freedom.

The new stage of cognition that the 1956 Hungarian Revolution achieved by bringing Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays onto the historic stage has been the underlying Reason in the East European revolts for over two decades. Today we are witnessing a new massive stage of these revolts in Poland. By no means are either the revolts or the new stage of cognition limited to East Europe. The discontent with the ruling powers, West and East, circles the globe. In the massive youth anti-nuclear movements especially, the quest for totally new human relations is linked to the question of time itself. As against the nuclear Titans' playing with the possibility of nuclear war, which would put an end to civilization as we have known it, the new forces and Reason of opposition are bringing onto the historic stage Marx's definition: "Time is the space for human development."

October 5, 1981

*For an analysis of these, see my new work, **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**.

See my "In Memoriam" to Herbert Marcuse in the December, 1979 issue of the **International Society for the Sociology of Knowledge Newsletter.

Coming in the July issue of News & Letters

A special in person report of a Nigerian revolutionary

**NIGERIA: OIL BOOM,
OIL DOOM AND CRISIS**

by Ugokwe

I 1982, **Life and Labor in Lagos**

II 1973-1976: **"The Crisis of Development"**

III 1976 to Today: **The Trade Union and the Left**

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from page 1)

Gardenia White

The main thing we are having trouble with now is land. One of my people is in trouble right now. My uncle borrowed \$5,200 before he passed, and his wife paid \$5,200 back on the loan, but the bank charged eight percent interest, and said there wasn't enough money paid. She only had this one acre with the house on it, but it was right on Highway 80 in White Hall. We had heard that a white man wanted this same spot to put up a store. A Black man, David Bell, went and paid the bank off on the house loan. My uncle's wife went to the Judge of Lowndes County, Judge Hammonds, for advice but he sent her to his brother, who had been disbarred from practicing law up in Birmingham. He tried to take over her case, but we stopped that.

Last year David Bell came up to the house and told her he owned it. She had no idea until then that it wasn't hers. Just to stay in her own home, she had to pay \$175 a month rent. Then her children tried to redeem the house note, but the lawyers wouldn't accept the money. First they wanted \$6,000, then \$6,800, always more. It seems crazy to me that the interest is \$6,000, when the original loan was only \$5,200.

Bell works for a rich white man named Casey, delivering propane gas. It's not Bell who is after the land, but rich white men like Casey who want it. Casey already has quite a bit of land, including one of the old plantations, plus Casey Lumber Co., Casey Stockyards, and Casey Propane Gas Co. Mayor Jackson of White Hall stopped Bell from putting her out of the house. He told him, you come into my town delivering gas, and you can't act like this here. My uncle's wife is still in the house, but Bell is still refusing to let her buy it back.

Today in Lowndes County there is no civil rights defense association that you can go to for help in a case like this. It is shocking when you think that 20 years after the Civil Rights Movement was so strong in Alabama there is no place to turn for help. We have cases like this all over the county. They are especially trying to take Black-owned farmland. We have to organize ourselves for our freedom, or we will lose it.

Protest LA police racism

Los Angeles, Cal.—“Choking Out” is the expression used by the Los Angeles Black community to describe the widespread and deadly use of the latest tactic of police abuse upon the community—the use of the carotid choke hold. Within the last year, 16 deaths were directly attributed to the continued application of the choke hold by the Los Angeles Police Department (L.A.P.D.). All but three of the victims of the hold were Black.

In response to the increasing outrage of the Black community over the use of the choke hold, Los Angeles Chief of Police, Daryl Gates, called a press conference to explain the high number of Black deaths: “We may be finding that in some Blacks when it is applied the veins or arteries do not open up as fast as they do on normal people.”

This open statement of racism, articulated by the Chief of Police, inflamed an already outraged community. Not only did Black people in the community respond to Gates' remark, but nearly every Black politician and preacher came out as well. Even the heretofore quiet and uninvolved Black mayor, Bradley, was forced to oppose Gates' continuation in the position of Chief of Police.

At a public hearing of the Civilian Police Review Commission, previously set to go over the issue of the continued use of the choke hold, over 500 people jammed the auditorium to protest not only the use of the choke hold, but to demand that “Gates must go!” While those on the Commission attempted to control and diffuse the situation by stipulating that “testimony relevant only to the choke hold itself would be heard,” the people, from the grass roots to the “leaders,” refused to abide by the “rules.”

As the testimony went on and on (everyone there was determined to speak) it became quite clear that from housewives, youth, and the unemployed, from working men and women, preachers and the “leaders,” no one was willing to separate the open racism of the remarks of the Chief of Police from the open racism practiced by the L.A.P.D. itself. Person after person testified that while Gates' remarks are important, they were secondary to the policy and view of the expendability of Black life that was underscored by the remarks. What is important is the actual practice and activity of the L.A.P.D.

Many people from Los Angeles came to the hearing to join their voices with the Black community in protest of yet another assault on the basic rights and definition of what a human being is by those sworn to “serve and protect” it.

—Black woman

Land and freedom in Lowndes County, Alabama

A Black man from White Hall, Ben Davis, is running now for judge against Judge Hammonds. We are trying to get somebody in there who will help our people. Hammonds has been in there 32 years and all he has done is accumulate people's land, taking their land because they didn't pay taxes. He is the real ruler of most things. Quite a few Black politicians go along with whatever he says. It is pitiful to see people act like they have no thinking power of their own. Are we back into the days before the Civil Rights Movement where the white judges and landowners like



—Bob Fletcher

Lowndes County, Alabama

Jackson, Miss. in the 1960s

Jackson, Mississippi: An American Chronicle of Struggle and Schism, by John R. Salter, Jr., Exposition Press: Hicksville, N.Y., 1979. \$10.00.

On June 15, 1963, masses of Black people from all over the state of Mississippi rushed into the downtown area of Jackson, defying club-wielding police and shouting the word Freedom! over and over. The action was a spontaneous response to the death of Medgar Evers who had been gunned down four days earlier.

At the same time, however, it represented much more than anger over Evers' assassination. It was a high point of a mass freedom struggle initiated by the Black youth of Jackson two years earlier.

In the Fall of 1961, the author of *Jackson, Mississippi* was approached by a young Black woman to be advisor to the North Jackson Youth Council of the NAACP. His book is a careful account of the movement they initiated.

A small group of courageous Jackson youth engaged in door-to-door discussions reaching virtually all of Jackson's Black citizens. On this basis they initiated pickets and a highly successful boycott of downtown white businesses, and lunch counter sit-ins.

Despite mass arrests, beatings, assassination attempts and the murder of Evers, the freedom struggle continued to grow. Yet, as author John Salter demonstrates, it was the NAACP's limited concept of what the struggle was all about that played into the hands of the U.S. Justice Department and the white power structure.

Jackson's Black population led by its youth were showing the way, but the leadership of the NAACP didn't listen, and moved quickly to make accommodations with the enemies of freedom following Evers' death. The book demonstrates that the notion of a “self-limiting revolution” was as destructive then as now. But that high point of the struggle will not go away. For that reason, this history of the Jackson Movement has a great deal to teach us.

—David Park, Chicago

Hammonds ran everything? A lot of the people who ruled the county all along are still there.

There's still a struggle to fight. I became the Clerk of White Hall, a Black town, a Black-ruled town, because I'm out here to make this thing work. When Mayor Jackson asked me to be the Clerk I thought of my grandmother, Rose Steele, and how she sacrificed. She let the voting rights marchers stay on her place in 1965. Her house was burned down. But I said if she could take a stand, old as she was, why can't I? I just said to myself: I don't want to be like Methuselah, just living and don't do something for mankind.

Ethel Dunbar

You are right about the land problem in Lowndes County. Anyone can see that Blacks are hardly farming at all any more. They have stopped us from raising cotton. The government is saying that they have enough cotton now to last them 1,000 years! They have prevented us making money from any kind of farming. People have to go all the way to Montgomery to find work. After they stopped cotton, people tried growing other crops, like soybeans and cucumbers, but none of them brought a profit. The little farm gets crowded out.

Many times you hear people say that the younger generation is lazy, that they don't want to farm. But the truth is that unless you have a lot of land and money, you can work as hard as you want, but you won't make money today. In the old days the whites would block Black people from taking vegetables and watermelons into Montgomery to sell — just block them in the road. Now they do it economically.

Charles Denby

You have to understand the way land works in the South. In the old days, Black farmers couldn't go to the bank and get a loan. They had to make do. The younger generation, if they own land, can easily go to the bank and get \$5,000 or even \$10,000 on it. But the interest is so high that they can't pay it back. So after a year or two, they start getting foreclosed. The bank knows exactly what they are doing.

I first met Judge Hammonds back in 1971 when I went down to Alabama to speak at John Hulett's inauguration as Sheriff (one of the first elected Black sheriffs since Reconstruction). He was the only white politician who came to the inauguration. He was trying to look liberal, even though he had been elected for 20 years in Lowndes County when only whites voted and the KKK ran things. The truth is that he is just a smart politician. He knew that he would have to get Black votes now to stay in office.

The next dealing I had with the Judge was over a year later. He had sold all the land around my brother's farm to Continental Can Co. for woodlot. When the land was sold, he told nearby Black farmers to hurry and get their cows off his land. Then they started grabbing up cows and loading them on trucks, taking them to Casey's stockyard in Montgomery. Two of my cousins also had cows on this land, and they caught Judge Hammonds' men putting them on a truck. My cousins got out their shotguns and forced these men to unload their cows, but the rest went off to the stockyard. My brother's cows ended up there, and he went to Judge Hammonds and complained. After two weeks, Hammonds told my brother that he would have to pay \$10 a head to have them hauled back.

My brother called me, and I got in touch with a big lawyer in Montgomery I used to work for while I was living there. The lawyer went out to Casey's stockyard and told Casey he better carry the cows back where they belonged in two days, or there would be a big suit, and he would pay dear. The cows were returned. Then the Judge went to see my brother real angry. He couldn't believe that a Black working man could ever know these wealthy or famous white lawyers.

Judge Hammonds has plenty of power, because all the big landowners and businessmen are working together. The same power structure that ruled before 1965 is still in power today, even though we have Black elected officials. They can easily buy people out because of poverty. And when the movement stopped, the selling-out began. They have learned how to use a few Blacks to keep their control.

No one can take away from the greatness of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s in Lowndes County and all across the South. I discuss that Black revolution in my book, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*. But what we have to see in 1982 is how much more total a revolution is needed to get to freedom. Whenever the movement is not complete, a way is left for the old oppressors to get back in. That is what the white system is doing behind Black faces today. Instead of ruling by KKK terror, they are strangling Black farmers and other workers economically.

We need a new movement today in the South. But it will have to be on a totally different level than the struggles we fought 20 years ago. We need to finish the revolution we began.

Fanon conference in Antilles

Editor's Note: The following are excerpts from a report by an observer to an international conference on Frantz Fanon.

The largest international forum of Fanon scholars and activists ever assembled was summoned to Fort de France, Martinique, from March 31 through April 7, to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the death of this Black revolutionary.

The focus of the memorial conference was not only in Fort de France. Schoelcher University held two full days of discussion, and the neighboring island of Guadeloupe held memorial meetings.

In Basse Terre, the capital of Guadeloupe, several hundred Antilleans and international visitors came to participate in the meeting called by Marcel Manville, a Martiniquan friend of Fanon and one of the leaders of the island's Communist Party.

One speaker, Mejid Daboussi, from Tunisia, recalled that in 1958 he met Fanon in Tunisia at a conference on the Algerian independence struggle: "Frankly, this meeting with Frantz Fanon troubled us very much. For here was a Black man taking up our struggle, declaring that we must put an end to the exploitation of man by man. He told us that we must prepare man for internationalism. There is no universal method of revolution; each one must invent revolution out of his own circumstances."

Meriem Zerdani, one of the first women to take up arms in the Algerian struggles, said that she had never met Fanon, as she was in prison at the time he was active. However, she said that she knew that Algeria was his second country. She noted, "Fanon reported admirably the struggle of the Algerian woman and how she was unveiled."

A Japanese Fanon scholar, Takhechi Ebisaka, came to grips with the philosophic dimension of Fanon's thought: "The writing of Frantz Fanon realizes the synthesis of the particular within the universal — a respect for diversity, but one in search of the universal."

In the discussion period young Guadeloupean nationals confronted Manville with the question of what would be Fanon's message to them if he were here now? One of the Guadeloupeans declared: "The works of Frantz Fanon are more than ever living today. It is true, each country has its own path. And our path is to continue to struggle for national independence." Another charged: "You must tell the truth in front of the foreigners who are here. There are people (in the Antilles) who are effectively living Fanon. We Guadeloupeans are struggling for independence (from France) and you come across as a dictatorial president."

In fact along Basse Terre's Rue Mallien one cannot escape the self-determination of the ideas and reality of national consciousness that Fanon wrote of. The message scrawled on the walls in Creole is clear: "Viv Lendependans — Fwanse Dewo (French Out!), Fich Kolonialis Dewo (Throw the Colonialists Out!), Fo Nou Libere Gwadeloup, Nou se Gwadeloupeyan, Nou pa Fwanse (We must liberate Guadeloupe, We are Guadeloupean)."

Faced with the young Guadeloupean nationals, Manville soon adjourned the meeting. But there is no doubt, from the wide attendance, and from Fanon's continuing growth internationally, that Fanon's writings, his ideas, are alive today, including in the Antilles.



A Pilgrimage to Washington for Voting Rights, Jobs and Peace has been organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Beginning in April, it has now moved through Alabama, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and will continue into Virginia, ending in Washington, D.C. the latter part of June. Students from Paine College in Augusta joined just before march entered South Carolina

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

One of the most hypocritical "media events" was Reagan's visit to a Black family who were about to flee from their home in a predominantly white suburban community because of Klan harassment. The pictures of the President shaking hands with the male head of the family while Mrs. Reagan hugged the wife and children was the crassest type of TV commercialism.

Isn't this the same Reagan who opposed busing to integrate schools? Who would give tax breaks to private schools which refuse to admit Black students? Who is in league with those in the Senate who want to water down the Voting Rights Act (to make it even less effective than it is)? And, who during his campaign for President, gave moral support to the Klan? Do we have another "reborn" President in the White House?

Film: S. African Black women

Detroit, Mich. — News and Letters Committees sponsored the first Detroit showing of "South Africa Belongs to Us,"* a film whose power is revealed by the diversity of South African Black women interviewed. The centerpiece of the film is a series of conversations with nine women, which showed them as activists and leaders of the South African freedom struggles. The interviews — with women in the Black Consciousness Movement, in the African National Congress, domestic servants, women of a shanty town, women forced to live in prison-like barracks — are interspersed with scenes of the living and working conditions of the women.

The diversity was revealed in showing the specific forms that Apartheid's oppression takes, and in the tremendous power of these women's ideas. The women were from different economic situations and their thoughts on how to overcome oppression were wide ranging.

That same diversity of ideas also came from the audience — who participated in a discussion after the film was shown — particularly by the large number of Black women who came. One woman began, "I don't care how many times you read about Apartheid, it's only when you see it that it becomes more real and horrible than you imagined."

One issue hotly debated by the audience was why there were not many men interviewed in the film. One young Black man hit out: "If it has to do with this women's lib. as in this country, then it's divisive. All Black people have to be liberated." A couple of women agreed, but another woman argued that it was not putting the Black man down, but showing the very specific oppression the Black woman faces in South Africa, especially when there is enforced separation of families, and the woman has to take care of the children.

One Black man in the audience said, "It's no different than right here in Detroit. Black women in South Africa might see their husbands only once a year because the men are 300 miles away at work. But isn't it also true that right here in the U.S., many Black men are put in jail and Black women have to support the family to keep them all alive?"

Another woman summed it up by saying that there was a real battle of ideas about how to obtain freedom in the film. That was its power. And here tonight we have our own battle of freedom ideas about the movement here and in South Africa.

To me, we all want freedom for both men and women. The question is how can we attain it. The film presents some ideas and it can initiate a powerful discussion. Try showing it in your area. —Diane Lee

*Available through the Peace Education Division, AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102.

President's image vs. reality

It is obvious that the Administration in Washington desperately wants to change the President's image of a jingoistic protagonist of nuclear armament, who has no interest in the economic havoc that American capitalism has created in the lives of the working class, Blacks, sick, poor and elderly in the USA. To change this realistic view the President and his advisors have staged "media events," showing Reagan visiting (empty handed) the very poor, and a Black family suffering from racial persecution.

REAGAN'S FEDERALISM

This need to substitute a false image of the President is directly connected to the rapidly growing opposition to his economic and political policies, coming not so much from the Democratic politicians but from below — from the masses of workers, Blacks, women, youth, and the growing anti-nuclear war movements in the United States and Western Europe.

The masses of Black people are aware that Reagan's "new federalism" is not a return to the never-never land of laissez faire capitalism — which meant the free movement of capital which has often been mis-translated as human freedom — but a move to restructure the system of capitalist production to the extent that all major production activity will become an adjunct to military production. It is not the butter and guns program that President Johnson attempted, but, in the words of Caspar Weinberger: "The President's program is not a program for consumption."

Since Reaganomics wants to restructure the present capitalist economy, it must attempt to restructure the political and social relationships that were brought into existence by the struggles of labor, Blacks and women. To Afro-Americans it means continuing attempts to eviscerate the civil rights and economic gains achieved in the 1960s.

One target of this restructuring is affirmative action. The Administration says that affirmative action is a "costly police action." The new guidelines state that a firm employing 50 people, with a \$50,000 contract with the government, no longer has to comply with affirmative action regulations. It has been upped to 250 employees and a contract of one million dollars a year. This exempts 75 percent of all federal contracts from affirmative action regulations. William Reynolds, Reagan's civil rights chief, told Congress that employers found guilty of racial and sexual discrimination should not have to take corrective steps.

PILGRIMAGE TO WASHINGTON

The thousands of cases of discrimination emanating from the policies of this Administration have not escaped the attention of Black communities. Grass roots organizations are organizing against the realities of Reaganomics, with the Pilgrimage to Washington, called by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), expected to be an indication of the depth of this opposition.

The Democratic Party is hovering in the wings, looking for any opportunity to co-opt the growing mass of anger at Reagan but they have nothing to offer as a substitute for Reaganomics, that is either real or revolutionary.

Reagan's policies are not "voodoo economics" but an expression of the international crisis of American capitalism which has reached the point where it is "dead in the water," to quote Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan, and it can only be temporarily revived by increasing the army of unemployed and cutting of human consumption to bring about massive investments in technological expansion. This is the capitalist "solution" from which neither the Republicans nor the Democrats can escape. A revolutionary solution to Reaganomics exists, but beyond the bounds of capitalist production with its class, racial and sexual antagonisms.

News & Letters Writings on the South

INDIGNANT HEART: A BLACK WORKER'S JOURNAL

by Charles Denby (1978)

The activity and thought of a Black worker born and raised in Lowndes County, Ala. \$7.50

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL (1962)

A history of the Black struggle in the South from the slave revolts and Populists through the sharecroppers to the Civil Rights Movement. 75 cents

MARXISM AND FREEDOM (1958)

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Marx and the American Black movement • Montgomery Bus Boycott

1982 pre-publication price \$7.95

THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT AND THE NEGRO REVOLUTION (1965)

The 1964 Mississippi Summer Project • Robert Moses of SNCC on Education in the South 50 cents

MARYLAND FREEDOM UNION (1969)

Black women workers thinking and doing. Available on microfilm, Raya Dunayevskaya Collection

FREEDOM RIDERS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES (1961)

Black and white freedom riders to Jackson, Miss. available on microfilm

'The Hidden Face of Eve' and Arab Women

The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab World, by Nawal El Saadawi, Beacon Press, Boston, 1982. \$8.25.

The Hidden Face of Eve is a moving account of the lives of women in Arab countries and their tremendous pain and suffering as told by Saadawi, a woman physician, who has talked and listened to women. Saadawi makes one feel the meaning of every word she uses. Thus when I was reading her opening section on female circumcision which includes a detailed account of her own circumcision, I could literally sense her pain and anguish.

Saadawi shows how the idea of "Man the God, Woman the Sinful" has led parents to consider their daughters damned from the beginning. She furthermore searches this attitude in the Arab concept of female sexuality as "Fitna" or the source of seduction. To an Arab man, this sexuality when unveiled can lead to "anarchy, uprisings, rebellions and the total destruction of the established order."

One of the other aspects of male chauvinism in Arab countries is the fetishism of the hymen and the threat of death that a woman is faced with upon losing it before marriage. Saadawi cites many incidents of women who have been murdered by the male members of their family because their elastic hymen had been interpreted as their not being virgins.

After reading Saadawi's moving accounts and her concern for an analysis of the oppressive lives of women, I was surprised to see that she had not yet separated herself from religion and "true Islam" as a liberating ideology. Saadawi is hiding many dualities in Islam when she claims that "Islamic precepts . . . are built on (a) humane principle." The truth is that the 1979 Iranian Revolution showed us that religion cannot act as a liberating philosophy because, even if put in a revolutionary context, religion has its own limitations which force it to stop a revolution halfway and impose its own beliefs on it.

Saadawi certainly realizes the importance of Women's Liberation and change in the society, and has tried to in turn cause some changes with the writing of this book. However, when she talks about class con-

traditions evident in the Arab society, she only condemns the "minority who wield economic power in America and Europe."

But the experiences of past revolutions have shown us that the struggles of countries for independence, as long as they have limited themselves to the overthrow of the foreign enemy, have not been able to assure the true liberation of the people of those countries.

The experience of Algeria in overthrowing French colonialism showed that the struggle for independence, although it had many women active in it, stopped half way and immediately after the revolution forced women back into their homes. Thus, one is surprised to see that Saadawi claims: "The Algerian war of liberation brought with it greater freedom for women." It is with such a view that in 1979, when she wrote this book, she praised the role of a religious leader in liberating Iran from under the yoke of U.S. imperialism.

After reading her opinion of the Algerian and Iranian revolutions, one is surprised to see that Saadawi concludes: "The complete and real liberation of women, whether in Arab countries or the West . . . can only become a fact when humanity does away with class society and exploitation for all time and when the patriarchal system with its values, structures and vestiges has been erased from the life and mind of the people." One wonders how her conclusion can flow from her argument in favor of true Islam and narrow nationalism—two ideologies that have time and again oppressed women and continue to do so.

Saadawi is certainly a proponent of Women's Liberation and has herself experienced an extreme oppression as a woman through her life. But for her to make the idea of Women's Liberation a reality, she must first negate the conceptions that limit her vision of a future society.

—Sheila

Students protest aid change

Berkeley, Cal.—On May 12, protesting the termination of a seven-year policy of "aid-blind" admissions, 19 students at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Conn. sat in at the offices of Wesleyan's Vice President and Assistant Treasurer. With aid-blind admissions, students are admitted regardless of their need for financial aid, which is then provided to the needy in the form of grants or work-study. Because Wesleyan is well-recognized for its liberal traditions and is the first to cut this admission policy, the act has been receiving nationwide attention.

Students sat in for 150 hours after agreeing to administrators' demands that they limit their number to the initial 19. According to Wesleyan regulations, non-obstructive sit-ins are allowed, but administrators locked doors and allowed nobody in or out, even to use toilet facilities, until this agreement was made. In the end, the Administration agreed only to form a group with student and faculty participation, to "look into" a more socially responsible fiscal policy.

It's good to see Wesleyan students' tradition of activism continuing. Clearly a Wesleyan education develops not only new corporate executives and Wall Street financiers, but also many young radicals. This sit-in is the second in four years; in the spring of 1978 students sat in demanding withdrawal of funds invested in corporations and banks with holdings in South Africa.

This stir over the cut of aid-blind admissions has attracted even more student support. Of Wesleyan's 2,813 students, 1,548 signed petitions protesting the cut. The students claim that with the cut, it will be extremely hard for applicants from working class backgrounds to enter, and that Wesleyan will become more than ever a school for the elite.

Students involved in the sit-in were quite concerned over the conspicuous lack of Third World student participation. While there is a strong Black student organization, which has been focusing on the aid-blind cut independently, there has been little working together between Black and white students.

Students sitting in used some of their time in the Vice President's office to hold workshops about racism and to question this split. By the end of the sit-in they had decided to disband their coalition and to regroup with an attempt to work with and include Third World student organizations.

—Wesleyan graduate

Letter on women in Ireland

Editor's Note: We excerpt here a letter received from the Irish activist Eibhlin Ni Sheidhir, part of her ongoing dialogue with Marxist-Humanism on the Irish movement.

Referring to Terry Moon's comments (Readers' Views, March N&L), I still maintain that there has been no "regression" in the Women's Movement in Ireland or in the Irish Republican movement's attitude to women, but as I don't think it is really understood by readers how different the socio-cultural milieu "starting point" is here from almost any other Western country.

In the South contraceptives have only actually been legally saleable for the past few years and even now are supposed to be for married couples only. Although in practice the situation has been different, access continues to be easier for urban middle class women than for their working class and/or rural sisters. Contraception still tends to be controversial and legislation has tended to be timid rather than repressive . . .

Interestingly, in the North where British laws make contraceptives more readily available, nationalist towns such as Derry have the highest birthrate in Europe . . .

Abortion is totally illegal in the South, where according to a recent survey about 95 percent of the population is against any change. Though probably 10,000 women go to England each year for abortions, and many people are more flexible on abortion in extreme situations such as pregnancy caused by rape, the general popular — and particularly working class — view is that abortion is "murder." During the recent General Election, Bernadette McAliskey's campaign was damaged by a right-wing pressure group leafletting the area saying she was in favor of abortion. . . .

Divorce is at the moment not possible in the South, but there is a growing campaign on this issue and, unlike a decade ago, probably a majority of the population are now in favor of a divorce law . . .

I am not a member of, let alone a spokesperson for, the Republican Movement. But I think it fair to say that Sinn Fein especially (i.e. the political wing) contains an entire cross section of attitudes on these issues, as it contains a cross section of Irish people (though mostly working class/small farmers) brought together on the national issue and need of socio-economic change . . .

Of course women in Sinn Fein have a long way to go to get anywhere as feminists. They would in any political organization in Ireland. Sinn Fein is probably more progressive in attitudes to women than any other large organization in Ireland. Collectively the organization is in favor of availability of contraceptives, of a divorce law, and is against abortion. That is "progressive" here. . . .

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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."

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YOUTH

'Women, military madness and the registration boycott'

Editor's Note: "Women, Military Madness and the Great Registration Boycott" is the title of a mini-conference held April 14 at Wayne State University. It was sponsored by the Wayne State University News and Letters Youth Committee and co-sponsored by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft. The gathering featured three anti-militarist speakers and the movie "Soldier Girls." Below we reprint excerpts from the speeches.

Laura Strehlow

ex-sailor and military resister

What really happens in the military? First and foremost, you're no longer considered a human being with real feelings. Now you're a disposable and replaceable recruit. Witness four paratroopers dying a few weeks ago in a "successful" jump. How can a maneuver in which people are killed be a success?

If you have any amount of intelligence, don't expect to use it much [in the military]. Oh, you may need to think about whatever job you're trained to do, but forget being innovative or original. It's just not called for because new ideas ruin tradition, and tradition is the number one rule of the military. Why are the handrails on ships painted white? Why are men forced to shave their heads? The sole reason is tradition.

ONE TRADITION WAS recently broken however. Women are no longer banned from being crewmembers on some warships. Women serving as sailors were once considered bad luck (and still are as far as the old salts are concerned). But the extreme shortage of manpower coupled with grave unemployment in the civilian world has led to a coed fighting force.

What's life like at sea for an enlistee, male or female? Again, remember that you're expendable. If there's a storm and something needs to be battened down out on the weatherdecks, it's your job. The deaths that occur out to sea usually don't make it into the papers. Sailors are killed much more frequently than you'd think. But no great cause for concern, because the equipment is saved.

If you think that a job's too dangerous, and refuse to do it, then it's time for the great kangaroo court—Captain's Mast. Technically known as non-judicial punishment, Captain's Mast is an inefficient and (as the name states) non-judicial method of maintaining discipline aboard the ship. There is no trial. You stand at attention in the center of it all, while evidence is brought up before the Captain. I hesitate to use the term evidence, because even hearsay is sufficient for a "conviction."

THERE ARE WAYS of getting around non-judicial punishment. The easiest is to keep your mouth shut and your shoes shined. But for those of us who believe in truth and justice, keeping our thoughts to ourselves is not the easiest task. It usually doesn't make any difference if you speak out, anyway. Nothing is changed, and rank takes precedence over truth and justice anytime.

Some people just aren't cut out for military life, but unfortunately do not realize until they're in the trap. With the false advertising and recruiting, not to mention the pressures of unemployment, many young people are forced into literally signing their lives away.

Paul Terice was one such person. He died in correctional custody. I am another. The V.A. hospitals are overflowing with people who were broken by the military. Something is wrong with a system that bases productivity on fear of humiliation and death.

Dan Rutt

draft registration resister

I was supposed to have registered in the summer of 1980. It is obvious that I didn't, but I did not decide to go public—and that means telling the Selective Service System that I wasn't going to register—until about a

Youth in Revolt

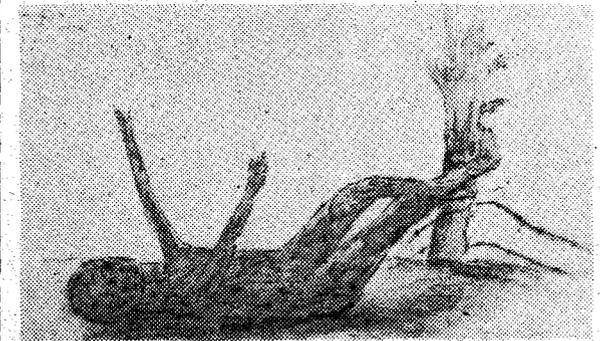
While U.S. Vice President Bush dined with hated South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan April 26, hundreds of students chanted slogans against the government and scattered leaflets calling for the release from jail of opposition leader Kim Dae Jung. Bush was in Seoul to reaffirm U.S. support for the dictatorship.

Two thousand striking students at Escobar Agricultural College in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, burned trucks, took hostages including the director, and threatened to destroy valuable insects that eat crop pests—in order to force the government to come through with \$4.5 million in promised educational funds. The strike, which began May 11 and was suspended a few days later for talks, was joined by teachers who hadn't been paid in a month.

Youths protesting a housing shortage in West Berlin smashed windows in banks; bulldozers and scaffolding were hit by firebombs May 17. Four youths were arrested in rebellions in at least three districts of the city the next day.

Unforgettable Fire

PICTURES DRAWN BY ATOMIC BOMB SURVIVORS



—Masato Yamashita

"August 9: On the west embankment of a military training field was a young boy four or five years old. He was burned black, lying on his back, with his arms pointing toward heaven."

Pantheon Books, New York

year ago. You might say I was intimidated, and my mom was fear-stricken. Fortunately, we both evolved in our thinking together, and she was making speeches before I was.

Of the six letters I have sent the Selective Service System, they have only responded with three form letters—one from a secretary saying that they didn't accept CO (Conscientious Objector) classifications now, which had little if anything to do with the letters I sent them. And the other two letters were the same—certified mail—asking me to register or face possible prosecution. I got one last December and the other about a month ago.

THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM is in the business of conscription and compliance, not prosecutions. They will not likely make great efforts to find non-registrants, but non-registrants should make it their business to be found. With large numbers of public non-registrants we have a better chance of changing something without prosecutions forcing the issue into the public, or if it does come down to prosecutions, there is safety in numbers.

Right now there are only about 150 or so non-registrants on the Selective Service list, but if out of those hundreds of thousands of non-registrants, a few hundred or a few thousand made it their business to go public, prosecutions would be unreasonable. I don't think the Selective Service System wants to find non-registrants. They just want to scare those that are scareable into registering.

CONSCRIPTION IS really just martial law on a minority of the population put on it by the rest of the population. Isn't martial law the suspension of civil liberties for the sake of the military? Conscription is a product of fascism, not a democracy. When people are subordinated to the "State" then who rules? Conscription destroys the very freedom that we are supposed to be protecting.

By limiting our choice only to draft registration and only recognizing the wholesale military solution as the legal and moral solution, then we have made that first dangerous step toward the unthinkable of preferring military solutions. We must allow for at least one constructive alternative to violent conflict resolution.

Jim Mills

News & Letters youth columnist, anti-militarist activist

The massive opposition to the spectre of nuclear annihilation, opposition growing up on both sides of the iron curtain, reflects how dearly most people cherish life. But can we imagine that this world would stay the same if we succeed, merely rid of nuclear arms? Is it possible to truly save civilization without understanding what it is to be truly civilized?

There can be no doubt that the anti-war movement of the 1980s is massive and ever more visible, down to the most obscure town meeting voting for a freeze on warhead production. But what of its direction? Now, our anti-militarist movement encounters a question—is eliminating nuclear arms a different task from that of liberation from the other oppressions youth face today? How to ban nuclear weapons is the hot debate.

I am speaking as one who cannot leave out the totality of struggles youth must experience as they try to change a world they did not create. The ban the bomb movement of the late '50s and early '60s did win a victory—the nuclear test ban treaty that was signed 20

years ago. It won its single goal, to stop open air H-bomb tests. Are we any safer from nuclear holocaust? Any further away from the brink of ending the world? Did any of the other treaties—SALT I, SALT II, etc.—help? No.

WHEN ONE LOOKS at today's militarization, it is tied to the total effects on youth. In their actions to civilize the world, they don't live separate lives, one for each effect. It is Reagan who would prefer us not to see the relationship between the economic crisis in America and the unconscionable militarization.

Although Reagan did say he wanted to return to the days when uniforms were a popular style, drafting young men to put them in uniforms is not so easy. One million young men who boycotted the Carter, and now the Reagan draft registration sign-up represent an objective barrier to Reagan's need to militarize minds. Against these resisters, Attorney General Smith has announced that the Selective Service System and the Department of Justice may use Internal Revenue Service and Social Security records to track down and prosecute them.

BUT IT'S NOT so simple, as I'm sure our rulers already know. Such a massive and unexpected response—that is, the mass boycott of registration—comes from an understanding that lives are being militarized already. And such massive and unexpected forms of youth revolt can both be anticipated and be the signals for other, newer forms of youth revolt.

The military pays upwards of \$63 million to say: "Be all you can be—in the Army." How hypocritical is that slogan, the Army's recruiting pitch. The limitation of choices for youth in the 1980s exposes the reality behind militarism, especially on the home front. Yet, to see an end to the inhumanity of capitalism that alternates between depression and wars, "Be all you can be" must actually be the truth of the anti-militarist movement. In fact, Marx's concept of liberation was "the absolute movement of becoming", people striving to become whole human beings through their many, many struggles through history.

We bring this conference to you to make sure that the voices of revolt in Reaganland are heard, and to make explicit the philosophy of revolution that is implicit in their varied expressions. Only an independent youth movement that also knows itself as revolutionary—and that's independent of the Democratic Party, of capitalisms (American or Communist-style)—will insure the transformation of military reality into a society founded on new human relations.

Sit-in at Medgar Evers

Editor's Note: April 20, more than 600 students from Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn gathered in a fruitless attempt to meet with College President Richard Trent, in order to present him with a list of demands ranging from child-care facilities to explanations about his failure to stem the steady deterioration of the school some call "the only Black university in New York." Below is an account of the struggle.

Brooklyn, N.Y.—On April 20, I was sitting in class and students came rushing in and literally pulled us from our seats, explaining something urgent was happening between the administration and the students. Trent had refused to meet with students to hear us out, claiming that he feared that among the hundreds of students were dangerous, armed, "outside" groups. Of course, that was a lie. Over 100 students marched to his office, occupied it, and have been there ever since.

The school was reduced from a four-year university to a two-year community college, and any average college president would have fought this. But he didn't go fight. He thought the whole thing was a joke. He claims he's only paid to run the school. Who appointed him?

Seventy-three percent of the students are women, and nine out of ten have kids. Some have to bring them to classes, because there are no day-care facilities.

It has come to the point, when looking for a job, it's a disadvantage to say you went to Medgar Evers. My cousin got her bachelor's degree in January, and when she went to a job interview the employer told her that the degree was worthless . . .

But I'm proof it's not true. I've got a good education here through my own efforts. I believe we can win. Many students had spent the night in Trent's office until a court order was issued saying we have the right to be there, but only between the hours of 8 a.m. and 11 p.m. This means Trent has no access to his own office. Practically the whole student body, 80 percent of the faculty, who signed petitions, and the entire community is behind us when we say Trent must go. And then the new president can negotiate our original demands.

—Medgar Evers student

OUR LIFE AND TIME *Falklands, Antarctica, the oceans of the world*

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

The imperialist conflict that now rages over the Malvinas/Falkland Islands holds no beneficial interest for the workers of either England or Argentina. It is neither a struggle for freedom nor an issue of self-determination, rather it is a clear case of the imperialist ambitions of both sides resulting in the deaths of hundreds of workers in uniform on both sides.

The "patriotic" war ballyhoo has not stopped Argentina's "Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo," who have marched every Thursday for the past five years demanding a government accounting of their missing relatives. Over 1,000 marched on May 27, during the "Week of the Disappeared," for as one sign read, "The Malvinas are Argentinian, but so are our children!"

Because the Falklands are on the South American continent and Argentina was the one Latin American country that agreed to aid the U.S. in its imperial adventure against El Salvador and for the "destabilization"—that is, counter-revolution—against Nicaragua, the Reagan-Haig team tried the game of "neutrality." But it didn't take long to change from being "neutral" to becoming co-perpetrator of neo-colonialism by providing its ideological twin—the Thatcher government—with oil supplies, tankers and tanker planes.

No wonder the New York Times military correspondent, Drew Middleton, correctly concluded the reason for the U.S. lining up with Britain: "Haig underlined that America, like Britain, has strategic commitments that expand well beyond NATO's geographic area . . . British naval sources attributed this to the U.S.'s recognition of the importance of continued British control of the islands in the event of a world war." (NYT, 5/1/82).

Even on a more immediate level than looking toward World War III, hidden in the Falklands undeclared war is a larger issue, the areas of the world that have not yet come under the "sovereignty" of any nation—Antarctica and the oceans of the world.

The Antarctic Treaty of 1959 cut up that continent into pie-shaped segments, for exploration purposes only,

among many nations including the United States, Russia, England, Chile and Argentina. The agreement demilitarized the area.

The section of Antarctica most accessible lies at the tip of South America where the claims of Britain, Chile and Argentina all conflict with each other. Neither the U.S. nor Russia recognize these claims.

While geophysical teams of all the other nations involved man their Antarctic bases, the Argentinians have eight bases in the area all manned by armed naval personnel. Argentina is the only nation which has not signed the recently agreed upon Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources.

The continent is known to contain mineral, oil and gas deposits, which are not now profitable to exploit, but could at a future date become the bone of international confrontation.

Dating from 1945, when Harry Truman declared that all gas and oil deposits up to within three miles of the continental shelf were the property of the United States, the U.N., under pressure from the Third World, has been trying to establish a Law of the Sea that would govern the exploitation of the sea beds of the world. Deep sea mining and oil exploration worth potential billions are involved. On April 30, 1982 a treaty was finally adopted by all, except the United States, which grants fishing rights to each nation up to 200 miles from its shores, and lays the ground rules for the exploitation of the seas.

The mining of metal nodules from the sea beds largely depends on American technology, which the U.S. refuses to share with other nations.

The new Law of the Sea and the conflicting claims to Antarctica shed new light on the conflict over the Falkland Islands which have no known oil or gas deposits. The motivation for the present war cannot be found in the possession of the barren islands, or alleged "self-determination" for the kelpers, but in what lies beyond. And, of course, as with all capitalist governments it was the economic crisis—the unconscionable unemployment both in Britain and in Argentina that actually had been fermenting into a general

strike of the labor force with some of the rebellious masses jailed and even murdered—that made both governments plunge into jingoistic fervor.

Thus far the undeclared war and all the rhetoric about peace has led to hundreds of casualties. Thatcher's view of talking peace has been to sink an Argentine ship with 1,000 aboard that was outside of her presumptuous 200-mile blockade. The technologically backward Argentine economy was most advanced when its Exocet French missiles sank the Sheffield.

How quickly the Left, too, forgets its class interest and begins to mouth phrases about who was the "real aggressor," and who are "the defendants" who should strive for "victory." (Intercontinental Press, 5/3/82).

Annexation of territory is not the objective of any working class. The biggest enemy is always its own ruling class, at home. No one has yet invented a more revolutionary slogan than Lenin's, turning the "imperialist war into a civil war." Short of that, continue with the class struggles—in Britain, Argentina, or U.S.



Poland

While even some supporters of the Solidarnosc movement had dismissed as bravado the December-January slogan of the movement, "The Winter is yours, the Spring will be ours," May Day 1982 changed all that. Preceded by weeks of patient underground organizing, the movement stunned the world on May 1 with its 30,000-strong protest march in Warsaw, which actually outnumbered the official government May Day demonstration.

A 22-year-old woman student protester summed it all up: "This is fantastic, it's unbelievable. It shows that Solidarity is still alive. What can they do, arrest the whole nation?" Another huge protest rally took place in Gdansk.

Two days later, on May 3, thousands of pro-Solidarnosc demonstrators, mainly youths, battled police in all the major cities. When youths fought back against brutal and vicious police attacks, including water cannons, beatings, and tear gas, General Kiszczak, the Interior (Police) Minister stated, like police everywhere do at such times, that the youths and not the police started the violence, it was "planned" and not spontaneous, and it was directed by foreign enemies of the government.

Polish youths, however, had a far different assessment of May 3, calling the police "Gestapo," and in a beautiful internationalist satire, merged the word ZOMO (Polish political riot police) with the name of former Nicaraguan dictator Somoza to give a new name to their ruler, General Jaruzelski—"General Zomoza." True to its role as collaborator with the government, the Catholic Church called for calm, stating that "the new disturbances shaking the country are delaying social accord, halting steps toward normalization and misguiding the youth."

Rather than calling for the overthrow of the government, some underground Solidarnosc leaders seem to hope instead to "reason" with "General Zomoza." But they also realize that time for a compromise is fast running out. One underground union leader, Bogdan Lis, described the situation in Polish factories as "a kind of time bomb" and stated "we must stop the hands of its clock."

Whether the Polish youth, women and workers will allow this underground form of "self-limiting revolution" to continue is open to question, especially after May 3. One thing is clear however. There is a world of difference between the calls for "calm" by the collaborationist Catholic Church, which still enjoys a great measure of power in state-capitalist Poland, and the differ-

ences among genuine Polish opposition activists over how to combat the militarized Communist dictatorship. On May 13, yet another stage of mass opposition was shown by the apparently hugely successful 15-minute general strike called by underground Solidarnosc leaders.

As the great Polish revolutionary, Rosa Luxemburg, wrote in a letter from Warsaw during the 1905-06 Revolution: ". . . the general strike, used alone, has played out its role. Now, only a direct, all-encompassing fight in the streets can bring about a resolution. Yet, for this, we must work toward the right moment." That statement may still have great relevance for today's Polish movement.

China

This spring new horrors in China's long history of sexist abuse of women have come to light, as government bureaucrats have decreed that families can have only one child.

In order to enforce this legislation, in the province of Guangdong, they have rounded up women and forcibly implanted IUDs. Thousands of pregnant women have been abducted and forced to undergo abortions. Li Hanbo, deputy director of Guangdong's family planning program, stated that people will have their wages cut 10 percent or more if they have more than one or two children. There are reports of families having their electricity and water cut off and even their property taken away as "punishment" for having more than one or two children.

Management of the Wuyang Electric Fan Factory "allocated" its 263 employees of childbearing age the "right" to have 18 babies this year. Cash presents are given to those with only one child.

Family planning workers commonly spend as long as three or four months persuading a couple not to have more children, sometimes visiting them as many as 100 times. Some workers have been cursed and even beaten up by angry peasants.

Along with this state-capitalist family planning from above, the old traditional feudal forms of women's oppression continue to exist. An older Communist Party leader, also in Guangdong, was jailed in May for "selling" his 27-year-old daughter to a wealthy Hong Kong merchant as a concubine. The father received in exchange a color TV, a radio cassette player and money.

Arranged marriages for political and family reasons is commonplace, as is strict prohibition on free relationships between the sexes, especially among youth. Students in Guangdong who marry face expulsion from school.

Exxon kills oil project

The decision of Exxon Corporation to pull out of the Colony shale oil project effectively kills all prospects that "private industry" will ever exploit the vast shale oil deposits in the United States. Despite a \$1.1 billion government loan guarantee, the project will be phased out, throwing 2,100 of the employees out of work.

Reaganomics has been preaching that "given the proper incentives, private industry would provide for the future oil supplies of the country." They were given billions in tax incentives and exemptions and depreciation allowances and they used the money to acquire other profitable properties.

Reagan's Energy Secretary, James Edwards, has promised that by July of this year his mission, to dissolve the Energy Department, will have been completed. The rape of the nation's oil fields will be in the hands of the U.S. oil giants.

In Canada, Imperial Oil has announced that it has cut its oil exploration program by \$2.4 billion, which will cost 2,100 jobs in Canada.

Throughout the world the oil giants are cutting back on drilling, exploration and production of oil to keep the profit level up and to create their own oil shortage.

Iran-Iraq War

A new stage was reached in the 21-month-old Iran-Iraq war with Iran's retaking of the oil-producing province of Khuzestan in Southern Iran. The casualties, however, for Iran, which has not hesitated to send 10-year-olds to step on mined zones, have been high.

The new stage in the war has also meant a shift in alliances. Thus the large arms shipments from Syria to Iran could not have taken place without the original supplier, Russia's approval. Moscow, which had been riding both horses since the start of the war, appears to have written off Saddam Hussein of Iraq, in the hope of increased influence with the Mullahs' single-party rule.

The U.S. however has become most concerned with the possible fall of Hussein and a further destabilization of the Gulf Region. Whether or not Iran carries the war to Karbala (holy Shi'i city in Iraq), the possibility of a revolution in Iraq as well as Saudi Arabia, Jordan and the Gulf Emirates has led U.S. to ask Israel to stop its arm sales to Iran and to encourage the billions of dollars poured into Iraq by the "oil belt."

Whether this loss will lead to the fall of Saddam's totalitarian regime remains to be seen. As for Iran, the main concern is whether the Mullahs will now direct their forces toward the Kurdish revolutionaries who are continuing to fight Iran's counter-revolution.