

In this special issue we are publishing our Draft Perspectives Thesis, part of our preparation for the national gathering of News and Letters Committees over Labor Day weekend. We are asking you to join in the discussion of these Perspectives with us. We have done this every year since 1975, breaking new ground for the Marxist movement as we work to overcome the barriers between "inside" and "outside," workers and intellectuals, theory and practice, philosophy and revolution.

## The Two Worlds in Each Country; The Need to Transform Reality

### I. The two worlds in the U.S. and the Reagan-Haig genocidal war in El Salvador

Reagan's coming to power has, far from getting Big Government off the backs of the people, so militarized it that the cost of its "Five Year Plan" is counted out in the stratospheric number of \$1.3 trillion. In this "richest land in the world," where such insane numbers are calculated for nuclear militarization, the 22 million citizens who need food stamps just to reach the poverty level are to be deprived of them, as inflation and unemployment continue unabated.

This is a land where the eight percent average unemployment for the nation does not reveal the truth of industrial centers like Detroit, where fully 60 percent of the population is on some form of government assistance; on June 16, the mere rumor of eight job openings in St. Louis brought 4,000 jobseekers to line up at 7 p.m. the night before. Big Government is not "getting off the backs of the people"; it is reaching further into their lives to take food out of their mouths.

Nor are the ideologues who follow the Reagan line—or, more correctly, Reagan who follows the reactionary "supply-side economics" line—supplying the masses with tax relief. They are creating windfall profits for Big Capital—and with no guarantee whatever that this will go into investment to increase production. Rather, they are taking over other enterprises with a quick profit; the oil companies are taking over every-

thing from coal mines to retail stores like Montgomery Ward.

What the Reagan Administration is doing in the U.S. is no different from its imperialist actions as they extend to such genocidal dimensions as the war in El Salvador. Its "White Paper" turned out to be so big a lie that the Administration itself had to admit some of its errors. Which didn't mean they have backed down from supporting the reactionary El Salvador government's war against its people. The latest action, 36 miles outside of San Salvador, was described by a peasant woman witness as so much shooting that "the earth trembled." (New York Times, July 12, 1981)

**There is no reactionary government in the world that doesn't find a sympathetic ear among the Reagan-Haig-Weinberger bureaucrats. Thus, they not only protect South Africa "in general," but specifically, even where that action is a betrayal of the very resolution the U.S. itself voted for on Namibia.**

When the U.S. Congress did finally express some opposition to the Administration's perverse, dehumanized attitude to human rights by rejecting the nomination of the outright racist—and supporter of every fascist government from South Korea to Chile—Ernest Lefever as Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, Reagan-Haig put him on the payroll anyway, simply retitling the job to be "anti-terrorist consultant."

Reagan's ignorance of foreign affairs matches his arrogance and "humor." Even a conservative pundit like James Reston was amazed at Reagan's press conference where he indulged in asinine humor on as global a danger as U.S.-Russian confrontation, by alleging that Haig had sent Brezhnev the following note, to explain his reason for not being ready for an arms limitation treaty: "Roses are red, violets are blue, stay out of El Salvador, and Poland too." The other nations weren't laughing, said James Reston in "Thunder on the Potomac," NYT, June 24, 1981, adding that "things had changed in Washington; the tough guys had taken over; billions more for guns and no more nonsense about human rights." Nowhere was Reagan's grim one-liner more bestial-sounding than in El Salvador, where it's not the Russians but U.S. imperialism which is producing the ruling junta onto their rampage.\*

**It is true that Reston's critique stemmed not from worry for the masses, but fear that, if the Administration keeps on "goading the Soviet bear," it may become "a threat to the peace."**

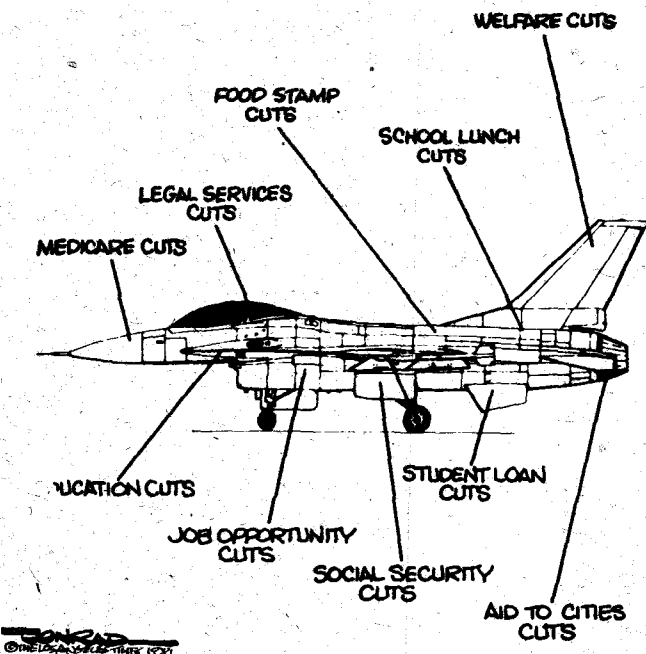


Original oil painting by Peter Mallory

**Such volatile playing with hot war by the capitalistic-imperialistic Behemoth, armed to the teeth with nuclear weaponry, demands that we develop our absolute opposition to it in intensified activities with labor, with the Latino as well as Black dimension, in the Women's Liberation Movement and among the youth, and articulate that absolute opposition in the battle of ideas also among the Left.**

This is made all the more imperative by the counter-revolutionary activities the mullahs are now carrying on in Iran, which, far from isolating the U.S., has presented it with the best opportunity for actually strengthening itself also in the Arab world. This should have been clear, but wasn't, from the joint Resolution, elaborated by the U.S. Representative to the UN, Kirkpatrick, and the Iraqi representative—a Resolution that was so vapid that its "condemnation" of Israel's pre-emptive bombing of Iraq's nuclear reactor included no punishment whatsoever for the neo-fascistic blitzkrieg. Our **Political-Philosophic Letter**—"What Has Happened to the Iranian Revolution? Has it Already Run its Course into its Opposite, Counter-Revolution? Or Can it be Saved and Deepened?" (News and Letters, 1981)—is to be considered part of these Perspectives, and needs further elaboration here.

\* Because of the imperative need we felt to express our solidarity with the El Salvadoran masses against both their government and U.S. imperialism, we are issuing the bilingual Spanish-English pamphlet, **Latin America's Ceaseless Revolutions: In Fact and in Theory** and including essays on 'El Salvador: Reagan's genocidal war and the unfinished Latin American revolutions,' "The peasant dimension in Latin America: its test of the relation of theory to organization," and "Latin America: revolution and theory," as well as a report from an El Salvadoran revolutionary.



### II. Iran, the Iran-Iraqi war, and Israel's pre-emptive strike

The Iranian Revolution achieved a great historic turning point not alone in Iran and throughout the Middle East, but globally. Whereas, up to that point, seeing Israel as the enemy had united the whole Arab world, the mass revolution in Iran created an altogether new division in the Middle East. It literally changed everything, and nowhere more so than within the Arab world. Thus, the decisive point in the Middle East and among the Western powers, became not only oil, and not just a question of race, but the preponderant, internal, irreconcilable division between the ruling class

and the masses in each country, with the only unity between the rulers of the Arab countries now being that they were all against revolution. Khomeini's appeal to the Shi'ites of the world threatened every country from Saudi Arabia—whose holiest place, Mecca, was actually occupied—to Iraq and Lebanon, where, unadvertised, the Shi'ites were battling also the PLO. Where Syria pretends not to be threatened and relies heavily on its alliance with Russia, the truth is that it is not only in Lebanon that it is in deep crisis, but in its own country, and precisely

with its own masses.

It has also become clear that the use of oil as a political weapon was by no means due only to the Arab-Israeli war, but became also a weapon in inter-monopoly rivalry between the U.S. oil monopolists and the Arab oil potentates. Beyond the peradventure of any doubt, what was involved by 1979 in the unconscionable rise in oil prices had nothing whatever to do with Israel. The contradictions were glaring, indeed, since the

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usual imperialistic profiteering was further bloated by the fact that so many of the recycled petro-dollars came back to the U.S.

The four-fold increase after the 1973 Arab-Israeli war paled when it became twelve-fold by 1980, shocking all oil experts, who had predicted that such a rise would not occur until the year 2000. Tensions between the Arab countries and the U.S. would have grown more, now that it was clear that oil as a political weapon was by no means due to Arab-Israeli hostility—but none could forget that the masses had taken center stage in the Iranian Revolution. While a change in oil ownership, with the mullahs in control, did not stop production, still the whole question of the so-called "front-line states" against Israel (Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon)—which had already changed so fundamentally with the Camp David treaty—now made another 180 degree turn. Far from the crises in the Arab world being due to "ordinary" contradictions, occurring when "modernization" confronts the status-quo (in

this case, Islam), it was now clear that, be it the Shah or the mullahs, it is the class division in each Middle East country, including Iran, that is decisive.

One other complication was added: the Iraqi attack on Iran, whereupon the masses did rise to the defense of Iran, including the Kurds. Suddenly everybody did remember what the Iranian Revolution had been. It was this which led to such a spectacular change in the capitalist world that two such "enemies" as Iraq and the U.S. could join in that UN resolution which did no more than slap Israel's wrist.

With the stalemated Iraq-Iran war, Egypt's isolation from the Arab world was not so total, and there has been a great deal more leaning towards the Camp David treaty, or at least toward the U.S. presence in the Middle East, than any Arab country is willing to admit. The U.S. is now being looked on once more as the "protector" of the Gulf—that is to say, the military titan against social revolution. So great is the fear of revolution that what, just three short months ago,

was said at the super think-tank called the Trilateral Commission as if that were the new truth—"We no longer live in a world where America occupies a dominant position and exercises her leadership"—is no longer the whole truth.

It doesn't fundamentally matter whether we single out the Middle East as the point closest to an explosion, or take a look, instead, at Western Europe, which has been shaken as much by Reagan's hot war rhetoric as it was in the 1970s by the Middle East oil crisis. The point is that Western Europe knows that it will be the first spot Russia will threaten with direct, total destruction; the point is that, outside of the White House and the Pentagon, one or another form of neutralism is in the air. And that also includes China, which, on the surface, seems to be totally in tune with Reagan in considering Russia Enemy Number One. But when one examines carefully the document issued by the recently concluded Plenary Session of the Central Committee of The Chinese Communist Party (CCP), a very different picture emerges.

## III. China: deMaoization and heightening contradictions in state-capitalism

Ever since Nixon's day, U.S. imperialism has been convinced that it has China, lock, stock and barrel—and without any cost to itself, as if a thousand million Chinese will rush out at "its" (!) command to attack Russia. Consider Haig's latest trip to China where obviously he was executing a policy that he created all by himself and right on the spot, offering China everything from limitless arms to the disregard of Taiwan should that subject disturb China. The magic communicator, so adept at Class B movie productions, not to mention cheap "one-liners"—President Reagan—said exactly the opposite at his news conference. If the contradictory statement didn't disturb the Administration, it most certainly did disturb China, which rushed to make it clear not only that there is no arms agreement as yet, but that it will under no circumstances stand for a "two-China policy" under any other name, such as "Taiwan Relations Act."

To grasp what is most crucial to China itself, we need to look, not at the on-high maneuverings and double-dealings with other powers, but to the contradictions within China itself, as reflected in the Resolution of the recently concluded conference.<sup>1</sup> This was no ordinary, annual conference; it marked a decisive turning point—the most decisive, if not since the conquest of power, surely since 1956. It is a crucial turning point in world events.

That is not because they are allegedly turning away from Maoism, which they are not fully doing. The first period after the conquest of power (which they designate as 1949-1956) was as distinctively Maoist as was the "Cultural Revolution" which they now reject (and designate as 1966-1976).

What led to the first division between Deng and Mao, and later to the "Cultural Revolution," was the different attitude to an event faraway



that penetrated China—the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Though Mao and Deng moved in opposite directions, it was that emergence of an opposition to Communism from the Left that compelled them both to move away from what was new, what was historic, what was great, what came from below. Once that kind of opposition from the Left had appeared on the world scene, and once Mao lost his illusion that he could keep such an upsurge from China with his democratic thesis, "Let 100 Flowers Bloom, Let 100 Schools of Thought Contend," then and only then did both Mao and Deng begin their attack on the dissidents. They took different paths, not on the question of those dissidents, but on Mao's "Great Leap Forward," which a good part of the Central Committee resisted. What soon became clear was that there is no "peaceful co-existence" between the ruling class and the exploited classes.

There was still one unanimous effort on the part of the CCP to create a different axis in the world, independent of both U.S. and Russia. It was the attempt to have a Third World axis—Djakarta-Peking—which collapsed in a bloody counter-revolution in 1965. The Communist Party of Indonesia, which had followed the Mao line and had been second only in size to China's itself, was destroyed. It was then that the division between Mao and those in the Central Committee he had called "capitalist roaders" became permanent and resulted in Mao's so-called "Cultural Revolution." **Of this there is not a word in the document.**

Nor is there a single word of the whole Vietnam War, when the parties who had sided with Mao in the Sino-Soviet conflict had appealed to him that, to defend Vietnam from American imperialism, a united front should be established among all Communist Parties, including Russia. That, too, Mao rejected. By 1970, when Nixon extended the Vietnam War into Cambodia, the crisis in China came to a climax. The most shocking reversal of all was the rolling out of the Red Carpet for Nixon, on the one hand, and the simultaneous struggle to the death with Lin Biao, on the other.

Lest Reagan-Haig-Weinberger think that this gives them a free ally against Russia, let's remind them that long before China considered Russia to be Enemy Number One—in fact, ever since Mao's conquest of power in China—U.S. imperialism had been their Enemy Number One. Listen to what the Resolution says:

Our party led the whole people in gradually realizing the transition from the new democracy to socialism, rapidly rehabilitating the country's economy, undertaking planned economic construction and in the main, accomplishing the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production.

Need one be reminded that this was the period of "the unbreakable friendship" with Russia following their Five-Year Plan?

The most ironic element in the document is that it is Mao's late "foreign policy" which gives the new rulers a reason for holding that Mao should still be considered great. In never facing the objective situation—and especially so in regard to the Vietnam War, when the U.S. was Enemy Number One, not alone to the Vietnamese, but to the whole world—the Chinese try to give the impression that Russia has always been Enemy Number One. The exact opposite is the truth. Indeed, the reason Mao gained such a mass following among the independent Left, who were ready to forgive Mao's every crime—and leave a few blank pages for any he might commit in the future—was the contention that the U.S. was the world's Enemy Number One and Mao alone, not Russia, was sure to fight U.S. imperialism to the end.

The last word on how far the flirtation with U.S. imperialism will go has not yet been spoken. Even if Deng had not left loopholes to change policy, the point is that Chinese state-capitalism calling itself Communism, though eons away from any genuine Marxism, is not exactly the equivalent of Reagan's re-establishment of "pure" private capitalism.

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1. For a further analysis of the Resolution, see Raya Dunayevskaya's Theory/Practice column on page 7 this issue. The complete Resolution appears in Peking Review, No. 27, July 6, 1981. An officially excerpted version was published in The New York Times, July 1, 1981.



# Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

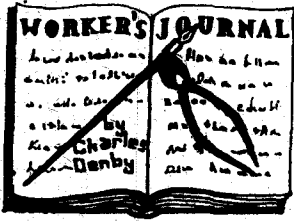
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## Reaganism and N&L national meeting



by Charles Denby, Editor

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

Reaganism and the crisis facing America today have divided the thinking of much of the population along racial lines. Many whites have supported him, especially on the question of busing and on turning back many of the gains that Blacks and whites made in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s.

But today many working people can see very clearly who the real Reagan is and what he stands for and against. The proposed social security cuts will hurt as many whites as Blacks. A group of older Black people were discussing these cuts. One was saying that Reagan is asking for a revolution, because there are over 33

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## The move to the sunbelt

# Restructured economy is attack on labor

by Andy Phillips

Central to the Reagan Administration's plans to restructure the American economy is the destruction of the power of organized labor. From the first day that Reagan assumed the presidency, he has displayed an unprecedented arrogance and open hostility toward labor. Reagan's appointment of Ray Donovan as Secretary of Labor dramatically illustrated the point, for it was the first time since that position was created that a President refused to consult with labor prior to making the appointment.

Reagan's contempt for labor is further reflected in his policy of completely ignoring labor when he has made other important Labor Department appointments or when he has submitted labor-related legislation to Congress. His Administration's passionate embrace of

capital and total rejection of labor telegraph his intentions with crystal clarity.

## RESTRUCTURING OF ECONOMY

The restructuring of the nation's political economy actually began under President Richard Nixon, who elevated the strategy to a grand design. (See "Will the 'Restructured' American Economy Bring Us to the Nuclear Holocaust?" Part III of the News and Letters *Draft Perspectives* this issue.) Once in power, he moved to lay the economic base in the sunbelt states on which to build a political coalition to guarantee future right-wing GOP supremacy. In the process, Nixon accelerated the shift of political and financial power from the East to the sunbelt.

In an earlier period, the Vietnam war's escalation under President Johnson, who insisted that the U.S. could produce both guns and butter, proved to be devastating to the national economy, setting into motion the ruinous inflation which has raged uncontrolled to today and has decimated the living standards of the American people. So huge were the national economic dislocations that a new phenomenon arose that baffled traditional capitalist economists and still defies their efforts to solve it.

Heretofore, inflation had been brought under control by economic policies designed to create unemployment. As unemployment rose, inflation fell. Now, however, inflation and unemployment both continued to skyrocket, dealing sledge hammer blows to the economy.

Marginally profitable industrial plants could no longer compete. Neglected U.S. steel plants were rendered obsolete by advanced Japanese and German steel industries. At the same time, the previously highly profitable U.S. industries such as auto and related suppliers were suddenly confronted with competition from cheaper, higher quality, and more energy efficient Japanese and German autos. The result: at least 300,000 unemployed in auto; hundreds of thousands more laid off in auto-related industries; the abrupt closing of outmoded steel plants and wholesale lay-offs of steel workers, as well as the closing of many other unprofitable plants throughout the Northeast and Midwest.

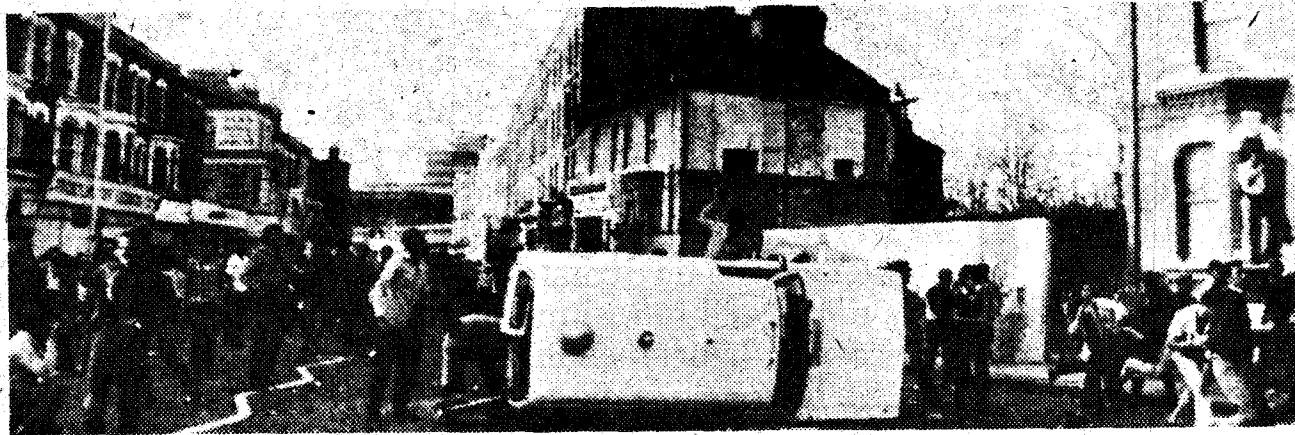
Employers went on the offensive, demanding wage and other benefit concessions from workers, threatening to close or move their plants if their demands were not accepted. Labor leaders mouthed weak protests and rushed to Washington to plead for import quotas and other protectionist legislation. Since Ronald Reagan's election, he has moved with a vengeance to implement the strategy initiated by Nixon to restructure the nation's political economy.

## THE SHIFT TO SUNBELT

Objective economic developments as well as consciously projected programs have already produced massive changes. During the 1970s, due primarily to the eroding northern and midwestern economic base, there has been an exodus of three million people from these regions, with most going to the sunbelt states. Projections indicate that if present trends continue, 3.3 million more will be gone by 1990. The depressed regions have already lost 15 seats in the House of Representatives to the sunbelt states due to the population shifts, with even greater northern political losses projected for the next decade.

In manufacturing industries, jobs declined by one-tenth of a percent in the Midwest and Northeast during the '70s, but increased by 25 percent in the South and

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Youths building a barricade against police attack

## July days: British civilization on trial

Britain after July, 1981 will never be the same, anymore than the U.S. could ever wipe out the Black revolt of the '60s no matter how much they are trying to push back all the gains, or South Africa could ever be the same after Soweto 1976.

In two weeks of outbursts, without a single day's let-up, white and Black youth battled police and selectively burned out hated establishments. Before Britain's "long, hot summer" (at least this stage of it) was over, no less than 30 cities had been rocked to their foundations—from London to industrial Manchester, Birmingham and Newcastle, and from the heavily Black Toxteth region of Liverpool (where Black youth unemployment averages over 60 percent), to all-white Dundee in Scotland.

The "July days" did not begin on July 3, but in April, when Brixton, with its large West Indian population, first gave vent to the hatred for the racist British police who have been portrayed to the world as so "civilized"—a hatred that has been a common denominator in all the explosions, no matter what other factors (including race) have changed from city to city. Nor was it only Brixton's "April Uprising" that gave warning of what was brewing in Britain this Spring; so did the mammoth May 31 Trafalgar Square demonstration against Britain's unconscionable unemployment, the highest since 1931. And so did the 24-year-old youth interviewed after that march who had said, "We should take a lesson from Brixton—200 burning down a block get more attention than 200,000 marching in orderly fashion in the streets." (See Report on England, N&L, July 1981, p.1.)

The only answer of Margaret Thatcher and her Home Secretary, William Whitelaw, has been: 1) to approve new anti-riot measure for the police, including tear gas, water cannons, and plastic bullets; and 2) to

appoint more committees to investigate "the causes" of the outbursts. Whereupon Thatcher went on TV to plead: "The veneer of civilization is very thin. It has to be cherished if it is to continue."

The question is not that "civilization" is a "thin veneer." It is that British civilization has been put on trial—and is fast being found guilty.

Following is a letter we have just received from Wood Green, the third London neighborhood to explode in July:

*Britain's July Days of streetfighting between the police and unemployed youth signals the beginning of the end of the Thatcher government, which in two years has brought the unemployment up to three million. Unemployed youth are expected to survive on 20 pounds (\$40) a week social security (which not all youth can get) and be harassed by government snoopers to stop them supplementing the pittance with odd bits of "moonlighting" that might crop up . . . Black youth are twice as likely as white to be unemployed and also twice as likely to be persecuted by the police. For them the pressure has become unbearable.*

*The explosion in Toxteth in Liverpool was similar to the one that took place in Brixton in London in April. The community blew up in the face of massive harassment. Southall, in West London, was different. There the Asian youth responded to intimidation by "skinheads" of the Nazi British Movement by burning down the pub they had gathered in and throwing petrol bombs at the police who, in the past, have terrorized the Asian community when they have tried to resist the Nazis. Thatcher toured the area a few days later and had the gall to go on TV and say she "had heard nothing said against the police." That night the Asian*

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## ON THE INSIDE

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## Women workers win strike, job-wage parity

San Jose, Cal.—In the country's first strike over women getting pay equal with men for doing comparable work, members of Local 101 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) on July 14 won wage increases amounting to 15½ percent over two years.

The workers, including women librarians, clerks and park aides, walked out on July 5 when their woman mayor and city council, seven of whom are women, expressed sympathy but plead poverty when a study, commissioned by the union, confirmed the glaring inequities between salaries and jobs held by women as compared to men.

### GAINS FOR ALL WORKERS

One of the strikers said, "This is a cause, a worthy cause. I have four children. I'm fighting for my daughters' pay and my sons'. Men will always benefit, because in most families both the man and the woman are working. They all have something to gain. Besides, we're talking about a cost of living for everybody. We don't want to settle for 4½ percent because that isn't even half of what the inflation rate is."

A woman strike captain said: "The results of the Hay Study showed that most of the jobs dominated by females were far below the trendmark. They measured our jobs on accountability, know-how, skills, the same as they measured their own in management.

"Management implemented raises for themselves for up to 18 percent. They completed the management study long before ours was completed. . . . When the results finally came out they cried poor, but they continue to spend money remodeling their offices over there on the sixth floor, putting in showers, plush carpet, getting their raises.

"They'll always have plenty of money after we settle. Six months later they'll come up with a surplus. They do every year. But we've listened to that for too many years to fall for it again, so they forced us out here. The women are our worst enemy as far as negotiations. Deputy City Manager Sally Reed and Mayor Janet Gray Hayes are the stumbling blocks as far as getting the study implemented."

### SUPPORT FROM MEN

Many municipal buildings and even construction sites were shut down as male workers supported the strike and refused to cross picket lines. One male striker said: "It's not really a money issue with me. I'm kind of on the high scale as far as the city goes. The thing with me is that I have two children, five

## Women's history conference

New York, N.Y.—The Fifth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women brought together 1,500 feminist academics at Vassar College on June 16-18. Some exciting papers revealed the revolutionary history of women in the 19th century: women in mining strikes and land seizures in Peru, working class socialist-feminists in France, American "reformers" who redefined social science and education and British women who opposed imperialism in South Africa. Unfortunately, however, there was little attempt to delve into theory in relation to the movement to overthrow existing society.

Although one unscheduled session was called during the conference to discuss the current assault on women's rights, and over 50 attended to hear about and organize against the proposed "Family Protection Act," most sessions did not even try to bridge the gap between the academic speeches and the feminists in the audience.

The largest turnout for a session was the one by Gerda Lerner, who presented her "General Theory of Women in History." It was a historical mish-mash, attempting to prove that all class society for the past 5,000 years has been based on the sexual dominance of men over women as evidenced by the sexual abuse and forced labor of women in slavery and concubinage.

Fortunately, the commentator, Elise Boulding, pointed out that women's history is not only mass oppression, but that always some women were "non-compliant." She called the Women's Liberation Movement "massive non-compliance" and said we need more of that now, at which point the audience broke into prolonged applause.

At a session focusing on minority women, several Black professors stressed the priorities of racism and poverty for Black women, but nothing was said of the revolutionary history of Black women in this country, or of the crucial need for the whole of today's women's movement to include their ideas about freedom.

I most enjoyed the Italian feminist who described the movement in Italy with a clarity about its theoretic and organizational problems as not separate from its successes, such as the recent referendum to retain the right to abortion. After changing from small groups to collectives to national conferences, there is now a crisis in organization, she said, and women are debating how to proceed now that they are no longer interested in equality with men, but in liberation. If only the conference had addressed that question it would not have been so disappointing.

—Anne Molly Jackson

and seven, both of them girls, and it's going to affect them eventually. I've got a mother who's 67 and she's been working through these hassles since she was 14 and she always came up against the same problem.

"It's something that's long overdue. I think it's an issue that should have been handled 25 years ago. The city is buying somebody's time, not their sex or anything else. It's supposed to be an open job market. You get paid for your skills. Women are supposed to be getting paid for their skills."

## Welfare rights survival march

Lansing, Mich. — About 250 people, representing welfare rights groups from throughout Michigan, rallied at the state Capitol here on June 30 to protest a 10 percent state cut in welfare payments and the lack of jobs. Fifteen protesters from the Detroit West Side Mothers walked 100 miles from Detroit to Lansing to bring attention to their cause. Below one of the marchers tells her story:

My purpose for marching was the right to survive. It's not only me, but for all women with families; I have always worked; I'm a welder, but I got laid off. I lost my home, and I have two daughters. Just think about the woman with six or seven children. Maybe she's doing day work and making only a small amount.

With welfare, I'm on a budget where I can't meet basic personal needs for my daughters and myself — for your time of the month, for a certain type of soap, because my daughter has allergies. And for children growing up without money, it's easy for them to get into something wrong. They're looking at mother; she's not going to be able to make it. We have no food; I bought a 50-pound bag of potatoes and that's what we ate for a week.

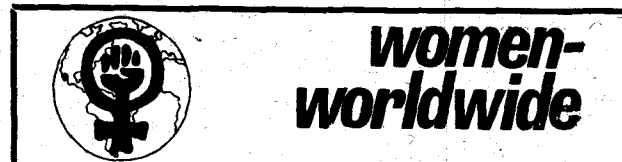
I would rather work than wait for a check every two weeks. They tell you to go out and work, and then you go to the door they tell you, and it's locked. There's no more openings, no more jobs. There could be plenty of jobs—jobs with education, jobs with the handicapped, nurseries. And now they're cutting welfare, when from the start it wasn't enough.

We had different suggestions as to how to make our protest. One was to go without food — but we're doing that anyway! So our purpose in marching was to show that we're not lazy. When we were marching, most of the people along the way were friendly. They gave us food, shoes; they washed our clothes. When we came into Lansing, a man and a woman from Iran joined us.

The one problem was in Howell. There were rumors the KKK was going to come. There were people with signs that said "Silver platter days are over," and a car went by dragging a red flag in the dirt. But we kept on marching and singing.

Now Governor Milliken says he's going to put back 50 percent of the cut, but that's still nothing. We've just started; it's a small step towards a great achievement.

I want to say: Never underestimate the power of a woman. They used to say women are good for nothing; women should stay in the kitchen. But I'm not going to stay in the kitchen! We are showing what women can do.



In Scotland, cleaning women have organized two collectives to fight high unemployment, low wages and miserable working conditions in their profession. Ranging in age from 30 to 79, the women now determine their own wages and have almost abolished night work. The women said, "We know we were pretty well exploited before, but now we're getting our own back. Take heart and do what we did."

A group called the Organization of Chinese American Women has announced the publication of a newsletter to be called "OCAW Speaks." It will be funded by the Women's Equity Act Program of the Dept. of Education, and there are plans for a national conference, seminars and workshops. Suggestions for the newsletter can be sent to OCAW, Grants Office, 956 N. Monroe St., Arlington, VA, 22201.

(Information from Off Our Backs)

Women at the Second Socialist Conference at Marburg, Germany, resolved to convene an independent national women's meeting this fall on the theme, "Women in Politics." They want to open a dialogue between socialist women, feminists and independent women on opposition to the "universal militarization of society" and many other topics. Contact Ellen Diederich, Finkenhofstr. 32, 6000 Frankfurt 1, W. Germany.

(Thanks to Courage, W. Berlin)

## WOMAN AS REASON

### New feminist anti-militarism

Dear Sisters,

I have been working here in Chicago with a group of women who have created an organization called Feminists Against Militarism, which is working to sponsor a midwest conference Sept. 10-12. This is just one of many feminist anti-militarist groups that have sprung up across the country. What singled out the new activity of women against militarism was the demonstration last Nov. 17, when 2,000 women from all over the U.S. circled the Pentagon proclaiming "We will stop this war against humanity." (See December, 1980 News & Letters.)

What has struck me is how different women's participation today is from that in the anti-war movement of the 1960s-70s. There was no question then that women were against the Vietnam War and were a part of all the protests, but it was such a struggle because the movement was so sexist. For example, remember the awful slogan, "Girls should say yes to men who say no" (to the draft)? And if we formed a women's liberation contingent in a march we got insults as well as stones and mud thrown at us. None of that stopped us from demonstrating, but we always had to defend ourselves and confront everyone with the very fact of women's liberation.

Today it is not as if that sexism has disappeared — in fact one young activist told me that the women had to leave Chicago CARD (Coalition Against Registration and the Draft) because it was so male chauvinist. What has disappeared is any kind of defensiveness about being a feminist against war — in fact the anti-war movement is more feminist than ever. In Chicago, for example, it is women, both in and out of church groups, who have been the most active in demonstrating against U.S. involvement in El Salvador; it was mostly women who marched against South Korean dictator Chun when he came to the U.S.; and it is women who are mobilizing across the country to oppose Reagan's plans for war.

### NO 'GETTING USED TO' WAR

One young woman activist told me her reasons for being involved, and shed some light on this new stage of women's anti-war activism. She told me how, as a child of eight, she got post cards from an uncle fighting in Vietnam who wrote of blowing up buildings. When she was in her teens and Nixon was in office, it all of a sudden struck her what war really meant — what her uncle's post cards were really about. She was so obviously upset that her mother asked what was wrong, but told her not to cry, that "she would get used to it." It was then that she vowed that she would never "get used to" war and would do everything in her power to stop it.

So it is the new generation of women who grew up during Vietnam, and women who fought against that war and for women's liberation, that make up this new stage of women against militarism. And yet, whereas the women have reached a new stage, the vanguardist Left has not — including the women. Here we are planning a conference that 1,000 women would come to if we only had space, where women have taken the lead in a new anti-war movement, where no one has to be convinced that the U.S. should get its bloody hands out of El Salvador, and the Vanguardist Left is relating to the conference as if it's going to be filled with racist bourgeois feminists who need to be educated about the importance of anti-imperialism.

### IMPERIALISM AS WATCHWORD

I have always wondered why "imperialism" is their favorite word. It is as if time has stood still for them — as if we haven't had the Iranian Revolution to learn from.\* In the Iranian Revolution, now under a counter-revolution, "anti-imperialism" is the word under which every act against Khomeini's counter-revolution and for genuine new human relations, is labeled as "imperialist." The women were the first to experience this as they fought for full freedom and a deepening of the Iranian Revolution and were labeled "agents of imperialism" by both Khomeini and some of the Iranian Left.

Surely such recent history, along with the experience of women who fought against both the Vietnam War and the male chauvinism of the Left, shows that women's fight for freedom encompasses not only support for the worldwide fight against all imperialism — U.S., Russian or Chinese — but also an understanding that revolution has to go deeper than anti-imperialism if everyone is to be free.

— Terry Moon

\* See Raya Dunayevskaya's new Political-Philosophic Letter, "What has happened to the Iranian Revolution? Has it already run its course into its opposite—counter-revolution? Or can it be saved and deepened?" and Neda Azad's article "Middle East Women: Liberation and Social Revolution," from the June, 1981 News and Letters.



# Postal worker demands rights 'as a human being'

Seattle, Wash.—There was a three-hour picketline last month here at the Terminal Annex, the main mail distribution point for the city, because Bolger, the national postmaster, stopped the negotiations that were supposed to lead to a new contract.

## Death on NY transit

New York, N. Y.—I believe that the death of motorman Jesse Coles on July 3, and the injury of 135 passengers, was caused by the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA). After the two trains collided in Brooklyn the TA claimed that it was a "human error" by Coles, even though he had a flawless accident record in 11 years.

Workers are really mad. The TA has been pushing the motorpeople into unbelievable situations. They are desperately trying to avoid breakdowns which enrage the public. They're juggling the schedules to make up for so many breakdowns.

The dispatchers are pushing the motorpeople to run ahead of schedule to fill in the gaps if there are breakdowns. They move trains out five minutes ahead. That's probably why Coles was ahead of schedule. The motorperson is caught in the middle. The union is nowhere to be found. Where is John Lawe? Where is Transit Workers' Union (TWU) Safety Director Gil Raincheck? Keeping quiet so he can retire in a couple of years at 100 percent of his pay—50 percent from the union and 50 percent from the TA.

We hear nothing from the TWU or the TA—we get our information on these things from the TV and radio. These deaths and injuries are caused by the TA's letting all its equipment and tracks completely deteriorate.

—Transit maintenance worker

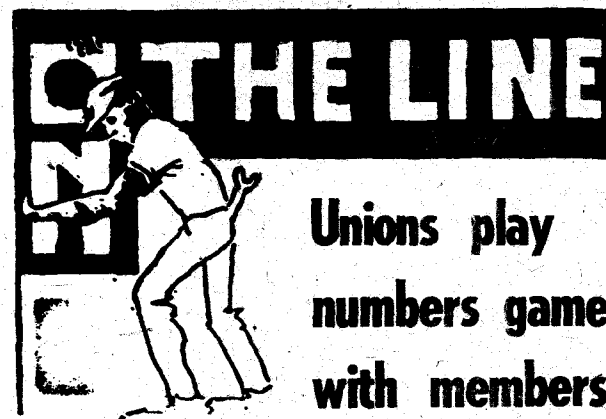
To be honest, it's not clear to me what the union was negotiating for, besides more money. Before I began working here eight months ago, many people said: "It's good money." But the money means little when it comes to facing a shop steward who says, in answer to a question about working conditions, "Actually, part-time flexes" (which is my classification) have no rights written into the contract." That's fantastic. I think I have rights just as a human being.

If I went on strike I would want to demand those rights. For example, there should be no forced overtime, whereas now it's the "normal" work schedule. We were scheduled to have the Monday and Tuesday off following the Fourth of July, but a supervisor walked by me on Saturday and said in a rude voice, "You had Monday off, now you don't." That was it. They like to pretend we have no personal life. And with the Canadian post office strike we are being forced to process and store some of that system's mail, increasing our workload.

When the union does try to fight for us, the supervisors seem to have had it all figured out in advance. For example, we demanded our right to be up from the machine 15 instead of 10 minutes per hour, rotating to do ledge-loading. The outcome of this union-post office dispute was that we got the 15 minutes up, but we have to be "down" on the machine 45 minutes instead of the 30 before.

You think there is any concern for human beings here? Well, they created a new job category that involves sitting and cancelling some kind of letter. They called back the old and disabled and "offered" them a job. The price of declining was their right to disability pay.

—Working woman



## Unions play numbers game with members

by John Marcotte

Charles Denby's column last month on today's complete transformation of the UAW from what it was in the late '30s and '40s, was a tremendous perspective from a worker who lived through and fought against that degeneration.

My union, District 65, affiliated with the UAW last year. President Livingston and Secretary-Treasurer Robinson were never able to give a satisfactory answer as to how this move concretely benefitted the membership, except for vague talk of "prestige" and "vast resources" to help us "organize the unorganized."

As Denby discussed, the UAW has now rejoined the AFL, which the CIO had also rejoined in years past. Somehow, "organizing the unorganized" gets transformed in practice to growing bigger and bigger—but worse and worse.

There is no strong union movement in the U.S. today. These business unions cannot and will not "organize the unorganized." Their whole outlook is wrong. They are looking at these workers as a means to an end—more numbers, and more dues dollars. They say, we have to be big to bargain with today's big corporations. But by accepting the corporate viewpoint of workers as dead numbers, they show how small-minded they are. They do not want to grow with the new members' ideas and creativity. Only the United Farm Workers had a totally different philosophy of the laborer as being central.

When I worked in a small shop of five workers, we organized ourselves into District 65. It was a good victory and it did change our relations with the boss. But once the ink was dry on the contract, and the union took away our organizer and sent another more business-like one to take his place, we said, where do we go from here? We had signed away our right to strike for three years. We had a relatively "good" contract, but was that supposed to be the beginning and the end, and the union could forget about us for the next three years?

What a world of difference between these business unions we've got and the new militant Black unions springing up throughout Azania (South Africa) (see Editorial, July N&L), which shut down Ford and GM with a solidarity strike when workers at Firestone, who were not even in the union, were fired for wildcatting! Like the UAW of 40 years ago, they refuse to play by the rules of an alien class and insist on fighting for the entire community.

# FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

## British auto workers back South African auto workers

Oxford, England—The recent six-week strike by workers at two British Leyland motor plants in Cape Town, South Africa, was supported by workers at two Leyland factories at Cowley, Oxford and Longbridge, Birmingham. A union delegate from Longbridge, who had visited Cape Town to see the situation there, spoke at an unofficial meeting in Oxford, where he called for all possible support for the workers' action. Everyone at the meeting was determined to try for a total boycott of supplies to South Africa.

I didn't think I could get the stewards to support it, but there were some good militant people working on these shipments. So we did it subtly, just a few

## GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal.—The GM South Gate plant is trying to impose a 10-hour shift on the body shop. Because the body shop is the most militant department in the plant, the company thinks that if they get it over on them, the rest of the plant will follow. To achieve this, the whole hierarchy is lined up against the workers—management, labor relations and finally, the union bureaucracy.

For its part, labor relations dispenses discipline with D.L.O. (disciplinary lay-offs). The whole D.L.O. issue is nothing more than GM trying to discipline the workers, especially since they have already announced that the second shift would start this summer. The truth is that if GM could impose ten hours throughout the plant they wouldn't have to bring back the second shift.

They know that bringing back the second shift means having to bring back the young workers hired in around 1976-77. That is when GM had to hire in minorities and women—the most militant workers. It is these workers who have been laid off the longest and are feeling the economic crunch the most. In fact, so militant are the workers becoming that the company can't find anyone in the plant to become a foreman.

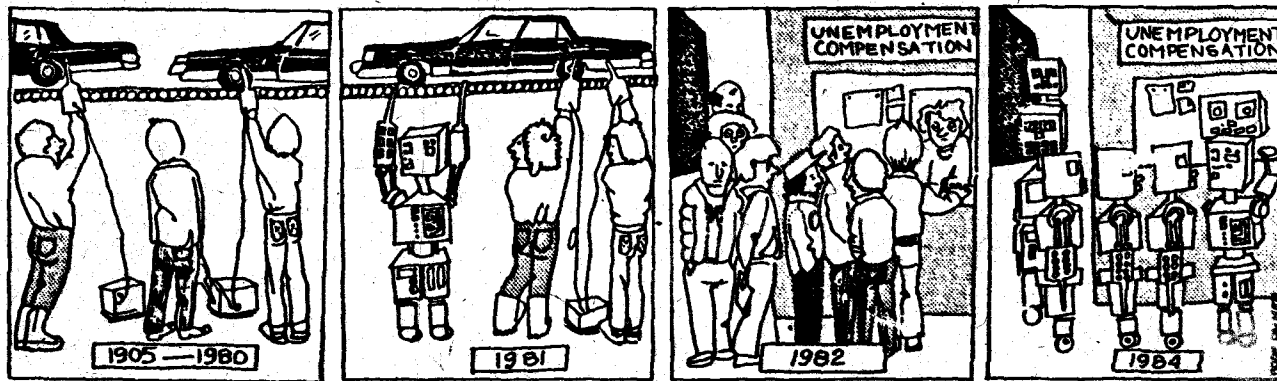
It is more than obvious now to workers that in the face of all this the union is impotent. Workers are now doing things on their own. The union agrees with the company on disciplining workers on absenteeism. It goes along with the company's imposing a 50-hour work week and GM's attitude of wanting to let the workers go to bring in more robots. That is why workers feel alone—they have no one representing them. Only their own ideas and action will change their conditions of life and labor.

—South Gate worker

people, by giving priority to everything except South African orders, which were left untouched. People at Longbridge did the same.

After a while the company began to ask awkward questions. They called the senior stewards and asked why this work hadn't been touched for two weeks in Cowley or Longbridge. The senior stewards replied, truthfully, that they were unaware of anything happening. Management threatened disciplinary action unless the work was cleared in three or four days. We had no alternative but to clear the backlog, but before the stuff was shipped out the strike in Cape Town was over. Tragically, the workers in South Africa were defeated after six weeks with no strike pay, and were forced back to work on management's terms.

Seeing how dictatorial the South African-born Ley-



land chairman/director Sir Michael Edwardes is in running the British side of the business, Leyland workers here feel a lot of sympathy for the South African workers who are being treated even worse. The average wage of all Leyland workers in South Africa is less than half that in Britain, with the cost of living being about the same.

This action in support of our South African colleagues is part of our drive to form links with workers in motor corporations around the world. This year Cowley and Longbridge stewards have had meetings with Americans from Ford and GM, Japanese from Honda, and Swedes from Porsche. It's only a small beginning, but we get a valuable exchange of information and we need this solidarity to stand up to the attacks of the employers and the governments who are out to solve the crisis at the expense of working people.

—British Leyland shop steward

Denby really hit it on the head when he showed that the transformation of the UAW was under the impact of a new stage of production in the '50s—Automation. The new stage today is unimation or robotization, and that, together with the new right-wing politics, has got the unions scared.

Reagan's election got "65" President Livingston joining the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) with Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), and Fraser of the UAW joining the AFL. Everyone is running but not to the forgotten workers, the vast majority of this country, the unskilled, the women, Blacks, Chicanos and Latinos, and youth. Only one-fifth of U.S. labor is in any union.

What these rank-and-file workers, in and out of unions, will do under the anti-labor impact of the 19th century Reagan Administration and his Congress is what we must keep our eyes on.

## BRITAIN'S 'URBAN REBELLION' SPARKS NEW IDEAS

Thanks for the great report by Olga Domanski on Britain and France (July N&L). It seems like I had just finished reading it when all the cities of Britain went up in rebellion. If you read N&L, you knew why it happened.

Black student  
New York

Greetings to Detroit from "strife-torn" Manchester. The newspaper articles here tell some of the story, but there was of course no pre-planning or organization. Moss-side is a slum area renowned in the North as one of the worst housing estates around. Indeed, the whole site has been condemned as unsanitary and liable to spread "tropical disease" (cholera). It has been relegated to Blacks, problem tenants, and young people with no other right to housing.

Jon Murphy  
Manchester, England

I saw the article in N&L about the people in England marching from Liverpool to London because they needed jobs. It took them a month — and I thought we marched for a long time when we walked for a week from Detroit to Lansing to protest Michigan's welfare cuts! But it shows that people have the same problems all over. Especially women — a woman's work is never done.

Welfare rights activist  
Detroit

It was a sweltering mid-July summer night about 11 p.m., and the mostly Dominican neighborhood was teeming with life and energy on the Upper West Side, near 150th St. A car on the east side of Broadway was slowly, then explosively, being engulfed in bright orange flames. The movement of simmering bodies seemed to increase the tension to fever pitches.

Above the screaming fire-trucks the man's voice next to me strained to be heard by no one in particular. I listened. He was saying, as though it was he who was endangered, that the damn youth were getting too wild, out of control, setting fires to cars, and what-not. I was feeling the scene in the context of the youth in Britain who were at that moment fighting the police with fire and passion in a dozen cities. So I told him so. His anguished face relaxed. "I wouldn't blame them for doing that here, too," he said.

Street-Life, 1981  
New York City

I never thought of the concept of Black people living in England, until I read about it in N&L. Then I thought: the British government has done a really good job of oppressing these people; they've kept them hidden for so long.

When the revolts broke out, I felt really proud. Here are all these young people that are doing so much. You feel good — even if you're not there — to know that the young people are really fighting and trying to change things. Seeing those young people gives me my own inner strength to do what I have to do here to help make changes.

Black high school student  
Detroit

I can't agree with you that the election of Mitterand in France is an opening for the Left, for the workers or for the women. To me it is just another way — more clever, perhaps — for the bourgeoisie to keep control. I know that you Marxist-Humanists are fond of dialectics, but I can't say I see how the dialectic will help you in this case.

Not convinced  
San Francisco

I grew up all my life in England, and lived the longest in Manchester. If you know the Moss-side area you know exactly why it blew up, and the treatment by the police is the number one reason. The report by Olga Domanski was excellent, but I'd like to add one point on the long history of Black revolt against the police. It isn't new. In 1941-42 the British navy was taking Blacks in, but only as stokers in the engine room. They didn't want to go, and the police began going into people's homes and trying to drag young men off. The community revolted and burned down the police station — the same one that was just attacked in Manchester this month.

Formerly from Britain  
Michigan

To the Marxist-Humanists of  
Great Britain and the United States:

This is to indicate our sincere appreciation for the solidarity message from your organization on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the uprisings of 16th June 1976 in Azania, which were celebrated at the Africa Centre, London, on Tuesday 16th June 1981.

Your organization's revolutionary spirit, attitude and positiveness in recognizing such an event as the above will ensure the ongoing struggle in our motherland, and will once more expose the fallacy of the dying Apartheid regime and its imperialistic, capitalist exploitative greed in Azania. Your message will further show that there is wide support for the Azanian peoples' onslaught and persuasion of the struggle for total liberation, and that progressives all over the world are on the side of the revolution of the masses and workers of Azania.

We look forward to revolutionary continued comradeship as the years unfold the continuing fight for the eventual downfall of the racist regime in South Africa.

Yours in the struggle,

Molefe Pheto,  
Executive Secretary  
Black Consciousness Movement of Azania



WOMEN'S  
LIBERATION  
IN INDIA, IN THE  
MIDDLE EAST . . .

It was exciting to read new words in Terry Moon's column on Manushi. For words they meant so much — like "gherao" (to surround). I have thought about surrounding the owner of the restaurant where I and other women work to make him stop exploiting us.

And "chipko" — embracing trees to protect them from destruction. This is something I had written about in my diary; only the word was foreign. I like the idea that these women got together with their strength and energy to stop what was going on.

Woman Worker  
Detroit

Neda Azad's unique article (June N&L) could well have been titled "Middle East women revolutionaries" — how different from focusing simply on Middle East women! Among the several directions my mind was going in thinking about possibilities for new relationships for freedom in that region was: what kind of relationships could Israeli feminists opposed to Begin and his government develop with other Middle East revolutionary women? I would like to know the views of Neda Azad and other Middle East women on this question.

Feminist  
Detroit

# Readers' Views

## ... AND AMERICA'S CAPITAL

I'm now in Washington, D.C. There are some excellent women's organizations here, often centered around women from Off Our Backs. The July 4th ERA demonstration was small but good. A string of women, most in dresses, blocked Pennsylvania Ave. at 16th St. The cops' actions were filled with nasty gestures, but not actually physically abusive. After a half hour the women simply stood up (some were kneeling) and walked off together. Liberal, but cheering! Two of the women who led the street blockade were Black.

It's awfully segregated here. The population is over 75 percent Black, and the whites cluster in a few expensive areas of town. Some other areas are pure ghetto. The racism at work (in a hotel kitchen) is discouraging, as is the overt sexism. Interestingly, quite a few people seem to heed criticism . . . Is there a News and Letters group in DC?

Old friend  
Washington, D.C.

Reagan's Supreme Court nominee, Sandra O'Connor, is a conservative Republican from Arizona from whom we can expect little to stop the Court's moving further to the Right. The rapidity with which the National Organization for Women has hailed her nomination just because she is a woman is disgusting. While she does have a fairly good history on promoting women's legal equality, her history could not be worse on civil rights and constitutional questions. As a "strict constructionist" judge she has continuously limited federal jurisdiction, which means rejecting recent laws and liberal interpretations of the Constitution which might remedy injustices. As one feminist lawyer said to me, "It would be a cruel joke to have a woman come on the Court who will oppose everything women stand for."

Feminist lawyer  
New York

## TODAY'S LABOR BATTLES

I liked the "Worker's Journal" column on today's UAW and yesterday's. The truth is that the union today is nowhere near as strong as it was back in the beginning. Why? Because more than half the workers in this country belong to no union at all. All the new plants in the South are being built without union representation. So the workers that are left in unions have to be weaker.

GM Fleetwood worker  
Detroit

Anthony Mazzocchi, health and safety director of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), is challenging incumbent Robert Goss for the presidency at their August convention. He seems to be saying some things right about the union movement being in trouble and having to return to the tactics of 40 and 50 years ago. But he admits to being a "union bureaucrat" for 30 years. Whether he can win the presidency of this union in the crisis following their unsuccessful oil refinery strike last year, and what he will actually do once in power, may be something to watch this summer.

John Marcotte  
New York

The destruction of Detroit's "Pole-town" neighborhood finally made it to national TV last month — after the battle was lost. Every Detroit I talked to — young or old, Black or white — deplore what the city and General Motors have done. They have destroyed a neigh-

borhood to build a new unimproved Cadillac factory with few jobs. Many people I talked to are also disgusted with the way the Catholic Church higher-ups failed to defend the local parishioners, and the way the City Council (including Kenny Cockrel, who one claimed to be a Marxist) rolled over and played dead.

Working woman  
Detroit

You ask what I think of N&L. Here is my answer: 1) political analysis of happenings good; 2) workers' testimonials of conditions on the job excellent; 3) very light on economics, Marx's greatest contribution.

Worker activist  
Timberville, Virginia



NATIVE  
AMERICAN  
STRUGGLES:  
FROM ARIZONA  
TO BRAZIL

On June 26 about 125 people attended a meeting in Los Angeles in solidarity with the struggle of Hopi and Navajo Indians for self-determination. The meeting centered on efforts to prevent the U.S. government from taking over more and more Hopi and Navajo land for the sake of "energy development."

Several speakers discussed the ongoing struggle at the Big Mountain Area in Arizona, where the federal government would like to see billions of tons of coal, shale, and other minerals extracted.

The speakers' platform was shared by women, youths, and tribal elders. One activist who was involved in the Wounded Knee occupation of 1971 said, "I became aware of the struggle of oppressed people for the first time in the army in Vietnam. We were forced to wipe out a village there, including the children and elderly. I could see my own people's faces in that and that is when I decided to get involved in the Native American struggle here."

Concerned  
Los Angeles

Ed. note: For a full discussion of the history and current situation of the struggle to save the Big Mountain area from massive development, see Akwesasne Notes, Early Summer 1981 issue. Akwesasne Notes can be ordered from Mohawk Nation, Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683.

The Anthropology Resource Center in Boston, Mass., has issued a report calling for international action in support of the threatened Yanomami Indian tribe in northwestern Brazil. The 10,000 member Yanomami tribe is the last and largest unacculturated Indian nation in South America. Since the building of the Northern Perimeter Highway through their territory in 1973, the Yanomami have been ravaged by new diseases and the destruction of their way of life. Without a secure land base, they will be condemned to death, like so many other Brazilian Indian nations have been.

Nearly two years ago, the Brazilian government received a proposal calling for the creation of a 16-million acre Yanomami Indian Park. No action has been taken as of yet. More than a million people have signed petitions calling for the park, and formal protests have been filed with the Organization of American States. To help in this struggle, contact:

Anthropology Resource Center  
59 Temple Place, Suite 444  
Boston, MA 02111



## INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS: OUR READERS WRITE

What do you think about the resignation of Eden Pastora from the Nicaraguan government? He was a leading Sandinista in the revolution, and said he was leaving in order not to "tolerate seeing defenseless brother peoples dying of hunger without being able to fire my revolutionary rifle." No one in the U.S. press said what it meant, but to us it was clear — he intends to join the revolutionary forces in El Salvador. To me this is a very important development, as it shows that the revolutionary solidarity is so strong in Central America that it will not be constrained by the threats of the Reagan administration against "exporting revolution."

Salvadoran exile  
Los Angeles

I was very glad to see Margaret Ellingham's beautifully written and sharply critical analysis of the Italian revolutionary movement. It's important for revolutionaries to take stock of a movement which has ebbed, such as Italy's in the 1970s, rather than just running to the next struggle and making the same mistakes again.

However, I have two criticisms as an outside observer of the Italian movement. First, I wish that Ellingham had devoted a bit more attention to the Italian Women's Liberation Movement, not only around the recent abortion referendum, but a discussion of the organized women's groups over the last decade. Perhaps she will do so in a future article.

Secondly, I think it must be stated that the *autonomia*, although not terrorists themselves, failed to separate themselves sufficiently from the terrorists. Running down the streets with masks, throwing molotov cocktails and shouting

about "Comrade P-38" (a type of pistol) not only made them seem linked to terrorism, but hardly offered a positive vision of a new society that might attract the working class. I think this may have been why Italy 1977 became only a high point of youth revolt rather than an opening toward revolution, as was Soweto, 1976.

Student  
New York

I really appreciate the new expanded 12-page N&L. The issues seem to get better in their in-depth articles and international coverage. I especially enjoyed Margaret Ellingham's long article on Italy in the July issue.

Marxist librarian  
New York

I have a disagreement with Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry in their view on Iran and "Khomeini's turn to full counter-revolution." "Religion" is blamed too simplistically for the counter-revolution now taking place. The article should distinguish between Khomeini's reactionary use of religion and the religious feelings of the masses, which are different and certainly not necessarily counter-revolutionary.

Puerto Rican student  
Brooklyn

What does Khomeini think he is doing in Iran, executing all the revolutionaries and youth who made the revolution? Does he think he's going to keep in power that way? He doesn't understand that no matter how many you kill you can never kill the idea of revolution. That will get him in the end.

Salvadoran revolutionary  
in the USA

## FROM TOKYO: INTERNATIONAL ANTI-WAR ASSEMBLY

We are going to hold the 19th International Anti-War Assembly on Aug. 1, 1981 in Tokyo. As everybody knows, the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the summer 36 years ago. At that time Japan became the first and last victim of nuclear weapons. Japanese workers and students hold the International Anti-War Assembly every summer to protest against the endless nuclear arms competition and to expand the movements for peace throughout the world by our cooperation.

In spite of the expectations for peace of all the people of the world, the threat of nuclear war is increasing all the more. The governments of the USA and the USSR insist that it is of no use to propose the reduction of military power until one of them attains nuclear arms superiority over the other. . . . Today they are battling not only on the earth but also in the ocean and even in space. The superpowers, the USA and the USSR, no longer hold a monopoly on nuclear arms; minor powers have come to possess nuclear weapons to threaten other countries in disputes. . . .

It was at the end of 1979 that the Soviet armies, who called themselves Socialists, crossed the border into Afghanistan on tanks, with napalm bombs and poison gas. . . . And the U.S. imperialists, in opposition to those of the USSR, demanded that its people prepare for immediate war, and began to reorganize and intensify the nuclear armament system all over the world. . . .

We are fighting here in Japan under the slogan: "Against both the USA and the USSR's nuclear armaments competition." We are in opposition not only to the imperialists' nuclear arms, but also to those of the self-professed "socialist countries," such as the USSR. Not as anti-communists, but as proletarians, we impeach the military policy of the bureaucrats of these countries against the workers and people.

The Polish people's struggle since last summer has exposed the Stalinists. It has encouraged all people who are suffering under their rule. . . . In Japan we are making every effort to promote the movements against both USA and USSR nuclear armaments expansion, and against the Japanese government's preparation for nuclearization toward one of the major military powers. Fight together for world peace!

Please send your messages for the international anti-war assembly and other correspondence to:

Kaiho-Sha  
24-9, Higashi Nihonbashi, 2-chrome  
Chuo-ku, Tokyo  
103 JAPAN

## FROM EX-SAILOR AGAINST 'WATERFALL OF VIOLENCE'

What an excellent statement, the News and Letters Committees "Call for Plenum"! It seems as though humanity is being swept over a waterfall of violence and oppression, pushed by nuclear currents and pulled by imperialistic undertow. Yet so many are apathetic, or worse, do not even recognize what is happening. To know that there is revolutionary activity brewing is small consolation.

Thanks also for the copy of N&L. The response I've gotten to my article ("Woman escapes Navy 'alive and sane,'" June N&L) is basically that people aren't aware of the real humiliation and oppression that thrives inside the military. Because the military is supposed to be "fighting for freedom" few can comprehend how totally without freedom the enlistee actually is. What the military appears to be and what it really is are two totally different concepts.

Ex-sailor  
Michigan

## THEORY / PRACTICE Deng revises not so much Mao, as Marx

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION and MARXISM AND FREEDOM

The 35,000-word document: "Certain Questions on the History of Our Party,"<sup>1</sup> is a rewrite of the entire history of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), whether we begin at its founding in 1921, at its concentration point since the gaining of power in 1949, or at its most extensive period—the "Cultural Revolution"—to which the Resolution devotes 19 of the 29 pages. This is just as clearly seen when the New China News Agency officially summarized it in 5,000 words issued to the world press.<sup>2</sup> In both cases, objective history seems to have been completely eliminated as if the history of the CCP occurred in a vacuum. Thus, there is not a single mention of the Vietnam War, and although, if you look very hard, you might find a reference to Korea, it is mentioned in such a way that U.S. imperialism is certainly not the Enemy Number One it was then. This is developed fully in the Draft Perspectives. Thesis in this issue (see page 1). One thing, however, is never referred to at all in the excerpts, but is the centerpoint of the theoretical revisionism beyond Mao. That is a direct attack on Marx.

The first thing to be noted is that the new revision occurs in the section, "The Decade of the 'Cultural Revolution,'" and comes after the "Cultural Revolution" is said to have conformed "neither to Marxist-Leninism, nor to Chinese reality," and is judged to have "negated many of the correct principles, policies and achievements of the 17 years after the founding of the People's Republic." Every ill is blamed on the Cultural Revolution after it has been made clear that though the "Gang of Four" had taken advantage of it, it was nevertheless Mao, himself, who developed it. Yet, after all these exposes of its 'anti-Marxism,' we are suddenly brought to nothing short of "historical causes underlying the 'Cultural Revolution,'" and find that there seems to be "a 'theoretical basis' in the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

## 'TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS WORK'

Once the cat is out of the bag, it turns out, in the tracing of this "theoretical basis", that it is Marx alone who is responsible since it is claimed that he used the expression, "bourgeois right" when referring to "the distribution of the means of consumption in a socialist society" so that the principle of "to each according to his work" . . . led us to regard the error in magnifying the class struggle as an act in defense of the purity of Marxism."

Let us make clear, first, that the phrase, "to each according to his work," is no expression of Marx's. It is what Stalin, and what Mao, following Stalin, revised as the workers' state became transformed into its opposite, a state-capitalist society. It was then that Marx's magnificent vision of a class-less society, articulated as "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" became transformed into the capitalistic "according to his labor," and "labor" was further spelled out as capitalistic wages—preferably for piece work.

Secondly, the expression "bourgeois right" is deliberately taken out of context (a la Stalin and Mao) from Marx's great work, *The Critique of the Gotha Program*, without any direct reference ever being made to it. Instead, a jump is made to the "inner-Party struggles" in China which they claim resulted "in magnifying class struggle as an act in defense of the purity of Marxism." But Marx's *Critique* was stressing how long inequality—"bourgeois right"—would persist in the scars we would carry over from bourgeois society when capitalism was first overthrown. Far from having any relation to "inner-Party struggles," Marx was warning the German Workers Unity Party that if we ever lose our goal of a class-less society, we will never reach it.

That is exactly what happened both in Stalin's Russia and in Mao's China. All this Deng Xiaoping is attributing to the "Cultural Revolution," is making sure at the same time that the alleged Left policies of exaggeration of the class struggles in "socialist" China are blamed on Marx having wrongly designated "the distribution of the means of consumption" in a supposedly socialist society as "bourgeois right."

After these "errors," the Resolution's assessment of Mao's "Historical Role and Mao Zedong Thought" remains great, with emphasis that it is to remain the distinctively Chinese Thought to be followed. The periods in which he remains so great and wrote "Oppose Book Worship" are precisely when Mao, let us not forget, was so busy Sinifying Stalinized "Marxism" as to declare that: "There are people that think that Marxism can cure any disease. We should tell them that dogmas are more useless than cow dung. Dung can be used as fertilizer."

## MAO, LIN AND THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

There has been, of course, some deMaoization; the "Cultural Revolution" has definitely been totally discredited and those it had designated as "capitalist-roaders" have been brought back to power. But we must not forget that, far from the "Cultural Revolution" having lasted a whole decade from 1966 to 1976, as the document claims, it had run its course by 1968. And it was Mao and Lin Biao who destroyed it.

For that, Lin was rewarded by being designated as Mao's successor. Nothing short of constitutionalizing that feudal act was achieved at the 1969 Congress. It was in 1971, when Mao extended the invitation to Nixon and prepared to roll the red carpet out for him, that Mao and Lin became enemies. There is no doubt that Lin's opposition to having the red carpet rolled out for Nixon is what brought about his death. And there is no doubt that the extreme crisis in the country brought Deng back into power, with Mao's help.

But the deMaoization recognized by bourgeois ideologues misses the fact that the present Chinese rulers are all Stalinist-Maoists and, just as it isn't a question only of modernization vs. Islam in Iran, so it isn't modernization vs. the "wild 'Cultural Revolution'" in China.

The over-riding truth is that there is no independent road between ruling class and oppressed class, whether that characterizes private capitalism or state capitalism — not just the state-capitalism of Russia, or China, but the so-called private capitalism of the USA—that is, multi-national, corporate, private monopoly capitalism. The latter type characterized by state intervention called the "welfare state" came on the global scene when the Depression put an end to "pure" private capitalism. It was World War II that then extended state-capitalism, adding neo-

(Continued on Page 9)

1 See Peking Review, No. 27, July 6, 1981.

2 These excerpts were published in The New York Times, July 1, 1981.

## Move to sunbelt means attack on labor

(Continued from Page 3)

West, while construction employment in the same period increased only 2.7 percent in the North, but rose a whopping 55 percent in the sunbelt. The same trend is reflected in capital spending growth, with the sunbelt's growth rate two-and-a-half times that in the North.

There is, however, another side to these developments. While it is clear that the traditionally non-union South and West are targeted by the Reagan administration for growth to try to break the organized labor movement, workers migrating to the sunbelt are discovering vast differences in the standard of living and benefits available to them.

An example of the concerted effort to attract workers from the Midwest to the sunbelt can be seen from the fact that an entire page in the want-ad section of the Sunday, June 28 *Detroit News* was filled by Houston employers seeking Michigan workers. According to current reports, however, many industrial workers from the North, upon getting a taste of what the standards of living and benefits are in the sunbelt states, are returning back North.

In Texas, for example, which has higher benefits than other southern states, the Aid to Dependent Child (ADC) benefit is a maximum of \$35 a month per child, while in Michigan it is at least double that amount. A similar disparity exists in unemployment benefits, as shown in the following table:

Maximum Weekly Unemployment Benefits			
South		North	
Georgia, Ala., Miss.	\$ 90	Pennsylvania	\$175
Florida	\$105	Mass., Ohio	\$213
Texas	\$126	Michigan	\$183

Another study, reported in the June, 1981 *Monthly Labor Review* also scores dramatic differences reflected in union and non-union employment. The report disclosed that overall wages in the unionized North are 17 percent higher than in the mostly non-union South, with manufacturing wages 25 percent higher and construction wages 23 percent higher in the North.

### UNIONIZED VS. NON-UNIONIZED

The data in the report consistently revealed that the income gap between union and non-union workers is considerable, varying as much as 80 percent in the food processing industries between the North and South. Where southern workers are unionized, as they are in oil and chemical industries, their wages are comparable to or higher than their northern counterparts.

A second major factor depressing southern income

## 200,000 in lesbian-gay parade

San Francisco, Cal. — Over 200,000 supporters of gay liberation lined the route or marched in San Francisco's annual Lesbian/Gay Freedom Parade on June 28. This year's parade, while retaining the usual array of outrageous floats and costumes, marked a turn toward a more political demonstration and away from the strictly festive, party-like atmosphere favored by conservatives in the gay community.

The parade featured a blizzard of anti-Moral Majority signs and buttons. Signs of support for the Coors boycott, liberation in El Salvador, and abortion rights were mixed with green ribbons of solidarity for Black people in Atlanta.

Last year the more radical speakers were bumped from the parade rally program and had to storm the stage to be heard. This year the committee responsible for the anti-political tone of last year's parade was challenged by activists who sought to represent the entire gay community—not just moneyed white men.

Two activists in the group which succeeded in displacing the 1980 committee stated, "We established a goal of parity for the Board of Directors and the Steering Committee: minimum 30 percent people of color, 20 percent disabled, 10 percent youth — all to be achieved by 1983 or the corporation must dissolve; plus 50 percent each women and men now, among the Board, chairs and subcommittee heads. We abolished fees for marchers and floats, taking a 'free parade' back to the community . . ."

Some apolitical gay men complained that "the dykes were taking over" this year's parade, or that the political tone was inappropriate and "we just want to have a good time." Gay businessmen, notably the powerful bar owners and local newspaper publishers, spoke of boycotting the event. But those who came seemed well aware of the need for a political march and rally.

Many gay people realize that the Reagan administration and the New Right will use us as a scapegoat and cutting edge for attacks on other social issues such as abortion and women's liberation. Liberal support for gay rights is already evaporating as the liberals nervously dump whatever cause is unpopular in an attempt to save their own skins. Only a political gay community united with the women's movement and the Left can be counted on to fight consistently against the Right's attacks.

—Lesbian activist

is racism. A white southerner's earnings average 87 percent of a white northern worker's, whereas a Black southern worker's earnings average only 68 percent of a Black northerner.

The evidence is certainly clear, and many Black and white southern workers are organizing, thus directly confronting Reagan's policies designed to destroy unionism. Certainly the long, bitter, but successful J. P. Stevens campaign dramatically illustrates southern working class militancy, but there are right now scores of unreported strikes underway for union recognition in the South where unions were never known before. Thus:

- In Virginia, furniture workers in the mountain town of Galax have won their first victory by organizing The New Galax Mirror Company plant. Altogether, some 3,000 unorganized workers are employed in the furniture industry in Galax. Recently a Tri-County Workers Committee has been formed in the area, with 300 workers attending the founding rally. Workers from several organized plants leafleted 7,000 unorganized workers at the Vaughn Furniture plants in the area.

- Tennessee, second only to South Carolina as a "nuclear power" state, and thought to be a "safe" state as far as labor disputes, has been the scene of two strikes at nuclear parts facilities. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union went out on strike against Tennessee Nuclear Specialties in Jonesboro over unsafe working conditions and unfair labor practices. At Oak Ridge, Tenn., some 4,400 union employees of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory and the Y-12 nuclear weapons component plant struck over grievance/arbitration procedures, job bidding and a proposal to freeze wages of current cafeteria workers and hire new workers at a lower wage rate.

While organized labor nationally has recently been on the defensive, it is now calling for mass action against Reagan's policies. The 14-million member AFL-CIO is calling for a mass Solidarity Day Rally in Washington, D.C. on Saturday, Sept. 19, to protest Reagan's budget slashes of vital social service and benefit programs. The theme of the rally is "Jobs and Justice," but will reportedly avoid reference to Reagan's mind-boggling \$1.3 trillion defense budget. In 1975, the last time the AFL-CIO sponsored a D.C. rally, the 50,000 present became so angry at the meaningless speeches of their leaders and Democratic politicians that they stoned the speaker's platform, abruptly ending the rally. The response is expected to be more favorable this time.

In the meantime, Reagan's efforts to restructure the economy cannot alter the economic laws of capitalism, which is based on extracting maximum production from workers while paying them minimum wages, and is marked by increasing exploitation, alienation and unemployment. Growing militancy on the part of southern workers indicates that Reagan's move to break organized labor is far from assured. A more promising prospect is that southern and northern workers will join to increasingly challenge Reagan's reactionary programs.

## Thoughts while watching NAACP convention

Los Angeles, Cal.—This year's NAACP Convention held in Denver finally saw Ronald Reagan as President, after candidate Reagan had refused to appear at last year's convention during his campaign for the White House. The excuse that his staff had brought the NAACP's invitation to the earlier Miami convention to his attention too late for him to make plans to attend, does not have so much to do with incompetent scheduling as it has to do with political timing. And that political timing was not being set by the politicians, but by the Black mass revolt in Miami last year.

To be sure, the NAACP didn't have to wait a year to hear Reagan tell that he had nothing new to offer Black America but a deeper economic depression and his non-commitment to support extension of the Voting Rights Bill now before Congress. However, as the proceedings of the convention unfolded each night on public television, it was not the Civil Rights Movement of the mid-1960s—which compelled passage of the original Voting Rights Bill—that one's mind was thrown back to, but rather the Cold War/McCarthyite years of the 1950s. For the names Reagan, Haig and the New (sic) Right can be substituted Eisenhower, Dulles and McCarthyism.

The objective developments predominating then were an economic crisis brought on by Automation and workers' revolt, and a global shift in politics onto a Cold War footing under the impact of emerging Third World revolutions and East European revolts.

Inseparable from these contending forces was the battle for the minds of humanity. While white academia bemoaned the age as the "end of ideology," Black America recognized a new opening of revolutionary ideas between itself and the African liberation struggles. Whether one takes the 1954 landmark Supreme Court decision on school desegregation, or Eisenhower's send-

## Will Thatcher's Britain be Reagan's America?

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

Margaret Thatcher is in trouble now, but Reagan will be in trouble next year when his economic and social programs are realized. Thatcher says that the rebellion rocking her land is the result of the greed of the rioters, but workers see that it is the greed of the rich in wanting more profits which produced the economic crisis in the first place.

In England it looks like the Third World has caught up to the source of capitalism. They have gone right to where Marx analyzed the first factory, so to speak, and are trying to root it out.

### TWO PEAS IN A POD

Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan are two peas in the same conservative pod. They have much in common in their ideological thinking. Thatcher set out in 1979 to solve Britain's economic problems by "privatizing" the British economy. Reagan set out to take big government off the backs of the people. Now ask any worker who is working overtime at GM how much more he or she is paying for big government now.

It only took two years for the conservative plan of Thatcher to explode her country into riots that are now developing into what one army officer called "guerrilla warfare." Unemployment has climbed to almost three million. What we see in Britain today is only an image of what is coming to this country when the effects of Reagan's programs are left next year.

The one thing that has workers all stirred up these days is taxes. While Reagan is talking about a tax cut, corporations like GM raise workers' taxes by forcing a 50-hour work week on us. The taxes deducted from our overtime pay is nothing more than a tax increase.

### OVERTIME AND UNEMPLOYMENT

At the same time as GM is pushing for a 50-hour work week, Reagan is cutting back on social programs to fund the military, millions are unemployed, millions of young people have never had a job to be counted, and millions that had found jobs and lost them have now run out of unemployment benefits.

As it stands now workers have more than \$200 deducted from their weekly pay checks. The more overtime we work the less take home pay we have. Reagan's "five year plan" calls for \$1.3 trillion to be spent on the military. Workers who have not already been replaced by computerized robots have already begun paying this bill.

Reagan-Haig-Weinberger are already carrying out this program with their budget cuts against the working people of this country. What could happen next year in the U.S. as a result, could make Thatcher's Britain look like a Sunday school class.

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ing troops into Little Rock to assure court-ordered desegregation, Blacks had a world view of the Civil Rights Movement; it was their movement, not the government, which forced civil rights' legislation.

No one was deceived by the civil rights rhetoric of the ruling administration of either the conservative Eisenhower or the liberal Kennedy. Not only was it clear that Freedom Now! was a movement as well as an idea whose time had come, but that it was an idea which the Administration was eager to take credit for in its Cold War with Russia in the Afro-Asian-Latin American revolutions.

The point is that economic crises bring with them ideological diversions from the concrete tasks of the freedom movement. Thus, it was more than a token realization at this year's NAACP Convention that the Black masses don't feel in any way represented by this oldest of Black organizations. Many, especially the youth, at the convention expressed the need for the NAACP to leave the courts for the streets, where the mass of Black unemployed will be in the coming decade.

Separated from Black labor and class struggles, organizations like the NAACP continue to equate race not with proletarian or national revolutions, but with the legalities of "equal rights." From its origin in the "talented tenth" conception of DuBois, to being assailed by Miami Blacks at last year's convention, the NAACP has long been subject more to Administration political pressure than to pressure from the Black masses it claims to represent.

Still, the pressure from below for total freedom persists. Today the Black masses don't want to stop at the stage of civil rights, but want to make the struggle for Black liberation total.

—Lou Turner



# YOUTH

## German youth, antiwar movements of the '80s

On a trip to West Germany in June I saw in development what may be one of the greatest new youth and antiwar movements for the 1980s anywhere in the world. The culmination of an entire spring of massive antiwar protests took place in Hamburg at the end of June on Protestant Church Day. Fully 80,000 youth (out of 200,000 present) transformed this staid religious event into the biggest antiwar demonstration yet. Earlier, they had hooted down and pelted Social Democratic Defense Minister Apel with eggs and tomatoes when he tried to address the meeting.

It is sad to see both the bourgeois and Left media in the United States ignoring the West German youth movement, a movement from which we in this country can learn a lot. Nowhere has opposition to Reagan's militarism been greater than in West Germany, where the youthful "Alternative" Left has helped to spark the biggest antiwar movement there since the 1960s. The youth are protesting not only war, but also the entire structure of capitalist society, as seen in the more than 10,000 youths who have occupied vacant buildings in West Berlin alone, as their solution to a terrible housing shortage, except of course in luxury apartments.

### SPRING ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATIONS

This spring has seen some very large antiwar demonstrations. More than 25,000 youths demonstrated against NATO Day in Bonn in April, and when another march was called in May by the German Students Union, fully 40,000 turned out. That same number also marched in May in West Berlin, while a "Peace March Against Atomic Missiles" drew 20,000 in Frankfurt.

While the Communist Party has been active in the peace movement, the type of slogans found in most demonstrations shows the independent character of this new movement. One popular slogan is: "In the West as in the East, nuclear power kills!" Another is: "Frankfurt/Oder (East Germany), Frankfurt/Main (West)—stop all war preparations!"

In fact, as against traditional Left parties, the strongest groups in the new movement are independent antiwar forces. These include many Protestant and Catholic religious groups, as well as the huge non-vanguardist "Alternative" Left, composed of ecologists, feminists, "spontis," squatters and students. By Spring 1982, the Alternative Left plans massive nonviolent disruptions of military installations.

This type of independent Left activity has also been evident in election polls. Most dramatic of all was the May election in West Berlin. The "Alternative Liste" (AL) of independent young Left candidates doubled their 1979 vote to win 90,000 votes city-wide, fully 7.2 percent; while in Kreuzberg, a poor neighborhood populated by youths including many squatters, and (nonvoting) Turkish immigrant workers, the AL polled 14.7 percent. The Social Democrats fell from power in the city after over 20 years.

### THE 'ALTERNATIVE LISTE'

In an attempt to avoid the problem of bureaucratization which has plagued both the large Left parties and the smaller "vanguard" groups, AL maintains only two full-time staff members, despite a membership of 2,000, and has instead a concept of developing many different people as leaders. As a young woman activist put it: "We want to break down the concept of 'expert' and of 'leader'."

Another activist told me: "City Parliament members earn around \$30,000 a year, but the nine AL elected representatives turn over most of their salary to the organization. Like the Paris Commune, we think that no representative should earn more than a skilled worker."

While the AL includes some vanguardist Left groups such as Maoists, independent non-vanguardist alternative groups predominate. Thus, when they oppose nuclear



German youth facing confrontation with police

power plants in West Germany, they don't fail to mention the equally dangerous East German nuke plants just a few miles across the border.

On the other hand, the presence of Stalinist and Maoist groups within the AL has led to some ambiguities. Thus, on the eve of the June 17 national holiday which commemorates the 1953 East Berlin workers' uprising, the first mass revolt against Stalinism which today lives on in Poland, the AL suddenly proposed that June 17 be replaced by a holiday on March 18 marking the 1848 German Revolution. Such an ambiguous attitude will surely limit their support in a city itself divided by a wall, barbed wire, and machine guns.

Just because the bourgeois West German government has dared to appropriate June 17 as "German National Unity Day," there is no reason for the independent Left to allow them to get away with it, as an article published June 16 in the Alternative Left daily paper, *Tagezeitung*, argues. Written by Martin Jaenicke, it is entitled "No Reason to Push Aside the June Insurrection." After describing this "workers' insurrection in the tradition of the workers' movement, a revolt in the land of Marx and Rosa Luxemburg," Jaenicke concludes: "And so the *Tagezeitung* also 'celebrates' the workers of June 17."

## Central American youth struggles and U.S. movement

by Peter Wermuth

The variety of organizations across the country calling for demonstrations the weekend of July 19, against U.S. intervention in Central America, shows the extent to which a movement to defend the El Salvadoran revolution is gaining nationwide support.

At the same time, a very different kind of support movement for the El Salvadoran freedom fighters is upsurging in Central America, where a new generation of revolutionaries in Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica has arisen from the effort to defend the ongoing revolutions in those regions.

Recently I spoke with a young Honduran student about these freedom struggles, not only to find out more about youth revolt in Central America, but also to see what lessons they might contain for helping the El Salvador support struggle here raise demands for social revolution in North America as well as South.

### THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION

"Ever since the Nicaraguan revolution of 1979," this student told me, "the young people — and by young I mean 11 or 12 to 17 — have held many demonstrations and rallies to support the Nicaraguan, and later on, the El Salvadoran revolution. From my experience, the youth always connect these with protests against the government and living conditions, like demanding free education in high schools or reducing the unemployment, which is 60 percent in most areas of Honduras."

"During the height of the Nicaraguan revolution," he continued, "my brother, who was 14 at the time, led some of the demonstrations in the town of Tela. Because of the bad living conditions — only 40 percent of students finish grammar school, so the other 60 percent are condemned to poverty and unemployment — the youth get involved in political activity very early."

He then spoke of how these support actions for the Nicaraguan revolution spilled over into a struggle for free education in Tela. "There was a market across the street from a very crowded college and when the government built a new market, it left the old one there to rot. The youth wanted the market to be turned over to the school to stop overcrowding. People like my brother got involved, and a movement was organized by the students, seventh to twelfth grade. The unemploy-

The feminist movement also continues to grow and to engage in a number of activities, from "Reclaim the Night," to shelters for battered women, to agitation in the workplace, to theory. This can perhaps be best seen in the socialist feminine monthly *Courage* (Bleibtreustr. 15, 1000 Berlin 12) which has, in only five years, attained a circulation of 69,000, becoming perhaps the best single source in any language on the worldwide Women's Liberation Movement. Recently *Courage* women helped women from the *Tagezeitung* in a fight for an autonomously edited women's page.

But the newest and deepest youth revolt today may be the housing occupations by over 10,000 youths in Berlin and by smaller numbers in other cities. They have been breaking into and living as squatters in vacant buildings. Hundreds of these low-rent buildings lie vacant while landlords hope to wait out the city's rent control laws. Meanwhile, hundreds of new, expensive modern flats which no one can afford also lie vacant. Streets in areas like Kreuzberg are rubble-strewn and full of vacant buildings, some undergoing renovation.

### THE SQUATTERS MOVEMENT

In Berlin, police have not dared to evict the squatters en masse. Instead they harass them by coming in all the time for "identity checks" and searches for "weapons." In the course of these "searches," police tear up and destroy the apartments and the youths' belongings. They often wear masks on these "searches," supposedly to avoid reprisals by "terrorists," but in fact this makes them anonymous and immune from any type of complaint. The new right-wing Berlin Mayor von Weizsacker has given police even more leeway, resulting in almost daily demonstrations and street battles between police and thousands of youths.

It is clear that Social Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has taken the national government very far to the Right, endorsing Reagan's foreign policy. The Christian Democrats wait in the wings to carry this trend still further. On the other hand, a new youthful non-vanguardist Left is stirring, growing every day in strength and refusing to accept the Social Democrats as the "lesser evil." Perhaps the new German translations of two American Marxist-Humanist books—Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* and Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*—will help the new movement to develop itself further in the 1980s.

—Kevin A. Barry

ed and community joined in, and support committees were set up in Progreso, San Pedro Sula, and Cortes, (cities surrounding Tela).

"Students and the community occupied the school, and tied a Honduran flag around the front gate. This way, the police could not smash open the gate as it would tear the flag. The government was then forced to give in to the demands." That victory by no means spelled the end of the struggle. Last year, a general strike of junior high and high school students was called in towns around Tela over the demand for free education. "The result is that 1981 was the first year of free tuition in some colleges," he said.

### 'LOS MUCHACHOS'

"It's difficult," he went on, "for most youth to go to El Salvador to join the guerrillas, so they fight the government at home in ways like this. In El Salvador most of the guerrillas are also very young — 12 to 17. Very often the people don't even call them guerrillas, but los muchachos (the little boys)."

The way in which support work for an ongoing revolution became tied to the development of a freedom movement to uproot the exploitative living conditions at home in this one case of Honduras, surely has something to say to our own youth struggles here in the U.S. For doesn't this experience point out one pathway by which a perspective of revolutionary transformation can be unfurled for the El Salvadoran support movement here in the U.S.? If the many groups and organizations planning actions for July 19 connected them with other youth struggles — whether against the new stage of cutbacks in communities and schools, or against the deepening attacks on Black and Chicano America by this racist Administration — would not the projection of demands for revolution here at home become a concrete way of building the El Salvador support effort?

The effort to stop U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua can develop from one demanding peace, to one demanding social revolution as the best way to aid the Central American freedom struggles, if the aspirations for liberation of all dimensions of youth are listened to and articulated in the movement activities. Surely one way we can begin that effort is by listening to what revolutionary youth are saying and doing in Central America.

## THEORY / PRACTICE

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colonialism to its imperialist nature.<sup>3</sup>

Like private capitalism, Chinese state-capitalism is suffering from what the Chinese like to refer to as "great troubles under heaven." That is to say, ceaseless class struggle. Deng may feel confident that, now that he has destroyed "Democracy Wall" and arrested the new youth leaders, the youth will peacefully co-exist with him. The truth is he has not destroyed them; he has only driven them underground.

<sup>3</sup> An ironic proof of that appeared in the recent book, *Theories of Imperialism* by Wolfgang J. Mommsen, which attempts "eruditely" to move away from Marxist theories on the ground that Marx was allegedly "Eurocentric" and therefore didn't see neo-colonialism; in fact, didn't see imperialism "because" he was sticking strictly to Accumulation of Capital. In the end, however, Mommsen was forced to conclude: "Nevertheless it remains the task of scholars to seek theoretical models which will make it possible to interpret this important phase of history (imperialist expansion) which still to a large extent determines the condition of our present-day world."

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

Ever since the days of Genghis Khan—who first started the inflation cycle by issuing paper money to his troops when the cash ran out—ruthless leaders like Caesar, the Russian Tsar, the Kaiser, Hitler, Stalin and now Reagan-Haig have raised the cry "For the Fatherland" to promote their own ambitions, and call for ever greater sacrifice from the poor to build ever greater machines for war.

The Reagan-Haig budget is a classic example. The 500-page budget, which even its advocates cannot claim to understand, is an ill-conceived catchall which promises tax cuts for the wealthy, and misery and near-starvation for the poor. It cuts school lunches, food stamps, aid to education, loans to students, social security for the aged, all to provide billions for the next nuclear war.

In 1979, the U.S. arms industry supplied \$30 billion worth of arms to the U.S. military and foreign countries, and over the past 5 years \$150 billion. Over the next five years the Reagan-Haig administration plans to spend more than one trillion dollars for arms.

The capability for overkill that now exists in the

world is frightening. The nuclear capability for destroying every living person in both the United States and Russia exists today. All of the European countries would disappear in such a Holocaust.

A recent TV special graphically depicted the possible consequences of the next nuclear holocaust. The nuclear fountainhead of the U.S. is centered at NORAD headquarters in Omaha, Neb. where the explosion of a single warhead could wipe out every living individual within a 200-mile radius. The program depicted the vast armada of nuclear planes, missiles, and submarines available for "retaliation."

The U.S. has no less than 8,000 nuclear warheads stationed outside U.S. borders. Considering an equal buildup by the Russians, the main concern of the U.S. generals is where to start firing without wiping out the major part of their own forces in the field!

U.S. imperialism has at its command the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines. Each would like to conduct the next war independent of the others. The planes, guns and missiles for each force are not good enough

for the other force and billions must be wasted developing new weapons for each force's particular need. Now they want a fifth force, the independent strike force, with its own string of weapons.

As war becomes more sophisticated, it becomes more complex, costly, and more difficult to maintain. It now takes 96 man-hours between flights to service an F-16 fighter plane. Tanks require three gallons of fuel per mile to operate. Maintenance workers for the equipment are more difficult to find than soldiers.

Despite the enormous costs of this military adventurism, the opposition to military spending in Congress is minimal. The old fear of being labeled "soft on communism" silences many whose common sense would vote against this military waste. The Salt II treaty has been scrapped by the Reagan-Haig militarists. They show no indication of negotiating disarmament at any time in the foreseeable future. Despite the fact that Russian military spending is only one-third of that of the U.S., the costs to both countries is an overwhelming burden that neither country can afford.

## Morocco

The working class and unemployed, especially the slum youth of the Derb Omar district of Casablanca, have raised a new challenge to the neo-colonial regime of King Hassan II. Millions of workers followed the call of the Democratic Workers' Confederation for a general strike on June 20, to protest sharp price rises for basic commodities—butter 76 percent, flour 40 percent, sugar 37 percent, and cooking oil 28 percent. The strikes shut down all major cities—Rabat, Fez, Marrakech and Casablanca.

The legalized Left opposition Communist Party and Socialist Party, who unbelievably support the King's colonial war in the Western Sahara against the POLISARIO guerrillas, limited their call to a general strike. It soon became clear, however, that the masses in the shantytowns of Casablanca (population 3.4 million) had no intention of stopping there, but wanted to move to full insurrection. As soon as the King dared to send scab buses into the huge slum of Derb Omar the morning of the strike, youths—some no older than 10 years old—

began stoning and burning the buses.

When police appeared, they too were attacked. Crowds chanted "Mitterrand raises the SMIC (minimum wage), but Hassan raises the price of flour." By noon soldiers arrived in the Derb Omar area. In some cases youths marched directly at them, throwing stones and shouting "kill us, kill us." When the shouting stopped, 637 workers, youth and children lay dead.

Today 1,000 trade union activists are facing long prison terms or even death for "rioting." The government has tried to claim that the deaths were caused by the masses and not the soldiers, but virtually all were killed by bullets. Messages of solidarity and support have come from workers' and revolutionary groups everywhere. Especially moving were ones from the nearby General Union of Tunisian Workers, who themselves had a mass strike followed by vicious repression in 1978, and another from Solidarnosc in Poland. Both called for the "release of the imprisoned unionists."

Reeling from the pressures of the world economic crisis and King Hassan's neo-colonial interventions in Zaire and the Western Sahara, Morocco shows the new type of mass insurrection begun in the 1970s in Iran and Nicaragua.

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 3)

million people who depend on social security. He said he cannot believe that that many people will sit by and watch Reagan take that away in the name of defense.

Today there are more than seven million people out of work, and that is by the government's numbers, with everyone knowing it is really higher. The rising cost of living is hurting all working people and the poor. Some of the unions are now asking their membership to go along with wage freezes and some are asking their members to forget about raises already won.

Reagan's special attack is on Black America. Last year he refused to speak at the NAACP Convention. This year, after noticing his lack of support among Black people, he decided to accept their invitation to speak. The reception was something. Margaret Bush Wilson, a leader in the NAACP, introduced him by saying "The NAACP does not necessarily subscribe to the views which are about to be expressed." This was greeted with cheers and loud applause.

When a recent Gallup Poll asked whether people approved of the way Reagan was doing his job, 65 percent of the whites said yes, but only 20 percent of the Blacks approved.

Reagan's smile has never fooled Blacks. They have always known where Reagan stands on Black issues and these past six months in office have proven them correct.

There is no difference between Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of England. She was saying that Blacks in England should live off of nothing, and after the outbursts began there she accused them of following Communists and rabblers. Then when whites began joining the rebellion, along with other nationalities, she said that they were all hoodlums.

### 'PUSH WITH RED HOT POKER'

A tickle affects different people in different ways, but a red-hot poker affects all human beings alike. What affected the Blacks in England, affected lots of other people who decided to join the Blacks and tear up Britain from one end to the other.

The fact that the rebellion in England brought together Black and white and Asian is certainly an important sign. It will certainly give a new direction to the freedom movement in England. It made me think what else is needed to help give the freedom movement,

in England and worldwide, a direction.

We in News and Letters Committees will be holding a national meeting at the end of this summer to discuss a direction for the freedom movement, particularly here in the United States. Elsewhere in this issue we have published our Draft Perspectives (see page 1) so that all our readers can participate in helping to work out a direction for the freedom movement with us.

### NEWS AND LETTERS NATIONAL MEETING

The importance of such a national meeting of Marxist-Humanists and their friends started me thinking about another national gathering we held in 1973. That was the year that *Philosophy and Revolution* was published. It was for us a constitutional convention in which not only was *Philosophy and Revolution* incorporated into the constitution, but there was a full discussion of women's liberation as revolutionary force and as revolutionary reason. It is this concept that we have tried to practice within the women's movement.

We changed the language of our constitution in relation to the Black struggle. But it was not just saying "Black" instead of "Negro". It was what the Black struggle means in the needed American revolution. We had just reissued that year our pamphlet *American Civilization on Trial*.

The year 1973 was one in which Nixon had just completed his meeting with Mao, a meeting that had caused a lot of confusion among radicals. By the end of 1973 we had war in the Middle East and the oil boycott. We were on the brink of a world economic recession which we have not recovered from yet.

This year, when we will be meeting under Reaganism with attacks against minorities, working people, retired people at home, and militarism everywhere, the freedom movement needs to be clear about its direction. We in News and Letters Committees will have, as part of our contribution to finding such a direction, the *Archives of Marxist-Humanism, 1941-1981*, for which we have just created a new Guide. And we will have the manuscript of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. This together with the world situation, is what we will be discussing. We will be holding our national meeting over Labor Day weekend. If you would like to join our discussions, please write me at News & Letters.

## CIA terrorism

A gang of former CIA agents has, for a number of years, been operating an export-import business. Their products are secret high explosives, bomb timing devices, restricted communications equipment, assassination contracts, assassination weapons, and the know-how of the CIA dirty tricks department.

One of the gang, former CIA agent Kevin P. Mulcahy, got nervous and as far back as 1976 reported the facts to the FBI and the CIA. They told him "not to worry about it."

His two partners, Edwin P. Wilson and Frank E. Terpil, also former CIA agents, were so chummy with the top brass in the CIA that Mulcahy became convinced that it was a legitimate CIA operation. Nevertheless, for five years he fed information to the FBI on the illegal arms deals, without a single arrest being made.

Wilson and Terpil made a deal with Colonel Qaddafi to set up a plant in Libya to manufacture assassination weapons, sell him 300,000 bomb timing devices, supply CIA personnel to train Libyan terrorists, and provide an army night-surveillance equipped military vehicle for \$990,000.

They received one million dollars from Qaddafi to assassinate Umar Abdullah Muhayshi, a Libyan defector, which they subcontracted to three anti-Castro Cubans from Miami. Then they contacted the victim and got paid to set up elaborate security measures for his protection.

Wilson, who owns a 1,500 acre estate adjoining Senator Warner in Virginia, was on intimate terms with Senator Strom Thurmond, the late Senator John McClellan of Arkansas, and Representative Silvio O. Conte of Massachusetts. He had instant access to the records of the Internal Revenue Service and the Washington Police Department. He held meetings at the home of Theodore G. Shackley, then serving as deputy director for clandestine operations of the CIA. Shackley was involved in both the Bay of Pigs operation and the overthrow and assassination of Salvadore Allende in Chile.

Qaddafi was not the only client of the gang. They sold munitions to South Africa, Chile, South Korea, Iran under the Shah, Brazil, Argentina, Taiwan, Iraq and Pakistan. All received military equipment forbidden by the U.S. for export.

While Wilson and Terpil were finally indicted in 1980, they are still at large and so are their high-placed friends in Washington and in the intelligence community.

## July days: Britain

(Continued from Page 3)

youth gave their opinion—another attack on the police. Our neighborhood, in North London, was the third flashpoint . . . The day after it erupted the area was occupied by an army of police. The atmosphere of living under occupation persists now a week later.

Thatcher knows the white and Black youth who fought the police together in towns all over England will not lie down and rot to maintain her decrepit society. Hunger strikers are dying in Long Kesh, the Republican working class is continuing to resist occupation and the IRA continues to hold the army in its no-win situation. The sight of teenage Britons now also in battles with the English police has struck terror in the hearts of smug ruling class Britain. What W. B. Yeats called the "terrible beauty" born in the Irish Revolt has surfaced in Thatcher's England, whose racism stands exposed as the Achilles Heel of British capitalism . . .

—Dave Black, Nigel Quinten



# News and Letters Committees Draft Perspectives, 1981-1982

## IV. Will the 'restructured' American economy bring us to the nuclear holocaust?

(Continued from Page 2)

That reactionary Reaganomics coincides with the "restructured economy" is no accident whatever. Ever since the 1974-75 global crisis, the deepest economic recession in the post-World War II world, it was clear that the economy had reached an outright structural change. The fact that by 1981 high technology and energy had become the only profit-producing industries was evidently the ground for great delusions about the viability of private capitalism. Enter the bull in the china shop, who cared so little about humanity and so much about the multinationals that he would actually try to concretize this delusion of private capitalism. He has evidently not even learned the lesson of the Great Depression, which compelled it into what it called "welfare economics."

In place of the search for profits as it expressed itself in a "production for production's sake" mentality, the present rush for unconscionable profits tells this of decadent capitalism: if profits can be achieved without much production; if multinationals, even more than ordinary monopoly and oligarchy, keep expanding these profits; if profits out of oil reach altogether stratospheric proportions; and if the same is true of armaments which have always ceded great profits for destructive purposes—then there is no need for any pretense that we care about production, rather than just gobbling up other industries, be it coal or just retail trade like Montgomery Ward.

Though bourgeois economists like to regard the replacing of obsolescent capitalism with the latest in technology as "creative destruction"—i.e. investment in other new industries, which in turn would bring about price reductions, as, say, the canal boom in the 19th century reducing transportation costs—today's profit glutty finds that the state will grant it further windfall profits without even calling for a reduction in prices.

It would take a Reaganite in the multi-billion dollar bracket to be able to quote percentage-wise prices and profits: energy prices advanced 115 percent faster than prices as a whole; 107 percent faster than old-line manufacturing, and 429 percent faster than agriculture; 179 percent faster even than high technology, and 202 percent faster than services.

**The only thing "private" about this capitalism is that they rake in the profits. They are getting the same free ride from the state as capitalism got when it first came on the scene without advancing a shilling. Marx called it the "hot-house development" of capitalism, by which he meant the carving up of Africa, Asia, and the conquest of Latin America, pointing out that there wasn't a single penny in the "free" capitalist West that wasn't capitalized blood of the slaves.**

As for Reagan's whirlwind "solutions" to today's economic crisis, they are a rerun of the earlier turn-of-the-century, free-enterprise form that brought on the Depression. So alarmed have the masses become that there has been an upsurge of membership in all kinds of organizations,

from liberal to Left. The fully orchestrated and well-heeled attack on everything from abortion rights to ERA has brought new allies to the Women's Liberation Movement, with NOW reporting that both in members and contributions they have never experienced a greater outpouring. The Administration's determined effort to push back all the gains made by the Black revolt of the '60s brought even so mild a person as the head of the NAACP board, Margaret Bush Wilson, to introduce Reagan's speech to their convention by saying that, "the NAACP does not necessarily subscribe to the views that are about to be expressed." The ovation that greeted her remark was but one sign that the opposition to Reagan has just begun and not only on the part of the NAACP or the Urban League, but above all, by the Black masses.

### In Memoriam

*Hiroshima filled my thoughts  
as a child—turned the stark,  
blue lines above these city  
buildings black with soot and  
ghosts—mourning phantoms of  
my kin.*

*Beneath dark clouds, all  
stumbled in uncertain procession  
to the blue fluorescent borders  
of their land/the mordant rain  
drove life from limb—under  
the queer, ashen daylight  
schoolchildren learned their  
lesson well,*

*their minds wished to such  
hideous destruction  
by America.*

*Hiroshima/as I am  
watchful of day's breaking—  
there is no air to breathe in  
windless tunnels.*

*A bird chirps here—but  
in discordant rhyme/a tiny  
weathervane.  
We must abort this ill-begotten  
world much too near  
earth's end.*

Teru Ibuki  
7.15.81

To promise "pie in the sky" as Reagan did at the NAACP convention, when unemployment remains sky high, and for Blacks is always double what it is for whites; to claim that all will be righted by 1986, when he is taking away every program that might keep one alive until 1986—only strengthens the opposition to him.

Labor certainly has no illusions about all the promises. They are finding out that the intense propaganda to move to the sunbelt, where jobs are supposedly plentiful, fails to add that these are non-union, low-paid jobs in an area where housing costs are so inflated none can afford a house. Nor is labor fooled about the low productivity being blamed on American workers, which is actually due to two facts. First is the capitalist drive to break up unions and lower wages which have been achieved through a cen-

tury of class struggles, and at a time when runaway inflation has already sucked that "high" wage dry. Second is the fact that, with energy costs so high, industry is not buying new machinery but prefers to return to labor-intensive, obsolete machinery; this, as they well know, is the true cause for low labor productivity.

**The retrenchment of the Administration is not only against labor, against Blacks, against women, but also against lower middle-class youth who can afford an education only with the help of student loans. The deep retrenchment in all the public schools from Headstart through college will exacerbate the illiteracy we already see. The youth are by no means limiting their struggles to those against the retrenchment in education. It is estimated that no less than half a million young men have refused to register for the draft. At the very same time, great numbers of Vietnam veterans have become a vocal opposition to Reagan, including many who were never active during the anti-Vietnam War movement, but now find themselves victims of Agent Orange. So insensitive is Reagan even to the veterans, that he refused to meet with them, despite their sit-ins at Veterans Hospitals, their marches in front of the White House, and the actual hunger strikes they have engaged in to bring attention to their plight.**

The most intense struggle is on the anti-nuclear front. There is hardly a country on earth where it has not already erupted, from the U.S. to West Germany, from England to Japan, from the Scandinavian countries to France. This is the movement in which we must intensify our activity. It is becoming so urgent a matter that even a conservative writer like George F. Kennan—the very one who directly after World War II, wrote the famous article on containment which he signed as "X"—is now sounding the alarm, not by disregarding that Russia is doing exactly the same thing as the U.S., but by realizing that there is no end but "utter disaster" for all humanity unless we reverse entirely the "fiendish and inhuman tendencies" of endless nuclear armament by both nuclear titans. What Kennan called attention to is that:

"It was we who first produced and tested such a device; we who were the first to raise its destructiveness to a new level with the hydrogen bomb; we who introduced the multiple warhead; we who have declined every proposal for the renunciation of the principle of 'first use'; and we alone, so help us God, who have used the weapon in anger against others, and against tens of thousands of helpless noncombatants at that."<sup>2</sup>

The intensification of our activity in class struggles, in anti-nuclear demonstrations, with the Black dimension, with youth, with the Women's Liberation Movement, can in no sense be separated from the intensification of our activities in the battle of ideas. The need to transform reality demands both.

2. See "A Modest Proposal" by George F. Kennan, *The New York Review of Books*, July 16, 1981.

## V. The audience for Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution—and our organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanism

The relationship between the need to transform reality and the need to grasp philosophy and organization as action is spelled out in a most unusual way in the book, **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**. The dialectic in Marx's concept of revolution is traced there not only in the revolutions of Marx's day, but in those of our own. It is our age which has, on the one hand, achieved maturity and, on the other hand, is surrounded everywhere by counter-revolution that threatens the survival of humanity itself.

We see its gory face, no matter where we look, in this crises-ridden world, be it in the U.S., where Reaganomics and the Immoral Minority

calling itself the Moral Majority rule the roost; or in Iran, where the counter-revolutionary elements have gained such dominance as to make it appear that the revolution has already run its course. Like Chiang Kai-shek's "extermination campaigns" which were conducted against Mao, Khomeni's are being conducted not only against the whole Left, the near-Left, and all revolutionary participants against the Shah, but extends itself savagely to children, with prosecutor Lajvardi claiming that "the Koran authorizes believers to finish off Islamic renegades. . . . We are not going to feel sorry for little girls of 13 or 14, or even 9, who wield knives." But, just as opposition to the mullahs is growing every

day in the underground, so, in the quiescent USA, Labor, Blacks, Women's Liberationists, Youth are heading for decisive confrontations with the ruling class. The direction these actions will take depends not alone on what is their underlying philosophy but on whether that philosophy of freedom becomes goal, encompassing the transformation of reality.

**It is true that, whether in the U.S. or Iran, El Salvador or Poland, South Africa or Great Britain, it is the exploitative ruling class that has state power and is armed to the teeth and not the revolutionary opposition. It is no less true**

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# News and Letters Committees Draft Perspectives, 1981-1982

(Continued from Page 11)

however, that, whether the masses in opposition are visibly massive or invisibly in the underground, they are armed with the most powerful weapon of all—the Idea of Freedom, so passionately striving to be as to look past death. There is nothing abstract about the Idea of Freedom; every one of its victories has been concrete, comprehensive, historic and has never come to be without masses struggling for it.

The 1980s have already left not a single spot on earth untouched by revolt. Britain has been rocked by mass revolts not only in Northern Ireland, not only in Brixton, but throughout the length and breadth of the land, white Scotland included. In Japan and West Germany the anti-nuclear movement is especially massive. In Italy, a most Catholic land where a super-political Pope and the reigning Christian Democratic Party have carried on the most vicious campaign against the right to abortion, the masses—women especially—voted overwhelmingly to retain that right. In France, the masses voted for the Socialist Party to turn DeGaulism back.

In Azania, the Black masses have never for one moment in three long decades stopped their struggle against apartheid South Africa.

The African states have also exposed the neo-fascistic bent of Reagan's USA which is be-

traying even itself on the question of Namibia. This is not the only point on which Reagan is moving even closer to apartheid South Africa and to the most extreme Right in Begin's Israel. U.S. imperialism, like Russia, is reaching everywhere for single world domination.

Confronted with that, we cannot leave Marxist-Humanism at the theoretical stage alone. We must take organizational responsibility for concretizing these ideas. Organizational responsibility for ideas means a great deal more than the mere naming of tasks, as if organizational growth concerned only a quantitative measurement, or chore. Be it the raising of \$35,000 that is the bare minimum needed to assure the continuity of our 12 page **News & Letters**, or creating an audience for **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**, or a subscription drive for **N&L**, there is nothing routine about it, as is clear not alone from the 25 year existence of our Marxist-Humanist paper, the only one edited by a Black production worker, but also as it has become the theoretical-practical form for both the British and the Iranian Marxist-Humanist papers.<sup>3</sup>

Organizational responsibility for philosophic/political/historic Marxist-Humanist ideas carries with it a special urgency on the eve of the 100th anniversary of Marx's death. Both in the new book, scheduled for publication in 1982, and in our other major theoretical works—**Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution**—which are to see new editions, as well as in the Archives,<sup>4</sup> we have indeed amassed 40 years of serious contributions to Marx's Marxism. It is not only a matter of catching the historic link, as crucial as that is, to Marx's Marxism. It is a question of extending it to this day, and not as a mere updating but an actuality for transforming reality itself.

Organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanist ideas doesn't mean mere loyalty, much less any sort of elitism. Just as ideas aren't disembodied, don't float on high, but are ideas only so long as human beings think, articulate and realize them, so organizational responsibility for them means projecting them in a way that convinces others, who are equally interested in ideas

- Further concretization of this will be developed in the report on "News & Letters and Our Archives" at the Plenum.
- A new and expanded **Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism, Its Origin and Development in the U.S. from 1941 to Today** is available on microfilm from Wayne State University Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Detroit, Michigan 48202. The new 45 page Guide to the collection can be ordered from News and Letters for \$1 plus 50¢ postage.

of freedom though they don't call themselves Marxist-Humanists.

It is in our age, beginning with the mid-1950s and continuing through the decades since, that the masses from below brought onto the historic stage Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays. Marx's new continent of thought and of revolution holds the key for our age, whether you take it at its origin in the early 1840s, through the actual 1848 revolutions, to Marx's 1850 articulation of these ideas of freedom as "revolution in permanence"; or whether you examine it in the last decade, 1873-1883, when, following the Paris Commune, Marx had disclosed that "freely associated labor," having taken destiny into its own hands, had "at last discovered the political means whereby to work out its economic emancipation," and returned, in his **Ethnological Notebooks**, to the fundamental Man/Woman relationship he had singled out in his earliest Humanist Essays.

Because Marx's concept of revolution is the warp and woof, the bones and sinews, the heart and soul, not alone of the revolutions of his age but of ours, we have re-examined all the 20th century revolutions—beginning with 1905 and stretching to the Iranian Revolution of 1979. It is because **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**, encompasses both Marx's concept and those objective revolutionary developments, that it casts a special illumination not only on our specific tasks but the urgent mass needs to make the Idea of Freedom a reality.

—THE RESIDENT EDITORIAL BOARD  
Detroit, Mich.  
July 14, 1981

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