

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

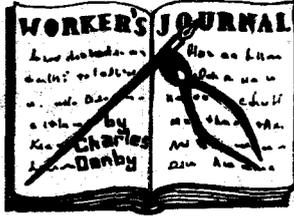
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Namibia: crisis and challenge



by Charles Denby, Editor

Author of Indignant Heart: A Black Workers's Journal

I am turning over my column this month to my colleague Lou Turner, author of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, for a special article on the Namibian crisis.

When Vice-President George Bush resumed his seven-nation African tour following Brezhnev's funeral, the Reagan Administration thought the stage had finally been set for its long awaited "foreign affairs breakthrough." Bush was scheduled to give a major foreign policy statement on Southern Africa in Nairobi, Kenya at the same time the apartheid South African regime of P.W. Botha was to announce its installation of a Black-led puppet

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Political-Philosophic Letter

ANDROPOV'S ASCENDANCY REFLECTS FINAL STAGE OF STATE-CAPITALISM'S DEGENERACY

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Chairwoman, National Editorial Board

The death of Brezhnev, which the mass media and the so-called scholar-specialists on Russia are writing up as if it were a turning point in history — "the end of an era" and the "beginning of a new age" — has nothing new about it. Far from signifying anything historically new, Andropov's ascendancy reflects the final stage of state-capitalism's degeneracy. Never before has a man who has spent 15 years of his life heading the most hated of secret police, the KGB, become the

ruler of Russia, though that country had, under the totalitarian Stalin, been transformed from the first workers' state into its opposite — a state-capitalist society calling itself "Communist".

When the head of that secret police at the time of Stalin's death — Beria — thought he could achieve such a feat because he had dossiers not only on dissidents but on each Politburo member, Khrushchev knew how to put to his own use the hatred of the masses for this executioner, by having Beria executed, instead. The one thing that has never changed — until now — is the fact that the Party has always remained the "vanguard," the monolithic institution which gave orders to all other institutions, including the Army and especially the secret police.

Nothing is more illusory in the current analyses than the indulgence of the American "spets" on how technologically backward Russia is supposed to be, how unknowledgeable of computers and electronics, and how "on its last legs" is the Russian economy — as if the global recession resides only in Russia and not in the U.S. Nothing better gilds the equally reactionary Reagan Administration. Russia is no "basket case." Have the "Western" ideologues forgotten that it was Russia, not the U.S., which sent up the first Sputnik? Russia has by now extended itself not only to outer space but right on this earth, from Africa, Latin America and the Mediterranean to the Gulf region and most of the oceans of the world.

It is precisely Russia's "high technology" — when directed, as it has been, to militarization — which is the ground Reagan is rushing "to catch up with" in the hope of surpassing it, if only he, too, can achieve the destruction of unionization and high wages. And in the kind of technology represented by micro chips and robotics, among other things, isn't it Japan which has outdistanced the "West," be it in autos or steel or whatever?

'UNEMPLOYMENT WITHIN FACTORY GATES' AND MARTIAL LAW

No, it is not in "high technology" that one can find the great contradictions wrecking capitalism, private as well as state. One needs, instead, to dig deep into the basic capital/labor relationship. Though the Russians, too, don't know how to overcome it, they do have a name for the current "low productivity" of Russian labor: "unemployment within the factory gates." Jaruzelski's answer is to militarize labor — which gives us a clue to Andropov, to whom we'll turn later.

Here, however, all eyes must return to the period from August, 1980 through December, 1981, when state-capitalism confronted an impossible contradictory duality. On the one side, the Polish workers created Solidarity, that elemental new form of a genuinely independent trade union movement, within the Russian orbit, which raised political demands of such an indivisible nature as Freedom. On the other side, the totalitarian State turned to the Army when they saw that Solidarity had inspired even some in the Communist Party to solidarize with it. The shock to the rulers, in Poland as in Russia (who

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ON THE INSIDE

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Bulletin!

As we go to press the latest unemployment figures have come out. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics:

12 million are unemployed in the U.S., 10.8 percent of the work force

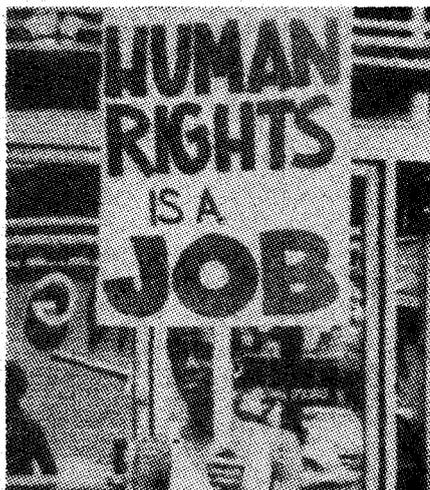
20.2 percent Black unemployment

24 percent teenage unemployment

17.4 percent unemployment in Michigan, highest of any state in the union.

Even so conservative a spokesman as AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland concluded: "If all else fails and then people come to the conclusion that the only way they can get the people's attention is to create turmoil in the street, well, then, I guess perhaps we have to go out and organize some turmoil in the streets . . ."

We will present an analysis of the "State of the Union" in our next issue. For the worldwide phenomenon of unemployment, see "unemployment within factory gates" in our lead article on Russia.



Fighting the nuclear threat

The freeze is not enough

St. Louis, Mo. — The National Weapons Facilities (NWF) Task Force conference in St. Louis, Nov. 19-21, brought together groups from all over the country involved in direct action and conversion organizing work at nuclear weapons research, production and testing sites. A special concern was solidarity with the European peace movement.

The deployment of the Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe, set for December, 1983, would undermine any basis for a freeze, while placing all of Europe under the threat of a pre-emptive Russian attack during times of superpower tension. International solidarity demonstrations are being planned in both Europe and the U.S. There is now a hunger strike in progress at the deployment site in Comiso, Italy.

At the conference the first speech was by "Freeze" co-ordinator Randy Kehler, who outlined their "action" plans in exclusively legislative terms, with the possibility of bringing a freeze vote up in the House next spring. But he opposed any opposition in votes on specific weapons systems that were coming up now, saying that they wanted to avoid even a "hint of unilateralism". The electoral approach will never achieve a freeze in time to halt the deployment of this new generation of first-strike weapons. We need to develop new forms of mass opposition at all points in the nuclear weapons production chain.

Participating groups were organizing around particular weapons systems: the MX, Project ELF in Wisconsin, at production plants and testing sites, working to oppose the expansion of the plutonium processing plant in Savannah River, S.C., and working for a freeze on plutonium processing levels. The Livermore Action Group plans a "nat-

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Commemorating Karen Silkwood

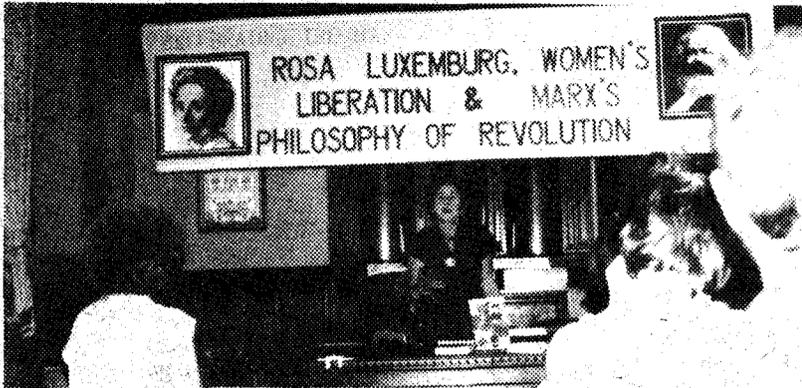
West Chicago, Ill. — On Nov. 13, about 100 people commemorated Karen Silkwood Day with a march and speak-out in this working-class suburb of Chicago. Kerr-McGee Corporation — which Silkwood was about to expose when she was killed — owns a highly contaminated factory here which shut down nine years ago yet, along with 79 other "hot spots" in town, is still poisoning everyone in the area. Some local scientists have found that many who worked at the plant still have radioactive breath.

It was encouraging that the interest in Silkwood was not only as victim but as worker who fought the company to get safer conditions, and that many of the demonstrators were young working women and men. One worker said, "I didn't know about this when I moved here to raise the kids. People have been telling me to get up and go, but I'm going to stay here and fight, because how else can we win?"

A few days before the event, the mayor, who had previously supported the march, joined the local paper's scurrilous campaign against "outside agitators" by asking everyone not to show up since the march would be "divisive." One resident said, "The mayor just might find himself asked not to show up next election day."

Why, then, when we all knew we would have to fight both the company and the government, did certain anti-nuke activists show discomfort at exposing the mayor's opportunism? Why did they seem to be trying to channel everything into electoral politics? That's the blind alley we end up in if we don't connect with workers' re-thinking and "oppose the war going on today" in production (as the "ex-uranium miner" put it in last month's N&L).
— Franklin Dmitryev

WHY NOT CELEBRATE THE MARX CENTENARY WITH A HOLIDAY GIVING OF THREE BOOKS OF MARXIST-HUMANISM?



Raya Dunayevskaya speaking in Detroit November 7 in celebration of the publication of her new work.

What is needed is a new unifying principle, on Marx's ground of humanism, that truly alters both human thought and human experience.

Without such a vision of new revolutions, a new individual, a new universal, new human relations, we could be forced to tailend one or another form of reformism just when the age of nuclear Titans — the United States and Russia — threatens the very survival of civilization.

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

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U.S. Auto Radiator: lay-offs and overtime

Detroit, Mich. — At U.S. Auto Radiator we have had a lot of lay-offs lately. Most of them were in one department, called the tubular department. This department makes bigger radiators than other departments. Seven women were laid off from this department yet most of the factory is working overtime.

I think it's wrong to have overtime and lay-offs at the same time. And not only that, but seven people were hired in the same week as the lay-offs, and two of them — men — went to the tubular department. What is even worse is that all of the men in the department worked overtime — including the new hires.

It's not fair that women get lay-offs, while most men do overtime. One of the male workers said "the women don't know how to do the job that men do." But most men make headers — they have to measure and work on a press machine (it's a sit-down job). And the truth of it is that women are doing harder work than the men. Women work on assembly — standing all the time. It's hard work.

Also, men have lower seniority than women. The women who were laid off had at least 1-2 years seniority and two of them had 4-5 years. Another man said that he agree that it didn't make sense to have lay-offs and overtime. If you're laid off you have to wait two weeks to get unemployment. People who are laid off can't afford to wait that length of time.

There were also recent lay-offs where two women worked in the heater department. The entire department had just worked overtime, including the two women. After they worked, they were told not to come in the next week.

Overtime is supposed to mean a lot of work that needs to be done, but again, there are lay-offs. It sounds like discrimination. It's not fair to have all of this going on at the same time.

— Woman worker

Wallflower celebrates women's creativity

New York, N.Y. — On Thursday, Nov. 11 at the Symphony Space, a large, converted movie house, 900 people were treated to a dance concert benefit for the Committee in Support of the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and Association of Salvadoran Women (AMES) given by the Wallflower Order. This group of five young women danced, sang and spoke for more than two and one-half hours with an excitement, energy, commitment and inspiration that I have not witnessed in a cultural event in New York City for many years.

As evident by its name, the Wallflower Order is for and of women. Following two speeches by representatives of the Women's Committee of CISPES and AMES, the dance troupe greeted the audience in revolutionary solidarity, but began with an "historical" piece, centering on the trials of a young Jewish immigrant. From the start, then, one could see that something very unusual was being attempted.

What I found most moving were their efforts to convey with great clarity and humor what it means to be a revolutionary woman. Besides connecting today's feminist struggle with a tribute to Steven Biko and the Black masses in the United States, they made no apologies for being young white women who wanted to explore every avenue of human relationships including the relationship of an individual to herself.

What I think the strength of the entire performance was based on was an unequivocal NO! to the social order on all levels as it fleshed out the profound destructive effect this order has on women's lives. But, unlike the tremendous amount of time spent on women grieving at the Women's Pentagon Action last October, in a piece in the second half of the program which was more strictly focused on the Salvadoran revolution, the women began with grief and moved quickly on to show women dealing with grief, expressing rage, then joy. It became, unexpectedly, a celebration, showing at the same time that none of these transitions was easy.

At this point in the women's movement in the U.S., I think that more Wallflowers are in order (and, indeed, they gave an open invitation to the audience to participate in summer workshops). By showing countless examples of self and group exploration of sources of strength and actual, unsung resistance, the simple idea of what it may mean to live in a free society was glimpsed in this very beautiful expression of possibilities.

— Teru Ibuki



women-worldwide

Julia Wilder, 70, and Maggie Bozeman, 51, two Black women who had been sentenced to 5 and 4 years in a prison work release program on voting fraud charges have been released by the Alabama State Parole Board after serving nine months of their sentence. Black and white civil rights activists had marched in support of the women for the extension of the Voting Rights Act, emphasizing that they would not have been jailed if they had been white. (See N&L, March, 1982)

Over 1,000 gays and lesbians demonstrated in New York City on Oct. 15 to protest two vicious police raids on Blues, a predominantly Black gay bar, on Sept. 29 and Oct. 8, in which bar patrons were beaten and 12 taken to a hospital emergency room. The raids were called both racist and anti-gay and were linked to a general trend of gay harassment. The neighboring New York Times refused to send a reporter across the street to cover the Sept. 29 raid.

The Association for the Defense of Women's Rights in Iran held a clandestine meeting in Tehran on Nov. 2 to invite "all who cherish freedom" to establish a peace committee and "undertake any action, demonstration or protest which will enable a return to peace" and an effective solution to the Iran-Iraq war. To send your support, write to A.D.F.I., BP 8, 78750 Mareil-Marly, France.

Jan. 22, 1983 will be the tenth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. In Cleveland, the Pro-Choice Action Committee has already announced a special "Big Event," including their annual demonstration outside the "Right-to-Life" Committee's Memorial to the Fetus. Women's Liberation-News & Letters would appreciate news of similar activities nationwide. Readers: what is being planned in your area? Please send us your reports and discussions. (Pro-Choice Action Committee in Cleveland can be contacted at: P.O. Box 18135 Cleveland, Ohio 44118).

(from What She Wants)

Thirteen Chinese garment workers and their supporters were stunned on Nov. 1, when the S.F. District Attorney announced that he could continue to press charges against the women for unemployment fraud and demanded restitution of \$150 from each. The women and their attorneys had understood that all parties would abide by the decision of the pre-trial diversion program which had recommended that all charges be dropped, that there be no restitution, and that each woman take 20 hours of English lessons.

The case, which is scheduled to go to trial Dec. 6, began a year ago when the women were charged with defrauding the unemployment fund by collecting partial unemployment benefits while supposedly employed full time — including unpaid time they were required to wait for work. (See N & L, Nov. 1981)

What is 'mental health' in a sick society?

New York, N.Y. — A woman is found running naked through the streets of New York City, taking wildly about devils and the end of the world. The police take her to the nearest city hospital and from there she is sent to the state psychiatric hospital on Ward's Island. While there she sits and stares and rarely talks to anyone.

Eventually the staff piece together her story: She had been evicted from her apartment because she couldn't pay the rent after she lost her welfare benefits. She lived in an abandoned building for six months, eating out of garbage cans and begging on the street. When some men tried to attack her she ran out of the building and started running through the streets.

Is this woman mentally ill? By most definitions the answer would be yes. She is out of contact with reality and she was behaving in socially disruptive and irrational ways. But from my point of view she is a casualty of a hostile and depriving environment, just as much as a soldier who becomes "crazy" on the battlefield.

I work in the state hospital on Ward's Island and every day I meet people with stories of horror like this one, stories of people struggling to cope with life lived against almost impossible odds. More and more I have come to view "crazy" behavior as a desperate attempt to cope with adversity, as a cry for help or a withdrawal into a private world which seems safe from the harsh realities. This society makes all of us "sick" in different ways and to varying degrees. We need to recognize this and see our commonality of suffering. Only then can we think about what kind of a world we need to have in order to be healthy.

— Marianne Quinn



WRITE ON!

The Dollmaker by Harriet Arnow, MacMillan, 1954. Detroit during World War II is the setting for this novel about a woman and her family who leave central Kentucky for the city when her husband finds a factory job. The author has a profound understanding of how poverty, prejudice, religion and sex roles impact on the lives of her characters. The complexity of all these dimensions makes this a very powerful novel. — Marj Thera

Black Woman by Judy Mowatt, Ashandan, 1979. Judy Mowatt is a reggae performer whose music deserves more recognition than it has received. Much of her music is from a Rastafarian perspective . . . but she also sings about the strengths of women. "Black woman, know you've struggled long, and I feel your afflictions, to you I dedicate my song." — M.T.

"Women and New Technology", Isis, Women's International Information and Communication Service, No. 24, September, 1982, C.P. 50, 1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland. This 39-page bulletin contains three sections: I. "Women in the Electronics Industry" including working conditions in the computer-manufacturing process; II. "The Impact of Microelectronics on Women Workers"; III. "Women Taking Control of New Technology." Feminist groups working on new technology, and multinationals, and literature references from both Europe and Asia are included.

— Susan Van Gelder

Automation's lay-offs harm retirees too

by Felix Martin, Co-Editor

If the plans being talked about for Social Security by some politicians get approved, this system will have to worry about a revolution coming from the senior citizens, and not just from production workers and the unemployed.

Reagan's "Blue Ribbon Commission" discovered the fact that the Social Security fund will soon be \$200 billion in debt. They use that as an excuse to say higher taxes or lower benefits are needed. But what I want to know is where were the capitalists 25 years ago when workers started warning them about the impending crisis in the Social Security fund?

MACHINES DON'T CONTRIBUTE

I remember way back in the 1950s workers saying that all the automation coming into the mines and plants would kill Social Security because of all the jobs automation took away. Laid-off workers don't pay into the social

Walkouts for respect at British Leyland

Oxford, England — Forty-two workers walked off the line making the new Ambassador car at British Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant after a plant director spoke abusively to a worker, while complaining that the worker had fitted a component incorrectly. Workers on some other lines, and also in the nearby Body Plant, stopped work in support of those on the Ambassador line, and this meant many more workers were laid off.

The media have called it "the swearing strike," but we don't call it that, because this incident only brought to a head the brutal way the company behaves, not just to one man, but to many people in the plant — like the way they move people between jobs regardless of the agreement with the union.

After three days the strike was called off while senior stewards held discussions with higher management. But while this was going on, the plant director who had caused the first incident came back again and repeated his rudeness and contempt towards the workers. So there was another strike, lasting half a day, demanding an apology.

The workers went back after Leyland offered a verbal apology, but people are saying if there is any recurrence of abusive treatment they will take it very seriously and there will be serious consequences.

The workers took this action without consulting the senior stewards. Although the seniors are supporting the workers' complaint, they would have tried to cool it down and tried to avoid strike action. A new joint management/union committee has been set up to discuss grievances throughout the Oxford area — which is more likely to help B.L. avoid more lightning strikes than to solve many problems for the workers. The company often uses the union officials and senior stewards to keep production rolling.

People have had enough of being pushed around, they want to be treated like human beings. What we are looking for is civility. That's what the strike was about.

— British Leyland shop steward

TDU holds convention

Detroit, Mich. — On Oct. 30-31 over 400 rank-and-file Teamster members from across the U.S. and Canada met at the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (T.D.U.) convention to discuss the current conditions and future of the I.B.T.

Much of the concern and discussion centered around the concussion mania in and out of the union, contract violations and the failure of local officials to enforce the contracts, health and safety hazards, pensions and grievance procedure problems. Several workshops dealt directly with these problems: Legal Rights as a Teamster, Fighting Contract Relief, Pension and Health and Welfare Funds, Being Effective at Union Meetings, Grievance Procedures.

The convention broadened its scope this year with workshops such as "What's Wrong with the U.S. Economy", "OSHA Workshop", "New Attacks on Unionism." For rank-and-file members to understand their problems at a local and union level, it must be put in its proper broader context, which is the capitalist system. Only within this context can we as working people grasp the exploitive and manipulative nature of the capitalist system which we are always engaged in struggle with.

Jurisdictional meetings were held among steel haulers, car haulers, freight and cartage drivers, and grocery warehouse workers. At the workshops, valuable information was exchanged and strategies to confront shop-floor problems discussed.

Overall the conference was run in a very democratic manner and solidarity with our brothers and sisters nationwide was enhanced and deepened. Something which is sadly lacking today in organized labor.

— Warehouse worker, Detroit

security fund, and workers said there wouldn't be any money left when they had to retire. That has now come true, but Reagan and the capitalists want to blame this on the workers!

Senator Dole of Kansas wants to reduce Social Security's annual cost of living increases to only four percent a year, and he says that will save \$140 billion. But where will that \$140 billion go, if not to invest in more missiles and armament plants? That will only deepen the crisis, because every billion dollars spent on the military provides 32,000 fewer jobs than does civilian production. Workers are right when they tell the opinion polls they don't ever expect to collect the Social Security benefits that are due to them.

Years ago workers at my plant (GM South Gate) said the company should pay into the Social Security fund for every machine they bring into the plant which replaces a worker. The company laughed at that, they said how can you ask a robot to pay into the Social Security fund.

In truth, the last laugh will be on the capitalists because all their investment in dead labor is creating less and less value in production and thereby reducing their profit and ability to invest in new production in the long run. And it is also creating an unemployed army which threatens to bring this system down.

REBELLIOUS RETIREES

Older workers who I never thought would talk about revolution are speaking about the need to uproot this system now. I spoke with an older woman whose funds have been cut so bad that she can't afford to see her doctor about her ulcer, which might kill her. Just a few weeks ago a retired woman starved to death in my building — she was getting \$345 a month from Social Security, and paying \$310 a month in rent. These are the people Reagan says are getting fat off the system.

The only ones getting fat on this system today are the capitalists who work the workers to death, lay them off with automation, and then say they have no more money to pay them Social Security. But in time this will turn into its opposite because the system is creating a new force to oppose them — the Senior Citizens. When workers on and off the line connect to them, this system's days will be numbered.

Agar, union hide hazards

Chicago, Ill. — In mid-November an Agar worker and a forklift nearly ran into each other at a blind corner. Over 3,000 pounds dropped on the worker's feet. The driver didn't lose his head and lifted the weights right away, but the man suffered two fractured toes anyway.

Almost immediately union stewards and company bosses — people who weren't even there — met in the hall to find someone to blame for the accident. Were the brakes bad? No. Was the worker wearing steel toes? Yes. Did the driver blow his horn? Was he going too fast? Let's fire him!

Where was their concern for the injured man? Or about what really happened? Or how to prevent it from happening again? All any of them cared about was shifting the blame to someone else.

We have a safety committee, but they only come around once in a while, and they see what they want to see. What they don't see is garbage all over the place, blocked aisles, machines and conveyor belts without guards, slippery floors, stacks of skids about to fall over, extension cords strung everywhere and blind corners without mirrors.

Agar is a dangerous place to work. We work with knives and lift heavy hams. We work hard and get tired. And we get hurt. It is bad enough that that is considered normal, but the company and the union make it worse by not eliminating obvious safety hazards.

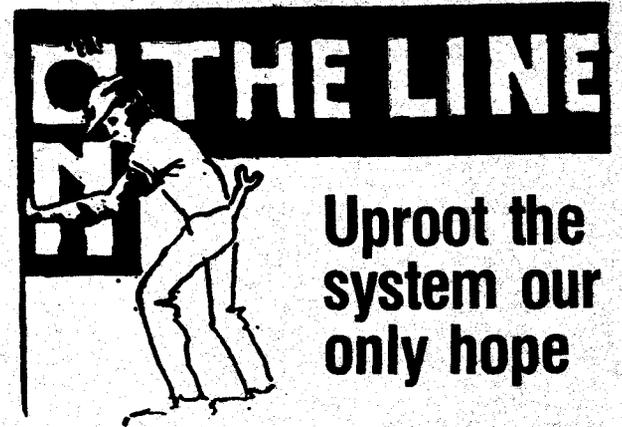
— Agar worker

Miners vote against sellout in UMW election

Morgantown, W. Va. — By a more than 2 to 1 landslide vote on Nov. 9, the nation's organized coal miners elected challenger Rich Trumka to replace Sam Church, Jr. as president of the United Mine Workers of America.

Although Trumka's slate won by a vote of some 84,000 to 38,000 for Church, Church did not concede victory to Trumka, claiming that Trumka had not worked in the mines long enough to be eligible for the office. It now appears that the Dept. of Labor has denied Church's challenge.

Trumka's overwhelming victory, which surprised everyone but the angry and frustrated rank-and-file coal miners, came by almost the same margin that the miners had rejected the first contract negotiated by Church last year. And that is where the answer lies to why Church, with all the power and resources commanded by an incumbent president, was swamped by a 36-year-old lawyer-turned-miner from southwest Pennsylvania who was virtually unknown a year ago.



by John Marcotte

I stand in the unemployment line every two weeks. The lines are getting longer every time I go. The maximum benefit in New York State is \$125 a week but I have not yet spoken to anyone getting that much. Most get \$55, \$80, maybe \$95. Jokes are made. "You're going to stand in that long line for just \$55?" We laugh at ourselves and curse the system.

The bottom is not yet in sight. Workers I talk to are fully aware that the jobs are not coming back, they are gone for good. A lot of us are running out of benefits now. I had never before seen the District 65-UAW hiring hall with only three jobs on the board, two of them out of town and temporary, paying \$140 to \$170 a week. Forty or 50 workers will be waiting around every morning, but there is nothing. It made me think, "What about the next generation?"

YOUTH REBELLION

There was a rebellion at Jefferson High School in East New York, Brooklyn in November, because security cops frisked all 1,700 students for weapons. The students yelled "Gestapo tactics!" at the cops who came to drive them out of the streets in front of the school. One woman said it was the fault of the parents teaching the kids to disrespect their teachers, that you had to give them hope they could make it if they got themselves an education. She said look at her, she came from the ghetto and went to the worst schools, and here she was a store manager.

I told her the kids were a lot smarter than her. They know there is no place for them in this system. They know those ghetto schools aren't supposed to give them an education. What, is one kid supposed to "make it" for every thousand that are destroyed? I agree that what these kids need is hope — but not the hope you give a slave that he or she may one day be a house slave!

They need hope for freedom from this slavery. When that hope burns inside them like it did in the Black youth of the Sit-ins and Freedom Rides, then they themselves will turn from drugs, tear down this system and build a new world.

With so many of us unemployed these kids know there is no way to even get a start. I remember the young Black workers I knew on the night shift a couple years back. Some of them were in their mid-twenties and that was the first real job they had ever gotten a chance at.

AFTER JOBS GONE

Now that's all finished. I remember them with their young families, struggling to make it. I remember a friend telling me, "If they lay us off, I tell you my family is not going to starve. There is food in the stores and money in the banks. I will do what I have to but my children will not go hungry."

These are beautiful people whom I have known, and this system has nothing waiting for them except a jail or a cop's bullet. It makes me sick. And will anyone tell me we don't need a revolution? Will anyone tell me we are not going to have a revolution?

— Andy Phillips

Guatemala: the dimension of Indian peasants, Indian women

Editor's Note: The struggles for liberation in Guatemala have brought to the fore the dimension of Indian men and women as fighters and thinkers. Domingo Hernandez Iztoy, founder of the Committee of Peasant Unity (CUC) of Guatemala and a member of the directorate of the 31st of January Popular Front spoke recently at U. of Illinois — Chicago. Manuela Saquic, a 17-year old Ixil Indian from El Quiche is also a member of the CUC. She spoke under News & Letters sponsorship at California State University at Los Angeles. Below we bring excerpts from their speeches, translated from Spanish.

Domingo Hernandez Iztoy

When I was six, my parents used to tell us kids stories from the past. They did this as the tamales were being cooked and in this way related to us the sufferings of our ancestors and what people were going through at that time as well. We lived in such conditions of poverty that it is very difficult for people in this country to understand. As I watched my parents, I realized at the age of ten that I would have to leave my family and make my own way so that there would be less of a burden on them. So I went

In addition, many many women have left their towns and directly involved themselves and their children into the armed struggle. And also the children had a growing consciousness that we are involved in a crucial struggle. One day we were sleeping in a ditch and one of the children woke up and said that he was hungry. And his mother said not to cry because the military were coming and they will hear us and from that moment on the child did not cry. He endured his hunger and the cold in silence. By the time the children are eight years old they begin to play very important roles in the struggle. They serve as couriers and are organized into groups. When they observe something about the military, they form a line and pass the word so that the last child in line can take the message into the village.

And so our appearance at this time was a blow to the government. Especially since never before had the most exploited sector of the country, the peasant class, joined together to voice their concerns. Another point that should be made is that it was very frightening to the government that on the first of May, we appeared in demonstrations — Indians and Ladino workers — side by side. Because for a long time, one method for continuing the system of exploitation was to use divisions between Indian and Ladino peoples.

In 1979, the government began a systematic series of massacres in Quiche. When Montt replaces Lucas, the repression gets worse — a scorched earth policy that destroys entire towns, establishes strategic hamlets which are living hells, poisons the rivers and burns crops, kills and tortures the people.

We realize that these are acts of desperation because they can't destroy our organizations, nor the level of struggle of the people. We have been unifying all organizations. After the massacre at the Spanish Embassy, our organization began to unite the mass groups. Now all four major armed organizations are involved. We never wanted to have a war. But the response of the government has created a war. For the future, we want a government that will respect all people. This must be a government that includes Indians. It is the people who are now involved in the struggle — Indians, peasants, workers — from which a new government will come.



Picket line in front of Guatemalan Embassy

to the city and there I realized that the city people too lived in terrible conditions. I became aware that the situation of exploitation was one against an entire people.

And so it came to me at the age of 14 that I had to do something — that I had to work something out so I could work for my people. But being so young, many people would not listen to me or to my friends who thought as I did. What could we do against such forces? And I carried this with me, this feeling of wanting to do something for my people and rising against all that was against us. When I reached the age of 19, I was able to talk to people and thus began the work.

BIRTH OF COMMITTEE OF PEASANT UNITY

We started by talking with my cousins and people close to us. Little by little we had some success; first in our home province of Quiche. By 1978, there was some strength in three areas of the country and on the 1st of May, 1978, we formed our Committee of Peasant Unity. This was the first time in the history of Guatemala that an organization had been formed under the direct leadership of peasants. It should be pointed out that of the 7.5 million people in Guatemala, 5 million are peasants.

Most of the Indian population does not know how to read or write. But those of us who do have been teaching the others. When I left my town the people didn't have blackboards, chalk or anything like that, so we used the ground and a stick to teach people how to read and write. A large number of my comrades can now write their name even though they can't totally read and write. Increasingly it is the women and children who must plant the crops on which we live because the men are either dead or working in some other place.

Great Lakes Naval Base protest poses questions

Chicago, Ill. — I'm glad I waited a little while to write my observations of the Oct. 23 demonstration at the Great Lakes Naval Training Center. About 800 turned out, sponsored mainly by CISPES (Committee in Support of the People of El Salvador) chapters in Chicago, Madison and Milwaukee. My first impressions were mainly negative ones. When we planned the demonstration it wasn't on a narrow focus; the three slogans were for 1) stop U.S. intervention in Central America; 2) stop registration and the draft; 3) fund human needs, not military needs. But after a lot of political in-fighting, the coalition decided on the most boring speakers in the world. Telling us what we already knew. Interspersed were chants of "FMLN is gonna win". It sounded like a football pep rally, not serious support of people fighting for freedom in Central America.

Then there was the speaker for Palestinian human rights, who reduced the question to a PLO support rally, with people spreading the PLO flag across the platform. One woman did try to cross barriers, saying she was not there to mourn the dead, but fight for the living, that jobs here were as important as fighting militarism in El Salvador, that sexism had to be addressed, and so on. She was Latina, spoke in Spanish, and they didn't even have a translator for her. Half the audience missed it. The conclusion to the whole rally was: let's do it again next year.

Later, however, I learned some things that weren't obvious then. I found out that the announcement of the demonstration caused a real turmoil on the naval base, with the enlisted personnel being called to three mass meetings. First attendance at the demonstration was banned, under threat of court martial; then it was said that you could attend, but not in uniform; then it was banned again. Ten sailors did join the protest, and their discharges were speeded up afterward. There were even some sailors hanging out of windows, giving us the victory sign, and raised fists from the barracks.

We in News and Letters Committees were handing out leaflets for our Nov. 7 celebration of the publication of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, with Michael Connolly speaking. Although I didn't know it at the time, this leaflet, with the copies of N&L, also caused quite a stir, at least in the minds of a couple of activists there. They later came to our meeting and bought the book, because, as one of them said, "I was dissatisfied with the attitude of the Left I met toward theory and women's liberation". There are many serious people out there who are looking for more than theoretical "half-way houses" for their activity and their ideas.

— Rickie Rae

Manuela Saquic



For many years now we the Indian people have been exploited and oppressed in Guatemala; and we are more than 70 percent of the country's population. In the rural areas we don't have sanitary water, roads or schools.

The young boys are forcibly taken away to military barracks to serve in the army. Many people have to migrate to the coastal plantations to work in coffee, cotton, and sugar cane. They are so poorly paid that when they come back they have nothing.

In my village, my father was president of Catholic Action, and every Sunday people would get together and talk. Out of these meetings there came other meetings to talk about village problems, the formation of co-ops, and the distribution of food.

THE RICH VERSUS THE INDIANS

As the people met, the question of land ownership came up, the fact that few people had access to any land. Out of this came the formation of the Committee for Peasant Unity (CUC). As people participated in the development of CUC, they became more aware of the rich and what they were doing to us.

The rich have always treated us Indians as people who are crazy, who can't think. They think of Indians as animals, who don't have the capacity to learn and the capacity to become conscious. But we've demonstrated in practice that we can organize and do things and we're not crazy like they say.

And it's not just we Indians who are suffering exploitation and oppression. It's also the majority of the Ladinos (non-Indians) who are poor and suffer. For example, the slum dwellers in Guatemala City live in houses made of cardboard, and have no running water and no electricity. Thus we Indians are struggling alongside the Ladinos in Guatemala, against the rich.

We knew there were also guerrilla forces who were struggling with arms. And on the big coastal farms, thousands of agricultural workers were organizing demonstrations and strikes, while in Guatemala City, student and union organizations were beginning to get strong. So it wasn't just in one place that people were organizing. It was all over Guatemala, in all sectors.

The more we organized, the more the government replied with massacres. You'd find dead bodies in gorges and valleys and alongside of roads.

WOMEN ORGANIZED

At first the army used to persecute only men. They never paid any attention to the women; they thought we were invisible. But when the men would leave the village, the army noticed that we still had organizations and protests. They discovered that the women were organized too.

For example, in one town, women were making explosives out of fruit cans, with gasoline inside. When the army came in and saw that there were only women there, they started to laugh — but when the women threw the explosives the soldiers started to cry! And these women held off the army long enough to allow the rest of the village to escape.

In May of this year, thirteen of us from the group FP31, including myself, decided to take over the Brazilian Embassy, because that was the only way of forcing the attention of the world press on the massacres in the rural areas. When we occupied the Embassy, the government said that under no circumstances would they negotiate with us. They said they would burn us alive, like what had happened two years before in the Spanish Embassy.

We are asking for the broadest possible solidarity to stop the U.S. from sending arms to Guatemala. The Reagan Administration is sending military aid to Rios Montt. The helicopter parts the American government sends are for the same helicopters that bomb our towns.

The government is massacring us because we're organizing and rising up. They have massacred a lot of people, but there are still many people left. The strength of the movement is that both the mass organizations are united and the four guerrilla organizations are united. We have great hope that we will arrive in power and create a new Guatemala.

coming in January

first English translation

Rosa Luxemburg's "Martinique"

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ESSAY ARTICLE

The search for new pathways to revolution

Marx and "non-capitalist lands": 1873-1883

by Eugene Walker

Today's world economic crisis is most often spoken and written of in terms of the industrialized West with its stagnation in production and growing unemployment. When the nations of the Third World are mentioned, the context is usually that of the huge and growing indebtedness of these lands to the technologically advanced West, currently to the tune of hundreds of billions of dollars. The framework thus remains that of the capitalist lands.

The Afro-Asian-Latin American Revolutions which have encircled the globe over the past two and a half decades attempted to blaze an independent, non-capitalist pathway both economically and ideologically.¹ But viewed from the 1980s, country after country within this Third World has been swept into the economic vortex of capitalism, either in its private or state-capitalist form.

And at the same time, there has been a capitulation to the ideological vortex of nationalized property equaling socialism, or of narrow nationalism, or the outright bankruptcy of private enterprise. It is this twin vortex of economics and narrow class-based ideology, which has kept the Afro-Asian-Latin American world spinning outside both any genuine economic development and the theoretical-philosophic vision of freedom that had been the promise of its revolutionary beginnings.

Is there still the possibility of cracking the framework of capitalist non-development for the Third World? Is the only choice between a private capitalist West with its traditional bourgeoisie or a state-capitalist East with its single economic plan? Neither has been able to provide either a solution to the world economic crisis or a freedom vision as against the prevailing bankruptcy of thought.

* * *

OVER ONE HUNDRED years ago, from the mid-1870s to his death in 1883, Marx began a most intense study of "non-capitalist lands" and of pre-capitalist societies.² It was not his first study of these areas, (see especially "Pre-capitalist economic formations" in the *Grundrisse*) but it was a most unexpected development. After all, he had finished *Capital* in 1867 and had made significant additions to the French edition of 1872-75. He had spent some two decades on its writing describing the growth and development of capitalism, both within a nation and as a world phenomenon.

Capital contained the magnificent, seemingly definitive statement of capital accumulation — what we know as Part VIII (though Marx considered it a chapter within Part VII on Accumulation of Capital), "The So-Called Primitive Accumulation."

Its concluding crescendo was the penultimate chapter, "Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation." The path of capitalist development — beginning with the expropriation of the agricultural population from the land as industrial capitalism took its first step to Marx's projection of its uprooting as "... the expropriation of a few usurpers by the masses of the people" — characterized capitalism not only as a preliminary "primitive stage," but as a continuing characteristic at every stage.

Then, in the last decade of his life, as he worked on Volumes II and III of *Capital* Marx undertook a series of new studies which encompassed both Russian agriculture and the newly emerging science of anthropology, including Lewis H. Morgan's writings on the Iroquois in America.

As soon as Volume I of *Capital* was published debates arose not alone on its analysis of capitalist lands, but of non-capitalist lands as well. On the one hand, were those who wished to treat Marx's writing on the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation as an immediate world system, a universal encompassing every society, so that all countries, all societies, no matter at what economic stage, inevitably came under the rule of this constantly expanding system. On the other hand, were those who argued that Marx's analysis applied only to Western Europe, and argued not only against the inevitability of going through capitalism, but proclaimed that the skipping of capitalism was a rather simple matter since no proletariat and no bourgeoisie were present. These countries, they claimed, could simply skip capitalism and move directly to socialism.

The debate was not an abstract one. The ground was most concrete — Russia. In what direction would it go? Would it follow Western Europe's development, or could Russia "skip" capitalism and go directly to socialism based on the Russian agricultural commune, the *mir*?

1. For a discussion of both the economic vortex of capitalism in underdeveloped lands and of the ideologies in dispute see Raya Dunayevskaya's *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*.

2. For a comprehensive view of Marx's last decade "as a trail for the 1980s," from the French edition of *Capital* and the *Critique of the Gotha Program* to his writings on Russia and *Ethnological Notebooks*, see Raya Dunayevskaya's newly published *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

While the question in Russia unfolded in the succeeding decades in terms of capitalist development, socialist revolution, and state-capitalist counter-revolution,³ it remains a viable, indeed a burning question in today's Third World, especially on the African and Latin American continents where the world system of capitalism has certainly spread, but where the drive to crack the framework of capitalism remains ever alive.

It is for this reason that we again turn to Marx as he faced this question at the end of his life. It is not that Marx had direct "answers" for the Third World, but that the method by which he chose to grapple with the question can cast an illumination for today.



Russian peasant women at turn of century

THREE TEXTS OF MARX concern us here: Marx's letter to the Editorial Board of the *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, November, 1877; his draft letters to the Russian revolutionary Vera Zasulich, late February and early March, 1881; and Marx's and Engels' Preface to the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, Jan. 21, 1882. These writings have long been available to all post-Marx-Marxists. What has been published only since the 1970s — and strongly reinforces the ideas presented in these texts is Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*,⁴ written in 1880-1882, which reveal how seriously and at length Marx studied the "primitive" societies from the new anthropological studies of his day. Together, this body of Marx's writings offer us what Raya Dunayevskaya has called "a trail to the 1980s." Let us examine them in more detail.

In his letter to the editorial board of the *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, Marx was responding to an article titled "Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr. Zhukovsky," written by N. K. Mikhailovsky, a theoretician of Narodism. Mikhailovsky had argued that Marx's view was that Russia's most urgent task was to destroy the peasant communal property, the *mir*, and plunge into capitalism. Instead of merely denying this fantastic accusation Marx restated his true views in so new a way that Russia's development actually shed a new illumination on what we now call the Third World:

In order that I might be specially qualified to estimate the economic development in Russia, I learnt Russian and then for many years studied the official publications and others bearing on this subject. I have arrived at this conclusion: If Russia continues to pursue the path she has followed since 1861, she will lose the finest chance ever offered by history to a people and undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist regime. (my emphasis)

The finest chance? Marx had, just prior to the above quote, paraphrased how the "great Russian scholar and critic" Chernyshevsky has posed the question:

... whether, as her liberal economists maintain, Russia must begin by destroying the village commune in order to pass to the capitalist regime, or whether, on the contrary, she can without experiencing the tortures of this regime, appropriate all its fruits by developing the historical conditions specifically her own.

Marx then moved to show that it was not Russia alone which could develop along its own specific path:

... the chapter on primitive accumulation (in Capital) does not claim to do more than trace the path by which, in Western Europe, the capitalist economic system emerged from the womb of the feudal economic system. It therefore describes the historical process which by divorcing the producers from their means of production ... But the basis of this whole development is the expropriation of peasants ...

And thus:

If Russia wants to become a capitalist nation ... she will not succeed without first transforming a good part of her peasants into proletariats.

3. See especially Lenin's *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (Vol. 3, *Collected Works*) and Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom* (Chaps. 8 and 13).

4. See Lawrence Krader's transcription and fine introduction to *The Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx*.

But Marx then answered Mikhailovsky as follows:

He insists on transforming my historical sketch of the genesis of capitalism in Western Europe into an historico-philosophic theory of the general path of development prescribed by fate to all nations, whatever the historical circumstances in which they find themselves ... But I beg his pardon ... one will never arrive there by using as one's master key a general historico-philosophical theory, the supreme virtue of which consists in being supra-historical.

Marx refused to recognize any theory, any sweeping generalization, even when it was as magnificent as his own historical tendency of capitalist accumulation when it was placed outside of the historical process from which it was created. Marx recognized only one science: "history and its process."

* * *

MARX FOLLOWED THROUGH on the question of particular historical process with regard to Russia. In February, 1881, Vera Zasulich wrote to Marx on the disputes of Russian socialists concerning Marx's *Capital* and the future of capitalism in Russia. In particular she asked Marx to state his views on the Russian commune as the basis of socialism. The four drafts Marx wrote revealed his concrete working out of a theoretical position in the circumstances of the Russian reality. In them he makes a direct reference to his latest studies, especially Morgan's *Ancient Society*.

First, he dug into why the commune still existed in Russia while it had disappeared throughout Western Europe. He wrote of "a unique combination of circumstances," and then leaped to the following: *It exists at the same time as capitalist production which enables it to take advantage of all the positive achievements of the latter without passing through all its dreadful vicissitudes.*

He searched to find what happened to the archaic commune, but noted the history of the decline of "primitive" communities still remained to be written. And he warned: *One should be on one's guard when reading the histories of primitive communities written by bourgeois historians.*

Then followed the key sentence: "Everything depends upon the historical background in which it finds itself ..." stressing first that the historical environment cannot be separated from "the simultaneous existence of Western production ... the world market." He continued with other factors that need to be taken into account from the inherent "dualism" of communal property and private appropriation, to the actual physical configuration of the land.

At this point, Marx pinpointed the human forces for revolutionary change: *All that needs to be done is to replace the volost, a government institution, by an assembly of peasants elected by the communes themselves*

Marx also pointed to all the pressures put on the commune: "Weakened by the state's fiscal extortion, the commune had become an easy target for exploitation by traders, landowners and money-lenders." Marx concluded that, "destructive influences will lead inevitably to destruction of the village commune, unless it is crushed by a powerful counteraction."

What was that powerful counteraction? It is here that Marx introduces his last word. When all these factors are taken into account, the key to the future rests on revolution:

In order to save the Russian commune there must be a Russian Revolution ... If the revolution takes place at the right time, if it concentrates all its forces to ensure the free development of the village commune, the latter will soon emerge as the regenerative forces in Russian society and as something superior to those countries which are still enslaved by the capitalist regime.

All of the above was from Marx's rich first draft of his letter to Zasulich. The second and third drafts inform Marx's discussion still further.

* * *

LET US TRACE MARX'S development on the relation of developed and underdeveloped lands: In his reply to Mikhailovsky he had sharply taken issue with any interpretation of his historical tendency of capitalist accumulation which would situate itself outside the historical circumstances of its creation. Furthermore, he had opened the possibility of Russia taking a different path of development, although he warned that the path it had already taken was leading in the direction Western Europe had taken.

In his drafts to Vera Zasulich he investigated the Russian land commune at the time of the simultaneous existence of Western production and against the background of the earlier archaic commune. Marx had pointed to the dualism in the primitive communities and warned that dualism was the ground upon which the Russian commune was being attacked. At the same time he pointed to

(continued on page 12)

U.S. TURMOIL: IN UNEMPLOYMENT LINES AND SHOPS

There was almost a riot out here, when 7,000 hungry people showed up after hearing that the UAW and some church officials were offering \$50 worth of food to the needy for only \$10. But those UAW bureaucrats were really only being opportunists, out for some glory, and they hadn't organized the food distribution well at all. Some people received bad food, after waiting for hours. Some didn't receive food worth even \$10. And yet people are so hungry, I saw some later picking even the garbage that was left up off the ground.

Unemployed worker
Van Nuys, Cal.

What happened at my plant, Agar, after N&L was distributed there with a story on the issue of quality control in it surprised me. The reaction was intense, and all over the plant people were talking about it. This year we took a wage cut in the contract re-opener, and we hated it. But people also talk about other things, and one of them is the quality of the product we make. Lack of quality makes you think about the lack of control workers have over what we're doing.

All of us are familiar with the product. We wouldn't eat it ourselves. There's too much salt, too much water, too much gelatin. That may not be a direct issue of the way the union fails to represent workers at Agar, but it's one thing workers think about all the time.

Learned something new
Robbins, Ill.

I don't know if you heard how I got injured on my job. In my machine shop we have been rebuilding oil pumps owned by Con Edison for about a year. The job entails breaking the machines completely down, making shafts, setting the valves, boring the liners, welding and machining the piston heads, and making the piston rings.

The pumps were first used in 1915 and haven't been used for decades, so you can

imagine the labor it takes to get them running like new again. I was building up the circumference of a piston for machining and was noticing that gasses kept bubbling up through the weld; the metal had become very porous. Then it exploded — covering my face, abdomen and chest with molten cast iron. I'm nearly recovered now, but I still have bits of the metal embedded in my face and must undergo another operation to restore my left ear. I'm going to try to use the time off the job for "head" work . . .

N&L reader and writer
New York City

I am lucky enough to have a job now, but I know how tired and angry all the people in the unemployment lines must be. When I was on welfare a few years ago, I hated spending all day at the welfare office. You lose your whole day. You feel like they're still stealing something from you — your time.

Black worker
Los Angeles

I was glad Bob McGuire shared with us a glimpse of the 1919 Seattle General Strike (November N&L) which I had never heard about. I was especially excited to read of Kate Sadler's efforts to combat the wave of anti-Chinese sentiment during that period. It is true that "for 30 years the dominant position among trade unionists . . . had been for deportation and exclusion of Chinese workers."

But readers should know that in an earlier period there was one union that had tried to point a new direction: the Colored National Labor Union, which had from its beginnings in 1869 accepted both Chinese workers and women into its ranks. That is the kind of internationalism that can help us transcend the Buy American "solutions" offered by today's UAW leaders.

Office worker
Chicago

'ROSA LUXEBURG, WOMEN'S LIBERATION, MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION': THE DISCUSSION BEGINS

How Dunayevskaya looks at the 1970s in her Introduction to *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (November N&L) is quite revealing. Where so many have been making comparisons between the 1950s and 1970s as decades of lack of activity and lack of interest in revolutionary ideas, she finds something quite different. Her three points of departure for her new book — the crisis in the objective world as reflected in economic stagnation and recession; the rise of a new subjective force of revolution, women's liberation; and the publication of the last writings of Marx, his *Ethnological Notebooks* — seem to me to be a very dialectical way of looking at the decade.

It seems to be a way in which you never separate the material world from both the human beings reaching to uproot it and the ideas of freedom being made concrete as a guideline to that uprooting. Perhaps it is because she has such a total way of looking at the decade that Dunayevskaya finds so much more in it than do other social thinkers, some of whom consider themselves Marxists.

Appreciative
Detroit

Thank you for printing the Introduction to Dunayevskaya's new book in the November N&L. It stands by itself as a statement of Marxist-Humanism. It shows so clearly how the book is a Marxist-Humanist response to world developments of the past ten years.

Student
Los Angeles

I have been reading *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, and I wanted to mention how taken I was with Chap. 11 on Marx's idea of "revolution in permanence." The reason it struck me was that Marx had already identified the

proletariat as the ones who could transform society, but then he was looking at his life for "allies." In the anti-nuke movement today we are also discussing the need for "allies," and many of us differ on who they are.

Some in the anti-nuke movement think that our allies are politicians, or union leaders or "science," or even think that the other super-power, Russia, could be the ally. To me, the question of who your allies are was shown by Marx to be a question of freedom. That is why in the anti-nuke movement today we need to look to the rank-and-file workers, the women's liberationists, Black America and the whole Third World as our friends.

Mathematician/activist
San Diego, Cal.

It was so striking to me to read the article from the Japanese woman anti-war activist in the same issue as the Introduction to Dunayevskaya's new book. Shigeko Ishimura was born in 1914, the year World War I broke out, and five years before Luxemburg died. All the world questions of war and revolution Ishimura has confronted throughout her life have their roots in the problematic of that period of Luxemburg's revolutionary activity, 1898-1919. I feel that Dunayevskaya is not "returning" to history for history's sake, but because we have yet to create that free world that the generation of Luxemburg, and Ishimura's mother, were striving for.

Feminist
Los Angeles

I'm not sure I understood the paragraph that Ms. Dunayevskaya added to the Introduction to her new book, as N&L printed it. The whole idea of "post-Marx Marxists" is new to me. Does she mean that Frederick Engels was moving down a different path from Marx even before

Readers' View

BLACK CRITIQUE OF U.S. RACISM

The anti-Ku-Klux Klan demonstration in Washington, D.C. on Nov. 27 was a spontaneous rejection of both the Klan and the government which allows it to spread its racist and reactionary doctrine. Contrary to the official line, the street battles that made national headlines were provoked by the D.C. police themselves. At the time of the Klan's planned assembly on the Capitol steps, 3,000 anti-Klan people gathered to voice their anger. This very vocal opposition led the cops to cancel the planned march and bus the 36 Klan people to their rally site in Lafayette Square. However, there were even more anti-Klan demonstrators there.

When the crowd closed in, the cops decided to protect the safety of the Klan and began shooting tear-gas into the crowd. The people started defending themselves. The battle went on for about two hours, during which the anti-Klan rallies continued to take place.

It was a very spontaneous uprising by the people of Washington, and not some pre-planned violence by "certain elements." We, the people of the nation's capital, have let the country know that even if the U.S. government allows racists to use the Capitol to further their doctrine of hatred, we will prevent it.

Participants
Washington, D.C.

I hope people missed that TV series called the "Blue and the Gray," on the Civil War. It was sickening. As far as I could see, it seemed to be based more on "The Waltons" than on anything to do with what really happened in the Civil War. All the sympathy was with the slave-owners. People would have done a lot better to read John Alan's column

(November N&L) on "Black education in white America," and find out that it took the Civil War (what he calls the "second American revolution") and Reconstruction to bring even public education to American children, black and white.

Not real thrilled
Ohio



SANCTUARIES FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN REFUGEES

There is a project in Chicago in which local congregations are offering sanctuary (safe haven) to Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees. This is being done in defiance of the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) and the United States government. The project is proceeding based on a "faith stance" — as a witness to what we believe. The participating havens feel that the civil disobedience is necessary to stop U.S. government involvement in Central America, where thousands are fleeing horrible tortures and deaths at the hand of right-wing juntas.

The Chicago Wellington Avenue Church is presently a sanctuary. Over 70 churches and synagogues in the Chicago area alone, and hundreds throughout the country, are lending their support. By December, 1982 additional sanctuaries will appear in Milwaukee and Seattle. Contributions may be sent to:

Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America
407 Dearborn, Rm 370
Chicago, Ill 60605

Marx died? I have studied anthropology, and read *Origin of the Family* closely. I always took it to be a work sympathetic to women's conditions. Nevertheless, if Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* lead to different conclusions than Engels suggested, it would be very important.

The point about Ryazanov denouncing the *Ethnological Notebooks* before he ever read them is shocking to me. And that was before Stalin came to power wasn't it? I hope to discuss Ms. Dunayevskaya's book more with Marxist-Humanists.

Anthropologist and feminist
Illinois

The idea that Marx's last decade represented any important difference with his life-long co-worker, Engels, seems to me a quite tendentious reading of Marx texts of the 1870s. I imagine that I would not appreciate Dunayevskaya's viewpoint on it. But I do think that any interpretation that is concerned with male-female relations as Marx saw them will draw attention. Good luck . . .

History professor
Chicago

I went to a filmstrip presentation on "Women in Labor History" given by Prof. William Adelman. He showed many pictures of "labor heroines," but all in the most watered-down way. You heard about the strike of the 20,000 women garment workers in New York, but not a word about International Women's Day. He was so anxious to avoid all mention of socialism that the red flags you see in pictures of demonstrations after the Paris Commune were referred to in his talk as the "red flag of change!"

It was a perfect meeting to take the November N&L to. All I had to do was say that they could read the Introduction to *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* and

they would bring together what Adelman had worked to separate.

Terry Moon
Chicago

Recently I had a discussion with an old friend, a Black woman who broke with a nationalist group and who is now involved in food-buying co-ops and voter registration. (Black voter registration here is soaring in the hope that Rep. Harold Washington might become the first Black mayor of Chicago in April.)

But what she wanted to discuss was Dunayevskaya's new book. She said that she had been reading the debates of Luxemburg vs. Lenin on the national question, and was seeking some perspective on it. What interested her most were Marx's letters to Zasulich on the Russian commune and his writing on relationships between men and women. She wanted to get a copy of the book as soon as I had one.

Professor
Illinois

While we were touring the Univ. of Iowa, trying to arrange a lecture, we went to the office of a Maoist organization near the campus, and began meeting with the founder of the organization. Then a young man of 18 walked in, and we asked him to stay. He is organizing in the high schools for draft resistance. After we made a presentation on Marxist-Humanism and the three works by Dunayevskaya published this year, the leader stated that theirs was an "issue-oriented" group, not one ready for ideology.

At this the youth practically fell off his chair and said: "I don't believe this. Why can't we support this lecture? This woman is bringing together Marx and Hegel and that is something I want to hear." He was so insistent that the leader backed off.

Travelling Marxist-Humanists
Iowa City, Iowa

MIDDLE EAST DIALOGUE

At a recent meeting on the situation in the Middle East Marcia Freedman, the Israeli feminist, was speaking on a panel against Begin. She proved that there is no difference between the Likud and Labor Party, yet concluded that there is a "slim chance" the Labor Party could be different now and "we have to hold on to the slim chances." She proposed as a solution: "get rid of Begin" and establish a state for Palestinians.

When challenged from the floor on other Israeli feminists' posing what kind of state to create — whether for Jews or Palestinians — she made a joke of women's liberation by going even further back in history than Begin, to the matriarchal society and then saying WL will have to wait.

Perhaps part of the reason that Marcia Freedman missed the boat is that she does not see that the opposite to what Israel has become is not the Labor Party, but a total uprooting of the monstrous society she used to criticize for its sexism.

Urszula Wislanka
San Francisco

I would like to criticize the discussion article by Margaret Ellingham in your November issue. How can she possibly say that "Israel still remains one of the freest countries in the world with its kibbutz and free voting rights"? It's about time for us to leave the myths of the kibbutz making Israel a socialist state. Ask a Palestinian on the West Bank if there are "free voting rights"!

Further, when we critique the reformist history of the PLO, we have to remember that 80 percent of the Palestinian people support the PLO. They do so because they want their own self-determination.

Jewish youth
Los Angeles

I had been trying for weeks to call my family in Ramallah, in the West Bank. Finally last Sunday I got through. Immediately they said, "My God, did you hear what happened in Beirut?" I tried to stop them from saying it but they were very emotional. Right away the connection went bad, with a noise. It wasn't broken; we were still connected, but it took a long time for the noise to stop. I feel that the reason they had mentioned Beirut was that Ramallah is so cut off from everything. They are worried that the rest of the world doesn't know about them.

Palestinian
Chicago

The accuracy of your critique of the Left's narrow vision of freedom, in its perspective on the Arab-Israeli conflict, became even more concrete for me at the recent demonstration here protesting Begin's visit to L.A.

It was depressing enough to see hundreds of Khomeini supporters thronging the streets in protest. But the Left's demonstration — while at least independent of the Khomeini-ites — was itself grounded in a lack of thought. All we were there for was to be "bodies," to march in a circle and chant slogans loudly. When the marshals started leading a chant for Begin to "Remember what happened to the Shah of Iran," I thought to myself: We would do better to remember what happened to the Iranian Revolution, and not settle so happily for simplistic slogans. I left.

Anti-Begin protester
Los Angeles



ELECTION RESULTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

In recent elections to the British government's "Northern Ireland Assembly" Sinn Fein — the political wing of the Irish Republican Movement — contesting on an abstentionist basis its first election in Northern Ireland for many years, gained over 10 percent of the total vote and five seats (narrowly missing three more). Its candidate Gerry Adams took an overwhelming lead over all other parties in nationalist working-class west Belfast.

Not only does this give the lie to the Thatcher government's contention that Irish republicans have "no support," but is no mean achievement in the face of constant state harassment of Sinn Fein during the campaign, culminating in the arrest and detention of eight election agents the weekend before voting day.

The reason for contesting elections to a contrived "assembly" which Sinn Fein does not recognize was to challenge the middle-class dominated Social Democratic and Labour Party (S.D.L.P.) which claims to speak for the entire nationalist population. Not only did the S.D.L.P. lose a considerable working-class vote, but large numbers of disaffected youth (and others), who normally do not vote at all, supported Sinn Fein.

Meanwhile, in Northern Ireland re-

pression continues. Recently British troops fired plastic bullets inside a crowded Belfast dance hall. Fortunately no one was killed, though over the past months several deaths have resulted from the firing of these lethal weapons.

Eibhlin Ni Sheidhir
Dublin, Ireland

The story from the DeLorean worker (November N & L) was a real "scoop" How did you ever get it with such perfect timing? On my job everyone had just been discussing the way the TV "pushed" DeLorean in jail, and then I saw N & L, with what a worker said for himself. I'm beginning to think N & L has writers from every auto plant in this world.

Black worker
Chicago

WHO IS A HUMAN BEING?

The other day I saw an item on the news about a man who had stolen a bottle of wine. The father and son who own the liquor store got in their car and ran the man over and killed him. The judge sentenced them to 90 days of community "work," raking leaves or something. And they had killed a human being, just as human as Reagan or Rockefeller or any other, except they called him a "wino" and that made him less. That's the horror of the system we've living in.

Human and angry
Kentucky

WOMEN'S LIBERATION: "IN THE WOODS," IN AUSTRALIA

I am sure you know about Title 20 and the Family Protection (Destruction) Act. Early this summer I found out about a million dollar funding request for an adoption program to be set up in an 18-county area here. The sponsor was Albany Catholic Charities. I went to several meetings on the funding to protest the sexist, economic, religious and racist discrimination the proposal represented. After several months of extensive press coverage I realized that the funding agency was only concerned with the regulations. Legality was confused with morality. We stopped that program, but are worried about other funding going to anti-abortion programs. This is a difficult area.

I feel like I'm a lone voice in the woods, both figuratively and literally. We are

going to start a travelling bookstore to bring radical literature to the schools of this area. We will be going to SUNY-New Paltz; SUNY-Albany; Vassar, and possibly others.

Feminist-artist
Catskill, NY

The women's movement in all its forms is alive and kicking in Australia. Not so long ago I attended a rally called "Women Take Back the Night" which was put together by the Women and Rape Crisis Centres throughout Australia. On Oct. 29, in every state except Tasmania, women rallied to march through their respective State capital cities protesting the objective way in which women are regarded generally by men and the law. They chanted statements like "Rape is about power, not sex," "The law oppresses women", etc.

In Melbourne about 200 women expressed their solidarity by marching through the most densely populated shopping areas, trying to evoke some awareness amongst Mr. and Mrs. Average. I was a bit disappointed in that I felt the whole business could have been made into a broader one. Those who spoke concentrated on changing the existing laws...

Correspondent
Victoria, Australia

CAPITALISM'S HUNGER FOR DEAD LABOR ON FARMS TOO

As a long-time participant in the "ecology movement," the story "Farmers can't escape capitalist crisis" by Felix Martin (November N & L) really got me thinking. One of the most important "lessons" of the environmental movement is that everything is interrelated; you can't dump chemicals and expect never to see them again. Likewise, you can't expect the laws of capitalism not to affect the farms. Farmers have the same problems workers do — capitalism's hunger for more and more dead labor at the expense of living labor. Recently I heard a radio report on farming in the U.S. today. Many farmers said that they were college-educated and were well aware of environmentally sound farming methods, but were forced by economic necessity to farm in ways that would exhaust the land and make the farms worthless in less than 20 years. Even now they could see declines in their yields and had to use more and more fertilizer just to keep up.

Urban nature-lover
Michigan

PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "Black Caucuses in the Unions," by Charles Denby 75c per copy
Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
Working Women for Freedom
By Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
Latin America's Revolutions
Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America . . \$1 per copy
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By Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
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By Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal
By Charles Denby \$ 7.50 per copy

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BLACK-RED VIEW New study on racism and organized labor

By John Alan

In a very profound sense the whole history of Black America can be included under the history of the struggle of labor against the forces of capital, a struggle that has been distorted and made weak by racism. It is this element of racism, that looms so large in the American class struggle, that caused Marx in the 1860s to warn that it could delay the ultimate emancipation of labor from capital in the United States.

Professor Herbert Hill's "Special Report — Race and Labor" has gone a long way to show how racism is a basic element in the conservative philosophy of the leadership of the AFL-CIO — an element that has both prevented its growth and is responsible for the present decline in union membership.

Professor Hill, who is presently Professor of Afro-American Studies and Professor of Industrial Relations at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and was for many years the National Labor Director of the NAACP, has written the Special Report for *The Journal of Intergroup Relations* (Spring, 1982), as an examination of the impact that the merger of the AFL-CIO, 25 years ago, has made upon Black labor.

In the report he characterizes AFL-CIO leaders as "new men of power" that have rejected any notion that the labor Federation should be a mass movement with social goals. These leaders, for the last 25 years, have considered themselves as brokers between management and the worker while seeking greater influence at "the top" by making organized labor an adjunct of the state.

Hill says that this is the reality of the conservative policy of the leadership, and since WWII it has been based on the expanding economy and the quiescence of the workers, both organized and unorganized.

He goes on to say that maintaining the racial status quo, i.e. racism, in the unions is essential to the conservative policy of the bureaucrats. Since the merger, this racism has taken on various forms: from segregated unions, to using the seniority system and the hiring halls to keep Black workers in menial working positions, to vigorously fighting the implementation of affirmative action and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

From Germany and the U.S.

Indignant Heart readers respond

I wanted to share with *News & Letters* readers excerpts from three letters I recently received from readers of my book, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*. — Charles Denby

Dear Mr. Denby:

I have read your book, *In the Richest Land of the World*, which appeared in German in 1981 in the Redbook publishing house in Berlin and I think it is very good. I think we have the same problems in Germany with the foreign people, especially the Turkish. Many people, but not all, wanted: "Foreigners, get out!" I think it's very bad, because the foreign people did the bad work which no German wanted to do.

Have you heard about our new administration with Mr. Kohl as Federal Chancellor? That administration wanted to give more money (than the other administration wanted to give) to the foreigners to go home and never come back. We call it in Germany compensation.

BUT NOW TO YOUR administration in the United States, to Mr. Ronald Reagan. I don't like him at all. With his arming madness he will bring all the people to disaster!! He armed and armed and the social expenditures must suffer. And the "black sheep" are the poor people. Isn't that bad?

But now a word on the trade unions. Without them the workers would be very badly off at the point of production. Your life shows that to me. I myself work at a post office and I'm in a labor union too. I'm in training program to be a civil servant. Civil servants are forbidden to strike. They can only demonstrate.

I HAVE NOW READ ABOUT YOUR LIFE and as you say, I have a better understanding of who I am. I am sixteen years old and I haven't much experience, one thing I learned: everyone has the right to live a good life and not a life full of discrimination.

I don't know if you can read my English, it is not very good, I have learned it at school.

At last I wish you good work at "News and Letters." I hope my letter will go to the right address. Yours,

— Christina

Dear Mr. Denby,

I had to write. I've just finished reading *Indignant Heart* and it is absolutely a great book. There was so much emotion and feeling that it brought tears to my eyes and pride in my heart for being Black. It also answered many of the curiosities about life for the common Black person in the U.S. at that time.

Although I was born in 1961 in the midst of the fury of

All major Internationals of the AFL-CIO have engaged in these racist practices. And the Civil Rights Committee of the AFL-CIO is totally ineffective in combating racism. The results of this racism has meant that the AFL-CIO could not organize the new industrial South and this has had a profound influence on the entire future of the union movement nationally. Thus race has determined whether the AFL-CIO can become a social movement of the working class.

BLACK LABOR VOICES NEEDED

Unfortunately Prof. Hill has given a one-sided picture of the battle against racism by presenting it mainly as the NAACP vs. the AFL-CIO bureaucrats. He has ignored completely the Black Trade Union Caucuses that developed spontaneously to battle both racism and inhuman working conditions. The closest that Prof. Hill comes to dealing with this new stage of opposition to racism is to mention A. Philip Randolph's Negro American Labor Council (NALC) as the forerunner to William Lucey's Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Prof. Hill does point out that NALC died in 1963 when it ceased to be an effective voice for the Black worker after Randolph reached a compromise with the trade union bureaucrats.

It is precisely the absence of the voice of the Black worker that makes Prof. Hill's report another ordinary sociological study on racism that provides no real projection of ideas on how the AFL-CIO can be transformed; something that Prof. Hill wants to see happen.

BLACK CAUCUSES IN THE UNION

The fact that Prof. Hill cannot hear the voices or see the activity of the Black rank-and-file in the battle against racism in the unions is caused by the narrow intellectual attitude that he has assumed about the American working class in general. At the outset of the report he states that while American labor is not acquiescent to the status quo, it is "incapable of the revolutionary commitment described in Marxist prophecy . . ."

This statement sums up generations of elitist thinking about the working class — not just the American working

class — and is the hallmark of all intellectuals that have not moved beyond the capitalist concept of the division between mental and manual labor. Thus they fail to see in the movement of the Black caucuses the dialectical opposite of the racist bureaucrats as the only force and reason, along with white workers and women, that can transform the AFL-CIO.

Charles Denby, the editor of *News & Letters*, in his autobiography, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, has given a vivid description of the activities and thoughts of these Black caucuses, from the inside, as a member and leader at times. He reveals that they were the only basic opposition to Reuther and the bosses. They initiated "wildcat" strikes against both racism and the inhuman conditions of production and gained concessions when the UAW could not produce results. They fought racism both in the union and on the shop floor, yet they were not anti-white because they made a distinction between the white boss and the white worker. We do not get a whiff of this movement in Prof. Hill's report, nor a single example of racism in the UAW.

Prof. Hill says that the decline of the unions can only be prevented by transforming them into a social movement that goes beyond collective bargaining. He does not venture to spell out however, how to transform a social movement into a social revolution.

Rwandan refugee crisis

It came as no surprise when, in early October, President Milton Obote of Uganda again decided to try to get rid of 100,000 Rwandan refugees. In fact he had been planning to do so just a few months before he was overthrown by Idi Amin in 1971. The Ugandan government has now started forcibly removing Rwandans from their homes, taking with them only what they can carry, and forcing them to join the 27,000 Rwandans in the already overcrowded refugee camps.

The origin of the 300,000 Rwandan refugees in Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Zaire was not tribal warfare as the public has been led to believe. It was the result of the feud between Belgians and the Rwandan royal family who have never submitted to Belgium.

In 1959, while African states were claiming their long overdue independence, Belgians in Rwanda acted quickly and murdered the monarch for fear of his anti-colonial attitude, which was making him more and more popular. Prince Rwagasore of Burundi, another anti-Belgian leader, was murdered two years later. The prime minister of Zaire, Patrice Lumumba, was killed soon afterwards. Belgians could breathe easier now, all their enemies having been eliminated.

Belgians then gave their political and military support to the creation of Parmehutu, a pro-Belgian party. What followed was the senseless massacre of innocent people who had nothing to do with any kind of politics. As many as 250,000 Rwandans may have been killed between 1959 and 1974, when the Parmehutu Party was overthrown by the military. Instead of fighting for independence as the rest of the African nations were doing, Parmehutu members, under the protection of Belgian soldiers, were engaged in destroying their own neighboring villages.

Rwanda is only a small country (whatever is left after the British and Belgians divided it among themselves, one part to Zaire and another to Uganda). What has always been described by colonial history as tribes or ethnic groups in Rwanda is just a class division between the rich and the poor. In Belgium there are Flemish and Walloons and others. They live in different parts of the country and speak different languages. In Rwanda there has always been one language and no tribal land. The rich were known as Batutsi, the poor were Bahutu. Since the economy of Rwanda was based on cattle, those who owned lots of cattle were known as Batutsi.

As far as Rwandan refugees are concerned, a Palestinian type of problem is being created. What happened to the Palestinians in Jordan and most recently in Lebanon, has happened in Katanga (Zaire) under Moise Tshombe and is now taking place in Uganda under Milton Obote. Whatever his motives are, there are similarities with the circumstances in which 50,000 Indians and Pakistanis were expelled from Uganda. The problem is that the refugees are always going to be a scapegoat, in any change of governments, wherever they are. They have tried to adapt to the environment wherever they are living under the most humiliating conditions, in the slums of Bujumbura (Burundi), Kinshasa, Kampala or Nairobi.

The refugees are not at all liked, they are somehow tolerated in some countries for the time being. This latest Ugandan incident has clearly exposed the delicacy of their situation, which has always been overlooked even by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. The victims were not surprised by this latest move of Obote because they understand quite well that their life in those refugee camps or in the slums of cities is not guaranteed.

—Rwandan refugee

the Civil Rights Movement, I live within its history everyday. I'm a '60s child in the '80s you might say. I read some form of Black history everyday from the ancient Africa to Martin Luther King to Jesse Jackson and Benjamin Hooks. It gives me pride and strength to strive to achieve so that maybe some day I could be in the history books for helping other Blacks.

But you know what, Mr. Denby? People forget and even worse they don't care. Especially those in my age bracket. I try to discuss subjects like the Emmett Till lynching, segregation, NAACP, Richard Wright or anything dealing with the Afro-American experience and I am replied to with ridicule or apathy.

YES, YOUR BOOK is a beginning for me. There are a few out here who care and remember Blacks like you who try to leave a legacy for posterity. And I want to continue it to my posterity. . . . I intend to draw upon your experiences and try to meet my future challenges as such.

Mr. Denby I'm interested in your other works. Please send me some information. Sincerely,

— Black college student

Dear Mr. Denby:

Congratulations on being such an outstanding author, newspaper publisher and civil rights activist.

I've just ordered a copy of your *Indignant Heart* (1978) after having briefly read the book at the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) Library. Your book is very interesting and inspiring although I wish you could have said more about your experiences within the Communist and Trotskyist parties.

Could you send me a sample copy of *News & Letters* please? Having seen and ordered your wonderful book I now long to read your periodical. Having lost faith in the mass media, which is ever so corrupt, racist and dishonest, I am a subscriber to . . . other Leftist periodicals.

Just as Congress refuses to make the birthday of the most honorable Rev. Martin L. King, Jr. a national holiday, our corrupt nation has neglected all of our great and blessed characters including John Brown, Harriet Tubman, Lucy Stone, Nat Turner . . .

Thus, I am of the sad opinion that your being a socialist has made you very unpopular not only among prominent white residents of your city, but even within the Black community itself! I feel that most of the prominent Black leaders (Mayor Young, Congressmen Conyers and Crockett, Council President Henderson, etc.) avoid you and that what few citizens (Black or White) who do sincerely thank or commend you . . . do so in private.

— Black scholar

EDITORIAL**Anti-war activity vs. Reagan's McCarthyism**

The very day — Nov. 22 — that Ronald Reagan delivered what the White House had billed as an "arms control" speech to the American people, he dared to rename his pet MX intercontinental missile the "peace-maker" — and announced "dense pack" as his choice for how to store them safely! "Safely" has nothing to do with the human beings living around the storage site (four workers died at an MX test site in Tenn.) — or anywhere else in the world, for that matter — but with how enough of the hundred 90,000-ton, 71-foot missiles, each carrying 10 nuclear war heads, would withstand a nuclear attack so they could be launched in retaliation when the "nuclear dust" had settled. The next day the new ruler in Russia, Yuri Andropov, made his own "disarmament" speech, and counted his own nuclear arsenal. Any talk of "arms control" from either nuclear giant, both armed with enough warheads to destroy each other dozens of times over — there are over 50,000 already ready to launch — is clearly just for show.

What is not just for show is the McCarthyism Reagan has let loose against the anti-nuke/anti-war movement. It is that specter, and not the specter of the totalitarianism that parades as Communism, that has been haunting Reagan ever since three-quarters of a million people poured out to protest nuclear war before the UN last June 12 — and became the greatest political demonstration in U.S. history.

What triggered the vitriolic McCarthy campaign — and enlisted experienced Red-baiters running the gamut from Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton, head of the Security and Terrorism Subcommittee, to Phyllis Schlafly, who, long before her anti-ERA campaign, was busy writing about "Communist influences" in the U.S. and declaring that the atom bomb was "given to the U.S. by a wise God" — was the speed with which the movement to freeze nuclear arms had swept across the nation.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(continued from page 1)

government in the disputed territory of South-West Africa called Namibia. The world was again witness to what has become the familiar scenario acted out by the Western developed nations known as the Contact Group (the U.S., Britain, France, West Germany and Canada) in their honeymoon with the racist Pretoria government.

Bush had expected to announce that the present Chairman of the OAU (Organization of African Unity), Kenyan President Daniel Moi accepted Reagan's linkage of Namibian independence with withdrawal of Cuban troops from neighboring Angola. Suddenly not only did Moi, one of the U.S.'s closest allies in Africa, reject such a linkage but he called Reagan's policy a "delaying tactic."

And Botha's South Africa which has undermined numerous attempts to negotiate free elections and South African withdrawal from Namibia suddenly came up with a new twist: its scheme to install a Black-led government was allegedly upset by the present South African-installed white-led puppet government of Dirk Mudge. South Africa now claimed that Mudge's "government" in Namibia is on the verge of a Rhodesian-type of UDI — Unilateral Declaration of Independence. This, with a South African occupying force of 100,000!

The West's honeymoon with apartheid South Africa, which the Reagan State Department has christened "constructive engagement," has, in truth, bolstered the South African regime at a time when the death toll from its occupying forces that conduct genocidal raids on refugee camps inside southern Angola has reached tens of thousands. This is the reality that not even Kenya's Moi could accept.

LUXEMBURG, NAMIBIA AND REFORMISM

It is not the first time we have witnessed such imperialist maneuverings over Southern Africa. In fact what may cast altogether new light on today's imperialist machinations in Southern Africa is to look at Namibia when it was subject to German imperialism in the first decade of this century. It was then, in 1910, that the great Polish-German revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg had sounded the warning against the first imperialist dismemberment of what we now call the Third World:

"Then in 1904 came the glorious Herero war . . . In this war . . . German arms richly covered themselves with renown. Herr Von Trotha issued the well-known general order: every Negro found armed will be shot down — no quarter will be given. The men were shot; women and children by the hundreds were hunted into the burning desert, and the wreath of their parched bones bleaches the murderous Omaheke — a glory garland to German arms."

Luxemburg had as early as 1899 detected the birth of imperialism. (In the same year the first Black anti-imperialist leagues were formed against U.S. intervention in the Philippines and Cuba.) Raya Dunayevskaya in her *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* discusses what she calls Luxemburg's "flash of genius" on imperialism. What is most revealing is the fact that Luxemburg was not only exposing the imperialism of her own German government, but

By the Nov. 2 elections, a proposal for such a bilateral freeze had been placed on the ballots in 15 cities, 14 counties and 9 states — and passed decisively in all but two counties and one state, Arizona. It received 76 percent of the vote in New Jersey, 74 percent in Massachusetts, 75 percent in cities like Philadelphia and Chicago. The highest vote for the freeze was in Black America: precincts in inner city Detroit and Chicago voted as high as 9:1 pro-freeze.

BALLOTS, BISHOPS SHOW MASS DISSENT

Nearly a third of U.S. voters had a chance to cast a ballot on the freeze, making it the closest thing to a national referendum on foreign policy in U.S. history. It was these millions that Reagan was charging had been "manipulated" and "infiltrated by foreign agents."

So strong, however, has the opposition to the insane drive to nuclear annihilation become by now that even the 285 Roman Catholic Bishops meeting in National Conference in Washington, D.C. reversed their long-time support of U.S. military policy and voted for a detailed pastoral letter, addressed to the country's 51 million Catholics, calling for nuclear disarmament and attacking basic U.S. strategic policy. When it passed, they gave themselves a round of applause for having withstood the intense White House pressure on them to reject the document.

Nor is it any longer possible for Reagan to hide the relationship between the ever-escalating militarization and the state of the economy. Indeed, on Nov. 2, in addition to the freeze referendum, a "Jobs with Peace" resolution was on the ballot in over 50 cities — and won overwhelming support in every one. It called on Congress to make money available for jobs and for education, housing, health care and other human services — all of which had been slashed by Reagan's Administration as his first order of business — and to do it by reducing the un-

exposing the opportunism in the leadership of her own Marxist party, the German Social Democracy. The above quote from Luxemburg was in answer to the leading Marxist of the German Social Democracy, Karl Kautsky, who had extolled the history of imperialist Germany as a "century of Prussian glory."

Not only the "civilized world" but the Marxist movement looked on calmly at the imperialist atrocities in Namibia where Von Trotha's extermination order — issued after the Hereros were defeated — brought about the genocide of 75,000 Hereros out of a nation of 90,000 and exterminated 3/4 of the Nama tribe in less than two years!

Rosa Luxemburg, in her fight against imperialism's first appearance in Southern Africa, gives our anti-imperialist movement points of departure. At the same time today's Namibian movement for freedom, in the questions it is raising, sends us back to Marx's last decade, 1873-1883, as he dug into fundamental questions now being faced by underdeveloped Third World countries. Thus intellectuals in the Namibian freedom movement's SWAPO (South West African People's Organization) are trying to articulate theoretically which elements in indigenous Namibian society can serve as the starting point for socialist development.

MARX AND THE THIRD WORLD

A special report for the United Nations Institute for Namibia on agrarian reform posed the problem this way: "The family farm units could, to some extent be considered ideologically neutral since they can be established as a prelude to socialist agriculture or as a basis for capitalist agriculture. In this regard Marx noted that 'either the proprietary trend will prevail over the collective one or the latter will prevail over the former. Everything depends on the historical environment within which it finds itself.'"

The reference to Marx is to his letters to Vera Zasulich on the Russian peasant commune, the *mir*, still in existence in the 1880s. Marx was trying to work out whether it could be the basis of going to socialism without Russia having to go through a full capitalist development. He connected the question of property form with the necessity for revolution. (See Essay article on "Marx and non-capitalist lands," page 5).

For Namibia too, property forms are not separate from revolution, and from the new human relations arising in the struggle today. Take the question of women. As one organizer from the Women's League of SWAPO stated: "Within African society women were long considered commodities and brought up as slaves for the men. . . . It's a matter of 'comrade', a communal sort of life (without the sexist division)."

Just as the Namibian struggle for self-determination provided a point of departure for the Marxist revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg during the opposition to imperialism, so today, Namibian revolutionaries' serious grappling with the questions of what will follow independence helps illuminate how deep is the needed uprooting so that not only imperialism is overthrown, but a new human beginning is made.

— Lou Turner

conscionable amount being spent for militarization.

It is not only a question of the obscenity of a federal budget that projects no less than \$1.7 billion for militarization by 1986, at the same time that an unemployment rate of 17 percent is being spelled out in Michigan in terms of so great a leap in the infant mortality rate that a child born in an inner-city Black section of Detroit today has no better chance of surviving its first year than a baby born in Honduras, the poorest of the shockingly poverty-ridden Central American countries.

It is that the simultaneous ever-worsening unemployment, the industrial stagnation, the political repression and ever-increasing arms race gorge up from the very innards of both the U.S. so-called "private capitalism" and Russian state-capitalism. And that, for both poles of capital, as they prepare for the final showdown, it is the masses at home that must be brought under control first. (See Lead, page 1)

NOT 'LINKS' BUT TOTAL UPROOTING

The new national organization just formed as Citizens Against Nuclear War already includes 26 groups and over 20 million members, ranging from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to the National Education Association, from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union to the American Association of University Women, and from the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists to the Newspaper Guild. Clearly, the challenge facing the anti-nuke/anti-war movement is not only of merely "linking" movements or of multi vs. single issues. Issues and movements have already been linked by life.

Nor is the challenge only the obvious one of refusing to allow this massive opposition to become channeled into one or another form of electoral politics. The challenge is how to achieve the deep and total uprooting of this degenerate, racist, sexist, exploitative world that is demanded. That is a question not only of what you are against, but what you are for.

As December, 1983 draws closer — the date when the 572 Cruise and Pershing II missiles are scheduled for deployment in Europe — the protests throughout Europe and the U.S., which were born when that deployment was first announced in 1979, will surely grow more and more massive. What is needed, as the many forces of revolt coalesce in their opposition to the madness that a nuclear war is "winnable," is so clear a direction — and so profound a philosophy of revolution, which alone can give our actions that direction — that the total uprooting of this dehumanized society will, at one and the same time, be the creation of a new, truly human world.

Freeze not enough

(continued from page 1)

ional day of resistance" for June 20 to include demonstrations, direct action and civil disobedience at weapons production facilities. Canadian groups held a "refuse the Cruise" demonstration on Oct. 30 and have been doing civil disobedience at the Cruise missile production plant in Toronto.

These approaches went far beyond the "Holocaust mentality" which sees nuclear destruction as a final, future threat and does not connect it either with an actual, ongoing production process or conventional military policy. At most disarmament conferences, the issues of nuclear and conventional policy are sharply divided, so that the roots of militarism cannot be addressed. Disarmament becomes defined as limiting our "overkill capacity," cutting out the "excess" from our defense budgets, or as a "tradeoff" between conventional and nuclear spending.

The NWF conference focused on the entire production cycle and the ongoing violence at every stage: from the expropriation of Native American lands, deaths among uranium miners, cancer victims from nuclear testing, the strangling of the economy and the loss of human services. Unless those relationships are recognized, as well as the violence of the system which encompasses and supports it, the freeze movement will fail to freeze the real roots of the arms race or speak to its real victims.

— Anne L., Conference Participant

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Andropov's ascendancy reflects state-capitalism's degeneracy

(continued from page 1)

recognized in *Solidarity* a veritable "dual government"), was so overwhelming that they decided the Communist Party, too, must be put in its place. The decision was made to launch martial law on Dec. 13.

Do Western ideologues need to see the actual Minutes of the last meeting the Russian "eminence grise," Suslov, had with the Polish rulers he still could trust, in order to understand what has happened in the new stage of state-capitalism? Wasn't that made clear enough once General Jaruzelski was elevated to be the leader also over the Party? The subordination of the Party to the Army and the ZOMOS has proved to be an actual anticipation of what would happen in Russia. But, because that is hardly the focus of the Western ideologues, the current events in Russia have diverted them, instead, to talking of Andropov's "culture."

The truth is that Andropov's coming to power, far from revealing a new era of "culture," reveals the state of degeneracy of state-capitalism as a whole. It was anticipated at its weakest point — in a satellite where the masses were in revolt and therefore the military had to be given power almost on a par with Big Brother himself. What needs to be seen is the pivot is not the degeneracy at the top, but the truth that the revolts against Communist totalitarianism for fully three decades have been so deep that the rulers have had to resort to the military over the heretofore sacrosanct Party machine.

THE CONTINUOUS REVOLT

Consider what Russia had to do, itself, to put down the East German revolt of June 17, 1953, the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, the Czechoslovak Spring in 1968 — whereas, in Poland, 1981, it was a native Pole, General Jaruzelski, who did it by himself. Any nuance of difference between the State and Production and the Military is gone. Marx is the only one who was right about the ultimate in capitalism — state-capitalism: there is nothing between the hierarchy in the factory at the point of production, and the State. As Marx put it, the State is the "excrecence" of capital's domination.

Even under martial law the workers in Poland have continued their revolt. When Jaruzelski "abolished" *Solidarity* on Oct. 8, the shipyard workers in Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot refused to wait for a General Strike called for Nov. 10 and struck immediately. And when the government militarized the shipyards, drafting all those workers, men and women in Wroclaw and Nowa Huta walked out of their mills and plants. Yet, instead of reporting the thousands who did come out again on Nov. 10, the Western media reported these tremendous demonstrations a "failure" and the General Strike a "fizzle" — as if anyone could actually execute a general strike under martial law.

The greatness, newness and continuity of the Polish revolt lies deep in the creative recesses of spontaneous mass uprisings. For the first time ever in the three-decade-long revolt in East Europe, the workers had found a way, paved for them by a small, unique combination of workers and intellectuals known as KOR, who had developed the concept of a totally independent trade union movement far out of the confines of trade unionism in any other country in the East or in the West. When *Solidarity* became an actuality, the union did not leave matters only at the production line but demanded political freedoms as well. Indeed, it was because *Solidarity* had reached the stage of challenging state authority and winning legal status that the Communist ideologues, in Russia and at the top echelons of the military in Poland, feared they were confronting a veritable "dual government."

When the martial law, the imprisonments, and the hated ZOMOS still could not succeed in crushing the revolt, they added their version of "Roman circuses." To encourage the Church's continued undermining of what the Underground Resistance was working for (and the masses were, indeed, undertaking actions independent of the Church advice), the State granted the Church a promise for a June visit by the Pope. Walesa's freedom was conditional on his "prudence" — a prudence that they (Jaruzelski, the Army, the ZOMOS, and Russia) will judge.

The question that must now be asked is what about the true independents, the politicians who weren't separating freedom from workers' control of production, the initiators of that unique worker-intellectual combination that laid the ground for *Solidarity* — KOR? What about those who are now risking their lives in continuing underground activity? What about Kuron, Modzelewski, Michnik, Litynski, Lipski, Wujec, Frasnyniuk? Are the rulers preparing their execution to balance the Roman Circuses? *The last word has by no means yet been said!

STATE-CAPITALISM AND THE 'HUNGARY ROAD'

Not even that possibility has stopped the Western ideol-

ogues from their empty speculations about the Andropov phenomenon in Russia. Added to descriptions of Andropov's "culture" and "shrewdness" is speculation, not about the Hungarian Revolution, but about what they call the "Hungary road" — freer trade and some private property. We are now reminded that Andropov, who was Russian Ambassador to Hungary when Russia brought in its tanks to crush the revolution, had chosen Kadar as "his man" — and, since Kadar opposed the Russian overlordship when revolution first broke out, we are supposed to think of him as a socialist when he came to preside over the counter-revolution, especially since it then evolved as a "new Hungary road."

What is this "Hungary road"? Does allowing some "free trade" and relaxation of collectivization of agriculture change the class nature of the State? Does any of this make Andropov a veritable "closet liberal"? Total nonsense. Worse than that, such analysis discloses how



Polish workers oppose imposition of martial law

totally ignored is the whole phenomenon of what has happened to the world economy ever since the Depression caused the total collapse of private capitalism. The truth is that the only way capitalism could save itself, and then launch into World War II, was to bow to the State Plan. It isn't Plan, Plan, Plan, but State, State, State that marked the new, the ultimate stage of capitalism. By whatever name it went — whether Roosevelt's "New Deal," or Japan's "co-prosperity sphere," or, after World War II, DeGaulle's constitutional authoritarianism — state intervention was here to stay. It achieved total control in its Russian form — Stalinism — only because it was easier to do it there since the revolution had destroyed Tsarism.

In Russia, though Stalin called it "socialism," what the world witnessed in fact was a transformation into opposite — of a workers' state into a state-capitalist monstrosity. Old capitalism, in the West and in the East, had what its ideologues call "a mixed economy," while aiding Stalin by gilding Russian state-capitalism as "socialism." The language could not possibly change the facts: Plan from above, State Plan, with its destruction of the workers' attempts to control production, spells out the State as sole decision-maker. This is what Marx called "barracks discipline" — and he was applying the expression not just to the Army but to the relations of capital and labor at the point of production in the factory. Which is why the State remains the excrecence of that exploitative relationship. In the nuclear age, it has reached its ultimate as both Goliaths, Russia and the U.S., are preparing for the Apocalypse with the Grand Illusion that nuclear war is

Inquiry reveals coverup of Palestinian massacre

The massacre of thousands of Palestinians in the West Beirut refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila has raised such a storm of opposition within Israel that it forced the Begin government to institute a court of inquiry before which even Begin and his generals have had to testify. Their testimony is reminiscent of the German reaction after World War II — "I did not know it was going on."

The facts prove Begin to be a liar as a number of army officers, newspaper reporters and civilians testified that they reported the atrocities to military officials and nothing was done to stop the slaughter. The fact that Begin formed an alliance with the fascist Phalangists, and continues it, places the final responsibility on his head.

The entire imperialist adventure into Lebanon, of which the massacre was the culmination, was not a victory, but struck a serious blow to Israel itself.

The idea of freedom for the Palestinian people can never be suppressed by force of arms. The continued and expanded occupation of the West Bank and Gaza as well as the refusal to withdraw from Lebanon are creating a crisis within Israel that is mounting every day.

No one, least of all Begin, who was supplying arms in secret to Bashir Gemayel, could not have anticipated the massacre-to-be when the Phalangists were unleashed into the Palestinian refugee camps. After all, it was this same Gemayel, head of the fascist Phalange Christian militia back in the 1975-76 Civil War, who had led the infamous Tal-Zaatar Palestinian refugee camp massacre. Nor can we forget that it was these same rulers, Begin, Minister of Defense Ariel Sharon and their generals, who gave as the excuse for re-entering Beirut after the assassination of Gemayel "the prevention of fratricide."

Even if we put aside both these inexcusable and historically recorded acts, the truth is, according to the Supreme Court's own investigative committee, that Begin

"winnable" and that only the "Other" will suffer total annihilation. (See Editorial, p. 9)

FINALLY, ANDROPOV — AND THE RUSSIA-CHINESE FEELERS

Lest the phenomenal haste with which Andropov assumed full power before ever Brezhnev was buried gives us the impression of a well-oiled machine that never runs astray and of an unchecked rapid road to power, it is necessary to look carefully and objectively at Andropov's long road to becoming General Secretary of the Russian Communist Party in the 30-year period which was never free of the impossible dualities of exploitation, racism, sexism and brutal repression, on the one hand, and never ending revolts in Russia's Empire in East Europe, on the other.

As a young man, at the head of the Young Communist League, Andropov was sent to aid in the amputation of Finland during World War II. Thus, at the very beginning of his high-rising career, the simultaneous task of repression and giving the appearance of maintaining independence was first witnessed in Finland. In 1951 he was brought to Moscow. No sooner had the very first workers' revolt from under Communist totalitarianism erupted and been crushed in East Germany in 1953, than Andropov was sent to Hungary in 1954. He was to crush the revolution there in 1956, and supervised the rise of Kadar.

Whatever it was that Andropov learned from Khrushchev's rise and fall after putting missiles in Cuba at a time when Russia's nuclear might could not match the U.S. Goliath's, it was Khrushchev's "reforms" — so inseparable from state-capitalism's savagery — that molded Andropov's "new" regime as he came to head the KGB in 1967. He "liberalized" Stalin's treatment of the intellectuals by sending them to the new horrors called psychiatric hospitals.

The following year Brezhnev dared to call the counter-revolutionary assault on Czechoslovakia by Russian tanks — "internationalism." The infamous "Brezhnev Doctrine" is actually Russian chauvinistic imperialistic intervention into all "socialist countries." Stalin's "socialism in one country" has gone abroad to roost. In the half century since Stalin's usurpation of power developed into state-capitalism and reached a climax in the "Great Russian Patriotic War," what the world has witnessed is what Lenin sensed on his dying bed as he warned against Stalin. Lenin correctly spelled out Stalin's relations with fellow Communists in Georgia as: "Scratch a Communist and you find a Great Russian chauvinist." This rising tide of nationalism-chauvinism is now armed with nuclear power, as is the U.S., and both nuclear Titans are driving toward a single country's total global power.

It is in this context, and not in the 90-minute long talk between Gromyko and Huang, that one needs to see whether there is anything new in Chinese-Russian relations since Andropov's ascendancy to power. The relations between so-called "socialist countries" were starkly revealed in their true nationalistic context in the mid-1960s, when the turbulence was world-wide and the Nixon Administration, in its sphere, carried out the height of the counter-revolution against Vietnam abroad and against the anti-war Youth, the Black Revolution and Women's Liberation at home.

(continued on page 11)

and the generals knew what was going on, approved it and are now covering up.

At a meeting of the cabinet Sept. 16, Sharon reported that the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) planned to send Phalangists into the refugee camps. Begin's attitude was summed up by his remark, "If goyim kill goyim — are we to blame?"

Begin, who claimed he first heard of the massacre on a BBC broadcast at 5 p.m., Saturday, Sept. 18, 36 hours after military commanders knew that Palestinian civilians were being killed, is charged with ignoring the danger of acts of revenge and bloodshed.

Sharon is charged with failure to order that measures be taken to prevent acts of revenge and bloodshed after receiving reports of the killings. Chief of Staff Lt. General Rafael Eitan testified that he had warned Sharon that the Phalangists were "sharpening their knives" after the assassination of Bashir Gemayel. Lt. Col. Moshe Hevroni testified that he had reported to Sharon's aide, Avi Dudai, at 5:30 on Friday, Sept. 17, that 300 people inside the camps had been killed.

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir is charged with hearing reports on Sept. 17 on the actions of the Phalangists in the camps and of taking no action on it. Gen. Rafael Eitan is charged with failure to act or check on reports made to him on the killing in the camps and not ordering the withdrawal of the Phalangists.

World reaction to the role of Israel in Lebanon is revulsion. A widespread "Peace Now" movement is gathering strength in Israel with 1,300 Israeli soldiers signing a petition of support for the movement, many refusing to serve further in the imperialist adventure.

The present course of Israel is leading to its own destruction. The "defense of the nation" can not serve as an excuse for the annihilation of the Palestinian people and the occupation of their homeland. — Peter Mallory

* An important letter, "The Danger in Poland," by George Konrad, has brought out the historic fact that in the Hungarian Revolution the leaders had also been promised that there would be no executions once "order is restored." But in fact Nagy and his colleagues were executed. (See *New York Review of Books*, Dec. 2, 1982, p. 6.)

YOUTH

Revolutionary creativity of Polish students

No one can miss the massive participation of youth in all the street demonstrations in Poland. The story of course does not end there. The climate in high schools today is reminiscent of the 19th century youth conspiracies. Leaflets and papers are distributed, pupils hold silent demonstrations during class breaks, circulate petitions in defense of teachers fired for activity in Solidarity, while secret organizations and self-education circles are forming.

In Warsaw high schools the Youth Movement of Progressive Opposition was created, taking as its goal self-education. The subject of their first meeting was Prague Spring. Forms of support for students dismissed from schools after the May 3rd demonstrations were also discussed.

THE STUDENTS WRITE: "The authorities want to isolate us youth from the truthful social knowledge, tradition and history. The school is transformed into a factory of

Draft resistance; other anti-militarist actions

by Jim Mills

When Ronald Reagan announced his MX deployment strategy Nov. 22, he said that the young "should not fear the future." Yet the militarist attitudes from the presidency on down are so frightening that young people reject the kind of future world he and his class would like for them to live in.

Many look at the prosecution of draft registration resisters as an example of what Reagan really means by "fear." The government is currently prosecuting 160 people out of three quarters of a million who should have signed up for the draft and didn't. The Justice Department has indicted 13 people, all of whom are vocal opponents of draft registration. The charges against one of them, David Wayte, were recently dismissed in court when the government refused to comply with a judge's order to supply records and a witness for the hearing.

A GOVERNMENT CONSPIRACY

The appearance on the stand of presidential counselor Edwin Meese, who shaped the current prosecution policy, would have been part of the effort of the defense to show the government's method of prosecuting only vocal resisters merely because they are vocal, a violation of their right to free speech. Draft registration, the hearing would have shown, is becoming a fiasco and the indictments are intended to intimidate all unregistered young men into heading to post offices to sign on for the draft. This intimidation program was punctuated earlier when it was announced that the government would not give financial assistance for college to non-registrants.

Despite Selective Service System Director Thomas Turnage's assessment in September that the number of non-registrants includes many already in the service as well as ones who are ignorant of the registration campaign (well publicized as it was), the truth is that the public resisters are the mere cutting edge of anti-militarist thought by masses of youth in the U.S. Besides the three quarters of a million who have refused to sign-up, a million who have registered and moved have not given their new addresses to the Selective Service System, the government agency that runs conscription for the Army. That is an underground form of resistance that may free them both from prosecution and conscription.

David Wayte's trial exposes the true intentions of Reagan — to intimidate youth. Yet the legal battles such as his represent only a single front of opposition. Youth anti-militarist thought has appeared in other ways recently.

OTHER FORMS OF YOUTH RESISTANCE

When security guards set up a surprise security check last month at Thomas Jefferson High School in New York City, an uproar followed. When one of three students who were loudly protesting was bodily carried into the dean's office, hundreds of shouting students stormed the cafeteria and classrooms and then went into the street. They threw rocks and shouted "Gestapo Tactics!" while police tried to disperse them. The Thomas Jefferson High School activities reflect deep-seated, bedrock youth intransigence to a militarized culture built on capitalism that's in crisis in the 1980s.

This is why a view of anti-militarist youth activity in the 1980s cannot be confined to the assigned avenues important as they may be. For instance, the success of the nuclear weapons freeze movement has been in creating space inside the electoral system to express mass revulsion over nuclear war insanity. Yet that success has been made possible through the heretofore independent and spontaneous response by millions joining organizations including those promoting "the freeze."

The arenas of trials and elections don't contain the totality of youth anti-militarist thought and actions against the great fear Reagan would use in his drive towards war and regimenting our lives. Other, newer forms will continue to express that totality. Will the youth organizers be ready with their own, total vision opposing Reagan's militarization?

obedience training, it teaches us spying, conformism and lies, it gives us illusory knowledge, it prepares us for the role of submissive tools of the militarized system. We are calling on you to form circles of Independent Education (KON). Create groups of people who know and trust each other. We received information that groups of specialists from different humanist disciplines are preparing programs and publications for us. We will try to make the organization of KON succeed so that we can begin self-education outside the walls of the school."

Foreshadowing the workers' rejection of the new state-run unions, students from the III High School, who were first among the high school youth to organize themselves after August, 1980, issued a leaflet to all new students not to allow the school administration to set up administration-controlled "student self-government."

Even grade-school students are being mobilized into Students' Front of Refusal (UFO):

Bulletin of resistance No. 1. 7 April 82

What is UFO? It is Students' Front of Refusal. So far

Youth in Revolt

Last month, on the anniversary of the 1929 demonstrations in Kwangju against Japanese colonial rule, South Korean students, chanting slogans demanding freedom of the press and labor unions, were attacked with tear gas by police, who mobilized in force as rumors had spread of students' plans to confront the dictatorial government of President Chun Doo Hwan, backed by the U.S.

The Israeli Justice Ministry said criminal charges will be filed against the Neve Zedeck theatre company for performing a banned play, "The Patriot," by Hanoeh Levin. It is about a soldier ordered to fight in an Israeli invasion of Albania, where he dies.

A recent study by the Association of American Colleges Project on the Status and Education of Women reveals that a negative learning atmosphere exists for women students in the nation's colleges. They cited such practices as instructors using sexist language in the classroom, interrupting women more frequently than men, asking questions followed by eye contact with men students only, calling on men by name more frequently.

Billy Paddock, a white youth, was hauled before a South African military tribunal when he refused to serve in their war against the Black population. He insisted that the South African military was an instrument used to "maintain white class and social domination in South, and southern Africa."

Andropov's ascendancy in Russia

(continued from page 10)

It was then that Andropov came to head the KGB and was followed by the "Brezhnev Doctrine." The Sino-Soviet orbit which split at the beginning of the 1960s, from an "unbreakable friendship" to a great conflict, reached its climax in Mao's "Cultural Revolution" when China subordinated Vietnam's life-and-death struggle with American imperialism to declare Russia as "Enemy No. 1." Deng's post-Mao China has not only continued that line but intensified it. Just as Mao sacrificed his "closest-comrade-in-arms," Lin Piao, when he dared to object to Mao's rolling out the carpet for Nixon, so Deng was concretizing Russia as "Enemy No. 1" by saying Russia was the worst of the imperialistic super-powers, and flirting with outright collaboration with U.S. imperialism against Russia.

But, just as U.S. imperialism never gave up its "national interests" in the preservation of the Chiang Kai-shek connection and protection of Taiwan even after the U.S. "alliance" with Deng, so Deng never gave up its stake in Russia — not when U.S. imperialism seems to disregard China's "national interests." Anyone, however, who seriously thinks that Andropov's putting out feelers to China means Russia's forgetting China's defection needs to take a deeper look at the capitalistic interests of each of these "socialist countries."

Just when we were confronted with a pre-revolutionary situation in Iran and the mass movement against the Shah was gaining a momentum of its own, both Russia and China, for their own national interests, were still embracing the Shah! Ever since the Hitler-Stalin Pact gave the green light to World War II, neither Stalin's Russia nor Mao's China (even when it was only in Yanan and pursued by Chiang Kai-shek's Army) has ever fundamentally departed from its inherent Stalinism, that is to say, its state-capitalist nature.

The overriding question for capitalist-imperialism the world over is how to force labor to produce and produce and produce for "production's sake" — that is, how to enforce "labor discipline." For Russia, which has already tried "barrack discipline" in the factory as in the military — and still faces the continuous labor revolts in its East Europe, the question is: what else is left to try? It is here we need to have one more look at Andropov.

The "newness" of the present stage of state-capitalism, its full degeneracy, lies, not in its foreign relations, but

it's a not too numerous group of teenagers/students. We divided ourselves into a few sections. Our goal is serving the students and their interests. UFO will fight against people who destroyed the renewal, i.e. WRON and its flunkies of whom there are more in school and on the street.

To join UFO you have to meet seven conditions: 1) Be a student in grade school, grade 2-8, or high school, grade 1-3/8-13 years old. 2) Know what conspiracy is. 3) Want justice in all of Poland. 4) Do not make UFO into an idiotic game. 5) Do not say much to outsiders. 6) Do not believe in lies of WRON and PZPR or their organs/TV news, tribune. 7) Be with us until the end.

WARNING! If you get our bulletin, after reading it hide it in a place only you know. If you are writing any underground propaganda always destroy the first copy — they can recognize the typewriter by it. FOR DETAILS ASK GRANDMOTHERS AND GRANDFATHERS!

COMMITTEE OF SOCIAL RESISTANCE (KOS) issued the following appeal: "... the fact of being young alone is sufficient proof of offense that it justifies use of force. Reports of systematic beatings of young people are multiplying... The tragedy of the situation is deepened by the fact that to execute the role of the torturer they use young people incorporated into ZOMO divisions voluntarily or forcibly."

"KOS calls on the whole society, defend our youth... We call on teachers and educators: do not be silent. We call on parents to make public all incidents of use of force against their children. Only in silence are we alone. We're also directing our appeal to the youth — don't be provoked, but keep up solidarity with each other."

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strictly in the internal conflict, and that does include Russia's East Europe Empire. Let's return to Suslov's last visit to Poland on the eve of Dec. 13 (and, as it turned out, the eve of his death) — this time not to see what it signified for Poland, but for Russian succession. Suslov was Russia's preeminent ideologist, recognized as "the dogmatist" but at least somewhat apart from a direct economic-political-military identity, especially its secret police demands. Andropov, the KGB man, nevertheless moved rapidly to take over that portfolio after Suslov's death. That was the beginning of the year 1982.

As the conflict between Russia and the U.S. is heating up with Reagan's revival of the Cold War, and Russia is no longer that lesser nuclear might of the 1962 Cuban Missile crisis when Khrushchev had to bow to Kennedy, there seems to be no area which Andropov seems willing to leave out of his totalitarian hold. By taking over also all ideology, state-capitalism has "coordinated" political and military and ideology. And let's not forget that Weinberger has met his match in Russia's Defense Minister as Ustinov was the first to vote for Andropov, and declared that anyone calling for military cuts was committing an "unpardonable mistake."

Andropov has summed it all up himself in his first major speech to the Supreme Soviet — not when he talked the same language as Reagan against "the other," but when he talked of the crisis within Russian economy. It is clear that the 1975-76 economic global crisis has not abated in 1982. The tough words are directed against Russia's 80 million work-force for its lack of "labor discipline," its "shoddy work, inactivity and irresponsibility." Then comes still another warning against insufficient "labor productivity" which, says the new ruler and ideologist, should result in "an immediate and unavoidable effect on earnings."

Yes, the Russians have a word for it: "unemployment within factory gates." No, the Russians do not have the answer to the continuous resistance to "labor discipline" and the endless revolts. Here, too, Marx had the answer: The deeper the economic crisis the more does capitalism create its own "grave-diggers": the proletariat. In Russia, as in Poland, the gravediggers of capitalism are preparing. No, the last word has not yet been said, and Andropov's ascendancy will not stifle the massive opposition from all over its empire, beginning at home.
Detroit, Mich.

Nov. 26, 1982

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

Reagan's visit vs. Latin American realities

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

We have turned over *Our Life and Times* this month to Anne Molly Jackson for a report on Latin America. See also *Guatemalan freedom fighters speaking for themselves* p. 4. — Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry.

President Reagan's visit to Latin America came in the wake of new disclosures of the role of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to overthrow the Nicaraguan government as well as new revelations of the CIA's attempt to assassinate Chilean President Allende a dozen years ago. Reagan's visit included only "safe" countries — Honduras, Costa Rica, Colombia, Brazil — but he arranged meetings with the presidents of El Salvador and Guatemala, both countries engaged in bloody civil wars. Let us begin our own visit by looking briefly at some of today's Central American realities.

Central America

It has become clear that the U.S. cannot stop the Central American revolutions by economic aid to dictatorships. Even military aid has as yet failed to transform the situation. In spite of nearly half a billion in aid this fiscal year, the Salvadoran government's latest offensive against the guerrilla-controlled parts of the country has been unsuccessful; its economy is in ruins; and strikes are breaking out even among government workers in the capital city.

So far to the right has the government moved since the "elections" last spring, that Reagan-appointed U.S. Ambassador Hinton was forced to denounce "abuses" by security forces and demand "the murderers of our citizens" be brought to justice. He was referring to the four U.S. religious women who were raped and murdered by government troops in December, 1980 and the two agricultural advisors who were murdered in 1981. Meanwhile in 1982 the murder of El Salvadorans continues at dizzying rates. By the U.S. Embassy's own count some 5,639 Salvadorans were killed in the first 10 months, half of them civilians.

But the concrete response of the U.S. to this stalemated, murderous civil war has been the attempt to escalate it through regionalization of the war. Honduras has become the "frontline" for U.S. sponsored actions both against El Salvadoran guerrillas and peasant refugees and against the government of Nicaragua.

Aid to the Honduras government, and most especially to its military, has increased at astronomical rates during the two years of the Reagan Administration. This military money is in sharp contrast to the actual starvation of Honduran infants and young children.

Honduras has become a staging-ground for invasions. In June of this year some 3,000 Honduran troops invaded rebel territory in El Salvador. The recent revelations about the U.S.'s "secret war" against Nicaragua show that the CIA is sponsoring some 5,000 counter-revolutionaries in camps inside Honduras, from which they have been launching invasions of up to 1,000 men. The counter-revolutionaries are mostly former soldiers of the hated Nicaraguan dictatorship, Somocistas. Reagan has authorized \$19.9 million for this CIA operation and to encourage a legal opposition within Nicaragua. The latest word is that the camps have now been moved from Honduran territory right into Nicaraguan territory!

Any land invasion of Nicaragua will be met by the 100,000-strong volunteer Nicaraguan armed forces and militia. But the ability of Nicaragua to concentrate on deepening its revolution is hurt by the constant military threats and by the U.S. assaults on its economic develop-

ment. The U.S. has rejected all overtures to establish normal relations, has tried to prevent other nations from giving aid even to relieve the natural disasters of floods and droughts, and has encouraged the flight of business from Nicaragua.

In Guatemala where President Rios Montt has combined born-again Christianity with the military bootheel, thousands of Indian men, women and children have been massacred by government troops. And yet the Reagan Administration wishes to resume military aid, which was cut off in 1977 for Guatemala's gross human rights violations. Charges of illegal military aid going to Guatemala from the U.S. right now have already been raised. Meanwhile Reagan circumvented the ban on sales of military trucks and jeeps by simply removing them from the list of prohibited equipment.

Reagan's visit to Costa Rica comes at a time when the very structure of this "model" country is shaky and in danger of economic collapse. There are opposition movements here too. Opposition in each country shows that what is being regionalized in Central America is not alone Reagan's alliance with military dictatorships, but new forms of revolt that have gained their inspiration from Nicaragua's revolution, but rest on their own indigenous ground.

Argentina

Chile's neighbor in the Southern Cone, Argentina, is another military dictatorship where resistance is growing in spite of years of repression. The recent discovery of 1,500 unidentified bodies in cemeteries around the country gives the final lie to the government's feigned ignorance about the more than 6,000 people who have "disappeared" over the years. Those who for several years have demanded to know where were the disappeared, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, mothers whose husbands and relatives disappeared, continue. Their courageous weekly demonstrations at the Plaza de Mayo, their refusal to be swept into the narrow false patriotism of the war over the Malvinas/Falklands against British imperialism, have continued to expose Argentina's fascist military government.

Increased unrest since the loss of the war has also forced the government to permit some radical and Peronist political meetings and to promise elections in 1984. Disagreements among the ruling generals, however, may produce a new clampdown instead. A recent demonstration by 15,000 in the middle class suburbs of Buenos Aires shows that the dissatisfaction is widespread.

Chile

The latest revelations about conspiracy at the highest levels of U.S. government to arrange for the assassination of President Allende in 1970 (see Seymour Hersh's article in the *Atlantic Monthly*) show to what lengths our government went to overthrow the Chilean government. The nine years since Allende's overthrow have meant that at least 30,000 Chileans — leftists, liberals, and any "suspected" of being anti-government — have died in concentration camps or by firing squads. Fascist head of government General Pinochet's long arm even reached into the U.S. with the murder of exiled Allende government official Orlando Letelier in Washington. So outraged was public opinion that the U.S. was forced to cut off aid to the Pinochet government.

But today, despite the refusal of the Chilean government to hand over those who planned the killing as well

as those who did the actual murder, the Reagan Administration is trying to persuade Congress to resume aid. This, in order to prop up the Chilean government, which has brought the country to economic ruin. Unemployment is 35 percent, wages are between \$150 and \$200 a month while the cost of living matches that for those in Boston. Industrial production is down and a negative growth rate of five percent is predicted for the year.

The supply side economics of Milton Friedman which Chile has been following under Pinochet has only meant an increasing impoverishment of the masses. Everywhere it has been the excuse to cut wages and government benefits, to try to spur economic development on the backs of the workers, and everywhere it is failing. Reports from Chile speak of even the middle class hungry and unemployed.

After nine years of fascism, resistance continues to grow. In August, several thousand people participated in a hunger march in Santiago, calling for "Bread, work, justice and freedom." Students demonstrated against the government in Santiago and Valparaiso. Unions and professionals have increased opposition, demanding economic rights for the workers. The Catholic Church has become so active in recording human rights violations and providing lawyers that General Pinochet has taken to attacking the Church.

ESSAY ARTICLE

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the need for a powerful counteraction, concluding, "to save the Russian commune there must be a Russian Revolution."

In the third work on the subject — the Preface to the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, January 21, 1882 — Marx proceeded to tie the "peasant East" to the "proletarian West" in an unprecedented revolutionary linking. The question he had been grappling with for the better part of a decade was posed once more:

Can the Russian obshchina, though greatly undermined, yet a form of the primeval common ownership of land, pass directly to the higher form of Communist common ownership? Or on the contrary, must it first pass through the same process of dissolution such as constitutes the historical evolution of the West?

And the answer that comes forth is not only revolution, but permanent revolution; not only revolution in the peasant East, but that revolution as a spark for revolution in the proletarian West, which can in turn re-enforce the East's revolution:

The only answer to that possible to-day is this: if the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for a communist development.

The vicissitudes of Russia since then are, of course, well known. What is not well known, and in fact, has been studiously ignored, is precisely the way Marx worked through the question of underdeveloped and developed lands.

The particulars of the Russian peasant commune have been obliterated both by capitalism's encroachment into Russia prior to 1917, and Stalin's forced collectivization of the 1930s. But Marx's methodology is still alive. And so is the dialectical method which enabled him to see such phenomenal new pathways to social revolution, not in isolation from the realities of capitalism, but by finding the revolutionary forces within capitalism's developed lands.

In returning to today the question is not so much to search for where there is a particular social organization on the land in one part of the world or another which is still surviving capitalism's encroachments. Where such forms exist, it is likely that capitalism has not yet found a way to fully exploit those regions. Instead, what remains as alive in our day as in Marx's — indeed, what compelled Marx to study any particular social organization of his day — are the human forces which challenge capitalism's drive for accumulation, whether primitive or "advanced."

Whether the indigenous social forms still existing in such dispersed places as Namibia's communal relations and Guatemala's Indian peasant communities can form the basis for new human beginnings in each land is an open question. But what makes both places so alive for us today is that in Namibia, in Guatemala, there are peasant masses who are fighting to be rid of capitalism's direct encroachments — its brutal slaughter of men, women and children; its destruction of the land. But their fight cannot be in isolation. Can it not be a signal for the rest of us to make the revolution continuous, to make real what Marx had called "revolution in permanence?" Only such simultaneous working out of complementary new pathways for social revolution can crack the capitalist framework both in thought, as Marx had done, hand in hand with doing it in reality, which is the task for this generation to accomplish.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

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