


# Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

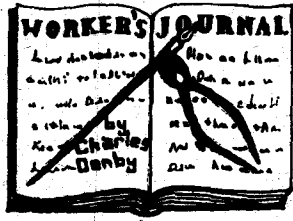
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## The Black South today



by Charles Denby, Editor

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

I want to give you a picture of what is happening in the South today as I saw it on my trip there recently. There are urgent problems in Lowndes County, Ala., and all across the South; problems of racism and unemployment and the loss of Black-owned land.

If you look at the South today, there is much that has changed for the better. You don't hear of the KKK terror as you did back then. There are no segregated accommodations. And most important — there is really a new Black consciousness, especially among the youth.

(Continued on Page 8)

## Need for a total uprooting

# Down with the perpetrators of the Palestinian slaughter

by Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairwoman, News and Letters Committees

Sept. 19, 1982 — The crocodile tears of Ronald Reagan — and even any genuine outrage he may have felt at the slaughter of the Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps — will not wash the blood from Begin-Sharon, who paved the way for the butchers of Saad Haddad's private army and the break-away Phalangists, both of whom had been armed by Israel for years. Nor can they clear Reagan of responsibility

for the neo-fascistic acts perpetrated in Lebanon. Nor can they excuse the whole Western imperialist camp which so hurriedly pulled out its so-called international peace-keeping force the minute the PLO guerrillas and their leaders were safely out of west Beirut. The truth is that a solemn pledge was given to the PLO for the safety of the unarmed civilians, which included women and infants as well as men. In varying degrees all of them bear responsibility for the fact that the so-called "law and order" they brought to Lebanon was a form of holocaust, instead.

The only serious opposition to the barbarism is seen in the mass demonstrations within Israel itself, demanding the removal of the Begin-Sharon government. But that, too, is only a beginning. Even if the Labor and Peace parties gain power, that will not change the state-capitalist nature of Israel which resulted in the neo-fascistic Begin-Sharon regime. Nor can we forget that the reason he gained a clear majority was due to the support of Guela Cohen's extreme Right party, Tehiya. In exchange for its three votes on July 25, Tehiya was guaranteed several thousand new homes in the occupied region; seven new settlements on the West Bank; and General Sharon's sponsorship of the whole idea of settling the West Bank as if it were part of Israel.

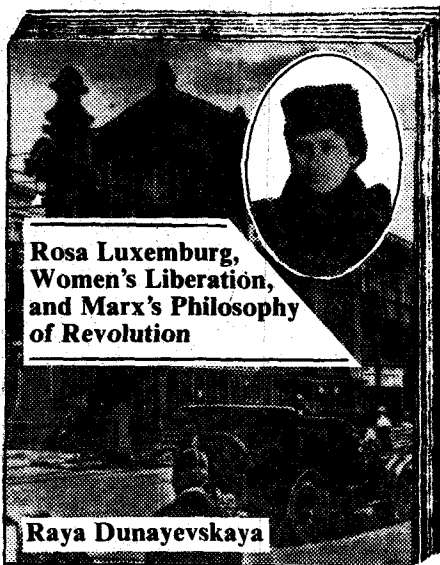
It was precisely for that aim of annexing the West Bank that the latest imperialist venture into Lebanon was taken. It is not just the PLO Begin-Sharon are out to destroy, but the very idea of Palestinian national self-determination. The whole talk of so-called autonomy in the Camp David Peace Treaty was a sham and a snare. This is clearly not the time for any "half-way houses." The Begin-Sharon government must be overthrown!

The events are moving so fast that we no sooner confront one horror than we are confronted with a worse atrocity. Thus the latest atrocities came only three days after Israel's invasion of west Beirut that immediately followed the assassination of the President-elect, Bashir Gemayel. Far from its claim that its mission was "the restoration of law and order" in the "sovereign state of Lebanon," Israel's goal was the same as in its first invasion of Lebanon in June — not the "sovereignty" of Lebanon, but the establishment of a puppet regime there, under the illusion that its army could destroy the idea of freedom.

GEMAYEL'S ASSASSINATION AND THE fact that all of the "international peace-keeping forces" — the U.S., France and Italy — had been pulled out, made the original Israeli aim of installing its own government into power in Lebanon seemingly easier. Bashir Gemayel, on whom Israel seemed fully dependent, had not only begun to say that it was necessary to get all foreign troops out of Lebanon, but was beginning to look to the U.S., since it, too, was criticizing its prime ally in the Middle East, Israel. Even before Gemayel made these new sounds, it was clear that Israel's support of Gemayel wasn't as total as his rhetoric made it appear.

Ever since 1978, it was Major Saad Haddad who was Israel's direct puppet. Israel's support of Gemayel was

(Continued on Page 9)



Raya Dunayevskaya's latest work, exhaustively researched, at one and the same time reveals a startling feminist dimension in the revolutionary theoretician Rosa Luxemburg and discloses new moments in the last decade of Karl Marx's life. Disputing those who characterize Marx's last decade as a "slow death," Ms. Dunayevskaya contends that he developed some of his most profoundly original ideas in that period, including his analyses of the roles of women and of the peasantry as seen in his recently transcribed *Ethnological Notebooks*. Also rejecting those who view Marx and Engels as "one," Ms. Dunayevskaya reveals sharp differences between them and presents a new interpretation of all post-Marx Marxists — beginning with Engels.

## ROSA LUXEMBURG, WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION

published by Humanities Press, USA; and Harvester, Great Britain

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## ON THE INSIDE

Marcus Garvey: myth and reality ... p. 8  
 Detroit labor ..... p. 5  
 The tasks of Marxist-Humanists ..... p. 4

# WOMAN AS REASON

# Woman as revolutionary, 1982

Dear Sisters,

On Sept. 3, Women's Liberation News & Letters held a national meeting to discuss our perspectives for the coming year which will witness the publication of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (Humanities Press; November, 1982). Since the concept of Woman as Revolutionary Reason is central to this new work, we met to discuss our tasks as thinkers and activists in today's Women's Liberation Movement. We would like to share some of this ongoing discussion with you and invite you to contribute to it.

At our meeting, Sheila, a young woman from California, spoke on the need for us to take ourselves more seriously as theoreticians. She pointed to the development of the Women's Liberation Movement out of a critique of the movements of the '60s which separated thinking and decision-making as the tasks of men, and "menial" work such as mimeographing and mailing out leaflets as the tasks of women.

## SEPARATION OF MENTAL AND MANUAL

She asked us, however, whether that same separation between mental and manual labor does not still exist within women's organizations such as NOW, in which the leaders decided, after the failure of the ERA campaign, that the focus for the next few years must be electing pro-ERA legislators. Most of us know that this will be yet another waste of thought and energy and do nothing to change conditions which make the ERA necessary. But haven't we also seen this in Take Back the Night planning committees and other groups we work with on a daily basis in which a small group decides which organizations will be included, who will be allowed to speak and which topics will be permitted?

Sheila related our struggles in this area to the very new category of "democracy after the conquest of power," which Dunayevskaya singles out as having first been raised in the socialist movement by Rosa Luxemburg. It is this concept we must be working out not only after the conquest of power but in all our activities now so that we develop new relationships instead of perpetuating old, oppressive ones which keep us from ever being able to create something new.

Another way of looking at this new category was discussed by Neda Azad, an Iranian feminist, who pointed to the thought and activity of Iranian women as the first after the revolution in 1979 to demand that it remain ongoing

to totally uproot all oppressive relationships as an example of Marx's concept of permanent revolution. She stressed the need to develop ourselves as writers this year, making concrete for ourselves what woman as revolutionary means not just as individuals but in relation to the movements we represent.

## NEW FORM OF MEETING

Azad also suggested that we try a new form of local committee meeting in which we focus on women in history, using Marx's philosophy of revolution as the measure of each one as Dunayevskaya has done with Luxemburg.

The idea of Woman as Revolutionary Reason was made concrete for us in a very different way by Anne Molly Jackson, who reported on her recent trip to Latin America and the new relationships she was able to develop with feminist organizations in Mexico, Peru and Nicaragua. (See News & Letters, December, 1981.)

She used her own overcoming of very real fears about such a trip and speaking in an unfamiliar language to show how important it is that each of us develop self-confidence in presenting the very powerful ideas of Marxist-Humanism. She intends to write an essay article on her trip for a future issue of N&L and has asked for help in the follow-through and correspondence with the new contacts she has made.

The importance of correspondence was brought up by almost every speaker as crucial in making contributions to, and gaining insights from, the women's movement. Many expressed their intentions of writing reviews of the

new book for specific feminist publications and of writing to specific groups or universities to arrange lectures for Dunayevskaya's spring lecture tour which will begin with the actual publication of her new work.

The overwhelming feeling at our meeting was one of excitement and anticipation of the new book which all felt would spark new debates both within the Marxist movement as well as the women's movement. But the excitement was also over our new vision of ourselves concretely working out what it means to be women revolutionaries in 1982 and how we can enter those debates both through our thought and activity. We invite and encourage you to join us!

In Revolutionary Sisterhood,  
Suzanne Casey

## Union busting at Metro

Detroit, Mich. — Fourteen workers are in the fifth week of a strike against International Total Services, (ITS) the contractor which cleans the terminals for American Airlines at Detroit Metro airport. On Aug. 27 the workers, 13 of whom are women, were handed a letter telling them that "in order to avoid losing this job to non-union competitors" ITS would require a wage cut from \$5.58 to \$3.50 per hour, the elimination of paid sick days, change from the union health plan to a company plan and holiday pay only for holidays worked.

Expecting the women to quit their jobs, ITS had imported a crew of professional strikebreakers from Chicago to work until they could reorganize. But the women worked under protest Friday night finding that they could not reach a union representative until Monday morning when a strike vote was taken.

Of the 14 on strike, seven are maintaining a 24 hour picket line at the airport, with the help of four people hired by the union to picket midnight shift. The women feel that this is the only help the union, SEIU Local 79 AFL-CIO, has given them. They receive \$35 a week strike pay, for which they must picket eight hours a day, seven days a week.

The company has refused to meet with the union, failing to show up at scheduled meetings. The women have asked several times for an informational leaflet to hand out but the union rep has repeatedly failed to produce one. This has made it difficult to inform passengers and other workers at the airport since only two women are picketing at a time and sometimes they even have to picket alone on separate floors.

The women feel that the union should ask for support from other union workers — if only for help in picketing on their days off. American Airlines' stewardesses and mechanics and the cleaning people who clean the rest of the airport for Prudential Services are union. When they asked the union rep about this he said that since Prudential was talking about its own contract, now would not be a good time to ask workers for support — as if ITS' success at union busting will not set a precedent for Prudential.

Most of the women say they will seek other jobs rather than go back under the new conditions.

## NY Take Back the Night

New York, N. Y. — A Take Back the Night march here Sept. 12 was a joyous affirmation of women's determination not be circumscribed by the fear of violence against us. "Out of our houses and into the streets — stop rape now!" some 500 marchers shouted as loudly as possible, as we took over the street on upper Broadway and rallied by Central Park.

The marchers were overwhelmingly young, white feminists; the only visible groups besides women's organizations were News and Letters Committees and CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador). But the response from the many people on the street was enthusiastic. Marching through a community which is racially and economically mixed, we were cheered by Black, Latino and white women and men. Only a few men heckled.

The rally, dominated by martial arts and music, was not so exciting. I liked a lesbian activist speaker who tied street violence in general to the increasingly vicious attacks on homosexuals being fostered by the right-wing; two speakers who brought greetings from prostitutes' and other organizations in Britain; and a speaker from AMES, the Women's Association of El Salvador, who connected violence at home and in Central America via Reagan.

CISPES distributed a leaflet which discussed the use of violence against Salvadoran women to terrorize and punish all women who might participate in the revolution there and how women are fighting it. It concluded: "We see the role of the solidarity movement and our participation here tonight as giving strength and support to the struggle of women in El Salvador and women throughout the world, as well as fighting on our own behalf to end the oppression of women here in the U.S."

— Anne Molly Jackson

## Israeli feminists' letter

The following are excerpts from a letter we received from Women Against the Invasion of Lebanon in Tel Aviv.

The group is ad hoc, formed spontaneously by various individual socialist feminists as soon as the war broke out, because we wanted to work together as women. We participate with all other groups resisting the war, and always appear as a separate group, identifiable by our own placards and the fact that we dress in all white. We have a representative on the steering committee of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, which is an umbrella group of all Israeli left organizations and individuals.

In the first month of the war, we met frequently in order to come to a consensus of how and why we would work together, and to make an analysis of women's position during such a war of invasion. Some of the points we touched on were: Women are constantly used as the excuse for war. They claim to be "protecting our woman and children," so we say that we will not be the alibi for such murder.

For women, the war reinforces our roles as mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters. For that reason, our group is very careful to use slogans that show us as independent political individuals, not in terms of our personal relations to our soldiers. Despite the government's talk about making northern Israel safe, this is a war of occupation, not one of defense.

We have been very active. We organized a protest at Tel Aviv City Hall that brought out 200 women July 20. The next day a similar smaller demonstration was held in Haifa. Since then we have held weekly one-hour vigils to which come about 50 or 60 women each time.

The general feeling in the country is one of confusion and resentment; many people understand that this war is not in self-defense. Our group has gotten a much better reception than we had expected although we are handicapped by the media blackout (of all activities against the war).

Thank you for sending us the articles. Everything you wrote on the Middle East was interesting, the most accurate I've seen in any American left publication. It's great to know that we have the support and attention of groups abroad.

Contact the women at Post Office Box 6562, Tel Aviv, Israel, 61064.

## Silverado strike ends

Napa, Cal. — The Silverado maids and laundry workers went back to work after six weeks settling for the 28 cents offered by the company (See August-September N&L). Some couldn't afford to stay out, the union had no strike fund, and we had to depend on families, etc., which some of us don't have. We had to go back or lose the union.

With work so hard to get, they were able to get more help right away. It was bad timing: the schools were just out and mostly young women got those jobs. We were told not to say anything to them but despite that, some of the girls quit after finding out about the strike even though they were treated nicer than us — they were given less work. But six weeks is a long time without an income.

— Silverado ex-striker



**women-  
worldwide**

Feminists protesting the "Miss Universe" Pageant in Lima, Peru, were beaten and arrested by police. They had been picketing with signs saying, "Beauty contests don't hide poverty" and leaflets demanding a new civil code, equal pay and access to birth control information. While hitting and kicking a woman from Accion por la Liberacion de la Mujer Peruana, an officer said, "What you're doing is an attempt against beauty."

(Information from Off Our Backs)

In Boston, 100 "homemakers" marched on the governor's campaign headquarters July 20 to protest low wages and lack of benefits provided by home care corporations which employ 5,000 mostly Black, Hispanic or Haitian women in the area. These companies get \$6.35 per hour and the workers get from \$3.50 to \$4.35 after ten years. The United Labor Union (ULU) is organizing workers and is concerned with the financial accountability of these agencies as well as improved wages and basic benefits such as sick days, pension and health insurance.

The XI National Congress of the Union Donne Italiane drew 1,350 participants May 20-23 in Rome. The central theme of the relationship of women and politics included issues of communication and forms of organization for the future. The decision of the 200,000 member organization, created in 1944, to refuse financial support (100 million lire) from the Communist Party has been seen as very hopeful by Italian feminists outside the existing political parties.

(Information from Off Our Backs)

In need of your support! — See Red Women's Poster Workshop, in London has been recently damaged by the National Front, a British right wing group. Equipment and photographs were destroyed by silkscreen ink that was poured over the machinery. The workshop is a non-profit collective that designs and prints women's posters. They are not aided by grants and the damage is a threat to the future of the collective. Send all loans or donations to: See Red, 16A, Iliffe Yard, London, SE17.

# Workers fed up with battling each other

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

I've just come back from a tour around this country, and one thing that hits you square in the eye all over is how mad workers are getting at the wage and benefit concessions being squeezed out of them by management and union leadership.

In city after city and state after state, workers are being pitted against workers by these demands for more and more give-backs. In Indiana I heard of the situation of the Teamsters at Roadway. There are now three locals of Teamsters representing Roadway workers, but with all the lay-offs the union says they now need just two locals. So they are allowing Roadway to open separate negotiations with each local, and the two which promise the most give-backs will represent the workers. The one local which fights hardest against them will be abolished.

## UNION DIVIDES WORKERS

This kind of pitting worker against worker is going on all over, but nowhere more so than within the UAW. This month many plants are negotiating local contracts which supplement last year's national contract. The local contracts take up shop conditions and grievance procedures. In plant after plant management and workers haven't been able to come to agreements over local contracts because workers don't want to agree to additional give-backs the companies are asking for.

One thing management is demanding is the right to transfer workers from one department to another without keeping them at their original pay scale. If this goes through in one plant, the auto companies will threaten other plants with closing unless they agree to such concessions too.

In all my years in the labor movement I've never seen such chaos. If it continues it will kill the unions. And it is the unions' fault, because last year's UAW-GM national agreement committed workers to massive concessions in the first place. By giving into the demands of the capitalists the unions are dividing worker from worker and disorganizing the organized.

But around the country I saw workers resisting this. Nationwide 84 percent of the local UAW leadership has been voted out of office in the eight months since the national agreement. Many workers are saying they will push the International to call a strike if the local contracts stay bottled up over management's demand for more concessions. But other workers are saying even this won't be enough since

## Wage cut at Agar

Chicago, Ill. — Last year Bluebird Incorporated asked the workers at its Philadelphia meat packing plant for contract concessions. The workers refused. But the company also owns and operates plants in Chicago and Milwaukee, as well as several low-wage plants in the South. It closed the Philadelphia plant, shifted production to Chicago here at Agar Food Products Company, for a while, then reopened the Philadelphia plant with a new workforce paid lower wages.

Last spring the company asked the workers at Agar for contract concessions. To encourage workers to see it their way, the company shifted production to Milwaukee and laid off one-third of the workforce. After more than two months on lay-off, hearing threats to close the plant and remembering Philadelphia, workers voted to accept a contract containing higher standards for the boners and a \$1.75 wage cut with all cost-of-living adjustments put off until December, 1983. In exchange they got an end of the lay-off and a verbal agreement not to close the plant until 1985.

This fall the company has asked the workers at the Milwaukee plant for concessions. The workers are on lay-off, and the company has shifted production and machinery to Agar in Chicago. People in the affected departments complain about the overtime, but others from other departments take advantage of it to earn extra money.

The local unions, with their single plant strategy and adherence to contract language and labor law, are unable and unwilling to deal with this crisis. We need a new type of independent workers' organization that will break down the barriers between plants, as well as barriers between men and women, Blacks, Latinos and whites, and young and old.

— Agar worker

the UAW has already tied them into bigger concessions on the national level.

## BYPASS LEADERS

The only way to roll back these concessions is for workers to demand a total change, NOW. Workers are saying they think the union leadership has to be bypassed so we don't let any group of leaders do our negotiating for us. Whatever they do on the local level, workers know they still face a massive bureaucracy that will sell them down the river on the national level. The only way out is a total change. And I'm sure that is why I never heard more workers talking about revolution than in this latest trip across the country.

One woman in an unemployment office in Los Angeles summed it up when she said, "I come here every month and have to fight with them for an unemployment extension. I'm tired of it. I'd love to see this whole system torn down." The more worker get together on their own, the more we'll be able to build a new, human system in capitalism's place.

## Sellout contract key issue in UMW election

Morgantown, W. Va. — As the battle heats up for the election of United Mine Workers officials slated for Nov. 9, the forces of incumbent UMW President Sam Church, Jr. are pulling out all stops in a vicious red-baiting campaign against challenger Rich Trumka, a lawyer-turned-miner and a landslide victor earlier this year over a Church supporter for the International Executive Board from Western Pennsylvania's UMW District 4. The August 16-31 issue of Church's official UMW Journal reprinted an article by the notorious anti-labor columnist Victor Riesel, wherein he "warned" of Communist influence in the labor movement, including the UMW.

When Trumka declared his candidacy, Church persuaded Martin Connors to join his slate as secretary-treasurer. Connors, a highly respected executive board member from District 5 in Pennsylvania, had voted against Church's first give-away contract negotiated last year which was rejected by a 2-to-1 vote by the rank-and-file miners. With Connors on his ticket, Church hoped to split Trumka's support among the Pennsylvania miners.

However, the bitter opposition to Church which arose during the contract negotiations has increased. Even though the second contract the miners forced Church to negotiate removed some of the most objectionable provisions of the first contract, there were still many concessions to the operators that the miners have discovered to their sorrow in living under the terms of the contract.

Concessions made on safety, lay-off procedures, absenteeism, union organizing, non-union coal processing, health care and up-grading procedures have hurt thousands of miners. Many of these provisions have been brought into play against the rank-and-file as coal lay-offs have spiraled to where some 40,000 miners are now out of work, including thousands of Pennsylvania and other miners who worked in steel company captive mines that were closed as steel mills shut down.

Another significant shift seems to have taken place among the western coal miners, who have also been hard hit by lay-offs. In District 20 in Utah, officers elected earlier this year have come out in support of Trumka. This contrasts sharply with the sentiment expressed by western miners during the negotiations last year, when they actually supported the first contract negotiated by Church, the one repudiated by the overwhelming majority of miners.

— Ex-miner

## Stanford labor solidarity

Palo Alto, Cal. — Kitchen workers, painters, plumbers, groundskeepers, electricians and support staff at the Stanford Medical Center and Stanford Linear Accelerator have been on strike since Sept. 10.

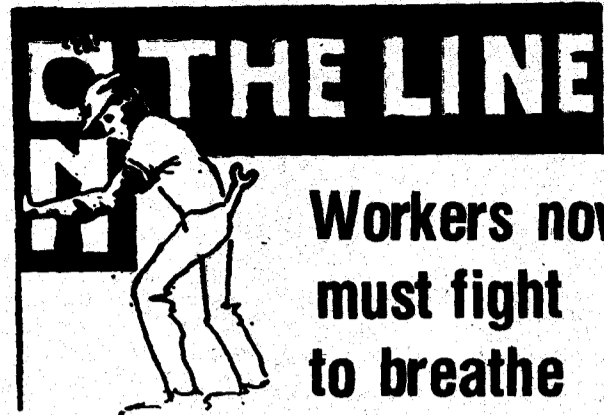
Thus far the Stanford University administration has refused to bargain with United Stanford Workers (USW), members of Local 715, SEIU. The workers are accusing the administration further of unfair labor practices, in hiring non-union workers to temporary positions, and offering raises of 11 percent to non-union staff while USW is being offered 9 percent.

The greatest aspect of the strike so far is workers' solidarity in the Palo Alto area. Teamsters who deliver everything from food to bookstore supplies have honored the picket lines, as have construction workers on several multi-million dollar campus projects.

Newer layers of solidarity appeared Sept. 22, when striking NFL San Francisco '49ers came to Stanford Stadium for a "freely associated" workout, unaware of the strike. When they saw picketing USW workers near the field and found out about the strike, they all decided to leave and practice elsewhere, even though USW pickets said they didn't mind if the '49ers stayed.

While others may have forgotten the spirit of the Solidarity Demonstrations a year ago, it's clear the workers have not.

— Strike supporter



by John Marcotte

If this system is not killing you by denying you a job, it is killing you on the job. The cynical move by the Manville Corporation, which just filed for bankruptcy under Chapter 11 so it wouldn't have to pay lawsuits by 16,500 workers disabled and dying from exposure to asbestos, has raised the issue of the slaughter of millions of American workers on the job which is usually a hushed-up story.

Besides coal miners' black lung, major cripplers and killers are brown lung or byssinosis from cotton fibers, white lung or asbestosis from asbestos fibers, and thousands of workplace chemicals. While billions have been spent to eradicate polio, smallpox and other public health hazards, somehow these occupational hazards are not considered a public health issue since they affect "only workers."

## BROWN LUNG EPIDEMIC

The figures are astounding, and think what it means if you are one of those figures. In 1979 the Labor Dept. estimated that 84,000 of the 560,000 production workers in the cotton industry have brown lung in various stages, with 35,000 permanently disabled in textiles alone.

And 27.5 million workers have been exposed to asbestos between 1940 and 1980, which does not include their families who breathed the fibers brought home on their work clothes or the people who lived near the industries. Workers currently being exposed to asbestos number 2.3 million, which will mean 598,000 new cases of lung cancer or asbestosis even under the existing standards of two fibers per cubic centimeter of air!

OSHA estimated in 1972 that 25 million workers or one out of four were being exposed daily to 8,000 identifiable hazardous chemicals, which result in 59.2 percent of occupational diseases resulting in time off from work.

The inhumanity of class division of this society is shown in the AMA and others pouring billions of dollars into searching for a cancer "cure" while it is known that some 60 percent of all cancers are caused by the workplace. The cause is known, it is a matter of spending the money on the technology to clean up the workplace, something which our profit system will not permit.

As bad as all this is, the Reagan Administration is doing its damndest to make it worse. Since its formation in 1971, OSHA has only set about 17 industry standards, for example on lead, hearing loss, asbestos and cotton dust. In 1981 the Supreme Court upheld tighter standards for cotton dust to go into effect by 1984. Now the Reagan Administration is "reviewing" these standards, out to wreck them.

## WORKERS CONTROL OR BOSSES DECIDE

Because of workers' fight for more information on workplace chemicals, nine states and several cities have adopted chemical labeling laws. In direct response to this, Reagan's OSHA has proposed a cynical new federal regulation whose aim is clearly not to protect but to override the tougher local regulations: it gives the employer the right to decide what is or is not hazardous!

The Brown Lung Association, formed by retired textile workers in the Carolinas in the early '70s, shows the way forward: the self-organization of the working people. For decades brown lung was not even recognized by the companies, the government and the medical profession as something real, until these workers forced them to recognize it. And as long as we have a system of material production in which workers are treated as mere objects for the multiplication of wealth for the few, this struggle will continue.

## News & Letters

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**PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION**

From Illusion to Reality  
and Beyond

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

"... what is needed now is to see that it takes both the movements from practice to theory and from theory to practice to work out a philosophy of revolution."

from the new introduction by the author

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# THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*; *Philosophy and Revolution*; *Marxism and Freedom*.

"It is my desire that this history of Philosophy should contain for you a summons to grasp the spirit of the time which is present in us by nature..."

Hegel, *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*

## 1. THE METHODOLOGY OF THE PERSPECTIVES

What has philosophy, concretely, to do with the economic recession, the myriad political crises, and our tasks today? Instead of starting with the myriad objective crises, including wars, as we usually do, the Introduction barely touched them, using the references only to pose the philosophic need for articulating not alone what one is against, but what one is for, whereupon I returned to the Political-Philosophic Letter on the 1975-76 Civil War in Lebanon as the test not only which the PLO failed to meet, but which the whole Left failed, thus leaving loopholes for the 1982 Israeli genocidal war in Lebanon.

Again, Section I, on that war and the opposition against all half-way houses, did not satisfy us just with descriptions and analyses of "what is," but proceeded to the concretization of philosophy, its politicalization, which revealed the transformation into opposite, not in the usual way we project that as the transformation of the first workers' state, Russia, into a state-capitalist society, but this time as it was manifested in the difference between Palestine/Israel 1947-48 and Israel, 1982-83. At the same time, we warned the capitalist-imperialist ideologues not to forget the presence of a Third World and delude their masters into thinking they could continue to practice neo-colonialism just because, militarily, Britain won over Argentina in the Falklands/Malvinas.

Sections II and III did analyze the deep global economic recession anchored in Ronald Reagan's retrogressionist recession, including religion, as well as its imperialist outreach — and did it so dialectically that you never saw it separate from the revolutionary opposition against it, whether that be Namibia today or in 1904. This, Luxemburg had sensed that early both as Black dimension and as that new degenerate stage of capitalism — imperialism — which not only Blacks fought against, but so should Marxists. If the Germany Social Democracy had not tried to avert their eyes and thereby disclosed their own opportunism, they would not have missed Luxemburg's flash of genius on imperialism. It certainly allowed us to know Namibia long before 1982 or 1951.

Without directly mentioning the new book, we here got a whiff of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* — and, at the same time, rejected Luxemburg's position on Poland and gained from Marx's position when revolutionary nationalism is internationalism. We could also trace the movement from practice in Bolivia, 1952/1982. The objective situation made us also remember the "subjective" *Marxism and Freedom*, which first projected that original, dramatic, new category — movement from practice to theory — when we broke through on the seemingly stratospheric Absolute Idea, integrating it with the actual movement from the 1950s as those three new pages of freedom opened in the U.S., East Europe/Vorkuta, and Montgomery, Alabama.

ALTOGETHER TOO MANY crises and wars abound and there is no way to know which one will be the next to erupt, which will have repercussions to which we will have to turn at once. But if we do practice our dialectics we should not have to ask: 1) how does the hieroglyphic "three books, not one" illuminate these crises? 2) how does the challenge to post-Marx Marxists affect our facing the objective situation now? Marx's philosophy is no abstraction; it expresses the methodology needed for both analyzing serious crises and acting to uproot the system that created them.

First and foremost, we should keep in mind that every production crisis (as our age with its movement from practice has proved) produces also the crisis in theory — whether it is automation, which made workers ask the questions: what kind of labor should men and women do? why should there be this gap between mental and manual labor? — or whether it is the peasantry, and not only the Bolivians just referred to, but in India. Even the World Bank (no radical it), in its World Economic Report this year, while admitting that "800 million live in absolute poverty," also had to say: "Far from being tradition-bound, the peasant farmers have shown that they share a rationality that far outweighs the differences in their social and ecological conditions." That is a great deal more to the point than Trotsky's great theory in nothing less important than the Manifesto for the Fourth International, where he speaks only of the backwardness of the peasantry, and Mao is not mentioned once.

At the same time, the non-Hegelian, non-Marxist concept of contradiction that Mao expounded with his "Bloc of Four Classes" has only proved to be an alternative half-way house, even when it reaches its height in the Cultural Revolution.

Which is why *Philosophy and Revolution* exposed

\* Part IV of *News and Letters Perspectives* 1982-83. For full perspectives see ad page 10.

# The creative nature of Marx's mind and the tasks of Marxist-Humanists today\*

"The intellectual movement now taking place in Russia testifies to the fact that fermentation is going on deep below the surface. Minds are always connected by invisible threads with the body of the people..."

Marx to Siegfried Meyer in New York, Jan. 21, 1871

and abandoned so-called revolutionary Alternative Marxisms, whether Trotskyist or Maoist, both politically and philosophically by diving deep into Hegelian dialectics "in and for itself." Even Lenin, who did return to Marx's origins in Hegel and thus created ground for us, had not carried through, in his reorganization, to the party-to-lead which our age demanded be ended, and to WL. What was needed was to recognize that Marx alone could transcend the Hegelian dialectic because he had not satisfied himself when he "translated" the Hegelian contradiction as class struggle, but had dived further into it after his 1844 discovery of a new continent of thought and of revolution — not only in the *Grundrisse* but in *Capital*.

In a word, Marx never departed from the Hegelian negativity as "the creative principle." That's how, after the defeat of revolutions as in victory, Marx called for "revolution in permanence." This is what Marx developed both in theory and in practice, in organization and in a philosophy — a global philosophy. He went so far with his new moments in the last years of his life that he concluded that what we would now call the Third World need not follow the West's "Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation."

In my new *Introduction to Philosophy and Revolution* I took issue both with Hegelians who disregarded Chapter 9 and with the Youth — indeed, the pragmatic whole new generation of revolutionaries, including new Women's Liberationists — who wished to skip Chapter 1 and go directly to Chapter 9: "The particular chapter that the activist youth were anxious to read first because they identified with those 'New Passions and New Forces' — not only the Black dimension and anti-Vietnam War movement, but also WL and the challenge from the Left in China called Sheng Wu-lien — was deceptively simple precisely because the struggles were so familiar to them. The truth, however, is that philosophy was as present there as it was in Chapter 1." At which point I quoted Frantz Fanon's articulation of African freedom struggles as being "not a treatise on the universal but the untidy affirmation of an original idea propounded as an absolute." He didn't leave it to others to concretize, but worked out a philosophy of liberation which he called "a new Humanism."

## 2. THE ACTIVITIES AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF WHAT TO DO

At this moment, what concerns us, of course, is neither Trotsky, nor Mao, nor even the one we do follow, Marx, who is, unfortunately not physically alive. What we must finally get down to are specific activities, both those specifically Marxist-Humanist (that is to say, those we take organizational responsibility for as Marxist-Humanism) and those activities with others in which we participate, but not uncritically. I'm referring to all coalition activities — from Black dimension to Women's Liberation, from youth to Latino and anti-nuke and ecological movements. Let's spell out what "not uncritically" means by focusing on the force which has become an important political element in West Germany — the Greens.

Even a John Vinocur, as *New York Times* correspondent, in summing up his five years in West Germany ("Germany's Season of Discontent," *NYT Magazine*, Aug. 8, 1982), sensed that for them "the pull of historical gravity doesn't seem to count." It is not a matter of not understanding the bourgeois reporter's venom in what he is saying, when he attributes to all the "Greens" such slanderous conduct as to hold that "Soviet behavior in East Europe must always be ignored if East and West Germany are to come together." Rather, it is a fact that some of the youth think so, that the very fact that some can attribute the division of Germany to a "plot" of the superpowers, U.S. especially, does manifest a failure to understand that "pull of historical gravity." And it is history that we are concerned with — history of the past as it affects the present.

One of the frightening results this leads to is the appearance, in the same book, of essays by neo-Nazis like Helmut Diwald and by the left Social Democrat, Peter Brandt. Another publication combines the extreme Right-winger, Peter Bender, and the left Social Democrat, Oskar Lafontaine. It doesn't seem to dawn on them that it is this type of behaviour in some anti-nuke participants which makes Helmut Schmidt also want to jump on their bandwagon. West Germany's trade, we must remember, is mainly with East Europe, and Russia is a good "customer", too.

The anti-nuke movement is crucial in the anti-war movement and calls for our active participation, but at no time should active participation mean abandonment of the responsibility for principle, for projecting what phil-

\* This is not too far from what even as great an East German dissident as Rudolf Bahro is saying now that he has become a leader of the Greens, and writes about "taking advantage of the conservatism side of conservatism." See *New Left Review* No. 131, January-February, 1982.

osophy must underpin the activity to assure it will not fall into the trap of amalgams which would, once again, force us to witness some sort of Hitler-Stalin type of pact.

NO SUCH OUTLANDISH possibility exists in the WLM. There, too, however, we must criticize some socialist feminists who satisfied themselves by proving that "tactically" the male comrades were ready to oppose the "immediate" demands of WL. As a matter of fact, as we showed in the letter to our WL-N&L Committees of Aug. 20, we had to stress — after proving historically how much was lost by not following through WL as revolutionary force and Reason — that "to achieve success in the revolution, it has to show, from the start, how to total the uprooting of the old will be."

We must realize that answering the immediate questions likewise requires getting down to Marx's dialectical methodology. What is present in "three books, not one" is the presence of the creative nature of Marx's mind, manifested in the discovery of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution. The advantage of our age is that, at one and the same time, a movement from practice that was itself a form of theory was born with the objective situation of revolt, and that movement was caught as the immediate through the breakthrough on Absolute Idea. It was proven in *Marxism and Freedom* where it could be carried through not alone for our age but for the age of revolutions — industrial, political, philosophic — which had begun with the French Revolution and Hegelian dialectic, and was recreated by Marx. The ground was laid for us to reveal its American roots as well as the world Humanist ramifications. As it happens, the link of continuity to the 42 years of Marx's creative discoveries, 1841-1882, separated by 100 years, was caught by us, 1941-1982.

The new work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, rounds out that work — not as Archives, but philosophy as action — or more precisely put, as theoretic preparation for revolution. Our unique contributions are concretized this year, first, in "Have Thumb, Will Travel," both as a National Tour for the Chairwoman, and for each of us, nationally and internationally, to take organizational responsibility for projecting Marxist-Humanism.

\* Available from N&L upon request for 25¢ postage.

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## Striking Latin workers risk deportation

Tustin, Cal — We've been on strike against Modula Design Industries for about five weeks now, and the workers are holding together real well against management even though the company has a lot of things lined up against us.

One of them is the fact that 95 percent of the 66 workers in the furniture plant are undocumented workers. Everyone here speaks Spanish and only a few know English. At the start of the strike some people in the front office threatened to call in the immigration service on us, since almost none of the workers have green cards, but so far they haven't done anything on that.

One reason is because if they did call in the INS, they would have to arrest the 40 scabs who are now working in the plant too, since they are also undocumented. The scabs are being worked to death and paid minimum wage, but the company still can't get enough work out of them. They're hurting, and they know it. If we continue to stick together, we can beat them.

We decided to strike when management refused to bargain in good faith. They demanded we pay \$5 a week into the health insurance fund (which is now free) and

## NJ pizza plant a hellhole

Jersey City, N.J. — The New York plant of Ellio's Pizza was shut down forever on August 14, 1981, with 150 workers laid-off at that time. Things are even worse at the New Jersey plant, and the union, Bakery Workers Local 3, hurts more than it helps.

After six months of this lay-off, 40 workers returned to work at the more automated Jersey plant. But these workers have lost their seniority; they went back as new workers. They will recover their seniority only after two and a half years, regardless of their up to 15 years of service to the firm. The union has accepted this injustice.

### INHUMAN SPEED-UP

The automatic machines run fast, and the supervisors speed them up anytime they want. In June, a woman fell unconscious because of the speed of the machine. When a worker asked the supervisor why he had sped up the machine and put that woman to work on a line that wasn't hers, the supervisor cursed him out. The union business agent's response was, "You need witnesses to accuse the supervisor." And that was the end of it.

We have a shop steward who was appointed by the business agent. Instead of explaining the contract to the workers, most of whom don't speak English, she has shown herself to be on the side of the managers and not the workers. When the supervisor ordered some production line workers to clean up the floor, they refused, saying that was the porter's work. But this steward told them they were lazy and wouldn't be paid to stand around!

The seniority rule has been broken with impunity by the supervisor and even the union business agent has mocked the workers on this. The union has also been making workers pay \$75 for the union book as a new member when they came back from the six month layoff, ignoring their own constitution and by-laws.

Inside the plant the workers suffer from the heat of the machines and the inhalation of smoke. There are not enough fans to refresh this hellhole. The workers are like a miserable commodity inside the factory. In the summer we work in an oven, and in the winter in a freezer.

### FIGHT TO CHOOSE STEWARD

We agreed among ourselves to elect one of our companions as shop steward because he had already been our steward in the New York plant. However when we sent the petition requesting his official appointment to the union, the organizer rejected our petition, saying we had to wait for elections after the new contract in April, 1983. It took six months of continued struggle to get this worker recognized as our steward.

The truth is that a disguised sexism and discrimination, overwork, the curses of the supervisors against the workers, and the breaking of the contract rules are the real life of the workers of Ellio's Pizza.

— Worker, Ellio's Pizza

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they weren't offering us any pay increases. Some skilled workers were making good pay but most here are unskilled and make between \$3.75 and \$4.50 an hour. When we called the strike the skilled came out with the unskilled. They figured, sure, we do OK, but what's the use of getting good pay when your brother next to you is getting only \$4.00 an hour to make a desk that will sell for thousands of dollars?

The unemployment makes it hard. Every day a few more come down here looking for work so they can be scabs. At first we were allowed only one picket on a sidewalk at a time, but now we're allowed four. But four still isn't enough, because without mass picketing we really can't stop the scabs from coming in. We have about 20 workers on strike who come down here each day to help out on the picketing.

So far we're sticking together well. But I don't know how long it can last. In three weeks we've gotten only \$40 a person in strike benefits. Most guys can't go on like that. Just today another worker decided to go back in. Some workers from other plants have come by to help out — one from a plywood factory came down last week and gave us a \$60 donation. But we're going to need more support if we're going to beat the scabs and company.

Before the strike, relations between management and the workers seemed to be good. Now we can see what they are really about. They'd go so far as turn us into immigration just for exercising our right to strike. If we ever get back in, you can be sure things won't be the same in the plant.

— Striking worker

## Detroit workers resist wave of lockouts, lay-offs

*Ed. note: Detroit labor is under special attack. As a union town, attempts at union-busting or attacks on health and safety as well as wages that are happening all over the country are concentrated here. Below we print stories from several workplaces which tell the tale. (See also the story of the striking airport cleaning women, page 2.)*

### Drugstore workers

Detroit, Mich — One day you are making \$6.17 an hour, the next day you are out of a job. Your replacement is making \$3.57 an hour.

One day you had a 40-hour a week job, health care, hospitalization and dental, and a pension plan. The next day you are out of a job. Your replacement works 24 hours a week and receives no benefits.

This is what has been happening to Cunningham's Drug store employees at store after store. They were one of the few groups of workers in drugstore chains who were organized — into the United Food and Commercial Workers Union. But then Cunningham's in this recession era with its anti-union bent had an idea. They would create a new company, "Apex", to "buy out" Cunningham's. All the supervisors, the managers, the higher-ups remain the same.

But when a store changes names all the workers are gotten rid of overnight. The "new company" has already arranged for hiring before. It closes as "Cunningham's" and opens 48 hours later as "Apex" without missing a beat.

Except of course if you are a worker. Then you find yourself in the unemployment line. And someone else in your job. And your benefits gone. One woman had almost ten years in, but now her pension is lost because you need ten years to be vested.

The workers haven't gone meekly off, they are having picket lines in front of the drug store, and urging people to boycott Cunningham's-Apex for their union busting activities which are throwing people out of work, and making Detroit into a non-union town. Please support the Cunningham workers by staying away from any Apex drugstore. You'll know where they are, it's where you used to go to Cunningham's.

— Strike supporter

### Teachers on strike

Detroit, Mich. — "We asked the Board for nothing! They said it was too much!" was the expression used by striking Detroit teachers to explain the hard line taken by the Detroit Board of Education and the Superintendent Arthur Jefferson. Now out in their third week of strike or lockout, since Jefferson has summarily threatened to fire the city's 8,000 teachers, the headquarters of the Board of Education has been picketed by hundreds of teachers from Detroit's eight school regions. There have also been daily picket lines at most neighborhood schools.

Under the threat of mass lay-offs, the Board wants to roll back wages to their 1980 levels, an eight percent pay cut; it wants to increase class size, cut back health benefits, and eliminate nearly all paid holidays. In addition, some expect the Board to lay off as many as 2,000 teachers regardless of the contract settlement. Though it claims that the large school budget deficit compels it to ask teachers to make such sacrifices, nevertheless the Board has produced such contradictory estimates on the deficit that contract negotiations have reached an impasse. Whether or not the Board's alleged deficit exists, the fact is, as one teacher concluded, "The Board is trying to take advantage of the economic situation to roll us

## Capital's grasp in Peru

New York, N.Y. — I have known the discrimination and overwork of New York's factories. But I also know this capitalist exploitation has, like an octopus, extended its poisonous tentacles globally, especially to my home, Peru, where starvation haunts the families.

Industrialization has never helped Latin America. Today in Peru for example, 63 percent of the people are unemployed or underemployed, and the hyperinflation is starving off the families. There is a continuous protest by the working class, and the women's movement and the coalition of Left parties stage demonstrations periodically against the hunger and social injustice. But the conservative president, Belaunde Terry, is violating human rights.

In the '20s and '30s the Socialist, APRA (Revolutionary Alliance of America) and Communist Parties attempted to set a philosophy and organization for the Peruvian laborers, fighting for better social conditions and declaring themselves the enemy of Yankee imperialism. However, when Germany attacked Russia in 1941, the Communist and the APRA Parties went to the side of the U.S. and Britain.

Thus, in the name of the Good Neighbor Doctrine of F.D. Roosevelt, one of the leaders of the Communist Party, Lombardo Toledano, went to Mexico and Chile and organized the Confederation of Latin American Workers, translating U.S. labor reform to Latin American unions.

Nationalism has had a bad effect on the Latin American social revolution. In the case of the Andean Bloc, instead of seeing themselves as one Andean nation the Peruvians, Bolivians, Ecuadorians and Chileans are taught that each is superior to the other. This nationalism supports the military in each country. What we should do is to eliminate the borders once and for all.

— Runa

back 20 years."

On the 13th day of the picket line in front of the Board headquarters a group of students from Southeastern High School held a picket line in support of the teachers. However, they were also critical of the fact that no one had asked them what they thought and what impact the strike was having on them. The students, who want to continue to meet, made it clear that their solidarity with the striking teachers won't end there, but extends to their own ideas about education outside the classroom when it means having a discussion with your teachers on their picket line.

— Strike supporter

### Metal workers

Detroit, Mich. — Soon after we returned from our strike at U.S. Auto Radiator they had us working lots of overtime — 10 hours a day plus 8 hours on Saturday. In the past two weeks they have put on a second shift, mostly women so we don't have to work the 10 hours on weekdays. But they are still having us come in for overtime on Saturday.

Except for a few of the women who have never worked before, almost all of the new workers are taking a pay cut to work here. Most of them are on lay-off from auto or some other higher paying job. Many of the workers had good jobs before and are now working for half or even less pay than they had before. Several of the new hires used to work for Chrysler.

One of the workers was asking me what kind of pay was she going to get after getting 90 days in the shop. When I explained that it would be only 20 cents or so an hour more and that even workers with four or six years were only making that, she was shocked.

Another thing that upset the new workers was the break periods we have. It is supposed to be 10 minutes, but ends up with a warning bell to return to your work station after only 7 minutes. They are saying they never heard of a place where you only get a seven minute break. Or the fact that you have to have a pass to be able to go to the bathroom.

The type of working conditions we have to work under are ones that a lot of these new hires have never had to face before, including the danger of lead poisoning. But the Depression conditions we now face in Detroit forces working people to take such jobs for very, very low pay — if they can get a job at all.

— Woman worker

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## WORLD OUTRAGE AT BEIRUT MASSACRE

What can anyone say about what has just happened in Lebanon — first the invasion by the Israelis, then the massacre in Beirut? I have marched in demonstrations, and gone to teach-ins; I have stayed up all night thinking. Begin must go, yes. And go now, immediately. When I saw the 400,000 Israeli demonstrators I felt only partly relieved, because the murderers were still in office.

But then I realize also that it isn't just Begin, but what the state of Israel has become, 34 years after the revolution against British rule. And also what the Left has not done in relation to Lebanon since 1975. What I really like about N&L in times like this is the vision of another society you have, even in the midst of the massacre. You never reduce the struggle to just being against Begin or against Arab class rulers. There is always the search for new forces of revolution and new ideas of freedom.

Old friend  
Los Angeles

When I heard the news on TV about the massacre, and listened to the details about how the Israeli army arranged for Maj. Haddad's killers to go into the camps, I was furious and sick. And when I heard Begin deny all responsibility the next day all I could think of was how the Nazis let Ukrainians and Romanians do much of the killing for them on a "local" basis.

Hospital worker  
Michigan

In a national demonstration held in Washington, D.C. on Sept. 11, nearly 10,000, mostly Palestinian exiles, marched to protest the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The rally, however, failed to serve as a vehicle with which people could voice their outrage over an issue which is proving to be of paramount importance in the U.S. By organizing the demonstration two months too late, the Nov. 29 Coalition ensured that the event would not be dominated by rank-and-file protesters.

Paying lip-service to the P.L.O., this shaky Coalition was evidently seeking to publicize itself as representative of the Palestinians in the U.S. Their positivism was exposed by the repetitive dogmatism of the speakers, none of whom attempted to dig deep into the problem or go beyond calling attention to the atrocity of American/Israeli militarism.

Andrew Walter Murdoch  
Visiting the U.S.A.

A few words about the articles which have appeared in your July issue concerning the war in Lebanon. It is a fact that both the Israeli and Palestinian peoples have been threatened and killed by the PLO. The states as such may not have been endangered, but thousands of people have been killed. It is now recognized that the figures given out by the Red Cross were actually figures of the PLO and bore no relation to the truth. This is not to say that even the death of one innocent can be excused or defended. However, an honest reporter would have made some attempt at checking the facts before rushing into print.

What really disturbs me is the tone of the articles . . . Anyone who thinks that the goal of even Begin is the physical destruction of the Palestinian and Lebanese people can only be an idiot, and I can say that as an opponent of almost all that Begin stands for.

Efraim Eytan  
Shdemot  
Tel Aviv, Israel

The shock over the brutality of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon is creating a lot of discussion here in the Jewish Left community, but already you can see that it will take a lot more than shock for people to face up to the totality of the situation. I attended one meeting on the Lebanon war put on by New Jewish Agenda, which presents itself as a left critic of Begin-Sharon, and yet both

panelists supported the Lebanese Invasion, just disagreeing on whether or not Sharon should have been let into Beirut!

When one of the leaders of the group was confronted with the fact that most of the audience did not come to hear that kind of apologia for Begin's genocide, she retorted "if we're going to get support, we can't move left — we have to move right." If the rethinking among Jews and the Left is to get a chance to breathe, there had better be some new and different ideas discussed than what we've been hearing.

Activist  
Los Angeles

The kind of massacres that they just uncovered in Lebanon sends chills up your spine. But the U.S. government has no right to act as if it's any better than any other government. I was a GI in Germany in the late 1960s, and I was told about 200 men, women, and children being killed when a 4.2 inch mortar landed in the "wrong place" during practice exercises. The U.S. troops never should have been there to begin with.

Sickened  
Los Angeles

The recent events in Lebanon made me re-read my copy of the Draft Perspectives Thesis (July N&L). What struck me in all the dealing and double-dealing between the U.S. and Israel was that Begin wants "the whole of Lebanon under control of a puppet regime, specifically the new-fascist Phalangist army that the Lebanese masses had fought and were on the verge of defeating in the 1975-76 Civil War."

This is not only Begin's aim, but Reagan's as you say. The arrival of U.S. Marines for the second time makes it more likely that there will be a showdown over this between superpowers, sooner or later.

I would be very interested to get a copy of the Political-Philosophic Letter you published in 1976 on the Civil War in Lebanon . . .

Subscriber  
Boston, Mass.

Ed. Note: Copies of "Lebanon: The Test Not Only of the P.L.O. but the Whole Left" by Raya Dunayevskaya (August, 1976) are available from N&L for 50¢.

## CAPITALIST 'PROGRESS': IN SHOPS, ON THE FARM

I recently attended the International Machine Tool Show in Chicago. Here capitalist corporations from all over the world displayed the latest in automated machinery including robots. Mostly the show disgusted me. A few miles away is the Southeast Side where thousands of unemployed production workers live, and it is this sort of technology that keeps putting more out of work. Also I felt sad because I have operated many of the machines I saw and realize that the skill and judgement involved in machine work is lost — a further division of mental and manual labor.

On the other hand the show could well have been subtitled "Come and See the Capitalists Busily Digging Their Own Graves!" The struggles which began in the 1950s against the "continuous miner," the wildcats in auto in the late 60s and early 70s which all raise the question of what sort of work should humans do, are still alive today. This "largest display of automated machine tools in history" can only be a prelude for a new round of freedom struggles for a new human society.

David Park  
Chicago

Do you think Reagan and his horde of economic advisors care about unemployment? From the effects of supply-side economics, the major one being ever growing unemployment, you

# Readers' View

would not think they care. Oh, but they do! One of them explained that "when you lose a year's work from a guy, you can't recoup that loss." Doesn't it make your heart grow warmer? The suppliers really care about losing the productivity.

Outraged  
San Francisco

Do you know that things are so bad on the farms in this country that farmers are bringing back the "penny auction"? This is a tactic that was used in the 1930s when the bank foreclosed on a farm family. The neighbors and friends of the farmer go to the auction the bank puts on and buy back the equipment and supplies for a few cents. If some smart-ass tries to bid the price up, they make it clear that he's not wanted there. Then the bank gets almost nothing and the equipment is returned to the farmer.

Today in Minnesota, in Iowa and in Arkansas, farmers aligned with the American Agriculture Movement are bringing back the tactic. It is certainly needed now. Everyone I know who has a relative still farming knows how many farms are going under.

From a farm family  
Ann Arbor, Mich.



## FEMINISM'S CRITIQUES FROM HISTORY TO OUTER SPACE

If anyone thought for a minute that the Russians sent a woman, Svetlana Savitskaya, up into space as a gesture towards Women's Liberation, any such foolish notion was dispelled by her arrival at the space station Salyut, where immediately upon entry she was handed an apron and told her place is in the kitchen! The depth of their sexism is revealed in treating women as another species they wanted to be first to send into space: mice, dogs, monkeys, men, women . . .

To cap off their "liberated" attitude

## BLACK STRUGGLES AND IDEAS: SOUTH AND NORTH

I hadn't heard about the Tchula Seven before I read it in N&L. And I wonder how many people across the country have heard of the way they are being railroaded to jail. Here the newspapers and TV have very little news of what Blacks are doing to fight for our rights. It seems like they want to give us the same old line. Please be sure and send me N&L regularly; that way I'll get news I can pass along.

Interested  
Lowndes County, Ala.

We are all worried that they will drop the nuclear bomb one day. But what about the bomb they've already dropped on the Black community? I mean the drug bomb. The one they dropped on us when the young people were protesting in the 60s. They know you can't protest when you're on drugs, let alone think.

Young and not fooled  
New York City

In my neighborhood there has been a boycott of a grocery store owned by Arabs. They didn't hire a single Black person from the community as long as I've known it. So we refused to shop at the store for two weeks. But the only one they hired was a box-boy, nobody who handles money.

Every night the guys talk on the corner. Everyone is against Reagan, and they know that things will get worse with him in there. About 11 p.m. the police come by and kick people off the corner. The store hires a security guard to keep the tension off the storeowners. They are

towards women, Russia has just started sex education classes (this comes only 75 years after Stalin had pronounced women's liberation "accomplished" and disbanded the women's organization Zhenotdel). In a country where government policy makes abortion the main birth control and an average woman undergoes eight of them during her life, girls are told that "interrupting pregnancy is dangerous to your health." This is the country some leftists would have us believe is bringing women's liberation to Afghanistan!

Feminist  
San Francisco

In college I learned about Margaret Fuller's role in the Emerson circle of New England Transcendentalism. Or perhaps I shouldn't say I learned it — I heard what the professor had to say. I had always thought of her as an exceptional woman, one who was far in advance of other women of her time in literature and literary criticism. But nowhere did I ever see any reference to Fuller as a participant in the 1848 revolution, much less as a socialist.

I will attempt to follow Suzanne Casey's suggestion (August-September N&L) and read the books by Chevigny and Ziff, to get their views of Fuller. And I'm impatiently waiting, of course, for the chance to see how Raya's new book presents women in the early feminist movement.

Long-time reader  
New York

## ANTI-MARCOS PROTESTS

President Marcos of the Philippines was in town this week, and I came out to demonstrate against him because I know what conditions are like in my country. He is just a crook and everyone knows it. He says he is for democracy, but so does Reagan, so what does that mean? In the five years since I've left home things have gotten worse and worse. I'm 19 and no one I know in school who's Filipino likes Marcos.

Philippine exile  
Los Angeles

the ones who push people out the door. People are mad about this store taking so much money out of the community, and giving nothing back. But it's not just this store; it's the whole thing that's wrong.

Black student  
Detroit

I attended a meeting in Tuskegee, Ala. (in Macon County), where they have a Black civil rights fighter named George Paris running for Probate Judge against a white incumbent, a crook named Preston Hornsby. They say that the way this judge gets Black-owned land is that when people buy a car from his used car lot, they put up their land for collateral. Then if they can't pay he takes the land.

I was shocked to learn that it is a Black lawyer from Montgomery, Fred Gray, who was a lawyer for civil rights workers during the Montgomery Btvs Boycott, who is now representing Hornsby in these land cases.

Civil rights veteran  
Detroit

I'm not so sure I agree with you on the emphasis you place on people accepting Marx's phraseology. But then, how do we bring people to Marx? Most of us are with Marx now! It is simply a matter of time when young Black students like those I work with will ask for literature to help them concretize their thoughts. At their own volition and level of consciousness; I will not impose. Most people are not slow learners. It takes time. But once Marx is internalized, it is unshakeable.

Black educator  
Alabama

ANTI-NUKE'S MANY VOICES

More than two-and-a-half million signatures were collected in the Nordic countries for the establishment of a nuclear free zone (NWFZ). In Norway 550,000 people signed the petition of No to Nuclear Weapons, thus making it one of the biggest campaigns in Norwegian history.

The struggle goes on. At a meeting in Oslo in June between the major disarmament movements in the Nordic countries it was decided to elaborate a joint platform for a NWFZ. There was also an informal agreement that Iceland be included in the ongoing work for NWFZ.

No to Nuclear Weapons has recently produced a preliminary study of the question of a NWFZ in the North. An English translation is available free of charge from:

Nei til atomvapen
Youngsgt. 7
Oslo 1, Norway

\* \* \*

I met some women in Colorado who are saying that they can feel and see all the radiation that this system has poured on top of them over the years with the atomic tests and uranium mining.

Worker Colorado

\* \* \*

Massachusetts is the state where Randy Forsberg originated the concept of the nuclear weapons freeze, but it was here that we had to struggle to get that issue on the ballot for a November referendum, after the Speaker of the State House, McGhee, blocked the bill.

When the demonstration was over, we had at best an ambiguous sense of his intentions. But on the last day of filing for the November elections, the Speaker ended his blockage and the legislature immediately approved the referendum.

Anti-nuke artist
Lexington, Mass.

DID BRITISH STRIKES FAIL?

I feel that it was hasty to present an article entitled, "Why the British Strikes Failed" in the Aug./Sept. issue of N&L. Whereas the article was true enough, and it is important to emphasize Thatcher's heavy-fisted union-breaking tactics, the issue must be looked at in a perspective that reaches back long before the current crisis' beginnings in January.

The struggle has continued unbroken since then. Look now to the arduous nurses' strike that brought 200,000 British workers out in support on Sept. 22. The betrayals by the union bureaucrats will only serve to tighten the solidarity of rank-and-file workers on the long road of revolt.

Member,
Great Army of Unemployed
London, England



ON THE MARX CENTENARY: WHERE IS MARX?

Dunayevskaya's Theory/Practice column of Hobsbawm and Rubel (Aug.-Sept. N&L) relates very much to one of the central ideas in her new book Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

Marx student
Detroit

\* \* \*

I had a discussion with a woman here in Detroit who works at U.S. Auto Radiator on the "Theory/Practice" column in the last issue of N&L. She said that the intellectual arrogance of Ryazanov had made her so angry.

She also said: "How could someone do such a thing? The more I read about Marx's life and work, the more I find there are people who not only want to distort what he was saying, but want to keep his work hidden as well.

Marxist-Humanist
Detroit

\* \* \*

When I first became involved with the ideas of socialism (as a teenager), one of the older members of my family suggested that a good way to learn the "essentials" of Marxism was to read Engels' Anti-Duhring.

Now, some 20 years later I find out that what I thought were part of the "essentials" of Marxism were really not Marx's views at all.

Reader
Brooklyn, NY

MARXISM AND FEMINISM IN TWO CONFERENCES

At the national meeting of the American Sociological Association I went to a session called "Marxism and Feminism." One of the papers centered on a new view of Rosa Luxemburg, which really attracted my interest.

Socialist-feminist
Oakland, Cal.

\* \* \*

I attended a conference here at University of Utah on Value and the relationship of theory to practice. Sam Bowles was talking about Labor as a "subject" . . . E. P. Thompson's critique of "economism" was also present.

process . . . What about the movements "inside" the process?

There wasn't a lot of serious discussion about working out a new relationship of theory to practice for today. As one anthropologist pointed out, they are repeating some of the same debates from other social sciences around "structural-functionalism" and corrupting Marxism with "game-theoretic" methods.

Radical economist
Salt Lake City

PUBLISHING FREEDOM IDEAS

N&L is the first revolutionary paper, so far as I know, to make itself available to the blind and "print handicapped" people on 4-track cassette.

Publishing for us has until now been controlled by the Library of Congress and a few agencies for (not of) the blind. The shamefully small number of items they have produced on braille or in recorded form are mostly concerned with entertainment or religion.

In addition to distributing N&L on tape we are also starting a quarterly review of articles taken from the revolutionary press world-wide, focusing on the struggles of workers, Blacks, women, youth and gays.

Our Right to Know Braille Press
640 Bayside
Detroit, MI 48217

\* \* \*

Readers of N&L should know about a new and important mail order bookshop called "Connolly Books." They describe themselves as carrying "books of Irish interest" and their first catalogue lists nearly 50 titles about the history and present of the liberation struggle there.

For more information and a free catalogue, write:

Connolly Books
P.O. Box 8744
Detroit, MI 48224

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
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# New stage of Tchula struggle: Black women, Black farmers

Tchula, Miss. — The day I left for Tchula, Miss. from Los Angeles word came that Mayor Eddie Carthan's bail had been revoked and he was again under arrest. The appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court to reinstate his bail has been denied, and as of Sept. 21 Carthan has been on a hunger strike, which he has declared he will be on until he is released. (See Aug.-Sept. N&L)

It was my first trip to the Deep South, and traveling through Mississippi, the natural beauty of the state in late summer could almost make you forget both its history and its present racist reality. I had met Eddie Carthan in Los Angeles earlier this summer where he spoke at a News and Letters meeting on the Tchula 7 case. He had invited me to Tchula, especially to the Oct. 16 mass rally in Jackson.

## BLACK FREEDOM ACTIVISM

Next to the Carthan convenience store sits the little shanty which serves as the Tchula 7 office. The day I arrived in Tchula the main activity in the office centered around getting a mailing out of an article on Eddie and the Tchula 7 along with the announcement of a mass rally to be held in downtown Tchula on Aug. 28. It was a testing of local support for the Tchula 7, which brought out some 400 Tchula area residents to hear local speakers. Since then support on Mississippi college campuses has grown with Jackson State U. promising 4000 students for the Jackson mass rally, and Tougaloo College and Mississippi Valley College promising substantial numbers of students, as well.

What acquired the greatest urgency that day in the office however were two very different challenges that needed immediate answers. The first came from an editorial in the white Jackson newspaper, the Clarion-

Ledger. It charged that Carthan's claim that the Tchula 7 case was an example of how racist the state of Mississippi still is today was only "rhetoric," and that the proof was the fact that Mississippi's other Black elected officials didn't have Carthan's troubles. Later that evening at the home of Mrs. Jessie Banks, a school teacher and civil rights activist, the collective of office staff and volunteers discussed a draft of a letter Mrs. Banks wrote in response to the racist editorial.

## MAYORS CONFERENCE

However, the point about elected Black officials indirectly related to the second question. A conference of Black Southern mayors was meeting over the weekend in Tuskegee. Carthan belonged to the organization, but now he was in prison and the proposal was that Shirley Carthan, Eddie's wife, should go to address the conference in his place. This was also the topic of discussion at Mrs. Banks'. As it turned out Shirley Carthan wasn't able to attend the conference, but the Tchula 7 defendant who did attend was only given 10 minutes on the agenda.

Although I had met all the office staff and volunteers earlier in the office, it was at Mrs. Banks that evening that I would get to know them better as serious Black freedom activists. It wasn't just Black southern hospitality you were invited to, but to a most serious political discussion, and at the center of it stood Black women as thinkers and leaders.

The other new dimension in the Black South is Black farmers. I had an opportunity to talk to one, Shadrack Davis. He along with other Black farmers in the area had collectively put up their land to raise overnight the \$230,000 to get Carthan and his brother out of jail origi-

nally. It was Mr. Davis who thought it was crucial for the Tchula 7 office to have a secretary and recruited a young Black woman from Mississippi Valley College.

Whether it is Black women, Black farmers or the many volunteers from across the South and the North, a new stage of the Black freedom struggle has taken root in the South.

— Lou Turner

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

But with all this there are also many problems, some worse than they were in the 1960s. The white newspaper, The Montgomery Advertiser, is as racist today as it was the day back in 1955 when they printed the leaflet the students from Alabama State wrote to protest Mrs. Rosa Parks' arrest. That, more than anything, is what started the Montgomery Bus Boycott. This year they actually wrote an editorial saying that slavery was "an idea ahead of its time," because it showed "genetic screening" of workers, since Blacks could stand to work in the hot sun in the fields better than whites!

One thing that you couldn't help but notice was the unemployment. It is 15 percent in Montgomery; and in Lowndes County they say that 39 percent are out of work. You see many Black youth hanging around without a job; and they say now drugs are being used. All my life you could leave Lowndes County and the rest of the rural South and move North to Detroit or Chicago, or at least to some industrial city in the South. But today there are no jobs in the North, and the few jobs in Montgomery or Selma are as domestics, or just above it, and pay \$3.00 or \$4.00 an hour.

The biggest issue that everyone is talking about is the loss of Black-owned land. This is one of the main reasons for the unemployment. The small farms cannot survive, and they are bought up or foreclosed, and then the next generation can't possibly farm. You see the way land is owned by a few white landowners now, or bought up by the Container Division of Continental Can Co. for planting pine trees. We learned that one man — Judge Hammonds — owns 35,000 to 45,000 acres of the county, and has more land with unregistered deeds.

I would like to know how this is so different from El Salvador, when five or six white families own over 50 percent of the land in the county? When I was a young man I was convinced that the majority of the land was Black-owned. Now it is owned by whites who plant soybeans up to the front door of Blacks who used to farm, but now only can rent the house they live in.

There is a movement all across the South now to stop the loss of Black-owned land, and to find ways to provide jobs for Black youth. The total Black-owned land in 1914 was 14 million acres, in 1960 it was 10 million acres, and by 1970 it had dropped to 6 million acres. In both Lowndes County and Macon County, Ala., they are trying to throw out white probate judges who have stolen Black land. There is a group called the Emergency Land Fund, which is trying to help individuals in trouble, but I cannot see anything helping them short of a revolutionary change.

## MARXISM IN THE SOUTH

However, what I am beginning to feel is that there is a split in the Black movement today which is the most serious problem we are facing. Just a few years ago there was great hope, but now there is so much confusion. Young Black politicians are saying throw out the old Black leaders, saying that they give secret support to whites like Judge Hammond. But what I see is that the new leaders are not much better. They are just hoping to put themselves in, without really attacking the system. They have forgotten that what made the '60s so exciting was "Freedom Now!" Instead, what I kept hearing from the rank-and-file people I visited was that they are disgusted with both factions.

This is the situation of politics in Alabama today. It makes you determined to help bring a philosophy of revolution there. I spoke about this to an intellectual friend there, a professor at a Black college. Yet she says she can't discuss Marxism with people in Alabama. She has a library in her study full of Marx and Lenin and Mao, yet she says that Marxism will never be accepted here, that she wants to be "independent" of Marxism.

To answer her I simply told her what I had been doing for the last week in Lowndes County, out in the "country" that is considered "backward" compared to Montgomery. I told her how I had met lots of new people who had never seen our newspaper, News & Letters, and how excited they were. People did not ask who Marx was; they knew that. They were interested in the whole paper and Marxist-Humanism.

The best discussions I had were the ones about News & Letters. People who had already read Indignant Heart and knew me as the author of that book, now saw me also as the editor of a Marxist-Humanist newspaper.

## BLACK-RED VIEW Marcus Garvey: myth, reality

by John Alan

This past August 17th was the 90th anniversary of Marcus Garvey's birth. None of the major Black organizations stopped whatever they were doing to take notice of this anniversary. This was unfortunate because over 60 years ago Garvey and the movement that he led, The Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) showed that Black masses in action was crucial to the worldwide liberation of Black people. At the same time, the UNIA became the living manifestation of the divide between masses of working-class Blacks and middle-class Blacks, with their theory of the "talented tenth."

However, a coalition of Black organizations in Oakland, Calif. that included such groups as the All Afrikan Peoples Cultural Organization and the Wo'se Community Church did attempt to celebrate Garvey's birthday as a popular cultural event with historical overtones, by inviting a Black academic to speak about Garvey. Unfortunately, this succeeded in mystifying the UNIA and Garvey by lifting them out of the history of their time and reducing Garvey to a cultural hero and a prophet.

In both cases, to ignore or to mystify Garvey and the mass movement that he headed, objectively rejects a significant era in Black history that has a great deal of relevancy for Black people today. This is particularly crucial at a time when we are on the eve of a resurgence of militant mass action. Just because there is an imminent threat of such action in this period of permanent capitalist crises, one should be compelled to look at the issues that the Garvey Movement objectively raised in 1918, although Garvey had not put them in theoretical form. In 1918, terms such as the relation of theory to practice or philosophy to revolution were not used. But the objective realities that they expressed were present, and have been the focal point of crisis at every period of the Black struggle for liberation. Let's take a look at it.

## GARVEY VS. THE TALENTED TENTH

Early in 1916, Garvey quickly understood that there was a severe separation between the Black masses and the established Black leadership who were fervently supporting President Wilson's war in Europe for democracy as the road to Black freedom. Garvey tells the story that upon visiting the NAACP's office to see W.E.B. Du Bois, he was "dumbfounded" by the "whiteness" of the office. This caused him to remain in the United States to "teach Du Bois and his group a lesson in race pride."



Simultaneously, Garvey came into conflict with American racism, European imperialism and the established Black leadership. It was in the latter conflict that Garvey carved out an historical position for himself by projecting and acting on the idea that the road to Black freedom lay in the hands of the Black masses and not the "talented tenth." This is the real kernel of Garveyism that carries meaning today. It makes a connection with the present, a connection that we can follow through from the crucial role that Black workers played in the organization of the CIO down to the Civil Rights Movement and the Black revolts in the cities to the present reality of Black opposition to Reaganism.

Otherwise, much of Garveyism is "dead" history, especially his anti-unionism, his ideas about Black capitalism and his advice that Black labor should work for less wages than white labor until Black capitalism was firmly established.

Today we duly respect Garvey's greatness for having raised the banner for the redemption of Africa and the self-determination of Black people, urging them to join the UNIA. Millions did join because Garvey was unencumbered by any theory of the "talented tenth" that had determined the practice and the organizational form which so completely separated them from the Black masses.

This moment of Garvey's greatness was also the moment of his limitation. He never realized that the millions of Blacks who came to the UNIA were crying out for an end of the "old order" that had perpetuated itself on racism, lynching, colonialism and capitalist exploitation. In short they wanted a total revolution. Truly, Garvey never saw that, nor did he respect the reasoning of the Black workers and peasants who supported the UNIA.

## GARVEY'S GREATNESS AND LIMITATION

In the place of a philosophy of total revolution, he offered a "philosophy" of Black liberation that would mirror capitalist/imperialist institutions. Thusly, if there is a white Empire, Blacks should strive for a Black Empire; if there is a White House, there should be a Black House; if there is a white capitalist, there should be a Black capitalist, etc., etc.

To perpetuate the old institutions of class exploitation was not the road to Black liberation in the 1920s, nor is it today. It created a contradiction within the very idea of Black freedom, a contradiction that was more crucial to the demise of the UNIA than Garvey's subsequent imprisonment.

In 1960, Frantz Fanon was able to overcome that contradiction by showing that Black and Third World liberation lay beyond the realm of private and state capitalism. He brought to the Black and Third World struggles the added element of "a new Humanism". He called on Blacks and Third World people to end their "mimicry" of Europe and to work to create a totally new society and bring to birth a new human being.

It is from this level, the bringing together of more than sixty years of Black mass action for liberation since Garvey's day and the concept of permanent revolution — the total uprooting of all class, race and sex exploitation — that we as Black people must begin our struggle in the 1980s.



# Down with the perpetrators of the Palestinian slaughter

(Continued from Page 1)

based on: 1) the fact that he had the Phalangist Army behind him (which Israel had largely armed); and 2) the fact that he had some indigenous support. But ever since the June invasion of Lebanon it was Major Haddad, whose ambition had always been to carve out a piece of Lebanon with him as lord over it, that General Sharon had been encouraging.<sup>1</sup> Israel had been artificially swelling Haddad's militias by taking arms from the Lebanese Army in the South and turning them over to Haddad, who began to talk of increasing his "army" from a few thousand to fifty thousand.

Did Israel think that the invasion of Beirut could accomplish its aim of totally destroying the PLO? Even that Great Delusion — which matches the Grand Illusion that an insignificant puppet like Haddad could be installed as ruler over the whole of Lebanon — did not seem to exhaust General Sharon's schema for the Middle East.

The fantastic lengths to which Begin-Sharon were willing to go included entering the Soviet Embassy itself, and risking nothing short of a confrontation between the two super-powers. Even if that proves to have been only a symbolic gesture with which they wished to threaten the U.S., does Israel wish to imitate the Nazis and translate "Deutschland uber alles" as "Eretz Israel uber alles"?

THE LATEST EVENTS BRING new urgency to the Marxist-Humanist Perspectives which were set at the Labor Day Convention of News and Letters Committees, in which the analysis of Israel's first barbarous invasion was tightly integrated not only to a total opposition to Begin-Sharon, but to making that total opposition inseparable from working out what principles one is fighting for. The focus is on the imperative of new human relations in this age of myriad crises, which calls for a total uprooting of the old, exploitative, anti-national liberationist forces — be they the U.S. or Russia, Israel or Western Europe. No solution can be found among any of the contending powers, all of whom have their own global imperialist purposes.

Here is what was presented on Sept. 5, as Part I of our Perspectives:

## ISRAEL'S GENOCIDAL INVASION OF LEBANON: OPPOSITION NEEDED AGAINST BUILDING ANY HALF-WAY HOUSES

Nothing but horror and utter disgust characterizes the world's reaction to Israel's gruesome invasion of Lebanon. Each day of the endless string of Israel's lying excuses for the destruction of that land — from the claim of securing a "25 mile security zone" for Israel and empty talk of the PLO as "terrorists" at a moment when, not the PLO, but Begin-Sharon's Israel was the one committing the atrocities; to the claim of being for Lebanon's "integrity" as a nation, freed of Syria's and the PLO's invasions — only heightened and widened the world's

opposition to Israel's ghoulish attack. History will not forget such barbarism. Opposition, and even putting an end, to these uncivilized acts, cannot, however, be sufficient unto the day without, at one the same time, showing how it had resulted from a transformation into opposite of what Israel was at birth in 1947-48, and what it is today, 1982-83 . . . .

How quickly forgotten (if, indeed, Begin or Irgun ever knew them) are the true origins of the idea of an "Israeli nationality." The Nazi holocaust, which they invoke today for reactionary purposes, is the fact of history that changed the position of Marxists who had always been for cultural assimilation to the point where nothing deviated from straight socialist goals. (See Leon Trotsky's articles on why, though still fully opposed to Zionism, he now — i.e. 1937 — had to be for a "homeland for the Jews." That was the Marxist position on Israel, on the question of national self-determination.) The same was true for those who weren't Marxists. A good essay by a liberal, Alfred Friendly, describes the shock of today, even of those who still favored Israel in the war of 1967.

In "Israel: Paradise Lost" (Manchester Guardian,

1. See two articles that develop this point, both in The New York Times, Sept. 16, 1982: "Gemayel's Importance" by Guy Sitbon; and "Living by the Sword" by Anthony Lewis.

July 11, 1982), Alfred Friendly recalls the 1967 war, when he was for Israel and when the attitude was how temporary the occupation was: 1) As one Colonel put it, "There won't be any struggle getting Sinai back to Nasser quickly"; 2) A short while later, Israel enthusiastically accepted UN Resolution 242; 3) Israel categorically denied the Arab accusation that the Zionist objective was a so-called "Eretz Israel," as the Bible expressed it ("a realm extending from the Nile to the Euphrates"), insisting instead that only the "crazies" talked about "Eretz Israel" in that Biblical manner. But, in fact, says Friendly, we were soon to see the "Dayan Plan" which proposed "garrison settlements," which was followed by the "Allon Plan" — which talked of Biblical Judea and Samaria, and now we have the "Likud-Sharon Plan" or "the triumph of the Eretz Israel boys." The result is the genocidal invasion of Lebanon.

THIS TRANSFORMATION OF Israel into an imperialist state is a very different point of departure from what we have always used as proof of the transformation into opposite when we pointed to the first workers' state into a state-capitalist society. It is true that this, too, is a state-capitalist society. It is true, also, that, at its birth, it certainly wasn't anywhere as clear a social revolution as was 1917. Methodologically as well as practically, the point here is that we could — and did — express the contradictions at its birth. We refused to be silent even when we most enthusiastically supported the establishment of "a homeland for the Jews," by pointing sharply to the fact that the land contained the presence — as a minority, it is true, but a presence, nevertheless — of the reactionary Irgun, whose leader was the terrorist, Begin. What a transformation into opposite of the Israel of "Exodus," 1947-48, into the imperialistic state-capitalist Israel of 1982-83!

Lest anyone have any illusions that Reagan's "pressuring" Begin to back away from the dehumanized continuation of the war in Lebanon meant opposition to Israel's invasion of Lebanon or the present attempt by Israel to saddle Lebanon with a fascist regime, it is necessary to remind them that that was precisely the U.S. position for Lebanon ever since the 1975-76 Civil War there. It isn't Reagan who stopped Begin. What actually stopped Begin is the totality of the world opposition and the emergence of an opposition within Israel that has



Israeli demonstrators protest outside Begin's Jerusalem home.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The reason that even militaristic neo-fascist Argentina could threaten Britain with transformation of her military victory into a defeat, and Argentina's military defeat into a victory, is the Third World's implacable opposition to neo-colonialism; it will not allow Britain to keep its war booty.

Here, too, philosophy is no abstraction. Its concretization, as political philosophy, warns the whole New Left not to stop at half-way houses, not even when that manifests deep sensitivity to Third World desires for freedom unless they are willing to transform that desire into an outright revolution. I'm referring to that part of the New Left which uncritically accepts the unfinished Latin American revolutions as if that is the answer — i.e. what will destroy imperialist capitalism. There was a special issue of Contemporary Marxism (Winter, 1980), edited by Immanuel Wallerstein, in which Samir Amin, in an essay on Nicaragua, concluded that the primary task is "revitalization of the economy." No one needs a reminder that the counter-revolution in Poland, headed by General Jaruzelski, is using precisely that excuse for destroying Solidarity.

## WHY BEING AGAINST "WHAT IS" IS INCOMPLETE WITHOUT THE COROLLARY, WHAT ONE IS FOR

Because the economic and political crises wracking the capitalist-imperialist world are so horrendous — whether we look at the acknowledged, official 10 percent unemployment (which is not 10 percent but 17 percent in industrial centers, and fully 50 percent among Black youth — and which characterizes not only the U.S. but circles the world with 30 million now unemployed in the industrialized nations!), or whether we look at the many recently ongoing wars, from Iran-Iraq to the Falklands/Malvinas to Israel's genocidal invasion of Lebanon — it is all too tempting to express oneself solely in opposition to what is, without ever specifying what one is for, so weighted down does one become by all these crises crying out for an end.

History, however, warns us of other critical periods which give us historic proof that mere opposition to such monstrous degeneration does not lead to new societies. On the contrary. It only assures the transformation of that type of bare opposition into one form or another of a half-way house. That is true both when we look at the failure of bourgeois democracy and when we look at fascism. Both brought on World War II. Such a victory over fascism only laid the ground for the restoration of state-capitalism — Gaullism as well as Stalinism. Indeed, state-capitalism became a universal.

As we know from WWI, even the magnificent opposition that was successful — the Russian Revolution — once it didn't spread beyond national borders, ended in the transformation of the first workers' state into its opposite, state-capitalism.

Today, we cannot evade asking: What Now? Is the PLO the absolute opposite of Israel, or just one more narrow nationalism? In our age, when a nuclear war threatens civilization as we have known it, we cannot, must not, accept half-way houses as the answer. Nor do I mean only outright nuclear holocaust. Rather, the immediate crises of today are both in the "Love Canals" of the world and at the point of production. . . .

WE CANNOT SATISFY ourselves with detailing only what we are against or with enlarging atrocity stories.

(Continued on Page 10)



Arab youth demonstrate in Galilee, northern Israel.

appeared there, for the first time ever during an ongoing war.

It is good that a peace movement has arisen in Israel demanding an end to Israel's invasion of Lebanon at once. It is even better that some of that Left has raised the question of self-determination for Palestinians in Israel — or, rather, the part Israel occupies illegally. (Indeed, what Israel is now trying to annex is Palestine.) But that, too, will hardly solve much if, at the same time, a new banner of genuine liberation is not unfolded.

THE IMMEDIATE, URGENT question now is: What kind of regime in Lebanon? Does anyone doubt that Begin-Sharon wanted that small-time, neo-fascist, Bashir Gemayel to become its President? What is needed is to see to it that genuine national liberation is the predominant demand and that none will stand for any colonization anywhere — be it by Britain in the Malvinas/Falklands or Israel in Lebanon and the West Bank and the Golan Heights. Let's keep in mind that precisely because Thatcher thought she could revive British chauvinistic patriotism — especially when it had U.S. support and is so militarily dominant over technologically backward lands like Argentina — she thought a military victory would assure her holding onto the Falklands/Malvinas.

2. See "A Worker Looks at the Anti-Nuclear Movement" in our Pre-Convention Discussion Bulletin (excerpts to appear in the November N & L); and my letter to the Youth in Pre-Convention Discussion Bulletin Number 4. Both are available from News and Letters.

# Perpetrators of the Palestinian slaughter

(Continued from Page 9)

They surely abound in Israel's invasion of Lebanon. Many atrocity stories, I'm sure, can also be told of the PLO and its fantastic covenant "to drive the Israelis into the sea." Nor should our support of the Palestinians for self-determination and the PLO as a bargaining agent lead us away from re-examining what happens to aborted revolutions — in this case, specifically Lebanon and specifically as aided by the PLO in the 1975-76 Civil War there. Which is why we correctly entitled our Philosophic-Political Letter (August 6, 1976): "The Test Not Only of the PLO But of the Whole Left."

Because the Left did not meet that challenge but followed the PLO is one substantial reason for the totality of the crisis today. Just at the point when there was a near-success by the indigenous Lebanese Left, and the outcome of the 1975-76 Civil War hung in the balance, the PLO insisted that the concentration must be, not on the native ruler-oppressors represented by the so-called Christian, i.e. neo-fascist, Phalangists, but on Israel alone, though at the moment Israel was nowhere present in Lebanon and Syria was all ready to invade. It is Syria the PLO had dubbed "liberators" instead of a new imperialistic force. The great tragedy was that the whole Left — indigenous Lebanese under Jumblatt, Stalinists, Trotskyists — followed the PLO lead. Here is what we wrote in that Political-Philosophic Letter:

"... the New Left, born in the 1960s, so disdainful of theory (which it forever thinks it can pick up 'en route'), has a strange attitude toward imperialism. It is as if imperialism were not the natural outgrowth of monopoly capitalism, but was a 'conspiracy, organized by a single imaginary center, rather as the Nazis used to refer to the Judeo-Catholic-Masonic Alliance, or Communists under Stalin to the conspiracy of the Trotskyists and Rightists in league with the imperialist secret service' ...

"And even, it should now be added, as Khomeini now refers to the U.S. and Israel as the Great Satan.

"Evidently nationalism of the so-called Third World is of itself revolutionary even when it is under the banner of a king, a shah, or the emirates, or the Syrian Army. Thereby they canonize nationalism, even when it is void of working class character, as national liberation.

"It is not that class is the sole characteristic of national liberation movements that revolutionaries can support. It is that the working class nature is its essence and it is that the revolutionary and international impact emerges from masses in motion ...

"This does not mean that we give up the struggle for self-determination, Palestinian especially. It is that we do not narrow our vision of the revolutionary struggle for a totally different world, on truly new Humanist foundations, the first necessity of which is the unity of philosophy and revolution."

As has now become painfully clear, Begin-Sharon, bent on the mad delusion that an Army can kill the idea of freedom, were not stopped even though their invasion of west Beirut assured a clear road for the massacre of hundreds upon hundreds of Palestinians by Major Haddad and the breakaway Phalangists. Just as the Polish masses never forgave Russia during World War II for staying outside the gates of Warsaw in 1944, waiting for the Nazis to complete their destruction before they moved in to

3. In her interview with that neo-fascist, so-called Defense Minister of Israel, Ariel Sharon, Oriana Fallaci reveals his insane, night-marish vision: "Israeli strategic interests ... must be broadened to include countries such as Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, regions such as the Persian Gulf and Africa, particularly the countries of north and central Africa. ...

"save" them, so the masses of the world will never forgive Begin's Israel for the Lebanon massacre.

What is necessary is to see that the opposition to this horror does not stop with being against Begin-Sharon. It must demonstrate what it is for — which can only be the total uprooting of the state-private capitalism that brought this horror into being, and the unfolding of the kind of "revolution in permanence" that Marx projected, and will not stop until we have truly human relations.

(For Part IV of the Perspectives Thesis: "The Creative Nature of Marx's Mind and the Tasks of Marxist-Humanists Today," see Raya Dunayevskaya's Theory/Practice column, p. 4).

## Letter from a Palestinian

Editor's note: Below we print excerpts of a letter from a Palestinian woman in exile.

What I want to say is that the year 1982 is becoming another year of the Palestinian struggle face to face with Israel. In April, 1982 Israel evacuated the Sinai. But the payment was the destruction of the Palestinian revolution in Beirut, and the attempt to gain Lebanese recognition of Israel by making a deal similar to what had been done between Israel and Egypt through Camp David.

Early in the invasion (of Lebanon), Israel had declared their need to invade 40 kilometers in order to secure their boundaries. If this was true (and I do not think Israel or any other country has the right to interfere with another independent country), then why did Israel pass beyond that distance? And now we see that Israel took over Beirut to destroy the refugee camps — Sabra, Shatilla and Burj El Barajnah using all its military power and using Saad Haddad and his group to commit genocide against civilians in the Palestinian camps. It is similar to what happened in Deir Yassin in 1949.

This war with Israel has been ended by the withdrawal of the Palestinians after three months of hard fighting. What we learned and gained from this war is that we can face Israel. We do it alone without the help of any country. The Palestinian dreams about Russian help have gone away. I hope that we can be more aware of our ability and how to be more independent. Neither Russia nor the U.S. help the Third World countries except when it is for the sake of their own needs. Both of these superpowers want to win the game on the shoulders of the small countries.

What we need is another way of looking at our situation in the Third World, especially in the Middle East and specifically in the Arab world. We have to remove the decaying and reactionary regimes. This will never happen without the total rebellion of the masses in these countries, and without working with other revolutionaries in the world. All of us are facing the same danger, the danger of imperialism.

### Detroit Area Readers —

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## Rally against Begin

Boston, Mass. — The gruesome massacres in the Palestinian camps drove the Boston chapter of New Jewish Agenda to call an emergency rally for Sept. 24. We leafleted various campuses and Jewish neighborhoods and found the great majority of the Jewish community not only sickened by the tragedy, but finally willing to break its silence after a long summer of inner torment, and to turn angrily against Begin.

At our Boston Common rally 300 people chanted, sang Hebrew peace songs and recited the Mourner's Kaddish for all the victims of the war. We expressed "our solidarity with the Israeli demonstrators, our condolences with Palestinians over the program, our demands for a complete investigation and for the immediate removal from power of Begin, Sharon and Eytan."

When I arrived early to set up a loudspeaker system, three Palestinian youth informed me that they planned to disrupt our demonstration with chants. When I explained that our rally not only endorsed Israel's right to exist, but also called for Begin/Sharon's immediate ouster and for recognition of Palestinians' right to nationhood, they were pleasantly surprised. Together we then made several signs in English, Hebrew and Arabic, calling for "Peace, Shalom, Salaam."

There were nearly a dozen Israelis at the rally, including Simha Flapan, editor of the Middle East peace monthly, *New Outlook*, and a veteran of the Lebanon campaign who's a member of Shalom Achshav (Peace Now). He captured the attention of some Beginite hecklers when he told how Israeli soldiers, in the earliest days of the war, realized "we were being drapped into our Vietnam." When an elderly couple, sitting on a park bench, found out that we were holding a Middle East peace rally, they gratefully joined the front ranks. They told me that they were survivors of Hitler's Holocaust and that "never again means never again for everyone."

— M.L.K.

## Anti-Marcos protest

New York, N.Y. — Despite a steady downpour of rain, more than 300 demonstrators picketed here to protest the visit of Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos, as he met with local businessmen in the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. This was part of the state visit which was sought by the bloody ruler ever since he declared martial law in 1972.

Yet so gruesome has been his suppression of peasant, worker, and student movements as well as of the official opposition, that the trip only became possible with Reagan — who has combined his contempt for human rights in the Third World with a new strategic scheme for the Pacific and Indian oceans in which the Philippine bases Clark and Subic (the largest U.S. military installations on foreign soil) are pivotal.

Involved in the protest were Filipinos of all ages, American left groups, independents and passersby whose attention was drawn by the placards and vivid street theatre depicting the military terror under Marcos. The Filipinos contributed the most to the event by conveying both the spirit of mounting revolt in their homeland and the urgent necessity of waging a decisive confrontation with the Reagan-Marcos alliance here in the U.S.

They reminded those present of the new extradition treaty now before Congress which is going to give the Marcos regime and the State Department additional power with which to terrorize Filipino activists in the U.S.

More protests were set to accompany the appearance of Marcos at the UN later in the week.

— Marcher

## Life of 'Biko' author

Asking for Trouble, the Autobiography of a Banned Journalist, by Donald Woods. Atheneum, N.Y. 1981, 373 pp., \$12.95.

This autobiography by the author of Biko tells of the evolution of a member of South Africa's privileged white minority into a liberal integrationist, crusading journalist, friend of the martyr of the Black Consciousness Movement, Steve Biko, and finally an enemy of the state. Fluent as a child in the Xhosa language, Woods did not begin to challenge racist presumptions until, as a law student, he made the surprising observation that a Black American visitor spoke just like white movie actors.

Later, he integrated the pages of the East London Dispatch, his chess club, and sport teams, while interviewing high officials of the apartheid regime and imploring them to give way and avert the coming civil war. When they attributed the death of Biko in custody to a "hunger strike," he examined the corpse and published his finding: murder by the Security Police. Then he was "banned," forbidden to write or to meet more than one person at a time. He risked prison by writing Biko and plotted his family's daring escape to a new life in England.

An over-long but ultimately exhilarating saga of a man who challenged a thuggish regime and survived to plague them from afar. And a portrait of a color-obsessed society not unlike the U.S. South.

— A. Fortunoff

### News and Letters Committees Perspectives Report

#### What To Do — Facing The Depth of Recession and The Myriad Global Political Crises, as Well as The Philosophic Void

("As well as" does not mean a third or subordinate point, a sort of "also ran." Rather, philosophy expresses, dialectically, the meaning of the other two points — economics and politics — as both their ground of being and path for the resolution of their contradictions, subjectively and objectively — FREEDOM.)

by Raya Dunayevskaya

INTRODUCTION: Why Being Against "What is" Is Incomplete Without the Corollary, What One Is For

I. ISRAEL'S GENOCIDAL INVASION OF LEBANON: Opposition also Needed Against Building Any Half-Way Houses.

II. THE DEEP GLOBAL ECONOMIC RECESSION, Anchored to Ronald Reagan's Retrogression, Religion Included

III. U.S. IMPERIALISM'S WORLD OUTREACH, Especially to Latin America, and the Shakiness of NATO, Including Projected Nuclear War

IV. THE CREATIVE NATURE OF MARX'S MIND AND THE TASKS OF MARXIST-HUMANISTS TODAY

- 1) The Methodology of the Perspectives
- 2) The Activities and the Philosophy of What to Do

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**YOUTH****Youth discussions: doing and thinking****Challenge to anti-nuke movement**

by Laurie, San Francisco

Our form, even with the demand for new directions and threat of co-optation, continues to be a powerful obstruction to, rather than vehicle for, the development of ideas. This form grew out of the pressing concern for democracy which developed with the Women's Liberation Movement in the late '60s and '70s; in fact it is commonly called "feminist process."

This form has become so rigid and so much an end in itself that it has become a dead-end. It is not the search for democracy that leaves us an abstraction, but rather the rigid form that it has taken which has processed ideas right out of the movement.

The Livermore Action Group general meetings since the blockade have been very unsatisfactory in both evaluating and taking new steps, partly because of their form. This happened first because the meetings were structured with short, inflexible time blocks (45 minutes to discuss the goals, structure, activities and strategies of the organization) and always in small groups of ten people. The small groups were developed to give everyone time to speak, but as a result there is rarely an open forum where you can both see who has what to say or be heard by everyone.

Furthermore, discussion inevitably comes back to center on our process before it really addresses our goals: How can it be better, or How Can It Be Even More Unified And Rigid? An example of this is shown in disagreements over our non-violence code that are wracking the organization, particularly with the women, while discussion focuses not on what this split really signifies but on having stronger training to reinforce the code. The content, resulting from these meetings, has brought us no closer to grappling with the challenge of the world crisis.

At the level of our affinity group (Affinity groups are the small local support groups whose members make up the actions), the impact of form on content was even clearer. In our meetings before the blockade we were unable to discuss ideas; our strategy reigned supreme in the meetings which were always structured in tight decision-oriented time frames.

Based on the belief that the narrower our focus, the fewer people we will alienate, concentration on the single issue of nuclear freeze constantly surfaces as the way to "broaden the movement." If, by broadening, we include people other than that sector of the population which is least affected by Reaganomics, then the New York and San Francisco rallies showed us that we must address the concrete war at home. That type of broadening requires a deepening, not a narrowing, of ideas, because for the

**Youth in Revolt**

"Retooling the American Work Force", a study for Congress released last month, describes the "robotization" of the American economy, and warns, "the speed and force of this change will be awesome." However, Pat Choate, former economist in the Commerce Department, says in his study that Reagan's cutback of C.E.T.A. is on the right track, because it focused too much on disadvantaged young people at a time of declining birth-rates while, "the scope of public policy on training must be expanded to include the entire workforce."

Azarian Ernest Moabi, 21, was found hung in his cell Aug. 8. Detained on suspicion of aiding the banned African National Congress, his death — the 45th political detainee admitted by the government to die while in custody since 1963 — was announced by Bishop Desmond Tutu to a gathering in honor of South African Women's Day, the anniversary of the 1956 demonstration against the pass law system.

Four days before Colonel Qaddafi, Libyan ruler, visited Warsaw and Prague, he reversed his earlier stand against the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, and gave total support to the martial law regime in Poland. Meanwhile, Sept. 6, five students, organized in a Committee for Defense of Human Rights, were executed by the Libyan government. Two hundred were arrested. The Secretary General of the Committee, Fadel Messaoudi, was tortured to death for the presence of hostile slogans against Qaddafi, appearing on the walls of universities.

In July, at a massive officially organized youth rally in Yugoslavia to lend support to Palestinians, eight young people raised Solidarity banners and were arrested and jailed for up to 50 days. A few weeks later, another demonstration saw the Solidarity banner — this time in Polish — raised again, and alongside it was a sign demanding release of those previously detained. Eight more, representing a cross-section of the youthful Belgrade community, were arrested. Included were students, a well-known Marxist professor, a scientist, a poet and an unemployed worker.

The national gathering of the Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth Committees took place Sept. 3, the day before the convention of News and Letters Committees in Detroit. As preparation for the meeting, the youth committees published a 46-page, pre-convention discussion bulletin that is available from News & Letters. Below are four excerpts from the bulletin.

people most oppressed by this system, militarization is inseparable from that oppression.

**Chicano liberation**

by Sergio, Los Angeles

By the middle 1970s it began to look like the "Chicano Renaissance" was burning itself out. Whatever was gained after the Laguna riots was not being continued. In those days many Chicanos thought that having Chicano studies departments in universities was enough! They didn't realize that these concessions may have been a first step, but if the energy burns out, it will fall to pieces, or at worst become transformed into what the system wants.

The "political" people weren't much better because they just got into party politics, fighting with police and yelling a lot at people. It meant the spirit of the first days was dying. "That intense emotion of the first few hours falls to pieces if it is left to feed on its own substance," as Frantz Fanon said.

The system also created problems, because there are many divisions in the community. A lot of native-born Latinos here look down on the Mexican immigrants, and one reason the Chicano movement never got the full support of the community it deserved was because of this.

For years I hated the word "Chicano" because I thought the people who called themselves that hated Mexicans. In East LA there are really two communities, the "legales" (U.S. citizens) and "illegales" (Mexican born) which have led to confrontations with the Mexican nationals yelling "pacho" at the native bo back "Tijernino."

To Chicanos, humanism means to be moved by so injustice to the point where one has to fight against those who oppress us, but it also means to love and respect those who love and respect us in return. People accuse us of being too patient and over-compassionate, but beneath that you will find a power that cannot be torn asunder. Our power implies that movement; movement catalyzes social growth in the form of action (praxis). Out of this praxis comes theory, a theory that will help us Chicanos not make the same blunders as we did in the past.

Confrontation in the near future is inevitable. We must support the Chicano struggle for cultural freedom, but even this will not by itself bring us freedom. The only way to get freedom is a result of struggle, revolutionary struggle. As a youth who was once a member of an East Los Angeles gang, I can assure you that it isn't a long way from being a gang member to being "a barrio defendant," i.e. a social revolutionary.

**Palestinian student activity**

by Roma, New York

Students on the West Bank, sometimes in groups as small as eight people, organized themselves in 1976 in the schools, because it was felt it wasn't necessary to join the Palestine Liberation Organization in order to do something. Rather, things could be done anyway, since we are Palestinians living the Israeli occupation, with all its bitter, humiliating ways against every Palestinian.

So, this kind of small, organized group engaged in activities such as participating in and calling for demonstrations and calling for unity to destroy the occupation. Also, discussions took place on national books every

week, as well as writing brochures, spreading them in the classes and public bathrooms, in the buses, and on the streets when nobody could notice, especially at night.

These activities of small groups continued until 1978 when many activists graduated from high school and for many reasons were indirectly forced to stop everything through these groups. But, of course, everyone kept up their national duty wherever they were.

Bir Zeit University was a place of more revolutionary work. Here there is much awareness about our revolution, and many things pushed students to participate, discussing Marxism and its relationship to the Palestinian Revolution.

Before every national occasion or demonstration students used to spend that night with each other, men and women, making posters, the Palestinian flag, and brochures, besides spending much time talking about conditions in the prisons and the experiences of some in the prisons. Then, after that, they went and put the posters and other things on the university walls at 3 or 4 a.m., wearing different clothes, like old women, so not to let anybody recognize individuals.

On the Second of May 1979, the university was closed because the students did many things to stop and reject President Carter's visit to Israel as there was great opposition to the Camp David Treaty. Closing Bir Zeit University did not prevent the students from graduation. Many teachers used their homes to give lectures for the students who were in the process of graduation. This happened again at Bir Zeit University this past July 8, as Israel ordered it closed for three months because the students had participated in disruptive protests.

**Marxism and anti-nuke**

by Peter, Los Angeles

Why does Raya Dunayevska say that the current nuclear threat compelled a republication of Marxism and Freedom? It analyzed the new stage of capitalism that arose from the Great Depression, state-capitalism, by seeing new moments in Marx's greatest theoretical work, Capital. Marxism and Freedom showed that Russia was state-capitalist because the worker was still paid at value. All the tendencies of capitalism that Marx had analyzed in Capital were seen as present there — alienated labor, domination of production, constant capital over variable capital, all leading to the concentration and centralization of capital in fewer hands. Because both capitalism in the West and state-capitalism in the East are driven to the domination of dead labor (machines) over living labor (the worker) at the point of production, towards "centralization and concentration" of capital in the hands of one "single capitalist or capitalist corporation", they come into deep conflict with one another. Russia stands in the way of the inexorable drive of capitalism to take over control of the whole world market, as the U.S.A. stands in the way of Russia's drive. In this context, the drive for nuclear war gets seen as but the latest form of super-power rivalry because of each nation's capital/labor relation.

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**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.

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

As delegates from 148 countries met in Toronto in September to discuss the international banking crisis faced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), it became apparent to many that the emergency solutions they adopted were at best only a postponement of a general collapse of world capitalism. The International Monetary Fund is a fund set up by ten of the leading industrial nations allegedly to provide credit to the poorer nations of the world. In practice it is mainly a bail-out device for the bankers of the world to prevent the default of loans granted by private banks to the less affluent nations.

The extent of IMF aid given any nation is strictly based on the political dictates which keep that country in tow to Western imperialism, and on the profitability of the private banks in the industrial nations. Thus Nicaragua is left dangling in mid-air without funding unless the bankers, the IMF and the World Bank see "encouragement for private investment" there. On the other hand, a murderous regime like El Salvador is lent millions, not for productive purposes, but for its destructive military goals. In July the Reagan Administration pressured the IMF to grant El Salvador's killers yet another \$85 million in loans, in gross violation of all its own rules for lending.

The two biggest crisis points IMF delegates had to confront were Poland and Mexico. To the extent that any loans have been made to so-called communist nations like

# IMF faces international banking crisis

Poland, it is in the hope of destabilizing the economy in the Russian block. The crisis in Poland, which is bankrupt and owes billions to Western banks, has thus far been averted only because default of their loans could have caused the collapse of major German, British and U.S. banks. In order to receive the IMF loans the Polish government agreed to impose still greater hardships on the Polish people. Meat has become a luxury beyond the reach of nearly all workers.

At the same time, when a Mexico is threatened with collapse, though it is the most indebted of all IMF clients — owing no less than \$80 billion — the U.S. government runs to its aid so it does not default its debts to private U.S. banks. Reagan's policies, however, cannot save it from the wrath of the Mexican masses upon whose shoulders repayment, even as "rescheduled," will fall. To get help from the IMF, Mexico had to devalue the peso, pushing the price of daily necessities out of the reach of even many employed workers. Mexico will have to devote fully 85 percent of its 1982 exports to pay the interest on its debt.

The list of countries teetering on the brink of bankruptcy is led by Argentina, which owes \$37 billion. It will require 100 percent of its 1982 export income to pay the interest alone. Brazil owes \$52.7 billion, which will absorb

67 percent of its 1982 exports. The fact is that the outstanding debt of the Third World now stands at an incredible \$500 billion. The interest alone on the debt will total more than \$50 billion next year. There is no way that these countries can ever pay off their debts except through massive export of goods. Meanwhile the U.S. is complaining that too many cheap foreign goods are flooding the market in textiles, shoes, rubber products, etc.

The IMF conference urged the ten leading industrial nations to double their contributions to the fund. The best promise it could get from a recession-bound U.S. was a 25 percent increase, though other industrial nations were opting for a 50 percent hike. Even that would increase the resources of the fund by only \$15-20 billion.

Such propping up of the fund does not exactly mean that panic in the banking community itself has been eliminated. As Richard Hill, Chairman of the First National Bank, put it when he tried to sound optimistic: "It is rather like being manager of a nuclear power plant. You know all the things that can go wrong, but you don't know when."

So jerry-built is the whole structure of capitalist finance today, and so rudely has it been stretched out of shape by the ceaseless economic crises over the last eight years, that even the bankers are saying that the days of capitalism may be numbered.

## Bolivia

Bolivia, with the strongest labor and peasant unions in South America, has after two years of a fascistic military junta, forced yet another military government to resign. The military has promised to allow the Left-dominated legislature, elected in 1980, to finally take office.

To bring this about, the workers of the underground Central Federation of Bolivian Workers (COB) and other independent unions joined with peasant unions such as the Unique Confederation of Peasant Workers of Bolivia, led by Gennaros Flores Santos. Flores is crippled for life due to treatment he received from the military after the 1980 coup. Other leaders were murdered or tortured to death.

Flores has raised the question of self-determination — both culturally and politically — for Bolivia's non-Hispanic Indian majority, in a land dominated by Hispanics. The peasant movement blocked roads at the same time this summer that tin miners and urban workers rose in general strikes.

In fact, Bolivian workers and peasants have not for a moment given up fighting from the first day of the 1980 coup. They were undaunted by the fact that the hated military government included an actual German Nazi as "security adviser," Klaus Barbie, wanted in France as the SS "butcher of Lyon," or by the fact that murderous cocaine-trading gangsters were both alongside and inside the military. A whole series of general strikes and uprisings since 1980 resulted in thousands of workers and peasants being murdered by both actual gangsters, as well as the legalized gangsters of the Bolivian police and military.

In apparently rolling back their Argentine-engineered and supported military government, the people of Bolivia have shown an example to the masses of the entire Southern Cone of Latin America — Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay — all of which have vicious, fascistic military governments armed and advised by the Pentagon.

## Poland

Aug. 31, 1982 was a day of heroism and tragedy for the Polish masses. It was a day when untold thousands braved military repression to cover the country with their demonstrations against martial law, on the anniversary of the 1980 Gdansk agreements at the end of the shipyard occupation-strike.

In Gdansk, thousands of workers, women and youth threw up barricades and engaged in pitched battles with police. Even soldiers gave signs of siding with the people. At one point seven Polish army trucks approached a barricade, but then turned around and left. A soldier flashed a "V" sign to the cheering demonstrators.

It was in the small copper-mining town of Lubin that the masses battled police for three days in a row. When the battle ended, the city hall and other government buildings had been burned. Five demonstrators, most of them workers, were murdered by the police. On Aug. 31, no less than 30 major towns and cities witnessed confrontations, as admitted by the government. Four thousand people were arrested.

Underground Solidarnosc stated: "The mass street demonstrations of Aug. 31 have proven once again that the Polish society is determined in its struggle to restore its due rights."

During the whole month of August the Polish masses showed that they were strong and growing stronger. On Aug. 13, 10,000 demonstrated in Gdansk right in front of the terrifying symbol of state-capitalist power, the CP headquarters, and then engaged in barricade fighting all over the city. On Aug. 26, 800 demonstrators, many of

them women workers, fought police in the important textile center, Lodz.

The Jaruzelski junta has charged four imprisoned and two exiled former KOR activists and intellectuals with "instigating" Aug. 31. The four already in prison are Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Jan Litynski and Henryk Wujec. Jan Jozef Lipski returned to Poland to face the charges, while Miroslaw Chojecki remains in exile.

The courageous and outspoken Jewish KOR founder Adam Michnik had this to say in a message smuggled from his prison cell: "Everything seems to indicate a judicial farce in the genre of the Kirov trial or of Dimitrov's trial for burning the Reichstag. However great my attachment to KOR, I must say that the amazing idea of the Military Committee for National Salvation of attributing the organization of the Aug. 31 demonstrations to the KOR activists detained since Dec. 13 gives too much credit to their capacities. . . I appeal for help from all men of good faith. To the Chancellors of Austria and West Germany, who are so indulgent toward our generals, let us remember that even the Communist Dimitrov had the right, before Hitler's tribunal, to the presence of international observers."

The forms of underground worker and intellectual resistance being worked out in Poland today offer lessons to the world freedom movement — not only East Europe, Russia and China, but also the "West" and the Third World.

## China

At the same time that Deng Xiaoping orchestrated the Twelfth Party Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, which evoked headlines like "China discards Maoist Vision and Pushes Pragmatic Path" (NY Times) or "The Consecration of Pragmatism" (Le Monde), he was entertaining Richard Nixon on the tenth anniversary of the U.S.-China Shanghai Communiqué. Deng was thereby linked to the Mao who dared to embrace the U.S. at the very moment it was attacking Vietnam.

Deng has also showed continued Mao-style totalitarian repression of any and all independent ideas. This was dramatically illustrated when it was revealed that dissident journalist Xu Wenli had been sentenced to 15 years for "counter-revolutionary activities." The editor of the small dissident journal the April 5 Forum, Xu, a 38-year-old electrical worker, was arrested last year.

His magazine was considered the most moderate of all of the voices which were raised in 1978-79 as part of the short-lived Peking Spring. Unlike other dissidents, Xu had appeared generally to support Deng. However, his critical support of Deng was the product not of bureaucratic opportunism and careerism, but rather of differences with other dissidents over what political form the movement should take.

Thus, he criticized the 1979 sentencing of Wei Jingsheng to 15 years in prison and had also in 1981 sent an open letter to Lech Walesa expressing support for Poland's Solidarnosc. He described himself as a Marxist and an advocate of "humanist socialism." It is exactly that type of independent voice, even when "for" his faction, that Deng wants to silence.

Why is it that despite all the attention given to China, the names — let alone the writings — of its opposition activists are hardly known? Is it because both Left and bourgeois journals view repression of intellectual dissent in a non-European country as somehow less important?

The truth is that Deng, even less than Mao before him, will hardly be able to shape the future of China after his death. And surely the world, and especially independent revolutionaries, need to support, discuss the ideas of, and learn from courageous Chinese opposition activists such as Xu Wenli. Others imprisoned for their courageous writ-

ings and statements include Fu Yuehua, a feminist who brought a complaint of rape against CP officials, and Wang Xizhe, an independent Marxist critic of the Maoist system.

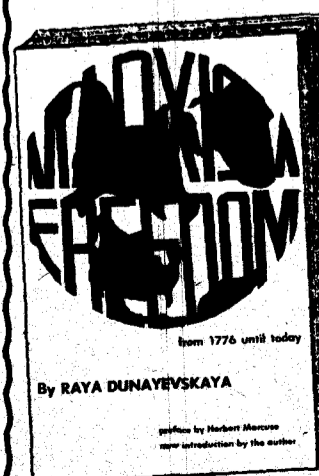
## France

An unusual and important alliance has been achieved in the Ardennes region of France between anti-nuclear activists and steel workers. For seven months, these two groups have fiercely and jointly resisted the attempt by the central government to install a second nuclear power plant — the biggest anywhere in Europe — in their area, at the same time that the government plans to allow the local Usinor steel mill to close as part of a "restructuring" of the French steel industry. This will throw over 800 more people out of work in a thinly populated region that already suffers record unemployment.

"Nuclear equals desert" has become a slogan in the region, where workers have joined anti-nuclear demonstrations, occupied the Usinor works and imprisoned management representatives many times, and engaged in sabotage actions to call national attention to their cause. The chateau which is the residence of the director general of Usinor is now a burned-out hulk, as is the home of a worker accused of being a "rat." Clandestine groups have vowed to sabotage the nuclear plant itself. None have been identified, let alone caught, by the police. Workers have also attended monthly anti-nuclear rallies called by local ecologists.

While such a labor/anti-nuke alliance is but the barest of beginnings for the world anti-nuclear movement, it is an important indication of some of the possibilities of uniting the questions of nuclear power and unemployment. The steel workers of the Ardennes have not only perceived, but also acted upon, the concept that the new nuclear technology "saves" the economy at the cost of their jobs, not to speak of endangering their lives.

Not surprisingly, their grievances have not been listened to, either by the Mitterrand social democratic government, or by the national French labor unions, whether Communist, Socialist, or "independent." The CP-dominated and largest national union, the CGT, has played an especially reactionary role in its total support of French nuclear power plants. One need not agree with the tactic of sabotage used by the Ardennes workers and anti-nuclear activists to see the importance of their actions.



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