

# Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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## Draft Perspectives, 1982-1983—A Philosophy of Revolution Needed: Mass Opposition to Reaganomics and the Drive for Nuclear War

... our epoch is a birth-time and a period of transition.  
— Hegel, Phenomenology

... Alias: Cognition not only reflects the world, but creates it.  
— Lenin, Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic

### I. The Secret Pentagon Document on Nuclear War and the Mass Global Anti-Nuclear Movement



News & Letters photo

June 12, New York City. 800,000 demonstrated. Largest anti-war march in U.S. history.

The dramatically new phenomena in the greatest-ever political demonstration in the U.S., when no less than three-quarters of a million anti-nuclear demonstrators marched in New York on June 12, manifested not only the massiveness of the outpouring, not only the varied composition of the marchers, and not only its internationalism and solidarity with the hundreds of thousands of freedom marchers throughout Europe in opposition to Reagan's nuclear stance, but, above all the depth of their opposition to the totality of Reaganism — economics as well as militarization, racism as well as foreign policy, sexism as well as the renewed drive to draft the youth. Thus:

1) "Make jobs, not war" was the slogan of many in the middle class as well as of factory workers.

2) The opposition to Reagan-racism was evident everywhere. In San Francisco a group of U.S. and Haitian Blacks marched together under their own banner. Moreover, the Black dimension has been integral to anti-war demonstrations ever since the Vietnam War. They have just concluded the long march from Alabama to Washington, D.C.

3) The women not only participated in the protest at the UN but followed that through in other cities and in singling out their solidarity with those women who went on a Hunger Strike for the ERA and chained themselves before the Illinois legislature to denounce Reagan's move backward not only on nuclear questions but on all questions concerning women.

4) The youth, who have always been the most active and resolute in their opposition to the Establishment — whether in the anti-Vietnam War movement or the Mississippi Freedom Schools or the Free Speech Movement, all coalescing in the turbulent 1960s to the point of near-revolution —

were presently displaying the totality of their opposition both as war resisters and draft resisters.

5) Finally, the anti-nuclear marchers made it clear that they were against both the U.S. and the Russian drive to war. Indeed, the demonstration was held not only before the so-called disarmament conference at the whole UN, but was continued at the embassies of all the nuclear powers: Russian as well as U.S., British as well as Chinese, French as well as Israeli and South African.

Notwithstanding this massive, varied, vocal and militant outpouring of opposition to the drive for nuclear war, the Cold War warrior Reagan — who just a few days earlier had been forced by a quarter of a million anti-nuclear protesters in Germany to hypocritically declare, "I would march at your head if . . ." — had actually underwritten the Pentagon's fantastic, secret 125-page document that did nothing short of projecting a strategy for the next five years. Actually what they are doing is preparing for a prolonged five-year nuclear war!

What is needed, therefore, is to look at this actual preparation for nuclear war, articulated secretly, but leaked to a few chosen representatives of the press. (See front page article by Richard Halloran in *The New York Times*, May 30, "Pentagon Draws Up First Strategy for Fighting a Long Nuclear War"; see also *Time*, June 14.)

The secret Pentagon strategy discloses what the U.S. military brass is conniving to unleash. Not only do they think a "tactical war" is "winnable" (sic!), but totally unchained is their concept of the prolonged war they are preparing for. Just read the Pentagon gobbledygook for yourselves: "The U.S. nuclear capabilities must prevail even under the conditions of a prolonged war." Nor does the pro-

longed war put an end to the utterly insane "counterforce" missile-rattling. It speeds to the conclusion: "The U.S. must never emerge from a nuclear war without nuclear weapons . . ."

Totally dismissed was the report of an independent two-year study by a high-level commission on disarmament headed by the former Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme, and including former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, former British Foreign Secretary David Owen, Tanzanian Foreign Minister Salim Salim, and Soviet Central Committee Member Georgi Arbatov. The study assailed the thought that anything less than assured destruction of much of the world would result from any nuclear confrontation.

The massive demonstrations against nuclear weaponry clearly reveal that all the honeyed words of "arms reduction" are fooling no one, any more than does the equally hypocritical Russian declaration not to be the first to use the bomb.

With a nuclear Damocles Sword hanging over civilization's very survival, it becomes imperative for the opposition to nuclear war to grapple creatively with a vision of what a totally new society of truly human relations would be. Toward this end, the 1982-83 Thesis will demonstrate that the hieroglyphic, "3 books, not 1" — far from being a bookish expression that this is the 25th year since the publication of *Marxism and Freedom*, the 10th since the publication of *Philosophy and Revolution*, as well as the year of publication of a new work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* — is, in fact, the summation of 30 years of the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory, and the development in theory toward a new relationship of practice to theory. It is only when the movement from theory is rooted in and meets the challenge of the movement from practice that a new unification of theory and practice can achieve a successful revolution.

The trail to the 1980s, found in the new moments in Marx's thought in the last decade of his life, was this: the need for a "revolution in permanence," one that would continue after power was achieved and thus keep the revolutionary goals from turning into their opposite. It is to that end that both the expression "3 books, not 1" and the Perspectives for 1982-83 are directed. That is the absolute challenge to our age. It becomes necessary to spell this out as we analyze both the mad rulers' "long-range strategy" for nuclear war and the immediate problems of the ever-deepening Recession as well as the ongoing imperialist wars propped up by U.S. imperialism.

(Continued on page 2)

1. Humanities Press in the U.S. and Harvester Press in Britain are bringing out new editions of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom* and *Philosophy and Revolution* this month. (See special ad., p. 12.) They will have her newest work off the press by early fall.

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# News and Letters Committees Draft Perspectives, 1982-1983

## II. The Objective Situation: Reaganomics, Thatcher's Colonialism in the South Atlantic, and Begin's Genocidal War in Lebanon

(Continued from page 1)

The reality of Reaganomics now is: 1) 10½ million unemployed — and that counts only those who still receive compensation, not those who have exhausted theirs and given up any hope of getting work; 2) The youth have it hardest of all (and not only students whose tuition costs have risen to unconscionable heights). For Black youth, the unemployment rate is now 60 percent overall in industrial centers, and 85 percent in Detroit; 3) Women, who were among the first to lose their jobs, have retained what jobs they still hold because they get the lowest pay; 4) There is such deep discontent among rank-and-file workers who have been forced by the labor bureaucracy to accept all kinds of concessions and give-backs, that nobody doubts that the winter of discontent, far from being over, is sure to flare up to revolt dimensions.

Lest Reagan has forgotten what economy he is attempting to roll even further back, there is a fundamental difference between an ordinary cyclical crisis and the 1974-75 Recession that not only is still with us but that he is exacerbating. To grasp the difference between ordinary cyclical crises such as occurred in the so-called prosperity period after the war — when all of West Europe and Japan were saved from total collapse by the Marshall Plan of economic aid followed by U.S. multi-nationals dominating the world and the U.S.'s nuclear umbrella — and the period since 1974-75, all one needs to remember is that from 1945 to 1974 the average rate of growth in industrial production was four percent (with the lowest at two percent and highest six to eight percent and with Japan topping it at ten percent). **Beginning with 1974-75 and continuing to today, it is less than one percent, with the highest never reaching above two or three percent.** Where U.S. state-intervention could in the past assure the monopolists super-profits both at home and abroad, that has reached a dead-end.

**So critical are both the deep economic Recession in the U.S. and the disintegrative state of NATO — i.e., Reagan's foreign policy — that any crisis, no matter where, immediately takes front center of the historic stage. Thus, the Falklands/Malvinas conflict, which first gave Reagan the illusion that he could play a "neutral" game between Britain and Argentina, soon became, instead, the total expose of NATO's "Atlanticism" as it revealed one more display of global imperialism with its outreach spelling out its death agony. It is this which is compelling Reagan to place his counter-revolutionary "urgencies" in Latin America on the back burner.**

The U.S. rulers never did depart from the Cold War, not only against Russia, but reaching into Africa where, from the very start of the African revolutions, U.S. imperialism was engaged — with the connivance of the UN — in plotting the murder of Lumumba. Just as the so-called "Atlantic" Alliance had long since designated Japan as "the West," and just as the U.S. declared the Persian Gulf to be its "national" interest when the Iranian Revolution burst forth, so now Reagan's retrograde politics are deepening in the U.S. itself against rank-and-file labor, Blacks, youth and women.

The reality of the Vietnam War is that they "lost" Vietnam (which was never theirs), both because Vietnam defeated U.S. imperialism on the battlefield, and because within the U.S. there arose a strong and massive anti-Vietnam War Youth movement, which had been preceded in 1960 by the Black Revolution and was followed by the emergence of the Women's Liberation Movement.

At the same time, the U.S. lost the air of invincibility with their co-capitalist West European rulers. By 1973, the Arab-Israeli War was soon followed by a shocking four-fold increase in the price of oil (which is now 12-fold!). That spelled the end of cheap oil and raw materials on which imperialism had gluttonously enriched itself. By 1974-75, it all added up to the deepest recession ever since the Depression. **This was by no means an ordinary economic cyclical crisis followed by a boom. It was so internal, so structural, so deep in the vitals of the capitalist production system that**



Israel's blitzkrieg of Lebanon destroyed huge sections of west Beirut.

it spelled out the truth of capitalism in its death agony: there would be no more booms.

The Recession that is now prevalent in the U.S. is by no means limited to this country. It is world-wide. In Great Britain the economic crisis and the massive proletarian opposition to it was definitely moving to throw out the Conservative government when war was declared against Argentina. Argentina embarked on that adventure when the discontent in that country was so great that a General Strike was actually in progress. Thatcher, no doubt, is convinced that the chauvinistic patriotism she aroused has saved her regime, but a deeper look into the whirlwind that war produced will show that, far from solving the economic crisis, it deepened it — and has moved the political crisis from being just a British phenomenon to one that calls into question the structure of NATO and creates the ground for a total shift in the relationship of the entire Latin American continent and the Western powers. This freedom dimension begins where decolonization ended; that is, with the realization that decolonization even after India and even after Suez had not ended imperialism's insatiable hunger to re-establish it in new forms, and that the need therefore was to continue Latin America's struggle not only against Britain but against U.S. imperialism.

**Thatcher's military "victory" in the Falklands over the Malvinas, far from assuring that she can transform that outpost into "a fortress" for British imperialism, is sounding the empire's death knell. Although it will be a long time before all the actual costs are known, that war has already cost Britain no less than \$3 billion, not to mention the thousand dead British and Argentine youth. It will be more than those thousand that will haunt her. It will be the millions of living opponents — and not only in Argentina or even the whole of Latin America, but in the entire Third World.**

The hatred that the neo-fascistic regime in Argentina had earned for itself from its own people — and, indeed, the whole world<sup>2</sup>—has now been transformed into red-hot hatred for British imperialism with its great delusion of empire-building, which at this very moment has extended itself also to Antarctica. This "victory" is a Pyrrhic one. What it discloses is that imperialism keeps revealing its mailed fist. It must be totally destroyed and uprooted.

Indeed, that is what has been initiated by the victors themselves, who, in the process of achieving victory reached both the beginning of their own end as an empire and the undermining of NATO itself. It is clear now that what the ruling classes initiated in a "simple war" over "sovereignty" of some barren islands, and the passions it aroused in the Latin American masses opposing ever-renewed colonialism, are worlds apart. And that is no mere geographic dimension but one that is measured in freedom aspirations.

The totality of the economic-political crises is now enveloping not only the U.S. and West European imperialism but Russian state-capitalism as it extends its imperialist rule from East Europe to Afghanistan. The counter-revolution

that Russia and its puppet, General Jaruzelski, imposed on the Polish people has not closed that chapter of history. Quite the contrary. The revolt of the Polish masses began a totally new historic stage of rebellion and a new form of practicing truly human relations of mass control over production and politics with the creation of Solidarity. That great movement has by no means died with the imposition of military rule last December 13. The mass opposition and its search also for a philosophy of revolution is continuing.<sup>3</sup>

The crises have taken their most monstrous shape now in Israel's genocidal war still ongoing in Lebanon. The wanton invasion of that land and the barbaric destruction which, in six days, caused the death of over 10,000 people and left hundreds of thousands homeless, seems to show there are no limits to the imperialist aims for a "Biblical" Eretz Israel, Begin-Sharon style. Begin the terrorist had from the start dreamed of that type of Eretz Israel (Land of Israel) and fought the Jewish leadership<sup>4</sup> anxious to found a homeland, no matter how small, for Jews after the Holocaust. And Sharon has rejected even Begin's minor attempts at compromise. Look at what these two are reaping now:

Where Israel's declared aim was to drive the PLO from where it could and did engage in terrorist attacks on Israel, Begin-Sharon have shown total disregard for the civilian population, Lebanese as well as Palestinian, and Palestinian whether or not they were PLO. The destructiveness of their military might does not stop them because the destruction of Lebanon is exactly what they are driving for. It is true that, above all, they want to destroy the PLO. It is not true that they do not want "a single inch" of Lebanon's territory. They want the whole of Lebanon under control of a

(Continued on page 11)

3. See our 1981-82 Perspectives Thesis which had analyzed that movement before martial law was imposed, and our Lead-Editorial in the January-February 1982 N&L on the situation after that counter-revolutionary crackdown.

4. On Dec. 4, 1948, The New York Times ran a letter signed by 28 of America's most respected Jews, including Albert Einstein and Rabbi Cardozo, which protested the visit of Menachem Begin, then leader of the Herut Party, which it described as "closely akin in its organization, methods, political philosophy and social appeal to the Nazi and Fascist parties."

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2. With the exception of U.S. imperialism's ambassador to the UN, Jeane Kirkpatrick, who invented a difference between acceptable fascist authoritarians and unacceptable totalitarians, the whole world looked aghast as it realized that the inspiration for such distinctions stemmed from Reagan-Haig trying to win Argentina's support for the genocidal war in El Salvador.

# Black America confronts the racism of Reagan's America

My colleague Lou Turner has written some of his thoughts on the Black movement under Reaganism. Because this is so important a question I want to share what he wrote with the readers of News & Letters and have turned over the space of Worker's Journal and the Lead for this purpose—Charles Denby.

by Lou Turner

The historic June 12 anti-nuclear rallies in New York and San Francisco, scheduled to coincide with the UN Special Session on Disarmament, revealed not only a new stage of the anti-war movement in the unprecedented numbers which turned out, but manifested some old contradictions, as well.

The divisions in the coalition which organized the New York rally, over the question of limiting it to the single issue of "nuclear freeze," have emerged in anti-nuclear activities nationally. Nowhere have those divisions been more glaring than in the tremendous difficulties Black America has faced when it has attempted to push the anti-nuclear movement to confront Reagan's war at home.

On June 12 in New York City, more than three-quarters of a million marched in the most massive anti-nuclear demonstration ever. Yet those same streets of New York were, only nine days later, the scene of the latest, and most brutal, racist murder of a Black man. On the night of June 21 William Turks, a New York City transit worker, was driving with two fellow workers in a white Brooklyn neighborhood when he was set upon by some two dozen whites who shouted racist slogans, dragged Turks and the others out of their car and began beating them. Turks was beaten to death. (See story p. 5)

In the San Francisco Bay Area, the June 12 Coalition had also insisted upon limiting their protest to a call for a "nuclear freeze." For this reason, the Black contingent in the Coalition decided to march under its own banner—for "Human Needs." A coalition of American Blacks and Haitians had tried to gain three minutes at the rally to speak. But the organizing coalition didn't think the Haitian question was significant enough to warrant any speaking time. (See "Blacks and Anti-Nuke Movement," page 9.)

Whether it was as a separate Black contingent marching under the banner of "Nuclear Disarmament and Human Needs," or as the Black dimension to be found in the trade union contingents in the rallies,

Black America's participation, even if still a small one, proved to be an exciting development. Not only did it involve revolutionary opposition on so high a level that it exposed the racism of Reagan's drive to war, but it exposed his reactionary Reaganomics that is rolling the clock back on every labor achievement since the creation of the CIO. Most vicious are his attacks on the millions of jobless, especially Black youth, who are unemployed at the incredible rate of 85 percent in cities like Detroit.

The difficulty this Black dimension has in bringing out the need for the anti-nuclear movement to confront Reagan's war at home, shows what an incubus Reagan's ideology is on the thinking of anti-Reagan ideologues and activists. The Black dimension is not alone the touchstone that puts American capitalism, American civilization, on trial. It is as well the touchstone for those who proclaim their intention to be rid of this nuclear-armed, class-ridden, racist, sexist society.

Recently, when President Reagan visited a Black family whose house had been fire-bombed in a Maryland community by the Klan, a reporter asked him what he could do for the Black family. Reagan shrugged and said that there was nothing that he could do. When details of his proposed tax break to racially segregated schools were revealed, Reagan's response was that his intent was not racist but economic. When the Administration's attempt to water-down the Voting Rights Act drew charges of racism, Reagan spoke abstractly of being for no more fundamental right than voting rights. And when the State Department sought a new re-alignment with apartheid South Africa, at the very moment that that fascist regime was stepping up repression inside its borders while launching search-and-destroy missions into Angola, Reagan babbled on about exerting moral pressure on South Africa to "continue" its reform of apartheid.

## APPOINTING CONSERVATIVE BLACKS

There is nothing new about presidents and politicians saying one thing and doing another. However, Reagan's racist hypocrisy is so blatant that even his actor's smile cannot hide it. Thus, he has named token Blacks to government posts, such as Samuel Pierce to oversee the dismantling of the office of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

Despite the protest of nearly all the civil rights organizations, he has attempted to name to the Civil Rights Commission conservative Blacks who view affirmative action as a failure and the Voting Rights Act as a "sym-

bol" that has outlived its purpose. The image of these "New Right" Black bureaucrats seems so unreal that, in the words of Gil-Scott Heron's anti-Reagan song—"this can't be real, this must be Hollywood." It looks as if wealth has even swallowed their Blackness.

Even when all the outward pretense is stripped away, there is still more to Reagan's racism than meets the eye. It is the ideology of Reaganomics which is not limited to Ronald Reagan, but permeates many of the ideologues who oppose Reagan, as well. We have been witness, for instance, to Clarence Mitchell, chairman of the National State Assembly Black Caucuses, signing an ad in the New York Times calling for the de-regulation of the utilities which would drive rates even higher.

We have heard Black California State Assembly Speaker, Willie Brown, advise Black politicians to de-emphasize "Black issues" because such questions as affirmative action, police abuse, welfare cut-backs, jobs, etc. are "the graveyard of Black politicians" in the (Continued on page 9)

## Pilgrimage for voting rights

by Ray McKay

Washington, D.C. — On June 23, we entered Washington over the 14th Street bridge from Arlington, Va. There were 400 to 500 of us chanting and singing, as we marched our way through Washington from the bridge to Lafayette Park in front of the White House. After a brief rally in the park, we marched to the Capitol for an even bigger rally. Later, Resurrection City II was set up on the site of the original Resurrection City of the Poor Peoples Campaign of 1968.

The march into Washington was the culmination of a 2,000-mile Pilgrimage for Voting Rights, Peace and Jobs. Sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the pilgrimage started in Tuskegee, Ala. on April 19. Between 60 and 75 people have marched their way through Alabama, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia. The pilgrims were both young and old, students, workers, unemployed, men and women from all over the South.

## NORTH CAROLINA ARREST

The marchers received support all along their route. In some cities and towns as many as 2,000 came out to march with them. In the words of one pilgrim, "It's been (Continued on page 9)

# June marches mark depth of opposition to nuclear war and war makers

## June 12: 800,000

New York, N.Y. — The three-quarters of a million people who jammed into New York made this the largest anti-war demonstration in U.S. history, one which was equally an anti-Reagan protest. When I finally got to Sheep Meadow in Central Park I gasped at the sight of all those people.

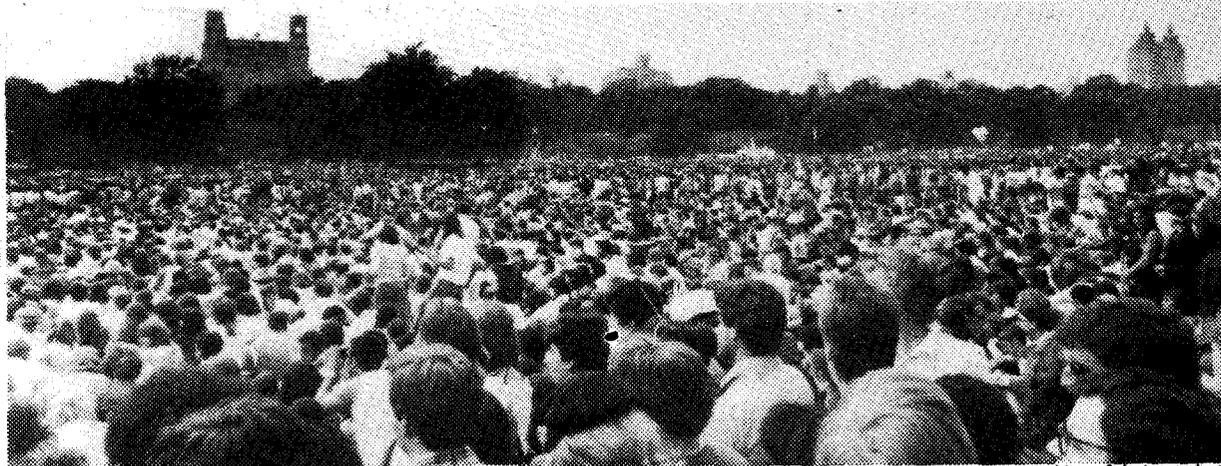
It is hard to draw conclusions but concretely I wanted to know what had drawn all those people. The idea that hundreds of thousands would be turning out was itself a magnet. Then there was the pull of the objective situation, including the publication just one week before of a story that the Pentagon had completed a secret study about its plans for a prolonged nuclear war.

People certainly felt they were at an historical event. Masses upon masses assembled in a 15 block area, marched past the UN and into the park. As I saw the contingents and the tremendous creativity in signs and in costumes, it was obvious that it was not simply a uni-dimensional demand that brought people together, but that people had many many specific thoughts.

I was selling News & Letters and had a chance to have a number of conversations which help see why people came and what directions people are looking toward in the period after June 12.

A young Black worker, Curtis, asked, "Why do some people come together for something like this, but then later end up being violent against the people they are with?" He was together with the demonstrators now, but would they be with him when as a Black person he raised questions of his own freedom?

(Continued on page 9)



Part of the 800,000 that marched in New York June 12 against nuclear weapons.

## June 8: anti-Khomeini

New York, N.Y.—As demonstrators began to gather in front of the United Nations for a picket-line organized by five Iranian student groups, including I.S.A. (Left Platform), to protest the presence at the Special Session on Disarmament of the Khomeini government's Foreign Minister, Ali Akbar Velayati, around 30 Hezbollah, or thugs, attacked them with clubs.

The demonstration grew to 150 Iranians and supporters, condemning the Iran-Iraq war, calling for turning it into a fight against the regimes of both countries, the release of 40,000 political prisoners, and an end to the massacre of the Kurdish people resulting from the bombing of towns and villages.

Though nearly every major media came to cover the protest, it received virtually no exposure. However, during his UN speech, Akbar Velayati was confronted by an Iranian student, who tore up the prepared speech, took the microphone away, and called for the downfall of the Khomeini government. —Participant

## June 18: anti-Begin

New York, N.Y. — Beginning at 10 a.m. and lasting until 6:30 p.m., thousands marched against Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's appearance in the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, as he at that same moment was carrying on his brutal invasion of Lebanon. The demonstration moved from the UN to the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, where he was staying.

Many kinds of people from different places came to participate. They opposed Begin's imperialistic policy against the Palestinians on

the West Bank and in Lebanon, and wanted to show their solidarity with the Palestinian fight for national self-determination. Among those demonstrating were many nationalities, including Palestinians, Lebanese, Iranians, Egyptians, Yemenis, and both Israeli and American Jews.

This was one of many demonstrations coinciding with the occasion of the UN's Session on Disarmament. But even the one of more than a half-million opposing nuclear war June 12 didn't have the feeling of intensity and urgency shown against Begin's atrocious actual war, resulting in thousands of deaths and huge destruction in Lebanon, which is in danger of becoming another occupied Arab land.

Finally, I want to say that the demonstration proves that many people want to support the Palestinians, and that people are ready to learn more about the situation and activities of the day-to-day struggle of the Palestinian people. The feeling from the demonstrators was, "Together, let us hold the Palestinian flag again."

— Palestinian woman

# Feminist passion undefeated despite ERA loss

*Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)*

Detroit, Mich. — Some 400 spirited women and men gathered in downtown Detroit on July 1 to proclaim their determination to carry on the struggle for women's rights despite the passing of the June 30 deadline for the ratification of the ERA, with only 35 out of the needed 38 states having ratified the amendment.

The rally, like the 200 others held the same day across the nation, showed that women's liberationists, far from feeling defeated, are more determined than ever to challenge a society that cannot even grant us the basic democratic right of "equality."

In Battle Creek, Mich., women gathered at the grave of Sojourner Truth, in recognition of her creative role as both abolitionist and women's rights advocate. In Salt Lake City, protesters marched on a Mormon Temple, while women in Washington D.C. drew blood from their arms and spilled it on copies of the U.S. Constitution.

## 'WOMEN HUNGER FOR JUSTICE'

Indeed, the months leading up to the ratification deadline had brought out thousands of women. Eleven thousand ERA supporters rallied in Oklahoma City on June 6, while more than 10,000 simultaneously marched on the state house in Tallahassee, Fla. That same day, 10,000 gathered in Raleigh, N.C., chanting "ERA won't go away," as their response to the June 4 vote of the North Carolina Senate to table the amendment.

But it was Illinois, the only northern, industrialized state that failed to ratify the ERA, that became the focus of the movement in the final few months, as 15,000 marched in Springfield on June 6, while eight women went on a "Hunger for Justice" fast, and 17 women chained themselves outside the Illinois state Senate.

With the June 22 failure of the Illinois Legislature to ratify the ERA, the movement leadership concluded that the legislative process is a "sham," and therefore what is needed is to elect feminist women to replace the male legislators. More to the point, however, are the multi-dimensional ways in which American women are expressing their anger and their passion for freedom, searching for new pathways forward.

Thus, women attending the Detroit rally July 1 wanted to discuss not only the ERA defeat, but the ongoing Israeli war in Lebanon as well as the recession and unemployment all Detroiters are suffering from. In Los

Angeles, at a July 1 candlelight vigil attended by about 2,000 people, Latinas expressed interest in Marxist-Humanist writings on the Latino dimension, and Iranian feminists participated both in solidarity with American women as well as with their sisters fighting Khomeini. **FEMINISTS AGAINST MILITARISM**

What is crucial for the development of the Women's Liberation Movement at this stage is the further working out of the theme expressed on a placard at the New York June 12 mass disarmament protest: "A Feminist



Chained women chant outside Illinois Senate, June 3.

World is a Nuclear-Free Zone."

Indeed, that whole dimension of feminists against militarism has so deepened this past year that whereas previously official spokeswomen for the ERA "opposed" the draft but favored it for women "if" it were the law, this time—July 2—when both Maryland Congresswoman Barbara Mikulski and anti-ERA activist Phyllis Schlafly were interviewed on ABC's "Nightline" program, and Schlafly harped endlessly on about how we don't want our daughters to be cannon fodder, Mikulski finally blurted out: But we don't want our daughters or sons to be cannon fodder! We, in the ERA movement, are active in the anti-war and nuclear freeze campaigns!

And, in fact, Schlafly, who once said that God gave America the atom bomb, has now turned her energy against the nuclear freeze movement.

That threat—and the reality—of war is indeed a problematic going far beyond any single-issue ERA focus. The passions of Women's Liberation globally for not only "equality" but full freedom and totally new human relations, in a nuclear-free, non-sexist, non-racist, class-less world, will surely be searching for expression and direction in the months to come.

—Women's Liberation—News and Letters Committees

## Guatemala, El Salvador

### Central America's revolutionary women

*Editor's Note: Following are excerpts from a News & Letters interview of Rigoberta Menchu, a 23-year-old Quiche Indian from Guatemala, a leader of the Vicente Menchu Revolutionary Christians and member of the Guatemalan Patriotic Unity Committee. She is currently in exile after her parents and brother were assassinated by the military, her father being one of the 39 peasants who died in the Spanish Embassy fire two years ago.*

Definitely, our revolutionary process learned a lot from the decade of the '60s, when there was no massive support from the Guatemalan people, and the movement had not gained the trust of the Indians who are the majority of the country. We are 22 distinct peoples in 22 territories, who speak and dress differently and form 74 percent of the population. And today it is precisely the indigenous peoples who have in a majority joined the popular war.

It was always said, "Poor Indians, they cannot speak for themselves so we will speak for them." This is a lie, as now in practice we Indians have a voice, we know how to criticize and how to think.

We know that Indians have our Mayan science in which our ancestors passed on to us their love of nature; we have our beliefs and no one can take these away. We defend them both now when we are at war, and later when we are in a new society.

The assassinations of our parents and grandparents endangers our culture. Now even the indigenous children are being kidnapped, and they are our future. We are alive today only because we know how to eat roots and leaves, because there is never even corn to last the year. They massacre us now with bombardments and assassinations, but they have always massacred us with starvation.

Therefore one of our demands is that we have land, that the majority of the fertile land not be in the hands of landlords and generals as it is now. Nor do we believe that the change will be made on a specific date, for you can put neither time nor date on a war, and we are dealing with a profound change. And when we do seize power, that will not be the total change. That will be only a step in the change we want to create in a new Guatemala.

—Rigoberta Menchu



## women-worldwide

Hundreds of Israeli women, chanting anti-war slogans and dressed in mourning black, demonstrated outside the Israeli parliament in Jerusalem on June 24, in that country's first sizable protest against the invasion of Lebanon. "I think only disaster can come of this war," one woman said.

Women in Pikeville, Ky., have organized a new group to support organizing efforts of the United Mine Workers of America, District 30. The UMWA Auxiliary is officially separate and autonomous from the union and from the several other such groups in W. Virginia, Ohio and Pennsylvania formed in the last year. They can be contacted by writing President Eula Hall, c/o Mud Creek Health Clinic, Rte. 2, Box 170, Craynor, Ky. 41614. (Information from Mountain Life and Work)

In Australia, the first National Forum for Black, Immigrant and Third World Women was held in March in Newtown, Sydney. The forum was attended by 60 women representing 25 ethnic groups who discussed three main themes: sexism and racism in Australia, the struggle of women in other countries, especially the Third World, and the relevance of the Women's Liberation Movement. An information and support network was formed, and the collective which organized the conference has continued meeting on a regular basis.

(Information from Women at Work)

Merle Woo is fighting to keep her teaching position at the University of California-Berkeley. The UC administration and Ling-Chi Wang, head of Asian-American Studies, have attacked Woo for her outspokenness as an Asian-American lesbian socialist-feminist who has spent four years working to establish a Third World College, supporting student and community participation in decision-making, and teaching independent classes on Asian and Third World Women.

By reclassifying her to "visiting lecturer" which has a four-year limit, the administration hopes to get rid of her on a "technical" basis. But Woo has made her stand on free speech and academic freedom, and her defense committee is asking for donations and letters of support which should be sent to: Merle Woo Defense Committee, 5121 Miles St., Oakland, CA 94618.

## 'Home work' no liberation

New York, N.Y. — A discussion of "Women, Work and Organizing in the 1980s" at the New York Marxist School in June revealed how bad the prospects are for women workers. Debbie Bell, research economist for AFSCME, spoke about the public sector, which employs women particularly in clerical and hospital jobs, while Elizabeth Weiner talked about garment workers and the growing threat of "home work."

Bell dispelled the myth that women workers are better off in the public sector than the private. For example, part-time workers, of which there are many, usually get no pension, and a typical full-time clerical worker retiring after 20 years gets a pension of \$1,500 a year. Many get no Social Security, which is optional for some public employers. Whether public employees can even attempt to unionize is dependent on state law.

Ms. Weiner spoke about the growing trend backward to "home work," in which workers take material home instead of working in the factory. This is illegal in the U.S., although Reagan tried to change the regulations last year, but it is increasing in garment and other industries such as jewelry-making and pen assembly. It is common around the world in labor intensive industries.

Home work is very much related to sex, since many women are forced into it by lack of child care, and to race, since it is most common for undocumented or unskilled Third World women. It is also a method for exploiting disabled women who cannot come to the factory. Home work means that the worker absorbs all the costs of overhead (paying for her own sewing machine, electricity, and thread), training, and transportation of materials to and from the factory.

An Israeli woman in the audience described the garment sweat shops and home work employing Palestinian women in similar conditions, and I spoke about the same situation in Peru. In both those countries, it is estimated that only one out of five garment workers works in a factory.

Weiner warned women not to be taken in by the pseudo-feminist argument that home work answers women's desire for part-time jobs and need for child care. Rather, it is a trend toward the further isolation and impoverishment of women.

New York, N.Y. — The Women's Association of El Salvador (AMES) has a chapter in New York (PO Box 1308, Brooklyn, NY 11234). At a meeting co-sponsored by Women's Office for Chile, Margarita Ramirez of AMES described the condition of Salvadoran women, many of whom are forced into domestic work because of illiteracy and discrimination. Domestic work from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m. for \$30 to \$50 a month, and are subject to sexual abuse.

Another typical job is street vendor, with long hours in unsanitary conditions and abuse by the police.

AMES was begun to incorporate women into the struggle to overthrow the government, and as a vehicle for women to fight for their rights. Today women make up to 40 percent of the guerrilla forces in El Salvador, and are included in the combat and political leadership of the FMLN-FDR. A 60-year-old woman, Ana Maria, is second in command in the FPL, the largest fighting force. In addition, women are organizing strikes, fighting street battles and running refugee camps.

Further, Margarita Ramirez pointed out, "As the revolutionary process develops, the incorporation of women grows. In Nicaragua it was greater than Cuba; El Salvador is more than Nicaragua; and we are sure that Guatemala will be greater than El Salvador." Today 50 percent of the guerrillas in Guatemala are Indian women.

AMES has brought out the feminist dimension in the Salvadoran revolution by publicizing not only the tremendous participation of women in the guerrilla movements, but also the changed Man/Woman relationships already begun in the liberated zones of the country. There, work is assigned by the revolutionary organizations without regard to sex, whether it is in the battlefield or home, with men doing an equal share of child care and domestic work.

AMES members admit this equality is imposed by "revolutionary discipline" now, but say that equality in the revolutionary organizations is the foundation for the total emancipation of women after the revolution succeeds. "The process will go on," said Sylvia Sandoval. "Women won't go back to the kitchen."

— Anne Molly Jackson



Over 20,000 unemployed people, of all ages, lined up in Chicago to apply for a handful of temporary, near-minimum wage government youth jobs (see Readers' Views, page 6).

## UAW backs legal lay-offs to defeat worker rage

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

There was no standing room left at the special GM South Gate union meeting called on June 15. The local leadership called Robert Walker, the International representative who hoodwinked the majority of workers that voted to buy the last contract, to come back and help them in answering the workers' questions on the state of their SUB benefits after the plant closed.

Now that we are laid off after we've paid into the SUB fund, the union wants to cut back the credit units due each worker according to seniority. A credit unit is one week's pay, which means in money to each worker laid-off: \$268.

### COMPANY KEEPS SUB

When the workers work, the company puts 29 cents per hour in the SUB fund. This is part of the workers' hourly, negotiated wage. When the fund reaches a level of 52 credit units or a year's wages the company stops putting the 29 cents in the fund. The company pockets that money, no matter how long the worker works without being laid-off.

The International rep. said, "A worker with one to five years seniority will give up 10 credits to draw one credit; 5 to 10 years seniority will give up five credits for one; 10 to 15 years seniority will give up two for one; 15 to 20 years seniority will give up one and a percentage of another; and 20 to 30 years seniority will draw one for one."

The first question came from a worker who pointed out how he told everyone before the contract concessions were voted on that the union leadership had sold the workers down the river. Instead of responding, Walker said he didn't want to get in a debate with the workers. Question after question the workers asked, but each said their question was not answered.

The question that got rip-roaring applause from the floor was, "What is the international leadership doing about the millions that General Motors is investing in auto companies in Japan? We were told by you that if we accepted these concessions in the last contract that General Motors would use that money to get the unemployed auto workers back to work in this country."

That question was answered by referring to paragraph 8 of the national agreement which states that GM has sole control over production. I couldn't understand why he wasn't hung on the spot.

## Don't shop at Payless!

Oakland, Cal. — Last August, the employees of Payless Drugstores voted to go union with the Retail Clerks Union (RCU). Payless went to the bargaining table after that, but wouldn't negotiate a contract, so RCU filed suit with the National Labor Relations Board over unfair labor practices. But we haven't gotten any response, because Reagan has put the NLRB on vacation.

The main concern for the contract was not pay but security. Older employees with families were being harassed off the job. One result is a big turnover. You're lucky to find a four-year employee. When you get up to making around \$6.50 an hour, you start getting bad shifts and hours. If Payless can make you quit, they then hire someone for half your pay.

Another problem is job descriptions. You're supposed to begin as a courtesy clerk at about \$3.65 an hour. Then you go to cashier, nursery and warehouse. When Payless cut back on warehouse hours, they had clerks driving forklifts and doing stock for half of what they should get for that job. They also harass you by taking you off a job you worked for a long time, like the cash register, and putting you out in the parking lot.

We have an informational picket line asking people not to shop at Payless. When a truck crosses our line, we document it for our union officials, to get in touch with the driver's union and ask for support. The Teamsters endorsed our action, but drivers who supported us at the beginning are now crossing the line. If our union was doing their job, the drivers wouldn't be crossing.

When the government broke the air controllers' union, it was the beginning of trying to break all unions. People won't work without a contract, but they know the union leaders aren't doing all they can.

We need more people on the picket line. We need to get in touch with union distributors who are affiliated with Payless and get their support. Then we could take care of this without the NLRB.

—Unemployed RCU member

When the meeting ended the local leadership had buses waiting to take workers to Sacramento to lobby for the plant closing bill in the state assembly. The bill, if passed, would guarantee workers six months notice and financial protections if their employer shuts down the plant.

### BUREAUCRATS GAVE UP

What these labor leaders are asking for and trying to get passed in the capitalist-controlled state government is what the same union leaders gave up in concessions to the corporations. And, already they are worried about asking too much! The labor leaders say the bill was previously amended to reduce the required advance notice from one year to six months. Now, they are saying that for the bill to pass it will have to be reduced again. This is an insult to the working class.

The workers are seeing that all the union leadership has to offer them is nothing but run-arounds and double talk. If workers are to survive this crisis they, themselves, have to take power in their hands. Labor together can produce or change anything — let's begin by getting together to discuss these problems ourselves.

## Subway worker's racist murder

New York — Three Black subway repair workers were beaten and one of them, Willie Turks, 34 years old, was murdered, when a gang of 15 or more white youths attacked them in Brooklyn in June. They simply wanted to buy a coffee near where they worked, at the Coney Island subway repair shop, on a street which many whites have tried to make "off limits" to Blacks. Instead, they were taunted with racial insults, and their car was damaged. When it stalled as the three men tried to drive away, they were beaten up. Two managed to run away, but Willie Turks was caught by the racist gang, and stomped and beaten to death.

Black workers at the transit repair shop stated: "You can't go down that street . . . I come to work here, I bring my own coffee pot and I make coffee and stay inside. I don't even go around here for coffee. Whites and Blacks told me this place is dangerous at night. You got all these young mob men. Macho men."

To me, the most shocking thing was just how young the racist gang in Brooklyn was: the first two youths arrested were only 17! While all bourgeois institutions from the police to the Mayor have condemned this attack, the media do not of course make the connection between the racism of the Mayor and that of these white youths, or with that of the Brooklyn police, who have murdered more minority youth in the last few years than the rest of the police combined.

—Kevin A. Barry

## Sewage plant safety battle

Detroit, Mich. — Out at Detroit's Sewage Treatment Plant — the world's largest — health and safety are crucial issues. We have enough chlorine out there to wipe out all of Southwest Detroit. We have enough liquid oxygen to have almost a minor nuclear explosion. About two years ago we had an accident, a chlorine leak—we had about five people who were overcome.

But chlorine is so lethal that when you see it, it's too late, you're dead. So the union grievance committee expressed concern about some of the hazards that we encounter on the job on a day-to-day basis. And also for an evacuation plan — but they don't have an evacuation plan — they don't even have fire drills.

We've had a couple guys that were killed, from fumes, in the toilet. You breathe in those fumes every day for 20 or 30 years, it's going to have an effect on you. If someone like Mike Wallace came along and re-examined all the people that retired, you'd find out that not too long after they retired they died. But I'm sure the City hasn't done that kind of research, and it needs to be done.

Management provides protective clothing to the workers that they say are in the physical surroundings of the plant. Clerical workers, in a separate local within AFSCME, have had a difficult time trying to get protective clothing — the City says we don't work inside the plant. But the pollutants are all around you.

It doesn't take a genius to figure out that you're inhaling that stuff. They don't provide clothing or respirators. It has been a long struggle just to get goggles. The City is not that concerned about health and safety for clerical employees, or any employees.

—Water Department worker



by John Marcotte

In the last few months, U.S. workers have mounted a small but growing organized resistance to the class warfare waged against them under the banner of Reaganism, plant shutdowns and givebacks. When on June 18 the local union presidents of the United Steelworkers of America voted 263 to 79 to begin talks aimed at giving the eight major steel companies givebacks, they acted in the face of strong opposition, as from Locals 1010 of Chicago and 1397 of Homestead, Pa., where workers said, "We are being asked to finance the elimination of our jobs."

The highpoint so far has been the victorious, nearly seven month strike of 3,700 members of the United Electrical Workers Local 610 against the giveback demands of the Westinghouse Air Brake Co. and the Switch and Signal Co., Pittsburgh area subsidiaries of American Standard. The strikers received solidarity from other workers, from hospital to dry cleaning to mine workers.

GM workers are outraged at GM's demands for further givebacks, mostly on working conditions at the local level, and their resistance is growing. The temper of GM workers is boiling both against the company and the UAW sell-out leadership. It can't be forgotten that only 52 percent of those who voted approved the \$2.5 billion in national givebacks.

Also very important will be the actions of the 45,000 Canadian autoworkers whose contracts with GM, Ford and Chrysler expire Sept. 14. The Canadian workers are so militantly opposed to the very idea of givebacks that even their UAW leaders have been pushed to talk of leaving the UAW if need be.

Even the two million-member Canadian Labor Congress (CLC), at its May convention, felt this rank-and-file pressure so strong it came out squarely against any givebacks, and for a general strike if need be to stop wage controls. CLC president Dennis McDermott, a former UAW international vice president, said, "Unions that fail to advance, unions that are compelled to walk backwards, at best will lose credibility with working people, at worst they will be destroyed."

Does he see the handwriting on the wall? While he talked, 10,000 steelworkers struck the International Nickel Co. in Sudbury, Ontario, refusing a three-year contract with no real wage gains.

The anger and resolve, the passions and ideas expressed by one half million workers last September on Solidarity Day are now beginning to take organized form. The capitalists as well as the present generation of sell-out union leaders are sorely mistaken if they think the game will stay for long in their hands.

## Rule by rumor at Schwinn

Chicago, Ill. — We have been listening to rumors about Schwinn closing. They just keep saying they are going to move, leaving us in suspense. There doesn't seem to be anything we can do about it. The company doesn't care about anybody. It doesn't matter if you have 30 years or 15. They just fired a guy with 28 years just like that.

Before the union came in, this time of year we'd be working ten hours. Now we sometimes work two weeks out of the month. I couldn't blame that on the union, they came in for our benefit. It is the company. In welding, two robots do what six people used to.

Now they say we'll be off again for three weeks until July 6 and there's nothing to do but go along with them. They keep sending more work to their non-union plant in Mississippi and keep cutting down on ours. It might be good to talk to those workers.

If the company would just say when they are closing the plant, everybody would know — one year, nine months. But they keep you in suspense: "The plant is moving!" "The plant is moving!"

—Schwinn worker

## MANY VOICES OF ANTI-NUKE PEACE MOVEMENT

I feel very hopeful for the anti-nuke peace movement in this country after seeing almost a million people pour out in New York on June 12. I don't know whether the demonstration and the arms race worldwide has touched almost everyone or what, but I was sure surprised after my ballet class on the 12th, when my teacher, instead of his usual comments on improving my balances or pirouettes (the only subject he seemed to care about), turned to me and said, "Isn't all this money being spent on nuclear war ridiculous?" Surely, I thought, he was angry because it took money from the arts, especially ballet, which I resent a great deal too. But, no. His objection, I was happy to hear, was the money spent on war and the end of human life. I don't know if the demonstration started people talking, but the question in my mind becomes not only why people are talking but that they are talking, not just quietly thinking to themselves.

**Struggling ballerina  
Chicago**

The prop I loved the most at the New York anti-nuke demonstration was the giant whale carrying a sign around it: "Save the humans."

**Marcher  
Michigan**

While it was great to see 50,000 marchers in Chicago determined to prevent nuclear war, it would be unwise to ignore the differences that were voiced. Many people in the crowd sensed a division between leaders and ranks. Some women said there was homage paid to the "elite—doctors and scientists"; a Vietnam veteran was displeased that the two main speakers were a politician and a very moderate doctor; a woman complained that some people were only interested in opposing nuclear wars, as if other wars were all right . . . The crowd was still almost entirely white.

To me, the development of a growing anti-nuke movement hinges on its relationship to the emerging human forces for deep social change. We need to ask how the movement can develop itself with the recognition that it's not nuclear power that's the determinant of the societies of the world, but human power, in all its creativity and Reason.

**Activist and thinker  
Chicago**

I wonder how much of a "coincidence" it is that the new edition of Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom* is coming out just as the anti-nuclear movement has reached mammoth proportions worldwide. I remember well the situation in the late 1950s when *M&F* first appeared. The USA and Russia were at the height of the "Cold War" which threatened to become nuclear war daily. Nuclear tests were conducted in the atmosphere. Eisenhower and Khrushchev traded threats and competed in megatons of H-bombs. Both the U.S. and Russia taught that Marxism was the same as the system they have in Russia.

What a tremendous light was shed on the real truth of the world by the appearance of *M&F* then! We had all seen the Hungarian Revolution exposing totalitarian rule in East Europe, but now we also saw the truth about Marxism as a philosophy of human liberation against both capitalism and "vulgar communism". We got to read Marx's 1844 *Humanist Essays* in English for the first time. *M&F* gave us a whole new idea of freedom 25 years ago. I hope that the new edition will have an even greater impact on today's even more dangerous world of nuclear weapons.

**Movement veteran  
New York City**

While the higher-ups in the Reagan Administration have been speculating and worrying about the strength of draft

resistance, I was on the road getting a first-hand look at it in the Southwest, the Midwest and the Northeast. From what I saw on my trip I can say that Weinberger et al are right that they would be wise not to have trials in Chicago, New York, Washington D.C. or other major cities. But they are kidding themselves if they think they will get off easy in Omaha or anywhere else in the country.

Women, though not faced with the question of registration directly, are about as involved in resistance organizing as men. There is no one organization that resisters affiliate with, but most people subscribe to *Resistance News*. In most places resisters and supporters are: giving mutual support, planning TDA actions, confronting the U.S. Attorney, doing outreach to high school students, organizing defense funds, doing media work and soliciting moral and material support.

**Draft resister  
Berkeley**

I was sitting at a cafe along the Boul. St-Germain, newly-arrived in Paris, and wondering how I could make contact with the objective/subjective situation, when lo and behold, it came marching down the street in the form of 250,000 people in a "March for peace." I had just been to the New York march on June 12; the Paris march was enormous, but very different in character from New York. I didn't feel the same spontaneity or joyousness about it, and most of the people seemed to be there as either French CP or CGT (the CP-led union), or as individuals. There were few hand-written signs, and no distribution of radical literature. It all seemed very controlled.

At one point the march stopped so that CP head Marchais could do his little media-dance. There were very few "contingents"—no gays, Blacks, few identified feminists, or different radical groups marching under their own banner. So as impressive as the numbers were, it could hardly be compared to the NY march, and hardly had the sense of "new beginnings" which the NY march did . . . This town really needs a revolution!

**Traveller  
Paris, France**

I marched with the Gay contingent in New York. One of the banners had three pictures, each with a "forbidden" symbol through it: a nuclear bomb, a nuclear power plant, and stick figures of two adults and two children—the nuclear family. It was wonderful to see so many people. To be with hundreds of thousands was such a remarkable feeling.

**Gay marcher  
Detroit**

We would like to exchange publications with *N&L* on a regular basis. I'll send you feedback on issues of *N&L* when I have more time, but for now, I just want to say that I appreciate the articles on women. It is very important that feminism be stressed, especially now. So many Marxist groups are hostile and confrontational, so I appreciate your broadmindedness towards others working in different ways for similar goals. I thought the anti-nuke article (May *N&L*) was well-done and informative.

I enclose a copy of the *Newsletter* of the National No-nukes Prison Support Collective. We are a support network for jailed and imprisoned anti-nuclear activists; we ask our friends to write letters of support to those behind bars, and, when necessary, letters protesting treatment and conditions of confinement . . . People can donate or subscribe by writing to:

**National No-nukes Prison Support  
Box 1812  
Madison, WI 53701**

# Readers' View

## LIFE WITH REAGANOMICS

You should have seen what happened in Chicago June 9 when job applications were being given out by the City for less than 2,000 minimum-wage summer jobs. These are federally-funded jobs designed to give a few teenagers summer work. More than 20,000, mostly adults, showed up.

One 43-year-old woman said, "We've got to have some work. My rent is more than my aid check. I've got to sell food stamps to pay the bills . . . Reagan puts all the money in the military, and we're starving. Pretty soon, the war is gonna be right here. People can only take it for so long." I feel that her prediction is not far from the truth at all.

**Still employed  
Chicago**

Reading the letters in a recent issue of the *Los Angeles Times* on "The Social Security Fund Illness," revealed to me, as a worker who has paid into the social security fund for 40 years, that none of the letters got to the real cause of the social security illness. The real cause is capitalism itself.

Working people work to produce a profit for capitalist, who in turn uses this profit to produce a machine to replace the workers. If automation, and now unimation, replaces the live labor force, and the machine doesn't pay into social security, the Fund can do nothing but go broke.

**Unemployed worker  
Los Angeles**

Because of the terrible unemployment situation for young people this summer I went to a temporary service (which takes about 50 percent of your wages) to seek a secretarial job. I got one lasting for one week. I was happy at first but every day was like torture. Each day I wore a long-sleeved blouse,

## BEGIN'S GENOCIDAL WAR — AND ITS OPPOSITION

I would like to comment on the article "Palestinians fight Begin's reactionary rule" (June *N&L*). During 1979 I was a freshman student at Bir Zeit University on the West Bank. Nothing like what is happening now was going on then. What is new to me to hear is that some Israeli students from Hebrew University joined the Palestinian students from Bir Zeit University in demonstrations.

This means that some Palestinian and Israeli groups have reached the point of believing and practicing revolution without taking into consideration what nationality or religion they have, since all of them are facing the same kind of problems and injustice under the umbrella of Zionism, imperialism and Beginism. I think this was the beginning of some Leftist solidarity with the Palestinian struggle in the occupied territories.

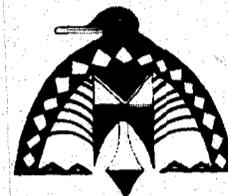
**Former Bir Zeit student  
in the U.S.A.**

I went to a demonstration against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Nearly everyone there was from the Muslim world. There were men, women and children, including many babies in carriages. All had a tremendous feeling of outrage, a passionate feeling. But it was sad to see in the march, right at the front, a portrait of Khomeini being carried by some Amal Shi'ites from Lebanon. There were many arguments on whether it should be allowed, and some Iranians refused to march because of it. I did sell quite a few copies of *N&L* to Middle Eastern women by showing them our review of *The Hidden Face of Eve* (the book by an Egyptian feminist).

**Women's liberationist  
Detroit**

a blazer, two sweaters and my rain coat in the office. Why? One of the stock brokers had a machine from the Reuters news agency, which ran 24 hours a day. In order to keep the machine cool the air conditioning was turned way up for its benefit, not the human beings in the office. When I worked as a secretary in Detroit, we boiled in the summer because the only offices air conditioned were the president's and administrative offices. Now, I'm freezing in June.

**Student/secretary  
Chicago**



**INDIAN  
FISHERMAN  
CONFRONTS  
LYNCH MOB**

Thank you for your continuing reports on Native American struggles, like the one you had on the Lakota protest in North Dakota last month. I thought readers should know that the Indian fishing rights question is not at all "settled" in Northern Michigan. On June 14 a small group of Ojibway fishermen started gill net fishing in Little Bay de Noc in the Upper Peninsula, under their treaty rights. Over 400 whites who call themselves "sportsmen" organized a vigilante committee to block Indian access to the Bay. They are armed and talking of murder.

Then on June 16, an Indian from Garden, Mich., Albert Farley, Jr., was attacked by 50 to 100 whites as he loaded his catch into his pick-up. They threw flares and lighted cigarettes, trying to ignite a gasoline can. They also pulled several hundred feet of gill net from the truck and destroyed it. His tires were punctured with ice picks. This is the true situation today in "liberal" Mich.

**Disgusted  
Michigan**

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the brutal war against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, has horrified many Jews, both here in America and in Israel. On June 17, I joined with members of the Ann Arbor chapter of New Jewish Agenda in a protest fast against the invasion. I was very glad to be there, as a Jew, with other Jews, to make the statement that the policies of the Israeli state don't speak for us.

And yet I find the public statements of progressive American Jewish organizations, against the invasion, are largely couched in a timid language, for fear of offending the majority of American Jews. But we are Jews, and why should we fear to speak our minds? Hundreds of Israeli dissenters, in the first week of the war, spoke more boldly when they signed a statement in the daily newspaper *Ha'aretz* that said: "We the undersigned call on the Government of Israel to stop the war and leave Lebanon immediately."

**Jewish revolutionary  
Detroit**

Peter Wermuth's comment (June *N&L*) that Israel's "15 years as occupier" changed the nature of its society is most intriguing to me. I think it gets to the heart of the capitulation of so much of the Israeli Left to Begin's neo-fascism, because it shows that that capitulation has an objective—class—basis. Your recognition of that fact is important, and goes along with the determination to find new forces inside Israel that will challenge Begin.

**Student  
Ann Arbor, Mich.**

**LAND, FREEDOM AND IDEAS IN THE SOUTH**

When I read the June N&L on "land and freedom" in the South, it reminded me how totally different that is from the narrow nationalists who always talk about freeing the land but who are totally separated from the people already struggling on the land in the South.

Ex-Alabamian  
California

I like the way you presented the question of "land and freedom" in the South last issue. It has each person (Gardenia White, Ethel Dunbar, Charles Denby) telling his or her own story and thoughts, but it is very different than the Studs Terkel kind of "documentary history" from interviews that is so current today.

History student  
California

It is still very difficult to discuss radical ideas in the Black community in Montgomery today. This is especially true of Black campuses, which are tightly controlled by administrators who have made their peace with the Alabama white leaders. You should not be fooled about that. Nevertheless, as I read your literature — *American Civilization on Trial*, *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought*, and Charles Denby's autobiography, *Indignant Heart*—I was excited, and determined to see it publicized to others in the movement. How could you have been publishing for 25 years and still not have been nationally recognized? I plan to review *Indignant Heart* for a local Black newspaper here soon.

History teacher  
Montgomery, Ala.

**POLAND'S 'CRY FOR FREEDOM'**

Thank you for the articles by Ms. Dunayevskaya and Ms. Wislanka on Poland. I was very impressed by your paper as well. After returning from Poland I was struck by the lack of detailed and truthful journalistic analysis of the Polish situation. A common misunderstanding as to the nature of Solidarity and the Polish economic crisis among Americans has dangerously confused the issues of the current state of war in Poland. I think this is the reason for the lack of a sustained popular response and protest . . .

I am writing my thesis on the question of revolution within a so-called "Socialist" state (i.e. the Soviet Bloc totalitarian regimes). I found the Polish revolu-

tion completely unique; two qualities of Solidarity I believe are crucial. First, the overwhelmingly popular nature of Solidarity which defies any simple class analysis or traditional theory of rebellion; and secondly, the fact that the original and most basic vehicle for organization is the trade union—but organized according to region rather than trade . . . I think a common mistake is to overrate the influence of the Church and nationalism. Although both of these motives are very strong, there is a beautifully honest and simple cry for freedom, dignity and decency . . .

Harvard Univ. student  
Cambridge, Mass.



**GLOBAL DIMENSIONS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION**

Please send us two copies of the essays by Neda Azad on women in the Middle East and by Urszula Wislanka on women in Polish Solidarity. We will keep one copy in the Manushi office and circulate the other . . . I hope to meet all of you one day. Your group is truly unusual for a Left group judging by the number of women who are not only actively involved but also in the forefront of ideological debates . . . Maybe if you would like to help Manushi, you can send gift subscriptions to different women you know of, especially if you have any addresses for Africa or Latin America.

Madhu Kishwar/Manushi  
C1 202 Lajpat Nagar-I  
New Delhi 110024, India

I appreciated very much the article by Terry Moon (June N&L) on "How can we end rape?" You hear so much joking about it, even by the Left. This country is sick. Even children are molested. The truth is that in the USA women and children have no rights or freedom. I know quite a few workers from the Middle East on my job, and we talk about this subject. Women have no freedom there either. In this country women are stared at and raped. Over there they have to be covered up and hidden. Both opposites are horrible; neither one is human. The USA and the Middle East are not as different as they seem.

Woman factory worker  
Michigan

I learned with sorrow that Natalia Lazareva was arrested again on March 13, 1982 in Leningrad for her activity in the unofficial women's movement. She is charged with breaking Order 70 of the RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda).

I would like to point out that for the Bolsheviks one of the most important goals was women's liberation. The young Soviet republic supported the women's movement and gave it the protection of the party. Stalin did not consider women's liberation crucial and abolished "Zhenotdel" (the Working and Peasant Women's Department of the party). The new-born women's movement in Russia is a good sign for the self-realization of Soviet women, and one that should be welcomed. I have written to the Russian government demanding the immediate release of Natalia Lazareva from arrest, and I hope that women's liberationists everywhere will write also.

Tatyana Mamonova  
Paris, France

**SOWETO MEMORIAL, 1982**

Demonstrations and meetings marked the sixth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising of 1976, when hundreds of Black youths laid down their lives in the cause of freedom. This June 16, actions included a rally of 5,000 Blacks at a Soweto church. In Soweto and in Durban, buses were burned; there were student strikes in Capetown.

A few days earlier, 250 people were arrested at memorial services for two Black revolutionaries: Joe Mavi of the Black Municipal Workers' Union, who led a mass strike in 1980 and who died

recently in a car accident, and Petrus Nzima, an African National Congress (ANC) member who had just been killed in Botswana, probably by South African government agents.

While both Reagan and some of the Left view Poland's Solidarnosc movement as totally removed from South Africa, and Reagan views the ANC as controlled by Moscow, one major ANC leader, Winnie Mandela, recently expressed support for Solidarnosc and likened the imprisonment of Waleisa to that of her husband, ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Observer  
New York

**CAPITAL SHORTAGE IN OIL?**

In general I agree with the views expressed by Mallory and Barry on the back page of June N&L. But I don't think that the Exxon decision to abruptly terminate the Colony shale oil project was caused by a corporate decision to keep production down, and therefore prices up. The oil would not have come on the market from that project for several years. The real cause is almost the opposite, I think. The world capital shortage is so severe that even Exxon, with all its windfall profits, decided that they could not afford to gamble so many billions on a risky, long-term venture now. That is why they rushed to stop it as soon as the Canadians stopped the Alsands project. No matter how much profits the capitalists make these days, it's never enough.

Observer  
New York City

**KENNETH REXROTH, 1905-1982**

We mourn the death of Kenneth Rexroth, poet and revolutionary not only in writing, but in philosophic vision and with actual movements for the transformation of reality. His contributions to the ideas of freedom spanned more than half a century — from the second Chicago Renaissance in the '20s, through the John Reed clubs and Depression activism in the '30s, to the San Francisco Poetry Renaissance which he led in the '50s, and his many volumes of poetry, criticism, autobiography and translations.

Especially important was his internationalism, reflected in his beautiful translations of Japanese poets, his hatred of racism, and his sensitivity to Black writers. It was this that had led to his review of the 1952 edition of *Indignant Heart*, the autobiography of Charles Denby, the Black production worker-editor of *News & Letters*, and Rexroth's attempt to have it republished in the 1960s.

Here is what he wrote about that work in 1957 to a young fellow-poet who was his biographer, Morgan Gibson: "I doubt if, in all my years in the labor movement, I have ever read a paper I agreed with more. This is precisely my point of view and always has been. The autobiography is the only convincing story of a proletarian Negro I have ever read — it sounds like it was written by a worker not a novelist . . ."

He will be mourned alike by poets, writers, activists and revolutionaries; his ideas, whether in poetry, in politics, or in dialectics of liberation the world around, will live on.

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# ESSAY ARTICLE

by Ugokwe

## I. 1982: LIFE AND LABOR IN LAGOS

Despite the ever increasing oil revenue, the social day of Nigerian workers is still imprisoned within inhuman conditions. Living in one-room plywood-shack houses in the slum of Maroko, they wake up at 5 a.m. in order to get ready for work at 8 a.m. Canoes or the single government ferry transport them across the channel to Victoria Island. Here is where the ruling class lives in their plush expensive houses. The government and privately-operated buses pass through the island, exposing the easy, contented existence of the ruling class with its futuristic and elegant architecture, lawns, tennis courts, swimming pools and well-paved roads.

There is even a special power station supplying the island with an independent electric supply in case of a power blackout (a common occurrence in Nigeria). It stands in sharp contrast to Maroko where the workers have just come from. There, there are no power lines and the workers have to make do with kerosene lamps or with the aid of "electricity pirates" who connect the shacks with the National Electric Power Authority lines serving other areas so that they can "steal" electricity. Maroko has no water supply, and water must be obtained from wells or by trips to Victoria Island.

The buses the workers ride on Victoria Island are jam-packed, "like sardines." Getting a seat or even just standing is always a duel where failure means lateness to work and a penalty from the boss. There is an hour-and-a-half ride in slow-moving traffic, often under hot, humid conditions, before work is reached. Workers often do not get home after work until as late as 8 p.m.

Because the factories are concentrated in industrial areas, it is possible for workers from different factories to interact going to and from work. Inside the factories there is lots of military-type discipline with workers not allowed to leave the factory premises during work hours, with company security carrying out searches before and after work, with a lack of proper catering facilities so that the workers spend their lunch break (which is often their breakfast as well) in makeshift "bukaterias." Here food is prepared in very unhealthy surroundings and workers usually pay for it on a credit basis.

It becomes impossible to have a "balanced budget" when the average wage is about \$340 a month of which at least 25 percent goes to rent the one-room plywood shacks, which are not owned by the worker-occupiers, but have to be rented from "landlords." In addition,



Nigerian worker preparing hide for export.

about ten percent goes for transportation for the worker. And usually there is a wife and kids and various relatives dependent upon the male worker.

Maroko is not the only slum in Lagos. Close to 75 percent of the city is covered by some type of housing, with the most characteristic feature that of overcrowding. A single family of three or more share one-room apartments in most of these slums. The single room is often divided by a screen separating the "living" from the "sleeping" sections. The children often sleep in the corridors separating apartments. Twenty-five percent of income is the usual rent for about all the single rooms in these slums, despite so-called rent control acts. Various state governments are now scrapping the rent control laws because they claim they are ineffective, but it is this same ruling class which is often the landlords.

These slums surround the different industrial areas and are populated by a work force that is often rural emigrants from different parts of the country who have been affected by the decline in agriculture that has occurred through Nigeria's concentration and dependence on oil revenues. They came to Lagos with its "abundance" of docks and factories in hopes of finding work. But the only abundance is life in the slums, high unemployment and "hustling."

# Nigeria: oil boom, oil doom and crisis

Women are forced into prostitution in small slum hotels, sometimes working in exchange for a place to sleep. They often are from other parts of the country, and lately from such places as Ghana.

Never was the contrast between rulers and workers more starkly shown in Nigeria than during 1981 when the Civil Service technical workers were demanding the payment of money owed to them from an increased minimum wage that had gone from \$105 a month to \$200. The Nigerian Labor Congress demanded an increase in the minimum wage and rent cuts. The legislature refused both demands. At the very same time the ruling party had a fundraiser for its new headquarters. Five top party and government leaders donated \$8.5 million in under five minutes!

In order to understand this division of masses and leaders that is Nigeria today, we need to look at the last decade of so-called development in Nigeria, the development that began with the world-wide oil crisis of 1973-74.

## II. 1973-1976: "THE CRISIS OF DEVELOPMENT" —FROM THE MIDDLE EAST WAR TO THE ANGOLAN WAR

The 1973 Middle East War and the subsequent sudden wealth realized by oil producers, coming at a period of the world capitalist crisis, created a "crisis of development" for the Nigerian ruling class which had started to use its oil wealth to accelerate capitalist development.

The end of the Civil War in 1970 had created the opportunity for the ruling class to initiate a program of "development" devoid of ethnic loyalties through the so-called "oil boom." At the same time it unleashed the anger and frustrations of the masses that had been overshadowed by the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-70.

This "oil boom" saw the rise of "oil supremos" within the federal bureaucracy (super permanent secretaries) who came to control the national economy. The carefree way this control was carried out reduced the credibility of the ruling class which was seeking to maintain that credibility through economic bribery by doubling workers' wages, including back wages of up to one year. By 1974 the army's bribery had become the factor of stability. This program of "development" did not last long, as the oil revenue, though substantial, could not substitute for the world capitalist crisis of that period.

The period between 1973 and 1975 constituted the most intense class struggles within Nigeria:

- The concentration on oil exports led to the ruining of agriculture. While the ruling class was able to offer a share of the "national wealth" (which it consumed arrogantly) to the working class through economic bribery, the peasantry was completely left to the fluctuations of monopolies who controlled the export of their produce. The peasants responded by a food strike in 1974 (keeping their food products from the market), creating a near-famine situation. The peasant strike was most effective in the southwest, where earlier, during the Civil War, they had smashed the myth of peasant passivity by rising against the military regime over taxes.

That Agbekoya (farmers reject poverty) uprising of 1968-69, even though quelled by the military and betrayed by the politicians, was a manifestation of the peasants' rejection of bourgeois authority when they not only fought the army and police, but threw open the prison gates which symbolized bourgeois "law and order," and temporarily overthrew traditional chieftan authorities.

- The "new Left" (those who had broken away from traditional "Marxist-Leninist" thought, students and left intellectuals some of whom were attracted by the Cuban Revolution and European left thought) responded to the crisis created by the oil boom by making public the bribery of the military. This added fuel to the peasant strike and was supported by students who had come to realize the growing power of the super permanent secretaries and their attempts to cling to power, despite the promise of the then military regime to return the civilians to power by 1976.

- Students took to the streets in the early 1970s to demand free education and a return to civilian rule. This involved students not only at the higher levels, but even those in the grade schools.

- The situation became most critical when oil workers and oil tanker drivers shut off the supply of oil for two weeks. And there were constant demands of other sectors of the working class, especially electric and dock workers, for higher wages to offset the soaring inflation.

- The bourgeoisie tried to railroad this mass movement into its own solutions, through the creation of "pressure groups" to try and force a return to civilian rule by the promised 1976 date.

All of these struggles, coupled with a realization within the military of its own falling image and the need to reassert its "progressive" character, led to a popular coup which even sections of the Left hailed as revolutionary.

One of the first tests of the new military regime



Women in Keana scrape earth on which salt water has been poured to begin process of producing salt.

was South Africa's invasion of Angola in 1975. On the one hand the Ford Administration had arrogantly sent a letter ordering the Nigerian government not to support the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola). On the other, there were massive student demonstrations in Nigeria in support of the MPLA. The military regime created its progressive image by supporting the MPLA in 1976, at the same time it was awarding ITT a \$1.2 billion communications contract inside Nigeria.

Sections of the "new Left," especially students, were taken in by this support of the MPLA and began identifying the state interests of the ruling class with the class interests of the masses. Meanwhile, the students now began demonstrating to be sent to Angola by the Nigerian government as fighters. The military regime responded by singling out student leaders and putting them in jail.

The Angolan War, supposedly a determinant of revolutionary praxis, actually exposed the theoretical bankruptcy of much of the revolutionary movement. It represented a watershed of reactionary pan-Africanist theory, where the actions of the supposed enemy number one, South Africa, created an actual division within the Organization of African Unity over support for the MPLA. At the same time, revolutionary practice became reduced solely to support for the MPLA.

A second area of activity for the new government was to institute an inquiry into the trade unions, with the express purpose of purging "extremists" and "radicals" and setting up a single, centralized union structure.

## III. 1976 TO TODAY: THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE LEFT

The trade union movement in Nigeria has had a long history. The unions arose during the anti-colonial struggles and their struggles in that period were against both the economic and political practices of the colonial regime. After independence there were numerous attempts to reduce their struggles to "economic" ones whereas in reality there has been a fusion between the economic and political struggles.

Earlier the trade union structure was quite diverse, with as many as 100 different unions before the Civil War. These unions had affiliations with both the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. There was a strong current of radicalism, especially in the railways, dockers, tobaccoists and truck driver unions. A huge General Strike in 1964 was carried out with this multiplicity, especially through militant unions like the railways and docks. However, the union bureaucracies have always been influenced by Russia and its vulgarized brand of Marxism.

By the time the new ruling regime had completed its purge of the unions and established a centralized union structure, the peasant strike and student militancy that had characterized the early 1970s had died down and the ruling class proceeded to establish the so-called Second Republic with its carbon-copying of the U.S. Constitution and its political institutions.

Both the old and some of the new Left participated in this venture, supposedly because it gave them a way to present "alternative" views. But in reality it signified their total lack of understanding of the role of the working class and peasantry. It was an approach that began by recognition of the sanctity of the state structure, and therefore the recognition of whatever class was in command of the state. The fact that the Nigerian bourgeoisie soon found it necessary to change the form of its rule from military to civilian did not change the capitulation of those who called themselves Leftists. They had a complete lack of trust in the capability of the masses, especially the working class, to advance its own interests and defend its gains.

Elections to the new central labor union, Nigerian  
(Continued on page 10)

## June demonstrations

(Continued from page 3)

A Haitian revolutionary spoke about wanting to change the reality of Haiti. To him there was an "ideology of flight," but as well the necessity not alone to flee Haiti but to fight for freedom there. When he read the introductions to Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution, he began asking about Marxist-Humanism's relation to such philosophers as Marcuse and Fanon and speaking about the failure of much of the movement leadership in Haiti to be prepared in thought for what was surely going to happen in life.

Peter was a high school student who didn't register for the draft and linked his opposition to nuclear war to his resistance to the military.

Fidel, a Filipino youth, was involved with a group of writers and poets in exile. Their opposition to Marcos took a literary form.

These conversations were no doubt expanded by the tens of thousands as demonstrators spoke to one another. They had come to experience June 12. We have to ask what comes after this day? And you can't just ask for more numbers. When our movement joins with those who have historically confronted capitalist exploitation and thereby sets its sight not only on a future, but on a human future, then its masses in motion become Reason and not alone numbers. — Jim Mills

### June 14: the five nuclear powers

New York, N.Y. — A total of 1,653 sit-inners were arrested on June 14 outside the UN Missions of the five nuclear powers: America, Russia, France, Britain and China. The biggest confrontation was outside the U.S. Mission, which is right across the street from UN headquarters. I watched as more than 1,000 demonstrators were arrested there. It was an exhilarating feeling to see the power of a great mass movement force the police to treat the protesters in a relatively civilized fashion.

While all ages and many nationalities were represented, most of the protesters were American youth. I spoke to protesters from Los Angeles, Madison, West Berlin and New England, as well as New York. Many or even most were women, including a group from the Women's Pentagon Action.

Elliott Linzer of WIN Magazine, a longtime activist in the movement, had this to say just before he was arrested: "Reagan's rhetoric is totally responsible for this movement. Up to now, it had been an almost impossible issue to organize around, but the activity June 12 and today is remarkable. It used to be you'd have 20 people arrested, or like three years ago, a march of 20,000 people at the last UN session on disarmament. There will of course be various attempts to co-opt the movement—like Kennedy, or even Mayor Koch. But nuclear freeze is a lot easier to co-opt than total disarmament. It's clear that there's a massive feeling against nukes throughout the world." —Kevin A. Barry

### June 21: Livermore; June 12: S. F.

San Francisco, Cal. — Around 4,000 blockaders and their supporters began to converge at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratories in the early morning darkness on June 21. Our goal was to prevent Monday morning "business as usual" at the labs, administered by the University of California, which designs the U.S. nuclear weaponry systems.

Throughout the morning, groups of blockaders sat down across the streets fronting the many gates around the Livermore facility. A small army of police was out in force. After one group was arrested, another took its place, and then they too were arrested. Altogether 1,300 people were handcuffed and taken to jail.

The most dramatic group was the "Life Squad," children all wearing headbands saying "Let me grow up." You didn't know whether the fear in their faces was one of the cops or of nuclear war, or both. All the blockaders had chosen to be arrested and went to training sessions.

This concern was certainly evident on June 12 here, when 50,000 people marched and rallied against nuclear war. That demonstration and the June 21 blockade were timed to coincide with all the actions around the UN Special Disarmament Session, and both attracted many of the same people: young and old, mostly middle class, and overwhelmingly white.

It's true that a few unions like OPEIU and graphic arts led the June 12 march, but I did not see any groups from the ranks of unemployed labor which is growing out here, especially Black youth. And the mere fact that the rally included Black speakers like Jackson and Dellums did not assure any multi-dimensional participation.

A week later at the blockade, some of the supporters were singing "Give peace a chance" whenever the cops came to make arrests. Others wanted to express that it wasn't simply a question of "peace vs. war."

We need to express that there are battles going on right now on the homefront against this exploitative system, and that's the way to dismantle capitalism's nuclear arsenal. —Anti-war activist

## Black America confronts Reagan's racism

(Continued from page 3)

1980s. Black Los Angeles mayor, Tom Bradley, who is running for governor, didn't have to be so advised for he has rarely confronted the critical issues concerning Black people.

### Pilgrimage for voting rights

(Continued from page 3)

just beautiful. I have not seen this kind of unity since the Civil Rights Movement."

On June 4, Rev. James Orange, the National Coordinator of the march, was arrested in North Carolina, after the marchers had paid a visit to the office of Sen. Jesse Helms. He was arrested on a nine-year-old warrant stemming from civil rights activities. To the pilgrims it was a pure terror tactic meant to scare them. Orange refused bail and fasted while he was in jail. He was finally released on orders of Gov. Hunt, and re-joined the march in Alexandria, Va. on June 20.

When word of the extension of the Voting Rights Act reached the marchers, everyone felt that a victory had been won. However, as one person put it, "We have come a long way, but the fight is not over yet. We still have to go on to Washington for a struggle for jobs, peace, and a restoration of human rights here at home."

A supporter from Alexandria said that this is true, the battle is not over: "Your arrival here has been the best thing that has ever happened to this town. Also, the white people here seem to be more in favor of this march than I have ever known them to be for anything that we Blacks have done. This is the first time I have ever seen them actually join and march with us instead of against us."

People joined the pilgrimage for many reasons. Most of those to whom I talked along the way felt that the most important one was unity. One young pilgrim put it this way, "SCLC may have been the spark, but it is the idea of unity that kept us on the road and will still keep us on it until we finally win."

While on the march I had an opportunity to interview Samuel Calaham, one of the "Tchula Seven." In Tchula, Miss. after Blacks were elected to office for the first time since Reconstruction, whites forced their ouster and trumped up charges to send them to jail. (See Worker's Journal, December, 1981 N&L.) The interview will appear in the next issue of News & Letters. However, I want to let people know now that their appeal hearing in Jackson is July 27. They are asking people to come to the hearing if possible, or to write to the state prosecutor to protest their conviction. For more information write: Tchula National Committee, P.O. Box 29, Tchula, MS 39169.

## BLACK-RED VIEW Blacks and anti-nuke movement

by John Alan

The Oakland, Cal. Coalition for Haitian Asylum is a mostly Black organization that is working to gain refugee status for the Haitian boat people. This organization wanted to both march for peace and at the same time call attention to the inhuman conditions under which thousands of Haitian refugees are detained by the naturalization and immigration authorities. When the Coalition approached the Bay Area organizers of the June 12 anti-nuke demonstration, they were readily accepted as marchers, but they got nowhere with the idea that they should be given a few minutes on the platform to call attention to the plight of the Haitians.

They were not given a direct "No." Nor were they given the usual lame excuse that the agenda was too full. They were just ignored by the organizers because of pressing problems. The pressing problems turned out to be a conflict over which Democratic politician would be the featured speaker.

In the end, the Coalition decided to march with their own banner and with the "Human Needs" contingent of the demonstration. It was in this contingent that Blacks marched as Blacks in San Francisco's anti-nuke demonstration June 12.

This rather minor incident of a division within San Francisco's June 12 demonstration indicates that there is a strong movement from below that wants the struggle for peace to be multi-issued, that is, to be concrete in its demands, to cease being an abstract movement to ban or freeze nuclear bombs only. Black people want peace and freedom in concrete terms.

There is a national popular opinion that is currently going around saying that Black people are not overly interested in the anti-nuke movement that is sweeping the country today. This opinion has found expression in nationally syndicated articles in the bourgeois press and has gained a great deal of credence because most pro-peace demonstrations and anti-nuke activities are

Reagan's racism has its ideological roots not only in the depths of America's economic crisis, but in his bigotry, be that on religion—where he is trying to foist prayers in school on us—or opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment.

There certainly is plenty of genuine opposition to Reaganism across the country now. However, two recent anti-Reagan coalition meetings revealed the impasse radical intellectuals have reached by getting stuck in the "root causes" of Reaganomics.

The first was the general meeting of a coalition called the Federation for Progress held on the eve of its May 25 protest rally against Reagan's \$1,000-a-plate Republican fundraiser in Los Angeles. Everyone had come to hear the Black academic, Manning Marable, who was one of the founders of the Federation. Spouting off statistic after statistic on the meaning of Reaganomics for Black people, Marable only succeeded in exposing the gulf that separates the Federation for Progress from the Black masses in motion. It is they and not the statistics that will expose Reagan's racism.

### BEYOND REAGANOMICS

The second meeting was a teach-in in Berkeley called "Beyond Reaganomics: Critical Analysis and Progressive Responses." In the workshop on rolling back minority gains, a whole litany of facts and figures again presented a one-dimensional reality of Reaganomics. It became clear that not only hadn't we gotten "beyond Reaganomics," but that the crisis-ridden reality had so overwhelmed the speakers, that their objective analysis did not allow even the faintest glimmer of human resistance to show through.

It was only after the discussion brought out how half-way dialectical the presentations were that one of the speakers recalled how he saw Black mass revolt come alive when he was in Miami two years ago: "No one would have believed what organization was involved in that spontaneous revolt in Miami. And the youngest showed the greatest creativity. What happened in Miami definitely went beyond the 1960s."

The new Black movement of the 1980s connects today with the highest point reached by that 1960s Civil Rights Movement—a high point that the white rulers from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to Ronald Reagan never stopped trying to slander. Their attacks on Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. only make him loom larger as a symbol of Black opposition to the Vietnam War. He had begun to unite Black and anti-war in a way that many in today's anti-nuclear movement have not yet grasped. As June closes, the SCLC-sponsored "Pilgrimage for Voting Rights, Peace and Jobs" has come to Washington to remind everyone that the Black struggle is decidedly with us at this moment. It will indeed be a long hot summer.

almost "lily-white" with a very small number of Blacks.

However, this is not a true picture of Black people's attitude towards Reagan's and Brezhnev's drive toward a worldwide nuclear holocaust. Blacks are not indifferent to the anti-nuke movement. Indeed, there is wide opinion among Black youth and the unemployed that they are already at the cutting edge of the fight against war, as Reagan moves to place the entire economy of the country on a nuclear war basis by abolishing and curtailing the economic gains achieved by Blacks.

They feel that they are the first casualties of Reagan's war plans. And if they are not in the front ranks of the anti-nuke movement, it is because that movement has attempted to keep the fight for world peace on an abstract "ethical level," skirting the concrete issues of race and class struggles that are so integral to any opposition to war.

It is this short-sightedness of the organizers of anti-nuke demonstrations that Black people deplore, while at the same time supporting the hundreds of thousands that demonstrated June 12.

Historically the anti-war movement has been tragically separated from the mainstream of labor and Blacks, not to mention other minorities and women. It has carried with it the race and class prejudices that are so endemic of American society, thus making it ineffective against the cause of war, capitalism.

Though the movement has been able to mobilize millions of people, who genuinely want peace, its abstract, depoliticized posture has made it easy prey for either the Democratic Party or the state-capitalists, calling themselves Communists to manipulate it.

The anti-nuke movement must become a genuine anti-war movement that is not just against the bomb but against the system of capitalism that breeds war, builds the nuclear bombs, is anti-labor, anti-Black and anti-women. This is what the Black movement is looking for. If the anti-war movement tries to work this out, Black participation will grow by leaps and bounds.

# OUR LIFE AND TIMES War and more wars—Lebanon and the Falklands

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

Begin's genocidal attack on Lebanon was carried out as a Hitler-like blitzkrieg, smashing all in its path, with a resulting death toll exceeding 10,000, making hundreds of thousands of people homeless, and adding yet another dark chapter to the history of the Middle East. Between June 6 and June 11, Begin's Defense Minister Sharon acted like a Nazi General in his total disregard for human life and the total destruction he caused, not only to the PLO, but to the people of Lebanon.

After using 60,000 troops, 500 tanks and a fleet of sophisticated American planes equipped with the latest in electronic weaponry, it is clear that the Israeli claim that the war was in retaliation for an attempted assassination of one of their diplomatic personnel is an outright lie. The Israeli claim that they wanted to clear 25 miles of PLO territory had nothing to do with the air battles in which they destroyed the Syrian air force and missile sites in the Bekka Valley and shot up the Syrian tank force.

The casualties among the civilian population were

genocidal. In one bombed-out school, 45 children were found dead in the basement where they had sought shelter. A Red Cross delegation counted over 1,500 civilians killed in Sidon alone.

Secretary of Defense Weinberger says he is investigating to see if U.S.-supplied equipment was used in violation of agreements with Israel. He knows damn well that U.S.-supplied planes and their electronic equipment were used along with outlawed cluster bombs. The U.S. military is awaiting detailed reports from Israeli intelligence on how well the U.S.-supplied equipment stacked up against the Russian equipment in the hands of the Syrian army.

To even pretend that such a massive Israeli attack could take place without months of preparation is ridiculous. The Reagan-Haig team knew about the plans for war, they were widely reported in the press and to pretend that they did not approve is an outright lie.

The PLO tactic of hiding its military units within the unspeakable refugee camps has led to countless deaths among the Palestinians. Far from destroying the Palestinian people, the Begin attack has gained more sympathy for their plight than all of Arafat's terrorist acts.

Both Israel and Reagan wanted to abolish the former regime in Lebanon and substitute a Fascist Phalangist regime that would rule Lebanon with an iron hand. Israel will not withdraw until they establish it.

Just as U.S. imperialism is upholding Israel's invasion and imperialist aims in Lebanon, so it has supported Thatcher's imperialist aims in Britain's war with Argentina over the Falklands/Malvinas. The British ideological twin of Reagan has, even after her military victory won at great cost in lives in the frigid Falklands, undertaken another invasion—taking Thule Island where they bravely captured 20 scientific personnel.

The brief war has cost England \$3 billion to date, for a territory that economically produced only \$2.5 million a year in sheep production, at a loss of over 1,000 lives, and has incited the hatred of millions of Argentinians who have added to their hatred of their own fascist regime a hatred for British imperialism.

The Argentinians have lost a war, deposed one despot — General Galtieri — and substituted a worse one, Gen. Reynaldo Bignone, a butcher involved in the death of over 10,000 Left oppositionists. The final repercussions of the debacle are yet to be felt in Argentina.

## West Germany

Reagan arrived in Germany along with other NATO leaders to be greeted by a demonstration in Bonn on June 10 of over 200,000 people. Slogans included "No to U.S. Atomic Weapons," and "Go Back to Hollywood." Groups present included ecologists, feminists, members of social democratic, Communist, and far Left groups, as well as the Collective in Solidarity with the Imprisoned Polish Trade Unionists, supporters of the Salvadoran and the Afghan guerrilla fighters, and Turkish immigrant workers' groups.

The next day Reagan traveled to West Berlin. The local government had "cleaned" the walls of the city of anti-Reagan slogans and banners, and banned all anti-Reagan demonstrations during his visit. In his speech, Reagan mentioned the Berlin Wall and said "the spirit of freedom is contagious," but maybe he really meant instead the spirit of militarism and suppression—from the Pentagon to Berlin to Jaruzelski.

Andreas Zumach, an anti-war activist in the West German movement, gave us the following account of the West Berlin demonstrations as he observed the June 14 sit-in outside the UN in New York. He had just flown to New York after demonstrating against Reagan in Germany.

"On Thursday night, June 10, Protestant student groups sponsored a legal demonstration attended by 100,000 people—against nuclear weapons, against the U.S. military in Latin America, against talk of a 'limited nuclear war,' and against Reagan's idea of 'military superiority' over the USSR. A smaller illegal demonstration occurred the next day while Reagan was in Berlin, where some parts of the "Autonomie" and "Alternative Liste" movements wanted to march despite the ban on demonstrations. They assembled four or five thousand people who started to march toward where Reagan was speaking. They were stopped by the police and fighting began."

"The next big demonstrations will be peace assem-

blies in 5,000 different towns—we'll call it a "peace week." On Aug. 25-28, we plan to sit in at a military garrison in Tuebingen which has Pershing and other missiles.

## South Korea

When a vicious military government, which claims to be restoring "Confucian" morality and "cleansing" the nation, is caught in a major financial scandal involving \$330 million in fraudulent loans for the personal gain of top officials, it can only undermine still further the regime's already very slim base of support.

The scandal broke in late May. By early June, 100 workers, most of them young women, had occupied the Control Data plant where they worked, and locked in two American executives who had flown to Korea to discuss their grievances after six union leaders were fired on March 13. The government broke the strike after nine hours and arrested 55 workers. According to a woman union leader, Hahn Nyung Hee, they were brutally beaten by police.

A few days later, 1,000 students fought with riot police on the campus of Yonsei University in Seoul. Sixteen of them were arrested for passing out leaflets. In April, students also fought with police during the visit of Vice-President Bush.

U.S. imperialism is blamed by many for propping up the hated government of General Chun Doo Hwan. More revolt is almost certain as the trial of student rebels Moon Pu Shik, Kim Un Suk and the writer, Kim Hyon Jang, and 13 others begins. They are accused of participating in a group which the government claims is responsible for burning down the U.S. Cultural Center in Pusan on March 18. They face the death penalty. Kim Hyon Jang had been living underground, sheltered by a Catholic Church group, ever since participating in the mass uprising at Kwangju in 1980, when Chun's soldiers killed 2,000 people.

## Mauritius

Mauritius, an Indian Ocean island which is a member of the Organization of African Unity, has just experienced the landslide victory of a socialist alliance which captured all 60 seats in Parliament from the Labor Party, led by 82-year-old Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam. The leader of the successful socialist alliance is Paul Berenger, head of the Mauritian Militant Movement. Berenger received his training in the Paris student revolt of 1968. He is 36 years old.

The new government will bar its ports to both the Russian and American Navys which have been using them. It plans a complete break with the British Commonwealth and intends to pursue socialist policies within the framework of its limited economy.

Mauritius lies between Malagasy and Diego Garcia, where the United States is establishing a major military base in the Indian Ocean. Diego Garcia and Mauritius are both part of the Chagos Archipelago and have historically been administered as a unit by England. When England negotiated a deal for bases with the United States, the 1,600 inhabitants of Diego Garcia (about the same number of inhabitants as the Falklands) were recognized as Mauritians, and funding was provided by England for their care or resettlement.

The claim of sovereignty over Diego Garcia has never been relinquished by Mauritius. Margaret Thatcher has promised the House of Commons that the islands would be handed over to Mauritius "when there was no longer a threat to peace," or when the U.S. lease ran out in the year 2050, or civilization ceases to exist in a nuclear holocaust, whichever event occurs first.

## ESSAY ARTICLE

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Labor Congress, put in a new group of Leftists. So worried did the ruling class become by the proposal of a centralized union dominated by what they call "communists" that the government is now trying to reverse itself and break up the single union structure.

The last elections to the Nigerian Labor Congress executive in the spring of 1981 even brought in a frenzied attempt by the United States, through Andrew Young, to use dollars to defeat the "communists" and support a pro-government faction. The government also tried to use ethnicity to confuse the workers' movement. In May of 1981 a General Strike was called. The role of the trade union leaders demonstrates the opportunism and theoretical bankruptcy of much of the Left.

As we noted above, in reality there is hardly any distinction between the economic and political demands of the working class. It is hardly possible to make economic demands without challenging aspects of the political structure. However, attempts are being made to construct such a barrier, by leaving "politics to politicians." Despite all the purge activities attempted by the government, the unions have been continually militant. However the militancy is often forced by some of the "revolutionary leaders" to be put into an "anti-imperialist" stage of struggle—the need to maintain "national unity," a "stable national economy," and the establishment of "a good government."

Thus in the May 1981 General Strike, when even the petty bourgeoisie was being economically squeezed, their demands, such as restoration of loans for buying automobiles, became top priority demands. The leadership of the strike came to see the petty bourgeoisie and not the working class as the pivot of the General Strike. Politically, the leadership relied on the support of political forces and political parties who are hostile to the working class and peasantry. The leadership then ended up capitulating first to the parties that they had formed an alliance with, and then to the federal government. The General Strike was supposed to continue indefinitely, until all the conditions were met. But, in fact, it lasted only two days.

Rank-and-file workers challenged the capitulations to both state and national governments by refusing to go back to work until the Nigerian Labor Congress president met and talked with them. But their willingness to challenge the totality of bourgeois rule was channelled into a dead end by the reformism of "left"

union leaders whose conception of Marxism had no role for the expression of political power by the working class.

The Left, especially left academics, has failed to assist the mass movement to break out of dead-end pathways. Why? They are within their own theoretic confusions. They seem to have an inability to face up to the historic task of giving up their own class privileges, not to become messiahs to the working class and peasantry, but to serve as a bridge which will help create a freedom universality out of the experiences of the mass movement. But instead they seem to still be trapped within the confines of academic pursuits, making only occasional forays into the arena of class struggles, or working with the bourgeois apparatus to create "alternatives." Or perhaps there is just the plain paralysis of their theoretic impotency.

The way out for Left theoreticians is not only to recognize the fundamental role of the working class and peasantry, but also to assist in its self-mobilization in all of its struggles against the rule of capital without subjecting them to any form of ideological recreations of the past (Maoism, so-called Marxism-Leninism).

The struggle of the Nigerian working class and peasantry is part of the ongoing struggle for freedom worldwide. It is part of the revolutionary traditions and experiences of both the Paris Commune and the 1917 Russian Revolution. It is also part of the revolutionary struggles of the East European and Russian working class in their struggles today to overthrow a totalitarian bureaucracy known as "socialism" which is desperate to expand its rule worldwide. In Africa, it has temporarily succeeded in utilizing the struggles of the Ethiopian working class, peasantry and students to impose a totalitarian Stalinist regime.

Socialism and revolutions are not abstractions, just as capitalism and its state are not. It will therefore be necessary for Marxist revolutionaries in Nigeria to develop their theories and practices as part of the masses in motion, shed their intellectual privileges, and root themselves in the working class and peasantry who are both pivotal to the struggle and have a great deal to contribute to the theories and practices through their ideas as well as experiences. What is most urgently and concretely needed is so new a relationship of theory to practice that finally we will achieve a revolution that will not sour. Nigeria can become a historic catalyst.

# News and Letters Committees Draft Perspectives, 1982-1983

(Continued from page 2)

puppet regime, specifically the neo-fascist Phalangist army that the Lebanese masses had fought and were on the verge of defeating in the 1975-76 Civil War.

**That Reagan is presently supporting Begin-Sharon's Israel which is now ravaging Lebanon is clear beyond any peradventure of a doubt. The U.S. has gone so far as to invent a myth that there is "no Lebanon," that supposedly so chaotic were conditions in Lebanon that even Israel's genocidal war can pass for "peace." What they think is the end of Lebanon will prove to be the beginning of the end of global imperialism, headed by the U.S. and achieving its most gory form in Israel's wanton ways of trying to destroy Lebanon.**

The opposition to Begin's rule within Israel is as yet small, but it is vocal. It has just had a Peace Now rally outside of Begin's office, in which the Citizens Rights Movement participated and which showed the intensity of its opposition. Professor Benjamin Cohen of the University of Tel-Aviv wrote of Begin-Sharon's rationale for the genocide in Lebanon: "These Gaebbelean lies enrage me." (The letter to Pierre Vidal-Nagat, an organizer of the Jewish intellectu-

als who demonstrated in front of the Israeli Embassy in Paris, was printed in *Le Monde*, June 19.)

Israel's present blitzkrieg has a stark resemblance to nothing so much as Hitler's "final solution" for the Jews. Begin should have learned from that Holocaust that you cannot destroy a whole people and their hunger for freedom. What Arafat could not achieve through all these years, Begin has managed to do for him by giving Arafat an expanded acceptance by the majority of Palestinians and by making him a hero.

If anything proves that successful revolution is impossible without a philosophy of revolution it is precisely Lebanon.<sup>5</sup> The 1975-76 Civil War in that land was taking

5. Of all the Arab lands, Lebanon is the one that permits the freest expression for all political tendencies, and included a Communist Party even before Lebanon gained an independent existence in 1943. It was because of the narrow nationalism which the Stalinists reintroduced in the 1975-76 Civil War in Lebanon and which persists to this day that our August 1976 Political-Philosophic Letter on that Civil War ended with: "When history and theory get into each other's way, and philosophy and revolution get separated, there is no exit from counter-revolutionary consequences." It is these counter-revolutionary consequences that we are suffering right at this moment.

place in the period when, on the one hand, there was the greatest worldwide Recession since the Depression and, on the other hand, new forms of revolution were arising that posed new questions. Didn't, for example, the revolution in Portugal really begin in Africa? The Portuguese Revolution also witnessed a tendency that called for *apartidarismo* (non-partyism). The entire decade was concluded with the 1979 revolution in Iran that made revolution rather than oil the characteristic also of the Middle East.

It wasn't, however, the 1970s that had first begun the new age. A whole 30-year movement from practice began in the 1950s when it became clear that the banner of Humanism, raised by the totally new appearance of freedom fighters from under Communist totalitarianism, was so universal a form that it characterized all the freedom fighters of this age—including those fighting Western imperialism as well, be that in Africa, or Latin America, or the Middle East, or right within the U.S.

## III. Methodology and Politicalization: The 30-Year Movement from Practice that is itself a Form of Theory, and the Theoretical Developments that Reach Philosophy

The new age had begun with a new stage of production, the introduction of Automation, the predecessor of the robotics of today. The questions the workers raised in the mines where Automation was first introduced had never before been posed. Instead of asking about wages, the workers battling Automation wanted to know: What kind of labor—mental/manual—should men and women do? And while this seemed at first to be limited only to the mines and then the auto shops and to appear only in the U.S., the question that was raised in East Germany in 1953 also came out of "norms of work." With that very first revolt from under Communist totalitarianism the world's attention shifted to East Europe, where it reached a climax in 1956-57 in Hungary. It was there that, along with the revolution, Marx's Humanist Essays were brought onto the historic stage. This movement from practice that was itself a form of theory marked a new world stage in production, in politics, and in philosophy.

**Where the capitalist ideologues had declared the 1950s to be the decade of the "end of ideology," the masses in motion displayed a passion for a philosophy of liberation as powerful as the actual battles. Both spread like wildfire throughout the world with the emergence of a whole new Third World in Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, as well as new forms of Black, youth and anti-war revolts in the technologically advanced world, including the U.S. itself.**

However, instead of Marxists digging into the new movement from practice as the new challenge to themselves, post-Marx Marxists continued with their old economist analyses. Indeed, even some of the Marxists who had participated in the development of a new theory of state-capitalism to meet the challenge of the 1930s—the theory which showed that the first workers' state had been transformed into a state-capitalist society—failed to meet the still newer movement from practice that was itself a form of theory. We alone completed a comprehensive philosophic-theoretic major work, rooted in that movement from practice, with the publication of *Marxism and Freedom*. Moreover, it was preceded by the breakthrough on the Absolute Idea in 1953 six weeks before the actual outbreak of the first East German Revolt, on June 17.

The four-year period between that breakthrough on the Absolute Idea—which saw in it neither a total abstraction nor

a God but a movement from practice as well as one from theory, in which their unification was "absolute"—led to a re-examination of *Marxism*. Instead of stopping at the theory of state-capitalism which had met the challenge of the Depression, on the one hand, and the transformation into opposite of the first workers' state into a state-capitalist society, on the other hand, we now did not merely translate Marx's 1844 Manuscripts but situated those Humanist Essays in the post-World War II period. Furthermore, we related Marx's 1844 internationalist-Humanist principles to the American roots of Marxism.\*

The significance of this was that Absolute Idea—as a movement from practice to theory as well as from theory to practice; as a new relationship of the two; as a new beginning—laid the ground for hearing all the new voices from below in the turbulent 1960s. We published them in a multitude of pamphlets, from *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves to Workers Battle Automation* and the *Free Speech Movement*, and worked out new aspects of the Black dimension both on the American scene in *American Civilization on Trial* and on the African scene in the pamphlet on the *Afro-Asian Revolutions*. At the same time, along with the first English translation of Marx's Humanist Essays we published the first English translation of Lenin's *Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic*; both translations were published as appendices to *Marxism and Freedom* in 1958.

Without such philosophic preparation for revolution, activism in itself, even when it reaches such a high point as 1968, cannot achieve a successful revolution. A new stage of cognition was reached with the end of the illusion that activism by itself was sufficient, and that theory could just be picked up "en route." That new stage of cognition—Absolute Idea as New Beginning—was spelled out in *Philosophy and Revolution* in 1973.

1974-75 is the second new stage in capitalist production in the post-WW II period. Whereas the first basic new stage of production in 1950 when Automation was introduced cleared the ground for ever greater mass profits for capitalism—and capitalists could play deaf to workers' demands for a new kind of labor—the 1974-75 crisis hit capitalist production in its very innards with such deep structural changes and such drop in the rate of profit, when related to the high costs of high technology, that it became clear this crisis

would not be followed by any sort of boom. Shockingly, once again, most post-Marx Marxists, instead of feeling a compulsion to reorganize their thinking, continued their plodding, vulgar, economist way.<sup>6</sup>

With the publication finally, in the 1970s, of a transcription of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*, however, we were enabled to see Marx's work as a totality and to recognize those new moments in Marx's last decade, when he declared that "The Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation"—the climax of his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*—was characteristic only of Western capitalism but not a universal form. That is, it was not relevant for what we now call the Third World, which could, Marx said, have its revolution ahead of the West.

**It is in this last decade of Marx's life, the very period when the first post-Marx Marxists behaved as if it were very nearly nothing but "a slow death," that we found the trail to the 1980s on the question of "revolution in permanence."**

Rosa Luxemburg was the first great revolutionary Marxist who had raised the question of democracy after the conquest of revolutionary power. A study of Luxemburg as revolutionary theorist and activist as well as in her heretofore unexplored feminist dimension, together with a view of today's Women's Liberation Movement as revolutionary force and Reason, became integral to the third book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

When, in the period between 1878 and 1882, Marx projected the fundamental Man/Woman concept that he had raised in his very first discovery of a whole new continent of thought and revolution in 1844, he was also reading the latest in anthropological studies—Henry Morgan's *Ancient Society*. Marx, of course, wasn't just "reading," he related the much freer Iroquois women and the Irish women who had more power before Britain subjugated Ireland, to the type of ground needed for totally new human relations. Methodology and Politicalization, i.e. the concretization of a philosophy of revolution, is of the essence precisely because it illuminates the immediate as well as the ultimate problems.

6. It is important to study again the analysis made in the N&L pamphlet, *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis*. See especially the critique of Ernest Mandel and the Trotskyists, "Today's Epigones Who Try to Truncate Marx's Capital."

## IV. New Moments in Marx and Today's New Challenges

The deepening Recession in 1980 and Carter's imperialist and tragic fiasco in the desert of Iran illuminated one thing only—how rapidly the U.S. is hurtling down a dead-end track. The two major conclusions we drew from the Draft Perspectives for our last convention, "Tomorrow is Now; U.S. Imperialism in the Iranian Desert, and, at Home, in Deep Recession and Resurgent Racism," were that, in intensifying all our activities, the need was to expand N&L from an 8 to a 12-page paper and to continue working out a philosophy of revolution for our age. We called 1980 "The Year of the Book" and aimed to complete a new work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. In the past two years we achieved both these goals.

**What we've learned from both the expansion of N&L (which permits us to listen to ever new voices, record activities, and work out new developments in theory) and from the new book now going to press is how urgently relevant to our age were Marx's "new moments."**

Marx spent all his life developing that new continent of thought and revolution he founded in 1844 as a philosophy of world revolution rooted in the actual class struggles pitted against capitalism whose economic laws of development and crises Marx analyzed most profoundly and originally. At the end of his life he found still other "new moments"—that is, new paths for development:

1) New revolutionary forces, no longer limited to the proletariat in advanced lands but present also in the underdeveloped countries.

2) New cultures which, even when "primitive," actually disclosed more human relationships, as witness the Iroquois women.

3) The multi-dimensionality of civilizations, in which the West was by no means seen as "civilized" and the Orient as "backward." There is no Chinese Wall between civilizations. Dialectical development allows for no such unbridgeable stagifying.

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### DRAFT PERSPECTIVES, 1982-83, OF NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES

will be discussed at the following meetings:

• Detroit:

Thursday, July 22, 7 p.m.  
News & Letters Library  
2832 E. Grand Blvd.  
Speaker: Olga Domanski

• Los Angeles:

Sunday, Aug. 1, 7 p.m.  
Peoples College of Law  
660 S. Bonnie Brae  
Speaker: Lou Turner

• Bay Area:

Sunday, July 25, 6 p.m.  
Berkeley YWCA  
2134 Allston Way  
Speaker: Lou Turner

• New York:

Sunday, July 25, 6:30 p.m.  
Workmen's Circle  
369 Eighth Ave. (corner 29th St.)  
Speakers: Anne Molly Jackson,  
Raymond McKay, Kevin A. Barry

• Chicago:

Sunday, July 25, 4 p.m.  
Resurrection Lutheran  
1048 School St.  
Speaker: Mike Connolly

# News and Letters Committees Draft Perspectives, 1982-1983

(Continued from page 11)

Were any post-Marx Marxists grounded in such a magnificent vision of humanity's "absolute movement of becoming"? What became tragically evident in World War I, with the collapse of the Second International (which, after all, represented the world's established Marxism) was that a Great Divide was needed, not only a Great Divide against betrayal and reformism, but a Great Divide in thought. There were many great revolutionaries, like Rosa Luxemburg and Leon Trotsky, but one and only one—Lenin—felt any compulsion to reorganize not just politically but philosophically. Such a new dimension in Marx unfolded for Lenin on his return to Hegelian dialectics that he could conclude (in his **Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic**) that none of the Marxists had fully understood **Capital**, "especially the first chapter."

Lenin's break with his own philosophic past and re-establishment of the dialectics of revolution laid the ground for 1917. The very obvious transformation of Russia as a workers' state into its very opposite needs hardly to be proven now; yet no Marxist, when Lenin died, grasped Lenin's dialectic methodology and met the challenge to analyze the new stage of the economy and the new horrific transformation of Russia into a state-capitalist society.

Each discovery of new writings of Marx followed a revolution. It was only after Lenin broke with his philosophic past, only after the actual successful 1917 Revolution that attempts were made to discover the full Marx heritage. None knew of the 1844 **Humanist Essays** before the 1917 Revolution unearthed them from the closed vaults of the Second International. None grasped the 1857-58 **Grundrisse** before the Chinese Revolution made Marx's analysis of the "Asiatic mode of production" concrete for today. It took the birth of a whole new Third World as well as the development of Women's Liberation from an idea to the new force of Women's Liberation as Movement before Marx's last writings, the **Ethnological Notebooks**, were transcribed and published.

The new worlds that were emerging were not just geographic but new spheres of thought, whether we consider those that came from East Europe asking for "Socialism with a Human Face" or the Black Revolution in the U.S. with its slogan of "Freedom Now." Put differently, the movement from practice that was itself a form of theory demanded that its challenge be met.

It was with that challenge to the movement from theory that, for the first time, a few Marxist theoreticians finally began to feel the compulsion to return to the sharp distinction between theory and the total reorganization that a philosophy demands. No matter how important theory may be—and the theory of state-capitalism was crucial—it is this distinction, between theoretical analyses of the objective situation and philosophic grasp of the new subjective forces of revolution as Reason, that is crucial as the ground for both current activities and philosophic preparation for revolution, and which led to the shocking discovery that no post-Marx Marxist was deeply grounded in Marx's Marxism.

What was born, objectively, to point the trail was the movement from practice which required the recognition that since those new moments provide ground for theoreticians, theory itself must develop to a total outlook, a philosophy.

The most shocking experience in working out the book was to find what the post-Marx Marxists had done (or more correctly, had not done) to preserve, much less develop, the unfinished writings of Marx. The best, Engels, had achieved what no others could have done, by editing Volumes II and III of Marx's **Capital** for publication. But neither the heirs he chose for Marx's archives, nor even he himself (who was no Marx) led anyone to grapple with the totality of Marx. Indeed, he was the first post-Marx Marxist whose talent at popularization far outdistanced his grasp of Marx's Marxism. That popularization proved so popular that it, and not Marx's Marxism, became ground for the Second International.

Seeing Marx's work as a totality made it possible for the first time to criticize not only reformists but also revolutionaries, including Lenin who alone had reorganized philosophically and met the challenge of WWI and the breakdown of established Marxism, thereby creating ground for the November 1917 proletarian revolution, but who had not extended that philosophic reorganization to the old vanguardist 1902-3 concept of the Party, though he had often modified it.

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's **Philosophy of Revolution** reveals both that first view of Marx as a totality and the needed break with all post-Marx Marxists who congealed Marxism to their dogmatism and failed to work out the new moments as a continuing development. Just as the publication of **Marxism and Freedom** laid the ground for listening to and projecting all the voices from below; and just as **Philosophy and Revolution** laid the ground for such pamphlets as **Frantz Fanon, America's First General Strike**, and the **Latin American Revolutions**; so there is no doubt that the new book will increase our outreach not only in general but specifically on Rosa Luxemburg as a revolutionary spontaneist, on the Women's Liberation Movement, and on the totality of Marx, himself. Thus, our contribution with "3 books, not 1," synthesized with what happened ob-

jectively and subjectively for the past 30 years, manifests what we mean by the "Second Great Divide."

**That is the philosophic and not only the political need, theoretically as well as organizationally, to prepare for revolution. This calls, not for "a vanguard party to lead," but for a philosophy of revolution that is rooted in the new three-decade long movement from practice and thus integrates spontaneity and organization.**

Our organizational tasks for 1982-83 flow from the "3 books, not 1," with which we greet the centenary of Marx's death and which had caught the link of continuity with Marx's Marxism, and the discontinuity between the two ages—the 1880s and the 1980s. These became ground for the **1982-83 Perspectives** both as they were expressed in the analysis of the myriad crises of the day and the organizational conclusions flowing from them.

First and most important is the needed widened activity on the Black dimension. The urgency today is by no means new, however, since the Black masses as vanguard have characterized the whole American development. Whether we take as long range a view as **American Civilization on Trial**, or begin with the first theoretical work when we became independent, **Marxism and Freedom**, where the Montgomery Bus Boycott was placed on the same level as the three new pages of freedom—East Germany, Hungary and Vorkuta—that is to say, the whole historic movement from practice of the 1950s; whether we take the international Black relations as seen also in the affinity of the philosophy of Frantz Fanon and Marxist-Humanism; the present need is to intensify our activity with the Black dimension at the Center.

Along with our activities in the Black dimension, stands our work in Women's Liberation and with the Youth. And we must, of course, expand our activities with the Latino liberation movement.

As imperative as all those activities are, none are more important this year than the work around "3 books, not 1." It demands a national tour by the Chairwoman this Spring with books in hand, and the participation of all Marxist-Humanists in the projection of this work. That is what is manifested in the expression "Have thumb, will travel." That is to say, we cannot be limited to the places where we have locals. The need to project Marxist-Humanism in as comprehensive a form as has been done in the latest work requires that we cover the length and breadth of the U.S. as well as Europe.

Finally and most important—indeed, the proof that the other tasks have been successful—is organizational growth. What gives this need a new foundation is our singling out what Marx had done in his last decade as he developed the concept of permanent revolution as the foundation for organization. Too often and too superficially the fact that Karl Marx had not developed an "organization theory" in a direct

way has been used by post-Marx Marxists to contend that he had no theory for organization and that he was not an organization man, which in fact belies everything he did from the first moment he broke with bourgeois society, founded his new continent of thought and revolution and promptly organized the Communist Correspondence Committees. And that in the very city where he was writing those **Humanist Essays**, Paris.

Lenin certainly had a theory of the vanguard party and while he modified it greatly, especially after the 1905 Revolution, he never did reorganize his philosophic thinking on that subject, when he broke with his philosophic past in creating the first Great Divide in Marxism. While his great **State and Revolution** was based mainly on Marx's work on the Paris Commune and the **Critique of the Gotha Programme**, the one part of the **Critique of the Gotha Programme** Lenin paid no attention to was: organization.

A great new moment in that last decade was precisely that work of Marx. First to be noted is the fact that it is a critique of a program of what was to be a new organization, a unification of Eisenachists and Lassalleans. While he called it, modestly enough, "Marginal Notes," and they were written alongside the program itself, they turned out to take up 31 pages as against the four pages of the original program. Moreover, these "marginal notes" deliberately left out the strictly narrow organizational conclusions which he dismissed as "a mere echo of the bourgeois People's Party." He had addressed his critique to only a few leaders in the hope that these would project it to the Unity Congress itself.

**The profundity of every single paragraph of the Critique is, in fact, so deeply philosophic that he touches on subjects none of his philosophic works had touched before. He actually projects the philosophic foundation for organization into what would be the needs not only of the day, not only of the epoch, not only of the revolution itself, but what the development of society would be like after a successful revolution as we come out of capitalist society still bearing its marks.**

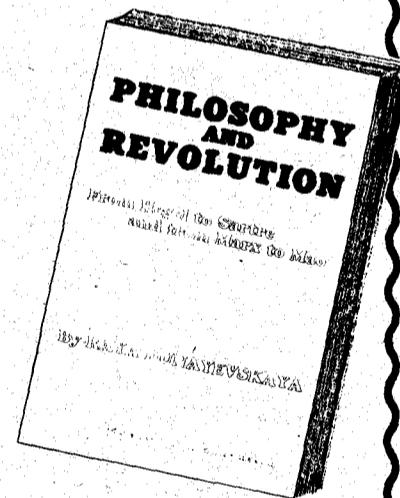
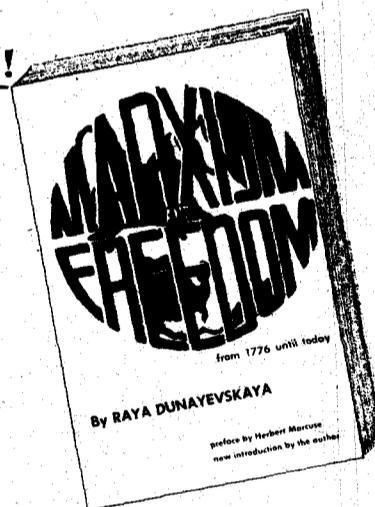
His conclusion is that theory must never be compromised and that if an activity is needed with groups other than those following new principles it should be strictly limited to the activity and not get frozen into an organizational form on an insufficient theoretical ground.

It is this we have called organizational responsibility for one's philosophic stand for a new society. And it is on this basis that we are asking those who agree with our principles to join us and take organizational responsibility for projecting Marxist-Humanism because, in truth, philosophy itself does not reach its full articulation until it has discovered the right organizational form. Philosophy, far from being an ego trip, is the result, the summation, of the epochal striving of the masses for freedom.

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