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

The dramatically new phenomena in the greatest-ever political demonstration in the U.S., on 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 Reaganesque policies, both in the U.S. and abroad.


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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 that 10% of 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 hit hardest of all (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 generally they are in lowerpaid jobs. There is such deep discontent among rank-file workers who have been forced to 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 revolts dimensions.

Last 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 any recent year in the U.S. and the Third 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). Begin’s objective situation is that industrial production is now 2% annually, 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 that all 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 Falkland-Argentinian War was not just another war. There is the illusion that he could play a “neutral” game between Britain and Argentina, and that this would have no impact on any crisis. That is not the case. The total exposure of NATO’s “Atlanticism” as it revealed in the display of global imperialism with its outreach spilling its death agony. It is this which is compelling Reagan to place his counter-revolutionary “urgencies” in Latin America on the back burner.

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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 has been engaged in plotting the murder of Lumumba. Just as the so-called “Atlantic” Alliance had long since designated Jason as “the West,” and the “East,” the “global” “Gulf” to be its “national” interest when the Iranian Revolution burst forth, so now Reagan’s retrograde policies are deepening the U.S. imperialist war against labor, blacks, youth and women.

The realities of the Vietnam War is that they “lost” Vietnam (which was never theirs), both because the Vietnamese defeated U.S. imperialism on the battlefield, and because within the U.S. there are rising growing and massive anti-Viet­nam War Youth movement, which had been preceded in 1966 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 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 glutonomously 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 burst of new growth, but so deep in the vitals of the capitalist production system that it spelled out the truth of capitalism in its death agony: there is no turning back.

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 where the discontent in that country was so great that a General Strike was actually in progress. Thatcher, no doubt, is convinced that the chauvinist Leonidas the noun 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 inescapable 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 Ar­gentinians, 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 the actual end of Britain’s role as an imperial power, that war has already cost Britain no less than $3 billion, not to mention the thousands of lives lost and hundreds more injured. 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 has earned for itself from its own people — and, indeed, the whole world — 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 malleable 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 empires and the undermining of NATO itself. It is clear now that what the rules, classes inhabited 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 worse spoilt. And that is no mere geographic dimension but one that is recursively both geographic and social.

The totality of the economic-political crises is now overwhelming not only the U.S. and Western 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 to totally new historic stage of rebellion and a new form of practicing true 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. The mass opposition and its search also for a philosophy of revolution is continuing.

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, killed 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 has from the start dreamed of that type of Eretz Israel (Land of Israel) and bought the Jewish leadership anxious to found a homeland, no matter how small, for Jews after the Holy­land. And Sharon has rejected even Begin’s minor attempts or 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 itself, Begin-Sharon have shown total disregard for the civilian occupation, Lebanon as well as Palestinians, 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)
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 to Charles Duffy.

by Lou Turner

The historic June 12 anti-nuclear rallies in New York and San Francisco, scheduled to coincide with the U.N. 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 conditions 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.

June 12 in New York City, more than three-quarters of a million marched in the most massive anti-nuclear demonstration ever. Yet some streets of New York, some days after the march, have the image 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 killed in a white Brooklyn neighborhood when he was set upon by some two dozen whites who shouted racist slogans, dragging Turks, 25, out of his car and began beating him. Turks was beaten to death. (See story p. 5)

In the San Francisco Bay Area, the June 12 Coalition and people from around the Bay Area turned out to a large protest to vote for the call for a “nuclear freeze.” For this reason, the Black contingent in the Coalition decided to march under its own banner. Numerous Black American and Haitian had tried to gain three minutes at the rally to speak. But the organizing coalition didn’t think the Coalition was significant enough to warrant any speaking time. (See “Blacks and Anti-Nuke Movement,” page 9)

Neither 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 to an issue of vital importance, but it exposed the racism of Reagan’s drive to war, but it exposed his reactionary Reaganomics that is roiling the clock back on every labor achievement since the creation of the CIO. Most vicious is his attacks on the millions of jobless, especially Black youth, who are unemployed at the incredible rate of 8 percent in cities like Detroit.

It is very difficult this Black dimension has in bringing out the need for the anti-nuclear movement to confront Reagan’s war at home, shows what an ignobles Reagan’s drive to war, but Reagan’s drive to war, but his own banner—for “Human Needs.” A coalition of American Jews, Catholic and Jewish organizations, he has attempted to name to the Civil Rights 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 being discussed, one was the response that his intent was not racist but economic. When the Administration’s attempt to water-down the Voting Rights Act drew charges of extrapolating, the criticism was both justified and being for no more fundamental right than voting rights. And when the State Department sought a new re-alignment with apartheid South Africa to “continue” its reform of apartheid.

APPOINTING CONSERVATIVE BLACKS

There is nothin new about presidents and politicians saying one thing and doing another. However, Reagan’s racist hypocrisy is so blatant that even his own army can’t 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 fact that 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 “symbot” that has outlived its purpose. The image of these “New Right” Blacks as so unreal that there were more than a few among the thousands on the streets of New York last June that thought they were the left’s in the words of Gil Scott-Heron’s anti-Reagan song—“this can’t be real, this must be Hollywood.” It looks as if it were some version of the real thing.

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 the black is a “violent” racist, which is not limited to Ronald Reagan, but permeates many of the ideologues who oppose Reagan, as we have been used to witness, for instance, to Cloward &党政, who was a member of the National State Assembly Black Caucus, saying 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 in order to be acceptable to the “old guard.”

We have heard from Black America confronts the racism of Reagan’s America

Power is its own end”—Marx

Hymen

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We have heard from
Feminist passion undermined despite ERA loss

Equality of rights under the law shall not be abridged or denied to any person 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 20 deadline for ratification of the ERA, which would have provided equal legal rights for women.

The rally, like the 200 others held the same day across the nation, was a demonstration of how the movement of women's liberationists, far from feeling defeated, are more determined than ever to continue the struggle.

In Battle Creek, Mich., women gathered at the grave of Jeannetter Truyn, in recognition of her creation of an organization to provide relief for destitute women in Salt Lake City, protesters marched on a Mormon Temple, while women in Washington D.C. drew blood from their throats, burned their 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 marched 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 Salt Lake City, and 20,000 "won't go away," as their response to the June 4 vote of the North Carolina Senate to table the amendment.

It was an American and international state that had failed to ratify the ERA, that became the focus of the movement in the final few months, as 15,000 supporters of the ERA marched in Washington, D.C., on June 22, while 40,000 went on a "Hunger for Justice" fast, and 17 women chained themselves outside the Illinois state Senate.

Women's issues are the issues of the ERA, says Quiche Indian from Guatemala, a leader of the Vicente Menchu Revolutionary Christians and member of the Guatemalan Patriotic Movement (APM)."Our daughters and brothers were assassinated by the military, her father being one of the 39 peasants who opposed the invasion of the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"We know 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, but we are determined to continue the struggle for women's rights to control their own bodies and to end the exploitation of disabled women who cannot come to the factory.

Home work means that the worker absorbs all the costs and responsibilities of the worker and home work employs Palestinian women in similar conditions, and I spoke about the same situation in Peru. In both those countries, it is also a toil of women, but it is a different form of toil which we call "home work." We need to know that the worker grows.

The anachronism of divisions and gender roles endangers our culture. Now even the indigenous children are being kidnapped, and they are our future. We are at war, and they are being used for the war. They are being used for the war because there is no corn to last the year. They are being used for the war because there is no corn to last the year.

We defend them both now when we are at war, and when we are in a new society.

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We know that Indians have our Mayan science in their ancestors passed on to us love of nature; women of the house and grandparents who are the majority of the country. We are 22 distinct peoples in 22 territories, who speak and dress and eat differently. And today it is precisely the indigenous peoples who have in a majority joined the popular war.

"Women won't go back to the kitchen." —Rigoberta Menchu

"Women worldwide"

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

Women in Pikesville, Ky., have organized a new group to support organizing efforts of the United Mine Workers. "We believe that the process of organizing with the UMWA Auxiliary of Lebanon. "I think only disaster can come of this war," one woman said.

Merle Woo is fighting to keep her teaching position at the University of California-Berkeley. The 34-year-old Chinese-American studies professor, who has spoken out against the Vietnam war and Third World war, has been fired by the College, supporting student and community participation in decision-making, and teaching independent classes on Asian-American studies.

By classifying her as a "visiting lecturer" which has a four-year limit, the administration hopes to get rid of her. She is using the resources of the American Civil Liberties Union to fight her dismissal and said that 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.

Another typical job is street vendor, with long hours in unsanitary conditions and abuse by the public. AMES has brought out the feminin discrimination in the Salvadoran revolution by publicizing not only the tremendous struggle of women for public services, education, and so on, but also the changed Man/Woman relations already begun in the liberated zones of the country. But work for the liberation of women in a new society without regard to sex, whether it is in the battlefield or home, with men doing an equal share of child care.

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 Sandeval. "Women won't go back to the kitchen." —Anne Molly Jackson

Election Day in Guatemala, Salvador

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 Movement. An information and support network, the Guatemalan Women's Movement, has been formed, and the collective which organized the conference has continued meeting on a regular basis.

Guatemala, El Salvador

New York, N.Y. — The Women's Association of El Salvador (AMES) has organized a new group to support organizing efforts of the United Mine Workers. "We believe that the process of organizing with the UMWA Auxiliary of Lebanon. "I think only disaster can come of this war," one woman said.

AMES describes itself as a group of women who are forced into domestic labor 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 constant abuse. 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 Sandeval. "Women won't go back to the kitchen." —Anne Molly Jackson

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WOMEN FIGHTING RACISM

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

(Information from Women at Work)

* * *

NEWS & LETTERS

July, 1982

Women of America, revolutionizing women
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 and 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 the SUB fund, the plant closing, and the possible plant move.

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 member, so that in 15 years you have only one credit. 5 to 10 years seniority will give you five credits for one; 10 to 15 years seniority will give you five for one; 15 to 20 years will give two and a half and 20 to 30 years seniority will draw one for one.

A SUB member 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 out. They simply wanted to buy a coffee near where they worked, at the Coney Island subway repair shop, on a street which many whites will not go. They were taunted with racial insults, and their car was damaged. When it stalled as the three men tried to drive away, they were swarmed to run away, but Willie Turks was caught by the racist gang, and stomped and beaten to death. 

Instead of laying off workers to meet 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 22 percent of those who voted approved the $2.5 billion in national givebacks to GM.

Also very important will be the actions of the 45,000 Canadian autoworkers whose contracts will expire in 1983. The Ontario Liberal government, which the UAW and CLC are supporting, is forced to wait until GM workers decide what they'll do before saying anything else.

No compromise will be accepted by GM autoworkers in Canada. We're in it for the long haul. GM's words in Toronto show just how weak they are. In spite of

Don't Shop at Payless!

Oakland, Cal. — Last August, the employees of Pay­less Drug Stores were outside the city's Labor Relations Board, fighting for better wages and a union. They were working for a company called Payless Drug Stores of Canada, and they were fighting for a union contract that would pay better wages and provide health and safety benefits.

Payless is not the only company to try to cut wages and benefits for its workers. GM autoworkers in Canada are fighting against cuts in their wages and benefits. And the UAW leadership in the U.S. is not giving in to the pressures of GM's demands for givebacks.

The next few months will be critical for the auto workers in Canada. If they don't stand up to GM's demands, they may lose their jobs. But if they do, they may be able to win a better deal for themselves and their families.

The UAW leadership in the U.S. is not giving in to the pressures of GM's demands for givebacks. They are fighting for the rights of the auto workers in Canada and in the U.S.

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MANY VOICES OF ANTI-NUKE PEACE MOVEMENT

I feel very hopeful for the anti-peace movement in this country after seeing almost a million people pour out in New York on June 12. It made me wonder whether the demonstration and the arms race worldwide has touched almost everyone or what, but I was surprised to see many pirates (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, but I was pleasantly surprised to see a woman engaged in the demonstration. I was happy to hear, was the Vietnamese veteran was displeased that the anti-nuke movement hinges on its relationship with the "elite—doctors and scientists"; a woman complained that some people were only interested in opposing nuclear wars as if other wars were all right. The crowd was still at this point.

To me, the development of a growing anti-movement hinged 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 Michigan

I wonder how much of a "coincidence" it is that the new edition of Dunayevskaya's Marxism and the Anti-Nuclear Peace Movement is coming out just as the anti-nuclear movement has reached mammoth proportions worldwide. Let's examine the history of the movement 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 had threatened the United States with nuclear war and so-called "full-scale" threats and competed in megatons of atomic war. The USSR and the USA had almost the same nuclear arsenal as the system they have in Russia.

What a tremendous weight was shed on the real truth when the world began to realize the perils of M&F then? We have all seen the Hungarian Revolution exposing totalitarian rule. But today, as we look to the future, we must also see the truth about Marxism as a philosophy of human liberation against both capitalism and "nationalism". We must all agree on the anti-peace article (May N&L) as well-done and informative.

I would like to comment on the article "Palestinians fight Begin's reactionary rule" by Mr. N&L. During 1977, a fresh student at Bir Zeit University on the West Bank. Nothing like what is happening there today, and I hope to see a new Jewish agenda for the Palestinian students from Bir Zeit University in demonstrations.

This means that some Palestinian and Israeli Jews, both here in America and in Israel. On June 17, I joined with members of the American Jewish Directory and other Jews who called themselves "sportsmen" organized a vigilante group and "punched" the pickets. They threw stones and lighted cigarettes, trying to ignite a gasoline can. They also pulled several hundred feet of gill net from the truck and destroyed it. Their tires were punctured with ice picks. This is the true situation today in "liberated" Gaza.

Dissatisfied

Michigan

BEGIN'S GENOCIDAL WAR AND ITS OPPOSITION

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the brutal war against the Palestinian people, has aroused many Jews, both here in America and in Israel. On June 17, I joined with members of the American Jewish Directory and other Jews who called themselves "sportsmen" organized a vigilante group and "punched" the pickets. They threw stones and lighted cigarettes, trying to ignite a gasoline can. They also pulled several hundred feet of gill net from the truck and destroyed it. Their tires were punctured with ice picks. This is the true situation today in "liberated" Gaza.

- Jewish revolutionary

Detroit

Peter Wertham's comment (June N&L) that Israel's "15 years as occupier" changed the nature of its society is not accurate. I'd like to see the effect of being a Jew in the Middle East more than the Middle East. We first saw 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).

Thank you for your continuing reports on Native American struggles, like the one you had on the Lakota protest in November last month. I hope that readers should know that the Indian Fishing Rights litigation is not at all "settled" in Northern Michigan. In 1974 a small group of Ojibway fishermen started gill net fishing in Little Bay de Noc in the Upper Peninsula, but it was at the1960s. A blazer, two sweaters and my rain coat in the office. Why? One of the stock brokers had a machine from the Reuters news service. A few orders per day for 24 hours a day. In order to keep the machine cool the air conditioning was turned up for its cooling, not for the stock brokers' office. When I worked as a secretary in Detroit, I bottled in the summer because I was still in the office. I wonder whether the demonstration and the arms race worldwide has touched almost everyone or what, but I was surprised to see many pirates (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, but I was pleasantly surprised to see a woman engaged in the demonstration. I was happy to hear, was the Vietnamese veteran was displeased that the anti-nuke movement hinges on its relationship with the "elite—doctors and scientists"; a woman complained that some people were only interested in opposing nuclear wars as if other wars were all right. The crowd was still at this point.

To me, the development of a growing anti-movement hinged 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 Michigan

I wonder how much of a "coincidence" it is that the new edition of Dunayevskaya's Marxism and the Anti-Nuclear Peace Movement is coming out just as the anti-nuclear movement has reached mammoth proportions worldwide. Let's examine the history of the movement 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 had threatened the United States with nuclear war and so-called "full-scale" threats and competed in megatons of atomic war. The USSR and the USA had almost the same nuclear arsenal as the system they have in Russia.

What a tremendous weight was shed on the real truth when the world began to realize the perils of M&F then? We have all seen the Hungarian Revolution exposing totalitarian rule. But today, as we look to the future, we must also see the truth about Marxism as a philosophy of human liberation against both capitalism and "nationalism". We must all agree on the anti-peace article (May N&L) as well-done and informative.

I would like to comment on the article "Palestinians fight Begin's reactionary rule" by Mr. N&L. During 1977, a fresh student at Bir Zeit University on the West Bank. Nothing like what is happening there today, and I hope to see a new Jewish agenda for the Palestinian students from Bir Zeit University in demonstrations.

This means that some Palestinian and Israeli Jews, both here in America and in Israel. On June 17, I joined with members of the American Jewish Directory and other Jews who called themselves "sportsmen" organized a vigilante group and "punched" the pickets. They threw stones and lighted cigarettes, trying to ignite a gasoline can. They also pulled several hundred feet of gill net from the truck and destroyed it. Their tires were punctured with ice picks. This is the true situation today in "liberated" Gaza.

- Jewish revolutionary

Detroit
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 modern nation state talking about freeing the land but who are totally separated from the people already struggling on the land in the South.

Ex-Alabama
California

I like the way you presented the question of “land and freedom” in the South last issue. In my own experience, in fact, it is very different than the Stds 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 leadership. As a result, we have not been able to talk about this. Nevertheless, as I read your literature — American Civilization on Ward, Frantz Fanon, American Black Thought, and Charles Denby’s autobiography, Indignant Heart— I was excited, because I felt like it was 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. Dun-ayevskaya 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 misunderstand- ing is that to the Nation of Solidarity and the Polish economy. By this time, 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 overwhelming popularity of nature of the movement. Second, the organization of the trade union— but organized according to region rather than trade... (I think a common reason why the movement is the influence of the Church and nation-

mindedness. Although both of these motives are very important, they are a beautifully honest and simple cry for freedom, dig-

ginty and decency.

Harvard Univ. student
Cambridge, Mass.

GLOBAL DIMENSIONS OF WOMEN’S LIBERATION

Please send us two copies of the es-

says by Neda Azad on women in the Middle East and by Urszula Wislanka on women in Poland. If you can, 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 ac-

tively involved in the struggle but also 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.

Madina Kishwar/Manushi
C 1 202 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 mole-

sted. 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 are no freedom there either. In this coun-

country women are started at and raped. Over there they have a legal basis to ou-

side women. Both opposite 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 Lazaraova was arrested again on March 12, 1983. I have lived for her the unofficial women’s movement. She is charged with breaking Order 70 of the RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation and propa-

ganda). I would like to point out that for the Bolsheviks one of the most important goals of women’s liberation was to support the women’s movement, and gave it the protection of the party. But did not support 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 Lazaraova from arrest, and I hope that women’s liberationists everywhere will write also.

Tatjana Mamonova
Paris, France

SOWETO MEMORIAL, 1982

Demonstrations and meetings marked the sixth anniversary of the 1976 So-

dato uprisings of 1976, when hundreds of young South African blacks were shot down by South African police on the cause of freedom. This June 16, ac-

tions included a rally of 3,000 Blacks at a Soweto church. In Soweto and in Dur-

ban, buses were burned: there were stu-

dent strikes in Capetown.

All these people were arrested at memorial services for two Black revolutionaries: Joe Mavi of the Black Muslims, People’s Union, who led a mass strike in 1980 and who died recently in a car accident, and Petrus Ntima, an African National Congress (ANC) member who had just been killed in Botswana, probably by South Afri-

can government agents.

While both Reagan and some of the Left view Poland’s Solidarnosc move-

tment as totally removed from South Africa, and Reagan views the ANC as consisting of “vulgar Black nationalists.” The result is that no major ANC leader, Winnie Mandela, recently ex-

pressed support for Solidarnosc and like-

ned the imprisonment of his wife to that of his husband, ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

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 transforma-

tion 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, autobiogra-

phy and translations.

Especially important was his internationalism, reflected in his beautiful trans-

lations 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, and his editor-editor of News & Letters, and Rexroth’s attempt to have it republilished 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 has always 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 novel—...

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.

PUBLICATIONS OF NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

□ American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard

Indignant Heart
Included is “Black Cousins in the Unions.”

□ Marx’s Capital and Today’s Global Crisis

By Raya Dunayevskaya

□ Working Women for Freedom

By Raya Dunayevskaya and Mary Holmes

□ Latin America’s Revolutions

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□ New Essays

On Hegel, Marx, Post-Mao China, Trotsky

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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.

Nigerian workers are among the most exploited and alienated workers in the world. In recent years, they have been increasingly subjected to the discipline of the military regime which has imposed a period of crisis on the Nigerian economy. This crisis has brought the workers into conflict with the ruling class, which is determined to maintain its power and control.

The situation became most critical when oil revenues began to dwindle in the early 1970s. The government tried to maintain its grip on power by increasing the prices of food and other necessities. This led to widespread strikes and protests, which were met with repression by the military regime.

The end of the Civil War in 1970 had created the conditions for a new phase of struggle. The workers began to demand an end to the dictatorship and for the right to organize and strike. This led to a series of strikes in the early 1970s, which were met with violence by the military regime.

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Black America confronts Reagan's racism

Reagan's racism has its ideological roots not only in the depths of America's economic crisis, but in his bigotry, be it... on us—or opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment. There certainly is plenty of genuine opposition to Reagan's racism. It's a matter of race, white low, black high. The two recent anti-Reagan coalition meetings revealed the immense radical intellectuals have reached by getting stuck... and... of Reagonomics, a Black struggle... the most important one was unity. Young... the idea is 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... this is... with the highest point reached by that 1960s Civil Rights Movement—a high point that the white rulers... and... The movement was definitely with us at this moment. It will indeed be

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

San Francisco, Cal. — Around 4,000 blockaders and their supporters converged 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 U.S. government. The greatest confrontation was outside the U.S. Mission, which is right across the street from UN headquarters, including the office of UN's nuclear freeze negotiator, Pierre Schmitt. When the rally reached its peak, tens of thousands of demonstrators were arrested. It was an exhilarating feeling to see the power of a great mass movement. The police were ready to treat the protesters in a really civilized fashion.

While all ages and many nationalities were represented, most of those to whom I talked along the way felt that the most important one was unity. Young people were the most alive when he was in Miami two years ago: "No one would have believed what organization was involved... the young and old, mostly middle class, showed the greatest creativity. What happened in Miami definitely went beyond the 1960's.

The Oakland, Cal. Coalition for Haitian Asylum is a movement that is working to get legal 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 U.S. government. When the Coalition leaders found out that many of the demonstrators of the June 12 anti-nuke demonstration, they were readily accepted as marchers, but they got nowhere with the idea that we should be given a few minutes on television to take up 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 told that Marching was not a priority in solving the problem. The real reason was that the anti-nuclear movement is not yet organized enough to have an agenda.

In the end, the Coalition decided to march with their own banner and with the "Human Needs" contingent. This is what the movement is about, and the fact that Blacks marched as Blacks in San Francisco's anti-nuke demonstration June 12.

The current division within San Francisco's June 12 demonstration indicates that there is a strong movement from below that wants the real peace for people—multi-issue that is, the concrete in its demands, not the abstract movement to ban or freeze nuclear bombs only. Black people want peace and freedom in concrete terms.

This is a trend 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 credibility because most pro-peace demonstrations and anti-nuke activity are almost "illy-white" with a very small number of Blacks. It is because the Black press' attitude towards Reagan's and Brezhnev's drive toward a worldwide nuclear holocaust. Blacks are not indifferent... anti-nuke movement has become the official U.S. policy of the century.

It is this short-sightedness of the organizers of anti-nuke demonstrations that Black people deplore, and the failure of the hundreds of thousands that demonstrate yearly to do anything about... Historically the anti-war movement has been tragically divided between the struggle of labor and... notion to mention other minorities and women. It has carried with it the race and class prejudices... making it effective against the war of capitalism.

Though the movement has been able to mobilize millions of people, who genuinely want peace, its... in the realm of different aspects, calling themselves Communists to manipulate...
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 of hundreds of thousands of people homeless, and adding yet another dark chapter to the history of the Middle East. In Lebanon, the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) 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, Sharon declared that the war was in retaliation for an attempted assassination of a diplomat. Despite this, hundreds of thousands of people homeless, and adding yet another dark chapter to the history of the Middle East. In Lebanon, the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) 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.

The war that is unfolding in the Falklands, and the arguement of when to escalate, is a result of the presence of the United States, and in particular, its nuclear arsenal. The PLO tactic of hiding its military units within the PLO territory had nothing to do with the war, but rather, an attempt by the United States to escalate the conflict.

The PLO tactic of hiding its military units within the PLO territory had nothing to do with the war, but rather, an attempt by the United States to escalate the conflict.

The way out for Left theoreticians is not only to channelize 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 constraints, whether they are aware of it or not, within the historic task of giving up their own class privileges, not to become messiahs to the working class and peasant masses, but to develop a freedom universally out of the experiences of the mass movement. But instead they seem to still be trapped in their world and its ideas, often only occasional forays into the arena of class struggles, or working with the bourgeois apparatus to create "alternatives." So perhaps there is just the plain parasitism of their theoretic impotence.

The way out for Left theoreticians is not only to channelize 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.

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 like "General Galtieri" and "Go Back to Hollywood." Groups present included ecologists, feminists, members of the Creative Democratic Alliance, and, of course, Germany's own fascist regime a hatred for British imperialism.

TheArgentinians have lost a war, deposed one des­

minister, and then to the federal government, which is desperate to expand its rule worldwide. In Africa, it is part of the revolutionary traditions and experiences of both the Paris Commune and the 1917 Revolution in Russia. It is part of the revolu­

tional struggles of the East European and Russian working class in their struggles today to overthrow a totalitarian bureaucratic known as "socialism" which is a state imposed from its own mass movement. In Africa, it has temporally succeeded in utilizing the struggles of the Ethiopian working class, peasant and students to improve their situation. In the case of Mauritius, the new government will bar its ports to both the Russian and American Navys which have been using Diego Garcia and Mauritius as a staging point in their campaign to escalate the conflict.

Socialism and revolutions are not abstractions, just as capitalism and its state are not. It will therefore be necessary for the Left to develop their theories and practices as part of the mass movement, their intellectual privileges, and roots in the working class. Socialism is a state, and the working class is its creator. The people 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 urgent­
y and concretely needed is so new a relationship of the working class to the state and to international power centers that no one has yet to figure out what it will mean in practice.

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 civilisation ceases to exist in a nuclear holocaust, whichever event occurs first.
Draft Perspectives, 1982-1983

of News and Letters Committees

July, 1982

News and Letters Committees Draft Perspectives, 1982-1983

(Continued from page 3)

puppet regime, specifically the neo-fascist Phalanstery that the Lebanese masses had fought and were on the verge of deposing in the June 1982 revolution.

That Reagan is presently supporting Begin-Sharon's Israel which is now ravaging Lebanon is clear beyond any peroration of a dike. The U.S. has gone as far as to invent a myth that there is "no Lebanon," that supposedly so cheery conditions in Lebanon that even Israel's genocidal war can pass for "peace." This myth is designed to justify the war, which will prove to be the beginning of the end of global imperialism, headed by the U.S. and achieving its most gory forms in Israel. It will become a reality in Lebanon.

The exposition 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 Cahan of the University of Tel Aviv wrote of Begin-Sharon's nationalistic for the genocides in Lebanon: "These Goebbelsian lies enrage me." (The letter to Pierre Vidal-Naquet, an organizer of the Jewish intellectual.

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

Israel's present bickering has a stark resemblance to nothing as much as Hitler's "final solution" for the Jews. Begin should begin to learn from that Holocaust that you cannot destroy a whole people and their hunger for freedom. What Atalit could not manage to achieve by its wars, Begin has managed to do for him by giving Atalit an expanded acceptance by the majority of Palestinians and by making him a hero of the world.

If anything proves that successful revolution is impossible without a philosophy of revolution it is precisely Lebanon. This failure is so striking that it is almost unbelievable. Once the Lebanese Revolution was in the process of organizing, it was obvious that they would not be followed by any sort of boom. Shockingly, once again this is the case, that Lebanon instead, of feeling a compulsion to reorganize their thinking, continued their plundering, vulgar, economist way.

With the publication finally, in the 1970s, of a trans¬

cribed version 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 entire global turbulent development occurring about the First World and the 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-Marxists continued with their hollow Marxist critiques. 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 new stage of capitalist development. They had not been able to change their approach to produce a new philosophy of revolution to reorganize their thinking, continued their plodding, 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 past-Mark Marxists believed as it were, nearly nothing but "a slow death," that we found the trail to the 1980s on the question of "revolution in permanence."

Raymond McKay, Kevin A. Barry

1) New revolutionary forces, no longer limited to the advanced lands but present also in the under-developed world.

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." It was true that the Orient was civilizing, but such Dialytic development allows for no such unbridgable steadfastness.

(Continued on page 12)
Was any post-Marx Marxists grounded in such a magnificient vision of humanity’s “absolute movement of becoming”? What become 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 religion, but a Great Divide in thought. There were many great revolutionary, like Rosa Luxemburg and Leon Trotsky, but one and only one—Lenin—left any competition to reorganize the world specifically 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 Logic) that Marxists had fully understood Capital, “especially the first chapter.”

Lenin’s break with his own philosophical past and re-establishment of the dialectics of revolution laid the ground for 1917. The very obvious transformation of Russia as a workers’ state in its ideology had never been seen; 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 post, only after the October Revolution that attempts to make were made to discover the full Marx heritage. None knew of the 1844 Humanist Essays before the 1917 Revolution un-earthed them. The culmination of the 1844 Essay and Apparatus was the 1857–58 Grundrisse before the Chinese Revolution made Marx’s analysis of the “Asiatic mode of production” available. It took the collapse of the Chinese Revolution, the Second International, the Ethnological Notebooks, to be transcribed and published.

The new worlds that were emerging were not just geographic but new shapes of thought, whether we consider those that came from East Europe asking for Socialism with a human face or in the New World those that put it 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 began to feel the compulsion to return to the sharp distinction between the theoretical and the total reorganization of society. None grasped the 1857–58 Grundrisse before the Chinese Revolution made Marx’s analysis of the “Asiatic mode of production” available. Neither the fact that Karl Marx was based mainly on Marx’s work on the Asiatic mode of production in his China. The urgent today is by no means new; however, since the Black masses as vanguard have characterized the whole American development. Whether we take as long a range as American Civilization on Trial, or begin with works like the 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.

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