



# WOMAN AS REASON

## New Bedford: 'the infinite degradation of man . . .'

### Dear Sisters:

My first thought on hearing the horrifying report of the gang rape of a woman in a New Bedford, Mass. bar was not of the sexist nature of the crime nor of the machismo of the bar patrons who cheered the actual rapists, but of the total inhumanity of the whole incident. The attack was committed over two hours by four men while others watched and cheered and not one responded to the woman's screams for help.

I thought of the quote from Marx's 1844 essay on "Private Property and Communism:"

The infinite degradation in which man exists for himself is expressed in this relation to the woman as the spoils and handmaiden of communal lust. For the secret of the relationship of man to man finds its unambiguous, definitive, open obvious expression in the relationship of man to woman. . . . From the character of this relation it follows to what degree man as a species has become human. . . .

The immediate demonstrations by over 3,000 women, men and children in New Bedford demanding justice in this case and an end to rape were very moving. I was shocked, however, when some people interviewed expressed an attitude of "Well, what did she expect, going into a bar alone?" That such attitudes still exist ten years

after the emergence of women's liberation as a movement made me ask myself what questions this horrible case might raise in our minds and what significance it might have for our movement.

### WOMAN'S SEXUALITY

What came to my mind immediately was the whole question of sexuality. Rape is allegedly not a sexual act, but one of violence and domination of one person over another, but it nevertheless affects a woman's sexuality for the rest of her life. Not only that, but whenever a woman is raped, indeed, whenever a woman does anything which society disapproves of, her sexuality is immediately called into question to be used against her.

For example, we can recall those who tried to discredit the Irish activist Bernadette Devlin when she "dared" to bear a child "out of wedlock." When a question of race is also involved, the attacks are especially vehement, as in the case of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo. The case brought by her five children implicating the FBI in her murder by the Ku Klux Klan in 1965 and proving that J. Edgar Hoover himself spearheaded the campaign to slander her name comes to trial in Michigan this month. Evidence includes memos telling aides to stress how close Mrs. Liuzzo sat to a "Negro" in the car, implying that it was a "necking party" instead of driving civil rights marchers to safety.

And this week also, in Millen, Ga. Kathleen Blackburn has again lost custody of her four-year-old son in a battle that only began after she gave birth to a daughter fathered by a Black policeman in 1981. The judge ruled that she is "sexually irresponsible" and living "an unstable life-style" and gave her son to his father who is considered "part of a wholesome family unit" now that he has remarried.

### FORM OF HUMAN EXPRESSION

What is clear in all this is that a woman in this society still has no right to her own sexuality. I am not speaking here of sexuality as a possession or a thing over which one has power. (This was a critique Marx made of capitalism in that same 1844 essay, that it made us think even of human senses only in terms of possession.) I am speaking of sexuality as a unique form of human expression.

What has happened to the original demands of the women's movement that only we be allowed to define our sexuality? To the demands of the early Take Back the Night movement that we not be treated as the objects of someone else's fantasy or false consciousness? Weren't we the ones who exposed the "angel-whore" myth as false, demanded to be recognized as sexual human beings, and said that we would search for new forms of human expression to replace the old sexist ones?

### ASPECT OF FULL PERSONHOOD

Can we say that we have even begun that search when the feminist press has been filled with debates over such questions as whether there can be a "feminist pornography" or whether a feminist can accept sado-masochism? These discussions are a very maddening waste of time and a diversion because unlike our original demands to redefine the concept of sexuality as a unique and individual aspect of full personhood, they take for granted the old limits and confines of a society based on domination which has imprisoned our bodies and minds for hundreds of years.

When this concept of domination permeates even what should be the most intimate and personal form of human expression, how can we even begin to discuss our sexuality without discussing simultaneously ways of uprooting this inhuman society?

One of the demonstrators in New Bedford expressed the hope that this horrible event could become a turning point for the women's movement. I share that hope with her and invite all of you to contribute your ideas to this discussion. Please write to me c/o Women's Liberation—News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, MI, 48211.

In revolutionary sisterhood,  
Suzanne Casey

## A review: 'Daughters of Karl Marx'

*The Daughters of Karl Marx: Family Correspondence, 1866-1898.* (NY: Harcourt Brace) 1982. \$19.95, 342 pp.

Letters can unfold a dialogue between the ages and so I'm sure many Marxist-feminists like myself eagerly read this volume of correspondence among Karl Marx's daughters — Jenny, Laura and Eleanor. In it we catch glimpses of the momentous historic events of those years: the 1863 Warsaw uprising and the 1867 Irish revolt, the First International, the Paris Commune, editions of Marx's *Capital*, to name only a few. But most of all, we are witness to the very special philosophy and way of life they shared as Marx's daughters. For, while the letters make clear that each does, indeed, have her own identity and stature, they are profoundly "daughters of Marx" not just genealogically but politically and philosophically.

Indeed, that is one of the most important points that Sheila Rowbotham has caught in her 24-page Introduction to the volume. In contrast to calling Marx and Engels "bourgeois men of the 19th century" as she did in her *Women, Resistance and Revolution*, Rowbotham here does show that the views of Marx's daughters are not something he imposed on them but something they so enthusiastically adhered to, in the lives they led, the thoughts they had and the contributions they made, that they cannot possibly be accused of merely "following the line."

### CRITIQUES MARX VIA ELEANOR

Unfortunately, Rowbotham's Introduction expands not so much her views on Marx and his daughters as what she herself has been developing as Feminism vs. Marxism, in which her preoccupation is with women as "organizing idea" — a thesis which cannot be adequately discussed in the short space of this review. But it must be noted that because, in the context of these letters, Rowbotham could not critique Marxism by looking directly at what Marx himself said and did, that she accomplishes it through a critique of Eleanor.

The description of Eleanor as "cliquish," "orthodox," "factional," not only shows Rowbotham's opposition to women revolutionaries who don't agree with her, but allows her to completely skip over the battle of ideas. Thus, Rowbotham can describe Eleanor as "trained by a father who would simply move the organizational center of the First International if he lost a faction fight," without so much as a hint of how anarchism was subverting the proletarian-philosophical character of the International Working Men's Association at the time this did occur. Her critique is the logical conclusion when woman as "organizing idea" supplants woman as Reason, as organizational ground.

### PASSION TO REALIZE PHILOSOPHY

The passion with which Marx's daughters tried to make real his philosophy is seen the most vibrantly in the letters of Eleanor, which reveal her practice of a genuine internationalism, as she participated in a protest meeting against British imperialism in Egypt (12 April 1885, p. 186), or as she tried to forge solidarity by creating links between striking glass workers in France and England (7 Feb. 1893, p. 243). There are direct references also to her well-known activity with unskilled, unorganized workers (e.g. 30 May 1892, p. 238). For Eleanor, Marx's critique in the 1870s which posed the need to go "lower and deeper" into the proletariat was not rhetoric but a perspective for action.

Nor is this passion seen only in the daughters' activism. In a letter to Marx from Jenny (April 1867, p. 17) we find that Laura planned to read Hegel's *Philosophy of History* and in another (April, 1872, p. 110) we see that Jenny helped Marx check parts of the French edition of *Capital*.

In the period after Marx's death in 1883, a large segment of Eleanor's letters take up her increasingly urgent fears about the fate of Marx's manuscripts.

### MARX'S PAPERS

During what were to be her final years, this volume shows that Eleanor fought to retain control of Marx's papers, worked on securing an Italian edition of *Capital*, called in Marx's letters for publication and put out a collection of Marx's journalism. Contrast to this, the disgusting attitude of the "established" leaders unconcerned with those documents from Karl Marx's pen. Karl Kautsky left off transcribing Vol. 4 of *Capital* (22 Nov. 1894, p. 258); Eduard Bernstein searched through Marx's letters to write a "Life of Engels" (2 Jan. 1897, p. 293); August Bebel likewise went through the papers "to glean some material of use to the history of the Party" (Appendix 2, p. 308).

This was of special importance to me, as it will surely be to many other Marxist-feminists, since among those papers were Marx's 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* and the 1880-82 *Ethnological Notebooks* which show how integral his concept of Man/Woman relationships was to his lifetime development of "revolution in permanence." Now, in the Marx centenary of 1983 when we have that totality, is the time for us to develop those foundations for our own liberation, as Marx's daughters tried to develop his philosophy for theirs.

— Mary Holmes

## Workers organize TIPS

Flint, Mich. — Waiters and waitresses are organizing a chapter of TIPS (To Insure Proper Service), a statewide organization which is trying to repeal or at least lower the eight percent of gross receipts reporting requirement of the misnamed "Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act." Starting April 1, bar and restaurant owners with ten or more employees must report these employees as having tips income of at least eight percent of their gross receipts in addition to the amount of tips claimed by the employee.

The assumption that allocating tips is easy and that everyone who goes to a restaurant is a high roller reflects the world of charge accounts and fancy meals that may prevail in Washington, D.C., but not in places like Flint. Also, one cannot help but notice that the tipped workers singled out for "fiscal responsibility" are, unlike taxi drivers, predominantly women, not organized into labor unions and subject to a wage of only \$2.51 per hour, 84¢ less than the prevailing minimum wage.

There is a bill before Congress to repeal this part of the act. TIPS has had several well attended meetings but it needs all the grass roots help it can get. Everyone hurt by Reaganomics has a stake in standing behind TIPS.



## women-worldwide

South African police raided the home of Winnie Mandela on Jan. 7 while two white liberal members of Parliament, Helen Suzman and Peter Soal, happened to be visiting. Mandela is banished to the remote town of Brandfort for lifelong activism against the apartheid regime. Her husband, Nelson, is still imprisoned by the government.

(from Big Mama Rag)

Since November, 1982, Nirmala Nithyanandan, a journalist and feminist, has been imprisoned in a Sri Lanka army camp, under a repressive "Prevention of Terrorism Act." Her supporters fear for her health and safety. She has been actively fighting for the emancipation of the Tamil women, and has organized women's liberation campaigns. For more information on the women's movement in Sri Lanka, write Voice of Women, 18/9 Chitra Lane, Colombo-5, Sri Lanka.

No More Cages is a publication of Women Free Women in Prison, with contributions from women prisoners in jails and mental hospitals. It is presently read in 150 prisons and jails. Contributions of articles, letters and funds are needed — a donor subscription is \$6.00 per year. Write: Women Free Women in Prison, P.O. Box 90, Brooklyn, NY 11215.

## Uproot capitalism as seaman's memorial

Somerville, Mass. — My brother Anthony Quirk was a crewman on the Marine Electric, the ship that capsized and sank off the Virginia coast in the early morning of Feb. 12. Thirty-six men died in that tragedy, three survived. My brother was among those dead. Tony died at the age of 33, the youngest of seven, six boys and one girl. He worked in the merchant marine about seven years and was a member of the National Maritime Union; most of all though, he was a member of the working class and one who believed in socialism.

I am sure that Marine Transport Lines Inc., the company that owned the Marine Electric, and the National Maritime Union will find plenty of unemployed men to replace the 36 who died on the Marine Electric, my brother Tony among them, and I am just as certain that the families of those men will never replace them. The sinking of the ship was an avoidable tragedy, a by-product of capitalism. The owners sent it, a "rust bucket," out into a blizzard, gale winds and high waves.

In their role of capitalists they were seeking to maximize their profits, no matter what the social costs. In not ordering the ship to remain in port until the storm was over and in not ordering needed repairs to be made on the ship they were minimizing their costs. Now they seek to limit their liability for the loss of 36 men to the value of the ship, a 39-year-old "tub," and its cargo, a pile of coal.

As is usual in most industrial accidents, those who died in the sinking of the Marine Electric were working class people. The 124 who died when the oil rig collapsed and sank in the North Atlantic three years ago were all working class. The disaster itself was caused by poorly designed and faulty equipment and should not have happened. Most of those who lost their lives in it would have been spared if the company had been willing to spend the relatively small amount required to provide wet suits as safety equipment on such rigs. Had the same sort of wet suits been standard safety equipment on the Marine Electric many of the crew would have survived their ordeal in the frigid waters they were tossed into.

## GM-Toyota attack workers

by Felix Martin, Co-Editor

General Motors' plan to produce a new compact car with Toyota at the Fremont Assembly plant is one of the most vicious attacks on labor I have ever seen. GM says it needs Toyota's "expertise" to build a new compact. Every worker knows this is a lie. GM already builds plenty of compacts all over the world. The real reason for the deal is to re-open Fremont under "joint ownership" of a "new" GM-Toyota company which would not have to deal with the UAW or hire back the laid-off Fremont workers.

They will use Toyota to cut wages, take away any worker say on hiring and firing, and worsen working conditions so anyone could be fired for coming in a minute late. The workers would end up with a company union controlled by GM. And what does the UAW leadership say about this? "It's something we can deal with", said Doug Fraser.

Newt Bambini, a local union bureaucrat here in California, said he hoped the deal would go through as "the workers would look forward to a more productive and co-operative relationship with management." The UAW is working hand-in-glove with GM and is out trying to convince workers that they should agree to anything that reopens Fremont.

Just as it was the Fraser-Chrysler deal which started the wave of give-backs and wage concessions three years ago, so it is the UAW leadership today who is giving the green light to a second stage of the war against labor in this deepest of all post-war recessions. If GM and Toyota can get away with this at Fremont, you can bet every industry will start forming "new" companies under joint foreign ownership in order to drive out the unions, force down wages and make working conditions even worse.

This is what is behind all the talk of "recovery", not just in auto, but in the whole economy. Reagan's economists say there will soon be a recovery, though that won't mean a drop in the unemployment rate for years ahead. What they are saying is that the recovery will be for capital, which will get new Automation, unimation, and investment from foreign capital. But that will not mean any recovery for labor, which will face more lay-offs, more speed-up, and more unemployment.

That's why there won't be any real recovery in the economy at all — not as long as this capitalist system keeps sucking labor dry in order to produce for the sake of production. At the South Gate unemployment office, workers told me that the "Toyota deal was just a way for GM to buy time. But who is going to build those cars? And who will be left working who can buy them?" The workers know there is no capital, no "recovery" without the development of labor, no matter how many deals and "joint companies" the capitalists form.

That is why the only way out of this permanent recession is labor taking power in its own hands, and abolishing this racist, sexist, capital-dominated world once and for all. This is how people can be freed from being parasites and slaves and have time for their full self-development as human beings.

While I want to see the people punished who made the decisions directly related to the sinking of the Marine Electric, I want even more to see the institutions changed which influenced them to make the decisions they did. It's more the basic institutions of this capitalist society and less the greed of the owners of the Marine Electric that are responsible for the loss of my brother Tony's life and the lives of 35 of his crewmates.

I have no illusions, though, that the inquiry into the causes of the tragedy and the legal proceedings stemming from it will implicate private ownership of the means of production as a cause of it. Only we as working class people opposed to capitalism can do that in the case of this tragedy and others like it.

My brother Tony was a white, Irish-American. He died out there in the ocean with crewmen who were Black, who were Puerto Ricans, and other diverse ethnic and racial origins. The ocean doesn't care, neither do the capitalists. The thing that the crewmen most had in common was that they were all working class. They were out on the ocean not from love of it but from need, economic need, and it will be out of the same need that all working class people will create a socialist United States. Just as they cooperate in sailing ships, they will someday cooperate in creating and administering a socialist United States.

I look forward to that day just as my brother Tony did. There will come a time when among other industries in the United States, the marine transport industry will be run by the workers who are in it for the benefit of all of us. It will be a democratically socialized marine transport industry and the workers in it will determine the safety conditions of the ships they sail on. They will decide if they want to risk sailing out into a blizzard and they will decide if the cargoes of the ships they are on are worth more than their lives.

— Michael Quirk

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## Blacks' jobs vanish

Los Angeles, Cal — While watching the evening news on March 10, I was shocked to see a newsclip about my hometown of Jacksonville, Alabama, where an unemployed worker unable to get a job, set himself on fire in front of the TV camera. The police did nothing about it until after the fact, even though the police station was 50 yards away from this individual act of protest.

My younger brother just got out of the Marines, and he recently left Alabama on his way to Hawaii where he has the promise of a job. On his stopover in Los Angeles he told me there aren't any jobs left for Blacks in Alabama. "They aren't even hiring Blacks in grocery stores, shops, cotton mills — nowhere. Things have gotten much worse for Blacks since you left the South."

I left Alabama about five years ago, my last job being in Jacksonville in a textile mill where cotton fiber filled the air. The eight hours of work felt more like 12 — the company didn't even give us a relief or a lunch break. Most people working production had to eat their lunch right there on the line, as the machines were moving, while others had to go without eating lunch at all.

Even those jobs are now vanishing, with all the automation these plants have. And here in Los Angeles, Black youth are being told they must have "references" in order to get a minimum wage job in McDonalds. I can see that this capitalist method of production is production for the sake of production, and that is working us workers right out of the job.

There will be many more individual acts of protest or rage, but when the masses of the unemployed get together that will be the foremost force for ending the whole system of enslaved labor.

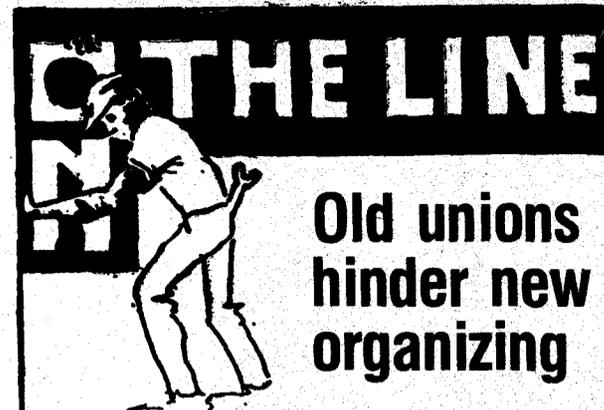
— Gene Ford

## Hospital workers pay for deficits at DRH

Detroit, Mich. — This is "merit evaluation" time at Detroit Receiving Hospital, which in the past meant your supervisor could choose to deny all or part of the annual wage adjustment. But we have heard enough rumors to expect this year everyone's wages will be frozen.

The starting wage of most jobs has not increased in three years since the new hospital opened, with wages of two or three dollars an hour lower than under the AFSCME contract when the City of Detroit owned it.

Then came the news that two major hospitals were laying off workers at Henry Ford and at Hutzel. The



by John Marcotte

At Handi Button in Woodside, N.Y. a worker was fired for being late three days in a row. The workers stopped working, saying it was because of subway delays. The union came running, told everyone to go back to work, but the workers said, not till he is rehired. They called the worker to come back to work the following day.

At a button shop in New Jersey, a worker was fired for refusing to do a job with some heavy lifting after he came back from a month out for a back injury sustained at work. Not a shop steward moved to say anything. The organizer came three days later. He told the worker to do the job offered or remain fired. He is still fired.

## SHOP UNITY OR NOTHING

That's why a worker said, "I don't believe in this union or any other union. They're all sold out to the bosses. Our only protection is our own unity on the shop floor. When we all stop working, if we're all together, there is nothing they can do to us. If not, they'll fire us, union or no union." That is the knowledge I have heard expressed in shop after shop.

At Art Steel in the Bronx, the most militant workers, those who fought to bring in the union ten years earlier, will tell you, "We have two enemies: the company and the union."

Go to a meeting at that union, District 65, and you will see that the leaders are absolutely deaf to these real voices. They live in a different world. Most workers don't even go to union meetings. The leaders may think it's because workers are apathetic; but the truth is the workers I've known have given up on their unions long ago. Like a union staff worker told me, "American workers have been bitterly disappointed so many times. Hell, I feel that way myself most of the time. I think these unions are beyond saving. We need a new form of organization."

And just let a member get up at a meeting with some criticism. They'll jump down your throat, screaming "unity" and "save the union" and making you look like Reagan or worse, and all the while they're the ones tearing down what once was a militant union.

## BANKRUPT UNIONISM

While the leadership have voted themselves pay raises, built president Livingston a \$20,000 bathroom, and have three paid organizers who do nothing but chauffeur around the leaders, the Medical Plan is near broke, money is going from the Pension Plan to pay doctors, and the Dental Center has been turned over to a millionaire dentist to run for profit.

With record unemployment among the membership, the leadership tolerates non-union, off-the-books sorters in Direct Mail, take-home work in Garment and Textile, and many other abuses.

The leadership has refused to accept that 65 is now majority Black and Latino, and won't give up one bit of power. They run the union like J.P. Stevens runs their mills. Damn, even the staff has been trying to get a union contract for a year and a half and has been viciously resisted. In fact, the aging and sick leadership would rather turn over 65 to the UAW bureaucracy (they officially merge in May) than let the members gain any control.

Is it any wonder that rank-and-file workers know their only strength is in their own unity, not any union outside of them? When that knowledge massively explodes into self-organization, we will see those new forms of organization workers will create to replace these self-destructing unions. It could be similar to Poland where Solidarity completely by-passed the established Communist Party unions.

excuse for the lay-off, that Blue Cross and the government are cutting their payments, hits our hospital even harder, and in addition more and more patients here are unemployed, with no insurance left. In fact, 30 percent more patients were sent here from other hospitals last year because they had no insurance.

Both Henry Ford and Hutzel announced that most lay-offs were not inpatient care areas. How can hospitals claim that trash pickup and maintenance, meals — or all the many jobs done by people without white coats — do not affect the health and care of patients?

— Day-shift worker, DRH

## THEORY / PRACTICE

I would like to turn over my Theory/Practice column this month to Eugene Walker who has written to me on the concluding part of my new book. — Raya Dunayevskaya

Dear Raya,

In the concluding chapter of your book, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, two concepts — Marx's writings as a "trail to the 1980s" and "A 1980s View" of Marx — interpenetrate in a very thought provoking way. You point out a decidedly two-way road, with our period providing a new illumination of Marx's thought, and Marx casting a most penetrating light upon us who live in the 1980s.

This interpenetration became more concrete for me recently when I accompanied you to the University of Michigan where you gave a Marx Centenary talk on his last decade, to a room almost bursting to the seams with a hundred and more undergraduates who came and intently followed your presentation of Marx's Marxism. I was struck with the vitality and eagerness of much of this 1980s youth audience. The setting and audience contrasted so sharply with the powerful reality of the city I live in, Detroit. Here, in the spent tailings of exhausted capitalism — the decaying factories, the winding unemployment lines, the decrepit housing — one finds another 1980s view.

Black men and women unable to find a way of making a living are a large part of the oppressive reality of today even as, at the University of Michigan 40 miles away, a predominantly white student body is seeking an education and a career. And yet many of that student body too find themselves harnessed to the spent tailings of bourgeois ideology, and certainly in the audience who listened to you, there was an openness to Marx's ideas.

These two realities seem almost to be on different planets whose only interpenetration would appear to be a resounding clash. And yet there was a striving by yourself to unite them in the evening's lecture, not directly, but by discussing Marx's Marxism not as a 100-plus year-old body of documents, but as becoming a new decisive moment within today's conflicting reality. Isn't this what a two-way road between Marx and the 1980s really means? — How Marx remains alive today as, at one and the same time, our age continually gives new readings to his ideas and in turn finds new points of departure for revolutionary transformation today within Marx's thought.

### THREE MOMENTS IN THE 1980s

When I think of "A 1980s View," a time when capitalism is in deep economic crisis, three moments stand out — the revolutions of Central America; the growth of a feminist dimension globally; the bankruptcy of what passes for Left thought toward these phenomenon of revolution, and newly-emerging revolutionary subjects.

These moments in turn raise crucial questions as we seek pathways to transform reality in a revolutionary manner. Among them: What do the Central American revolutions mean to the relationship of what we have termed technologically advanced to technologically backward lands? How permanent is the crisis of capitalist accumulation in the age of robotics, Automation and an unemployed army? How does the fact that man/woman relations are everywhere under challenge mean a rethinking of just how deep an uprooting of society is needed to establish new human relations? How can a new understanding of Marx's body of work help the Left to view the 1980s in a quite different and revolutionary way?

But before taking the plunge back into Marx and his trail to the 1980s, we need one more crucial element in our 1980s view: the contributions of Marxist-Humanism. Our origins are not alone in the 1980s, but stretch back over some three decades.

Throughout the decades of the 1950s and 1960s Marxist-Humanism had and still has a focus on recognizing and giving voice to the emerging subjects of revolution. You made a category of this as "a movement from practice which was itself a form of theory." From this vantage point the movements, revolts and revolutions of the 1960s that spanned the globe were viewed. This category

## 'A Trail to the 1980s' and 'A 1980s View'

also characterized how we chose to return to Marx — tracing out how the movement from practice had a profound impact on Marx's creation and development of what we termed "his new continent in thought." We might even characterize this as a 1950s-60s view of Marx.

However, the last decade and a half has shown that as great as has been the movement from practice as a form of theory, it is not the only form of theory needed to bring a revolution to its full fruition. Rather we have witnessed revolutions aborted, not alone of capitalism's economic and military might, but aborted from within the revolutionary process itself precisely because of this failure to grapple with this other needed form of theory. You characterize it on the last page of your new work: "It is not a question only of meeting the challenge from practice, but of being able to meet the challenge from the self-development of the Idea, and of deepening theory to the point where it reaches Marx's concept of 'revolution in permanence.'"

Our 1980s Marxist-Humanist view back to Marx thus has its origins at one and the same time in the newly emerging revolutionary movements from practice which are constantly arising to pose new questions of what is revolutionary transformation, and in the very unique contributions of Marxist-Humanists who are asking that Marx be viewed in a way that the vast majority of post-Marx Marxists have failed to do — as the creator and practitioner of "revolution in permanence."

### CENTRAL AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS

As I noted above, the Central American revolutions have given us a new vantage point for returning to Marx. Three aspects seem to characterize these revolutions: 1) the emergence of indigenous revolutionary forces, primarily Indian peasants, who have given the revolutions a character beyond isolated guerrilla actions and into mass movements, 2) the revolutionary role of women in the movement. Whether one speaks of Nicaragua, El Salvador or Guatemala, the participation of women is integral to the revolutionary movement, and poses anew man/woman relations, 3) The fact that technologically backward, impoverished countries have dared to challenge the colossus of the North in its own backyard puts the view of who are advanced and who are backward nations on a totally different, revolutionary footing.

These 1980s revolutions are the latest pinnacle in the remaking of the post-World War II non-industrial world from the Afro-Asian Revolutions of the '50s and '60s to Central America of today. This revolutionary movement has served to illuminate a strand of Marx's thought which has often been ignored — his view of the possibility of revolutions in technologically underdeveloped lands. It is not quite true to say that the revolution illuminated it. Rather it is that under the impact of these two and more decades of revolutions, a few serious Marxists, including you, have sought to go back and rediscover this exciting strand of Marx's writings. It is a strand that you have traced from his writings on China's Taiping Rebellion in the early 1850s, through his elaboration on "Pre-capitalist economic formations" including the Asiatic Mode of Production in the Grundrisse of the late 1850s, to his return to early forms of communal society in his Ethnological Notebooks of the 1880s.

When you present this strand of Marx as part of the trail to the 1980s, you do so not as blueprint, but as Marx's openness to pathways to revolution from other than industrialized society. Of course neither he nor we are under any illusion that revolutionary transformation can be completed without revolution in the industrialized world. But no one can say where a movement begins, or what is the revolutionary catalyst which will drive it to completion.

Space here will not allow us to follow in more detail the interpenetration between these Third World Revolutions and Marx's thought. Instead I want to comment briefly on the second "moment" I have written about above — the growth of a feminist dimension globally. Again it is today's movement which makes us re-examine Marx in an entirely new way, asking what was Marx's concept of woman. Many of today's feminist thinkers, Marxist and non-Marxist alike, have closed the view back to Marx by saying he wrote only on production and left reproduction as an economic category and not a human one. Or when they do see that Marx did write on the man/woman relation they dismiss it as "fragments" and run quickly to a "finished work," Engels' Origin of the Family.

What a rich wealth of Marx's thought is thereby missed. Again your own patient tracing of Marx's writings, particularly the dimension of women in his 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts and in his 1880-82 Ethnological Notebooks, becomes a trail to the 1980s. From the 1840s you point out how alongside the concept of alienated labor, Marx raised the man/woman relationship as one that would be a crucial determinant in characterizing the degree of freedom of a society. And from Marx of the 1880s, in the Ethnological Notebooks, we find a previously unknown sharp differentiation from Engels' view in Origin of the Family with its "world historic defeat of the female sex."

Of course we realize the Marx had not worked out a theory of women's liberation, nor could he at the historic moment he lived. But because of your redigging into Marx under the impact of today's Women's Liberation Movement one finds the profoundness of Marx on the role of women which can provide a revolutionary ground in terms of methodology for the women's movement today.

### THE FAILURE OF THE LEFT

And finally to the "moment" of the Left's failure to meet the new moments of the 1980s and seek ties to Marx's Marxism, but also to the fact that a new generation of youth is emerging which does feel a dissatisfaction with bourgeois reality and bourgeois thought.

It seems to me that the old Left is incapable of grasping what we mean by "A 1980s View" and "The Trail to the 1980s." They are trapped in old stultified categories, inherited from the vulgarized dogmas that pass for Marxism. But a new generation is at hand which like the generation of the 1960s is ready to identify with and become part of a new revolutionary movement from practice. But it has on hand the challenge and the opportunity to go beyond that realm to a truly new human beginning.

For Marx, the Paris Commune, even if defeated, certainly meant the beginning of a whole new era of revolution. The socialist movement which began to reorganize itself in the mid-1870s did not match this new vision, any more than did the International Workingmen's Association which Marx sent to America to die. It is for this reason that Marx felt compelled to write in 1875 his Critique of the Gotha Program. Raya, you are the first I know of, to give such a philosophic reading to this organizational writing, showing that what Marx was writing was that revolutionary organization must be grounded in revolutionary philosophy if it is to ever match the revolutionary upsurge from below.

You speak of this again in a different manner when you write of the self-development of the Idea. Such self-development of the Idea of freedom must be the conscious task of this generation of revolutionaries. That it seems to me is the challenge you are issuing to these young revolutionaries as you undertake this national tour in the centenary year since Marx's death, posing the two-way road between our age and Marx's as the one to take to bring forth the revolutionary future in the present.

—Eugene Walker

Follow Marx's development on the fetishism of commodities in

## Raya Dunayevskaya's Trilogy of Revolution

### Marxism and Freedom

"There is nothing simple about a commodity. It is a great fetish that makes the despotic conditions of capitalist production appear as if they were self-evident truths of social production. Nothing can be further from the truth . . ."

### Philosophy and Revolution

"Because to Marx, history and the actual dialectical development were one, he could begin with that 'unit' of capitalistic wealth, the lowly commodity. In this way he could show that the appearances of that value-form of a product of labor is so distinctly capitalistic, so historic a fetish that it had imprisoned all ideologists, including the classical political economists . . ."

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

"Thus, as we enter the fetishism of commodities, it is clear that it is neither just appearance that we are dealing with, nor even just essence, though the latter remains quintessential for understanding appearance, for knowing what 'lies behind.' But to get to the totality we cannot leave it at objectivity. The objective may outweigh the subjective, but, unless we see the unity of the two and grapple with the truth of both, we will never be free. And freedom is what all the striving is about."

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## Peruvian woman on feminism

Detroit, Mich. — Virginia Vargas, coordinator of the Centro Flora Tristan, a feminist center in Lima, Peru, recently spoke on the feminism in Peru at the University of Michigan.

She discussed the many achievements of Centro Flora Tristan in working and organizing poor and working women and their efforts to unite theories of feminism — which they had learned from their American sisters — with their actual practice in Lima, while trying to avoid the mistakes of American feminists. Indeed her presentation had much to teach us on the relations between the feminist organizations and working class women, a very crucial failure of our movement.

### WOMEN IN THE BARRIOS

Vargas spoke of how their center would approach the already existing informal women's networks in barrios, and begin by helping them in the very concrete tasks such as the problem of distribution of water. This was the only way they could filter through the iron clasp of the male leadership of the barrios. Soon however, these meetings around daily issues turned into feminist gatherings where the women began to realize their own tremendous knowledge as well as the power of sisterhood in fighting oppressions.

One such way of letting the women speak with their own voices has been the creation of simplified books which discuss the issues women bring up during their meetings. The pamphlets were based on interviews with women, who were consulted several times during the pro-

## Shop floor organizing shuts British Leyland

Oxford, England — Over 4000 workers at the Pressed Steel Fisher plant, part of the British Leyland (B.L.) complex at Cowley, took strike action, 7 March, against the company's attempt to direct them to move to different lines, overriding an agreement which says they can only do this by mutual consent with union representatives. The company has been disregarding this agreement for a long time, telling people they must "work as directed" if they want to keep their jobs. They use the high unemployment rate to intimidate people.

This time management insisted on moving a lot of people from elsewhere in the plant onto the line making the brand new Maestro model. At the same time, they refused to slow down the other lines, making the workers who remained there work harder. Traditionally, Pressed Steel has been about the least militant of all the B.L. plants, but now people felt they had been pushed to the limit in the drive for production.

On each line, the workers elected delegates, who met unofficially beside the canteen. It was all completely unconstitutional and "out of procedure." Some shop stewards took part, but not in an official capacity, because if the management or the union's full time officials had known about it, they'd have been victimized.

Officially, no action should have been taken for a long time, until all the negotiating procedure had been gone through. The meeting of delegates convened a mass meeting, where the workers decided to strike immediately. They all walked out and left the lines running. By the time the senior stewards came to find out what was happening everyone had gone home.

Next day, management met with the senior stewards and a "peace formula" was produced. A mass meeting was called for 9 March to put this to the workforce. The local union official and senior stewards said that B.L. had promised to keep to the agreement on movement of labor. However B.L. is quite openly saying this is only a temporary concession.

The seniors also said that B.L. had agreed to negotiate with them over production standards. On that basis the meeting voted for a return to work, but later management stated that it was for them to set work standards and they were not to be negotiated.

The latest development is that some of the "chasers," whose job is bringing materials to the line, were ordered to switch to production work. They took strike action in protest and this is still going on.

— Shop steward, British Leyland, Cowley.

## New York Book Fair

— 1983 marks the 9th year that a New York Book Fair will be held. This year the fair will take place between May 13th and 15th, at the 7th Regiment Armory at Park Ave. and E. 67th St. in New York City. The fair is a gathering of alternate and independent presses: Black, Women's Cultural, and radical; crafts, graphics, and readings. A special event at this year's fair will feature the works of Third World Writers in Exile, from Latin America, Africa, the Mid-East, and the East. For further information contact: The New York Book Fair, 321 W. 94th St. NYC, 10025.

cess of publication, so that the end result truly represented their own ideas and thoughts, and the women gladly helped with its distribution.

Two day workshops in villages have been held centering around topics of labor and sexuality. Both domestic labor and paid labor are discussed. It is interesting to note that discussions of sexuality are not limited to birth control. Women were helped to understand their own sexuality and even to seek pleasure in their intimate relations, and these lessons in sexuality apparently have brought couples closer together.

### PERUVIAN WOMEN'S WAR

The many forms of "women's wars" find yet another expression in the barrios of Peru. In one village, every woman would get a whistle and whenever a man would beat his wife, the whistles would blow all over the barrios, resulting in tremendous embarrassment for the husband. This tactic became so successful, that the barrio leadership ordered a decree prohibiting wife battery!

Vargas spoke as well of the problems the women's



"In search of a future" by Mexican muralist Jose Hernandez.

movement faces, such as the question of autonomy, especially in relation to the parties of the Left. Discussion of feminist issues have proved so powerful that even members of the Women's Commission of the Communist Party who were assigned the task of giving "the line" to the feminists, are now fighting for autonomy with their Party!

In facing the issue of domestic labor, which is a fact of life for poor women, the Center is calling for its professionalization, that is, limiting working hours, establishing visitation rights and other benefits, rather than calling for its elimination.

The Center has not only helped in the formation of grass roots organizations, but focused on research in the areas of women in the factory and women in history. This history, Virginia Vargas was quick to point out, was not being written in isolation of the movements, but was based on discussions with women workers at their workplace.

In the discussion period, Vargas stated that the most significant failure of the American feminist movement was the inability to reach the Black dimension in this country as well as working women. In their work, the Peruvian feminists have begun to raise questions that we in the U.S. need to raise in our movement. — Neda

## Qantas fires workers

San Francisco, Ca. — Qantas Airline locked us out Feb. 6 and contracted out baggage handling work at minimum wage. Ever since contract negotiations started in March of 1982, the company would only negotiate a severance package, how much to get rid of each worker. We kept rejecting the "offer" and never voted to go on strike. I just got a call at 11 o'clock at night from the security guard who told me I didn't have a job with Qantas. Altogether there are about 230 of us: 110 in San Francisco, 6 in Los Angeles and the rest in Honolulu.

They kept the reservation and clerical people though we are in the same union, the Airline Employees Local 1213 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. They were trying to split us up, offering the clerical people a pretty good package with part of the package being that we would be out the door.

Qantas is saying they can fire whoever they want and keep whoever they want. We didn't even talk about benefits. We just want to get back to work. If they get away with this, it is going to hurt everybody else. I've got to do everything to stop them now or I won't have any future except working at McDonald's for \$4.00 an hour for the rest of my life.

I think it is about time for all the unions to get together and put everything aside to stop this. An Australian freighter came in and there were only 30-40 Qantas people picketing. But we stopped the ship from unloading because about 300 union members from eight different unions came out, including the longshoremen who stopped working and picketing along with us. That's the way we are going to have to do things.

— Locked-out Qantas worker

## Central America

(Continued from Page 1)

tion. (See *Guatemalan Revolutionaries Speak*, available from News & Letters, 50¢.)

As well there is the deep capitalist economic crisis which is within all of Central America, and within Mexico. It is this which brings the search for revolutionary beginnings to the fore.

### THE REAGAN CONSPIRACY

If there is a conspiracy in Central America, it is the conspiracy of what the Reagan Administration is doing to crush these revolutionary beginnings:

- the U.S. government's support for the Somocistas, some of whom have launched an offensive within Nicaragua.

- the resumption of military aid to Rios Montt's murderous regime in Guatemala.

- the millions in aid to Honduras, including recent joint military exercises with the Honduran armed forces.

- the continuation of the military school in Panama run by the U.S. military to train Latin American officers.

- the latest revelations of a vast spy network initiated by the Reagan Administration and operating in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

This is the conspiracy which needs to be rooted out. It is one which is not alone for Latin America, but can have its most dangerous aspects right here at home in the Reagan Administration's determination to impose its view of "American society" upon all of us. Thus opposition to Reagan's militaristic policies abroad, needs to begin with working out a different future here at home. — E. Walker

## Nurse looks at Health Association conference

Madison, Wis. — The American Public Health Association's (APHA) 110th Annual Meeting was held in Montreal, Quebec, last November. APHA is one of the largest and most progressive health care organizations in the United States. Its membership includes nurses, physicians, community health planners, nutritionists, community mental health workers, occupational safety and health workers, and administrators. These workers see the realities of political and economic policies in the health of the people.

Dr. Robert Butler, professor of geriatrics and adult development, presented some frightening statistics on the realities of Reaganomics: an unemployment rate of more than 10 percent means 16 million people in the U.S. are without any form of health insurance; the "private sector" would need to increase donations by 147 percent to make up the health and social service cuts of the Reagan budget. The largest increase in any year has only been 14 percent.

The Occupational Health and Safety Administration, (OSHA) Director of Health Standards spoke in place of OSHA Director, Thorne Aucter. Many there thought Aucter feared to face the anger over OSHA's new attitude — that it is not exclusively a regulator. Dr. Donald Miller, director of the National Institute for Occupational Safety Administration (NIOSH), contended NIOSH could adequately protect workers' health despite budget restrictions. A NIOSH worker stood up and challenged this "apology for Reaganomics," stating workers' health was being sacrificed to an unprecedented military buildup.

APHA's politics were expressed in a series of resolutions, everything from health related issues such as calling for an immediate decrease in a variety of emissions in the atmosphere that are causing the acid rain; to issues such as opposing racism as manifested by planned action against undocumented workers and the detention of refugees fleeing U.S.-backed authoritarian regimes. The health concerns of women, gays, older people and Blacks were also revealed in the resolutions.

Dr. Vicente Navarro, author of *Medicine Under Capitalism*, delivered one of the most enlightening talks where he asserted that, compared to other industrialized Western capitalist nations, the USA's health and social service programs are very underdeveloped — not because people in the U.S. are uncompassionate, but because their leadership is. At the end of his talk, Navarro proposed that the various interest groups need to learn they are part of a class, and act in unity.

People need to be encouraged to want more, such as jobs for everyone, security for the elderly, etc. People need to ask for the "impossible" and redefine the terms of the debate. Dr. Navarro was asked was he merely advocating reform or calling for revolution? He replied that his role was not to tell working people what actions to take, but to encourage them to know and demand what is rightfully theirs. Should institutions remain unresponsive, working people will know what actions to take, as they have done throughout history.

From this conference, one occupational safety and health conclusion seems apparent. The government's ability to protect workers should now be judged unreliable. Workers must assume more responsibility for their health and safety. They must protect themselves in the political, economic and judicial realms, and also through collective bargaining agreements and with strikes on safety and health issues. — L. Czewski, occupational health nurse

## U.S. LIFE AND LABOR: EMPLOYED, UNEMPLOYED, HOMELESS

Hundreds of Van Nuys workers held a demonstration in the pouring rain outside their plant in late February, demanding that GM sign a written promise not to close the plant. Even though GM says it intends to hire back the second shift, every worker knows that's only their way to boost up production before closing the plant once and for all. Even the Van Nuys union bureaucrats, who are known for sitting around and waiting for orders from GM, attended the rally.

Then about 600 autoworkers showed up at a South Gate union meeting, all complaining about GM's plan to send 400 laid-off South Gate workers to Oklahoma. They wanted to know what the union leadership is going to do to prevent workers' families from being torn apart, and they wanted to know why the leadership hadn't informed the workers about it. The workers forced through a motion at the meeting demanding that the union leadership get GM to agree to take voluntary moves to Oklahoma, instead of picking names out of a hat.

15 years on the line  
Los Angeles

The Detroit Free Press has been running a series about life among the homeless in this country — three million of them. Many of the stories have taken place in the Sunbelt states, like Texas, Florida, and Arizona, where workers from the North went to look for a job after they lost everything at home. Well now they are living in tents and cardboard boxes, and even being evicted from that. They are eating hand-outs and garbage left-overs.

A delegation from Africa and Latin America was taken on a tour of the South, and they saw one of the shantytowns. Then they went to a poor farming community in the Arkansas delta — nearly all Black. When they got done they said that they had seen a different USA than they had ever known before. One African said, "It's nothing so different from what exists in our capital city. But I never thought to find colonialism right in your backyard".

Still working  
Detroit

The unions in this country are all corrupt. I found out when our contract ran out and I organized our strike. When we went back to work I was fired. That's happened to me twice. Now there's no union where I work, because the boss lets people come to work late and so on, so no one sees the need.

Central American worker  
New York

About a year ago my brother quit working in a uranium mine in western Colorado, because he said the way they were running that mine it was only a matter of time before some accident happened. He's been on and off jobs ever since, and he got a lot of heat for leaving a well-paid job. Over Christmas, he went back to the area of the mine and asked how things were. They told him five miners have died in accidents over the past year there.

Revolutionary worker  
Colorado

Kaiser Steel announced that it would close its Fontana, Cal. plant unless workers agree to even more wage concessions. This is the last big steel plant in Southern California and it will cost workers thousands of jobs. But a lot of workers are saying they have had enough of the concessions. They look at the Bethlehem Steel agreement — has that saved any workers' jobs? Why should workers pay the capitalists so they could invest in new robots to take workers' jobs away?

Laid-off autoworker  
Southern California

John Marcotte's column (Mar. N&L) told the truth. In this country it isn't unemployment or overwork — it's both. At GM Fleetwood we are working nine hours a day, and eight hours every other Saturday. And this is with over 1,000

members of our local union on lay-off. They try to blame the unemployment on "Japanese competition", but the real blame is the automation machines like the huge monsters in the body shop, and the company's overtime policy. When are we going to get a real union that will make work-life really human — not that phony "Quality Work Life" stuff that GM runs?

GM Fleetwood worker  
Detroit

One night I was watching "Nightline", and to my surprise a worker from a GM plant in Ohio was interviewed by Ted Koppel. He had been called back on the second shift, but he said that he had been laid off and called back before, so this call-back could lead to another lay-off. He told the truth that the up-turn that Reagan is hollering about is nothing but another of his many up-turns he predicted since he took office.

Three of the four economists interviewed next were forced to agree with this worker. Could this mean that for once "mental" labor is beginning to see that "manual" labor has a head too? Or were they just intimidated by the plain truth of what he said?

Retired worker  
California

### CHICAGO ELECTION

The article "Black Chicago Unites" (Mar. N&L) gave me a lot of pleasure. I saw for myself years ago what a racist city that can be if your skin is not of the white color. Never did I think that our people could overcome that white machine, but they are on the path to victory now. But before we count the election over, we should remember that power never gives up without a fight, and the old machine will fight. I hear that now the white neighborhoods are being flooded with KKK leaflets and the police are openly campaigning for the white candidate against Rep. Washington (even though they always backed the Democrat before). This time unity is needed even more.

Subscriber  
Alabama

### THOUGHTS ON MARCH 8

I think we still have a long way to go in this movement. I was leafleting the campus for our International Women's Day meeting on the Univ. of Windsor campus, when I offered a flyer to a middle-aged woman. She said, "No thank you; I'm just a cafeteria worker here". I was so taken aback that it took me a moment to answer that women workers were exactly who International Women's Day was created by and for. The division between mental and manual labor runs deep in this sick society.

Women's liberationist  
Windsor, Ontario

### CRISIS IN EDUCATION: PARENTS SPEAK OUT

My children are attending the Detroit Public Schools, and what I am noticing lately has a lot to say about youth growing up in our cities now. I see an increased sexism, even on the middle school level. Boys and girls aren't allowed to play together. We are told it's because "they fight too much". What they really mean is that it's too much work for a worsening workload.

I am also furious about the situation with libraries. That is one of the hidden ways they make cuts. The librarian now has to have a class of 35 in the library at all times, so students can't go use the library during school hours. Either they have to get a special pass before school or use the public library. And you know how their hours have been reduced. Here youth are in the time of their life when their minds are so active and where can they go? My own children ask me what Reagan is going to take away next.

Working mother  
Detroit

# Readers' View

Under Reagan's new plans to have low-income students pay a larger share of college costs before becoming eligible for any Federal grants, the minimum a student would be required to raise would be no less than 40 percent. To call this a "self-help" incentive is not merely asinine but obscene in a land in which the unemployment rate is 10.4 percent and much higher for youth. There's no way they can raise the money themselves.

College student's mother  
Pennsylvania

I'm glad the college students are protesting all the cuts in education, but the problems start at the very beginning, with the youngest children. If you can't read your education stops right there, and if you're hungry you can't learn to read. It isn't only outright educational things Reagan is cutting, it's things like lunches, too. Kids are standing in lines with their parents at soup kitchens and cheese lines. When your belly is empty you're not interested in anything but daydreaming about food. I know.

Young working woman  
Detroit



### BRITISH WOMEN'S PEACE CAMPS SPREADING

It's nice to be back in Britain, but finding it quite a shock after the states. It seems like an incredibly oppressive place, but the contrast to that is that it is politically exciting. The anti-nuclear movement has grown incredibly since I left, with about seven peace camps in England and three in Scotland. I went to a women's day of action at Faslane (a submarine base). 1,500 women were there, the first ever demo of its kind in Scotland. I'm going to spend a few days at the peace camp there.

Only now am I beginning to appreciate the demonstrations in California. Here there's quite a lot of frustration because it's an all-women affair and I personally feel that at some point men have to be included. One of the things that most excites me here is to see people acting from their beliefs and not from the directive of any big organization. One feels the nuclear holocaust is just around the corner, so apart from the excitement I feel pretty scared as well.

One of my criticisms of the movement here is the tendency toward being middle-class women. I hope it will broaden to include all of society. However, it's still wonderful to see women organizing and growing and learning every day.

Feminist and peace activist  
Glasgow, Scotland

### NEW QUESTIONS FOR MOVEMENT IN FRANCE AND GERMANY

I'm not surprised that the Greens in Germany have trouble connecting to labor, as Kevin A. Barry showed in his article last month. The Greens were saying capitalism over-produces, and they put forward plans for "subsistence production". As a former autoworker I can tell you that capitalism has to over-produce. That is the only way they can squeeze their surplus value out of the workers. To stop that over-production, you've got to have workers seize production in their own hands. Just to say, let's have the workers produce less, without changing the factory relations, is like wanting nuclear power without the pollution.

Laid-off worker  
Downey, Cal.

The revelations around Klaus Barbie continue. One important response was that of Mansour Marzouk, an Algerian,

who wrote: "I cannot resist asking this question: how many Barbies and Nazis were there during the Algerian War? I was 18 in 1958. I was arrested for almost nothing and tortured for a month on the orders of a Captain Bernard. I left like an old man of 70, both of my legs paralyzed and all my ribs broken. I simply want to ask the question: How do the French judge the people who did the same thing in Algeria as Barbie and the Nazis in their time?"

Observer  
New York

### ENCAMPMENT AGAINST HUNGER

Hundreds of people will erect an encampment and beg in an open-ended fast on July 4, 1983, in Kansas City/Independence, Mo. Mammoth limestone caves located in the area contain nearly 200 million pounds of surplus dairy products, only a portion of the billions of pounds of commodities stored in hundreds of other smaller sites throughout the country.

The demonstration is intended to encourage the release of some portion of the \$5 billion in food now stockpiled by the Dept. of Agriculture, at a time when hunger and malnutrition are widespread. If you want to join or help, contact:

Community for Creative Non-violence  
1345 Euclid St. NW  
Washington, DC 20009

### REPORT FROM TEL AVIV

The present situation in Israel is in my view very pessimistic. Pressure groups are always short-term struggles. All that remain are their slogans. Even when they remain within the negative struggle, there are weaknesses, due to not always "reading the maps" correctly. The only one who supported my observation that the stress had to be focused against Begin was Raya. Here everyone put the stress on getting rid of Sharon. Towards Begin they made requests and gave advice for him to remain within the democratic structure. This is not just a strategic mistake.

In the dynamics of social struggle, society changes through self-contradictions, influenced by internal and external events. The existence of a personal cult leadership acts as an adhesive power that unites all regressive forces. But the difference between Moshe Arens and Sharon is only that of one being a professor and the other a general. They share all the rest. The only thing that could have affected Begin is to speak of him not apologetically, but to clearly describe him as a typical fascist.

Humanist  
Tel Aviv, Israel

### QUEBEC TEACHERS UPDATE

Here's an update on our battle in Quebec. For the moment, the Quebec government seems to have the upper hand after the truce in the teachers' strike. By stalling in conciliation talks, the government has brought us within eight weeks of the end of the school year, which doesn't give us the leverage to strike. A big disappointment has been the lack of support from the CLC (Canadian Labour Congress), though teachers' unions from all over Canada have been very supportive.

There are some good things. Even if many teachers are discouraged and the government seems to have won this round, we may have somehow won historically. The government seems to have undermined its narrow nationalistic purposes. People in Quebec are taking a much wider interest in what's happening in Ontario and elsewhere, and English and French are working together as working people against the bourgeoisie, which is what I always thought it was anyway.

Striking teacher  
Montreal

### MARXIST-HUMANISM'S 'TRILOGY OF REVOLUTION' CHALLENGES POST-MARX MARXISTS

Like her previous books, Raya Dunayevskaya's valuable new work gave me great pleasure to read. She has written of the most original aspects of Luxemburg in a fresh and convincing manner. One is impressed with the sensitivity, thoughtfulness and cultural comprehensiveness of the text, the yearning of the author to build a bridge between the text and contemporary forms of human life. The list of merits could be greatly extended, and all of them constitute elements that I could learn from this book.

But we see many things differently. Those substantive differences arise from our different experiences and different cultural roots. You think the contemporary world is drawn to a process which confirms the foresight of Marx. I do not see it this way; I do not see a movement to a truly "human society", which would conform with the European idea of individualism, freed from social regimentation... To this day, despite the common use of the term (Marxist) "tradition", what is the predominant feature is the poverty of theoretical development in this sphere...

The mass development of Russian history of the 19th and early 20th centuries — October 1917 included — seems to me to center above all in this: that they opened a path for overcoming the consequences of the Westernization of Russia and made possible the definitive triumph over the axial principle of the socio-cultural traditions of Western civilization — the principle of power... You see Russia as state-capitalism. I agree with the first half of your formulation.

Russian scholar  
Canada

I don't know how many of your readers have seen the new film Gandhi, but out here in "Hollywood" it is making a big splash. One thing which came to mind in seeing the film was a point Dunayevskaya makes in her new book. Dunayevskaya argues that Marx's Marxism is a method, not a set of generalized abstractions that you just apply willy-nilly to different situations. It's easy to see how wrong are those "post-Marx Marxists" who see only the class struggle, only West Europe as important, or only one pathway to revolution as possible.

When I saw Gandhi, I said to myself, here was a man who did make a contribution to freedom, but who so froze himself into the abstraction of "non-violence" that the achievement of Indian independence was held back for a decade. Gan-

dhi, just like so many post-Marx Marxists, refused to see more than one pathway to social transformation. The category of "post-Marx Marxism" seems to include not only Marx's followers, but his critics.

Student of dialectics  
California

I have just finished reading Marxism and Freedom and I'm about halfway through Philosophy and Revolution. So far I've gained a more profound understanding of Marx and revolutionary dialectics. Previously I had read Capital with a sense of revelation, as well as an emotional experience. However, Raya's works clarified many misconceptions I'd had stemming from the influence of orthodox "Marxism." They also put some "meat" into my own thoughts and helped in my working-out the contradictions of present-day revolutionary developments.

Bi-lingual teacher  
Washington, D.C.

In the letter signed "Anthropologist and feminist, Illinois" (Jan-Feb. N&L), the author asks for discussion on Dunayevskaya's treatment of the relation between Marx and Engels. I don't think that we should criticize Engels' excellent historical work up to the point where it would not be accepted. What is important here is that Dunayevskaya found new depth-thought in Marx's Ethnological Notebooks. Engels tended to base his

analysis on mechanical or legalistic structural changes that came from above, while Marx demonstrates that the primitive free social and sexual relations between male and female continually changed according to the changes in the social and economic structures.

We could take the downfall of the patriarchy as an example... What is important here is that Marx wanted to point out that the social, political and economic inequality of our day has its roots in that first, primitive inequality between male and female, when the chiefs and ancients of the tribe began controlling the social and sexual life of the youth. It was a gradual development and the changes in the social and economic structures were its basis. Engels saw instead only an "overthrow" or "downfall" as the cause, rather than the result.

Long-time reader  
Milan, Italy



### MARX CENTENARY — DIVERGENT CELEBRATIONS

Dunayevskaya's "Marxist-Humanism, 1983" piece last issue was quite difficult. What seems like the simplest of things — "How To Begin Anew?" — is in fact the most complex of questions. First, it has to be so clear, aiming at nothing less than beginning anew the process toward complete social revolution. Second, it has to be so concrete: each question of how one subjects of revolution, of how does one create a revolutionary newspaper, must be answered with specificity, not abstractions.

Student of Marxism  
New York

I especially appreciated N&L printing new passages from the French edition of Marx's Capital last month, even if 108 years late. Knowing now that much important work has been left out of English editions of Capital will certainly send me back to the library. These passages from the French edition bring to me a more world-wide view of capitalist development.

The idea that new world markets for capitalism did not alleviate the crises, but, on the contrary, intensified and

quicker the cycles of depression has been borne out in our period. These passages, together with what was presented in Philosophy and Revolution, go a long way toward stamping out the misconception that Marx only saw capitalism's role in the Third World in the 16th through 18th centuries (in its origin). The truth is that he saw the "rosy dawn" of capitalist accumulation as a continuing nightmare.

Student  
Ithaca, N.Y.

Poor Marx. If he were witness to what passed for a "Marx Centenary" at the University of Michigan! The abstract compliments — "the most influential thinker since the founders of the world religions" — combined with a rush to "au courant" "Marxist studies" of today without a whiff of what Marx stood for. A discussion of British Marxism without a mention of Marx's three decades in Britain. A critical look at American Marxist historians without the vantage point of Marx's own relationship to America. How alive is Dunayevskaya's category of "post-Marx Marxists", and not as a complimentary term.

Marxist student  
Ann Arbor, Mich.

The article on "Marx and the Black World" (Mar. N&L) was a real surprise to me. I did not know Marx had written on Jamaica at all, and knew very little about his work in support of the Abolitionist movement. You would never learn

such things in the university. And now they are cutting back what few programs we do have. Did you know that from 800 Black Studies programs in the USA ten years ago, today there are only 525?

Black student  
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Did you know that National Public Radio had an observance of the Marx Centenary March 13 on "All Things Considered"? The two Marxists they talked to were Harry Magdoff and Daniel Singer. They also talked to Robert Heilbroner and other bourgeois ideologists who promptly displayed their willful ignorance. Singer was the only one who didn't reduce Marxism to mere analysis of capitalism's economic workings. One of the newspeople even repeated the old myth that Marx considered Russia very backwards and particularly unripe for revolution.

Listening, but not learning  
Illinois

The March issue of N&L is a living proof of the power of ideas. The "Worker's Journal" column shows how the thinking of two workers changed after "meeting Marx". I liked the column very much because it really shows the Marxism of Marx, how both mental and manual labor are needed in the same person to break down the barriers that separate and fragment people. I would like to ask other workers who read N&L to tell how they "met Marx".

Ex-auto worker  
Pico Rivera, Cal.

## PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

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By Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes . . . . . \$1 per copy
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# Howard U: Black writers, student protests in two worlds

Washington, D.C. — I arrived at Howard University during Black History Month for the Fifth Annual Afro-American Writers' Conference in the middle of student protests and marches demanding the resignation of James Cheek, the president of the university since the late 1960s when I had been a student there. Unfortunately, the student protests and the proceedings of the writers' conference remained in two separate worlds.

It was the first convening of the writers' conference since 1978 with the purpose of looking at recent Black literature within the social and ideological context of today's Black condition. The conference ran for two days and explored topics ranging from Black autobiography as history to the political dimensions of nationalism, Marxism and feminism in recent Black literature to issues in Black women's literature. Black literary scholar, Stephen Henderson, organized the conference bringing in such writers and critics as Black feminist writer Toni Cade Bambara, literary critic Houston Baker, and Black activist Amiri Baraka.

Two of the most interesting papers which showed the serious contribution of Black intellectuals to Black labor and women's studies were given by James Spady and Joanne Braxton. In speaking about Black historical biography, James Spady singled out Black labor as a neglected subject of Black literature, and presented some research on Arthur Faucett, the brother of Harlem Renaissance writer and feminist, Jessie Faucett. Arthur Faucett had been the editor of pre-Harlem Renaissance journals which took up labor and socialist issues and had founded the Philadelphia teachers' union.

Joanne Braxton spoke about the need to "reclaim lost ground" in the history of Black women. The subject of her remarks was the autobiography of Ida B. Wells, *Crusade for Justice*. To Braxton, Wells' book is a "narrative professional and memoir" which reconstructs past moments in the life of a "feminist and Black social activist." As against the usual dismissal of writing by Black women as "Memoirs," Braxton viewed it as the Black woman's "recreation of herself in light of one's method."

## CRISIS OF THE BLACK INTELLECTUAL

The panel which filled the hall to overflowing was the one on "The Political Dimension (Nationalism, Marxism, Feminism)." The speakers were Toni Cade Bambara, Acklyn Lynch, Kalamu ya Salaam and Amiri Baraka. It was Salaam who represented perhaps the most serious duality in the conference. On the one hand, Salaam was the only one during the conference to note that it was no accident that most of the recent Black literature was by women. He said, "Black women are searching for a new voice; so what is wrong with learning from women. Black women as revolutionaries are fulfilling their historic mission as articulated by Frantz Fanon. For in Black women



Howard students confront university president Cheek.

writers we see the political imagination." Unfortunately, this was weighed down with the elitist conclusion that "the Black audience for our work is underdeveloped."

This duality found another form of expression in the paper delivered by Amiri Baraka. As the most prominent Black writer at the conference, Baraka was the speaker that everyone had waited to hear. Unlike the other panelists he didn't take for granted the relationship of Black literature to Black masses in motion, from Abolitionism through Garveyism to the 1960s and showed how Black literary forms were born out of and reflected those periods. However, when Baraka concluded that the reason the movement of the 1960s failed was because it lacked a proper Marxist-Leninist vanguard party to lead, it was only out of respect that the laughter wasn't louder.

## BLACK VOICES OF PROTEST AND REASON

At one point reality did intrude into the conference when student protesters — mostly young women — marched through the corridors with shouts of "Boycott

classes tomorrow!" Outraged over the summary dismissal of a Black woman, Janice McKnight, as editor of the student newspaper, the *Hilltop*, the protests at Howard culminated in the occupation of a building on campus two weeks after the students called for the resignation of university president James Cheek.

Not only have students protested the administration's censorship of free speech and press on campus, but point to the fact that faculty and students who criticize the Reagan Administration are harassed and dismissed. They have also demanded that financial aid not be tied to draft registration. The most vocal charge made by the students is that Cheek's close association with Reagan is helping to legitimize Reagan's repression of Black America. Ever since students protested Vice-President and ex-CIA director George Bush's delivering the commencement address in 1981, they have been tracked through the university system and have had their classes cancelled.

The serious discussions one heard among the students revealed not only a political but a philosophic dimension. One of their slogans said, "We want a university to produce the Black mind." And a student added: "That means we want a Black education at Howard which would allow the Black underprivileged in our society to come here."

Thus, it isn't totally true that nothing had changed since my own protest days at Howard had turned into the quiescent 1970s. Nor, as one Black intellectual put it, that the conference illustrated the continuing crisis of the Black intellectual. New voices and concerns could be heard in the conceptions of some of the panelists, just as one couldn't help hearing the new voices of protest and reason among the Black students. What is at the heart of the crisis is that there remains the task of working out a philosophy that would finally unite theory and practice in a way that would allow the Black voices of protest to hear themselves speak in the conceptions and ideas of the Black intellectual. This is the absolute challenge to Black thought in the 1980s.

— Lou Turner

## BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

In his State Of The Union Message to Congress, President Reagan failed to mention specifically the severe economic depression that has taken over the Black community. Once again, Blacks were treated as "the invisible man." But the Urban League's report on *The State of Black America 1983*, released shortly after the President's message to Congress, in some ways has lifted the veil of silence that the Administration would like to cast over Afro-America.

The Urban League has not presented us with a pretty picture, but a sober analysis of how corrosive the crisis has been on the Black community. *The State of Black America 1983* is a 399-page document composed of eight essays written by prominent Black intellectuals in the fields of sociology, law, economics, government, psychiatry, etc. Thus by its very nature the dominant style and tone of the report is statistical and sociological. But it is markedly different than the analysis of the recession that we get from the "official economists," since it focuses wholly upon the human dimensions of the recession and not "growth," that is, the accumulation of capital.

## POLITICAL AGENDA VS. BLACK REALITY

It is true, as Dr. Charles V. Hamilton pointed out in his essay on "Politics and Voting," that there is, "a sense of *deja vu*" about the *State of Black America 1983*. "That while some things change, there are nagging constants."

The "nagging constants" that Hamilton was referring to, is that the seven reports issued by the Urban League on *The State of Black America* have ended with the declaration that the right coalition of Blacks and white liberals can take charge of the government via the ballot box and halt, if not stop, the spread of racism and economic suffering. The Urban League agenda is not a Black agenda but "is directed at helping all of America's poor and deprived citizens . . . in the national interest."

Hamilton agrees with this political attitude, and he has attempted to show in his essay that if Blacks voted in numbers selectively for those that would do them the least damage they could "guard against further losses, as a mechanism for minimizing one's already vulnerable status." The whole of Dr. Hamilton's essay is a thesis on how to select the lesser evil in the capitalist political arena.

However, two essays in *The State of Black America 1983* have shown that the "right" men or the "wrong" men in office have had no effect one way or the other upon the absolute decline of the economic status of Afro-America. James D. McGhee and David H. Swinton in their respective essays, "The Changing Demographics in Black America" and "The Economic Status Of Black America," have shown statistically that Blacks have lost economically since 1970. Reaganomics has not been the primary cause of this decline, in spite of the callous cut in social programs. Swinton states: "that progress in im-

## Urban League has facts but not Black voices

proving the black economic position had ceased long before the present recession and long before President Reagan took office." The 1970s was a period of continual rise in Black unemployment and after 1975 it never dropped below 12 percent for adults and 34 percent for Black youth. In fact, Blacks never recovered from the recessions of 1968 and 1974-75.

## BLACK ECONOMISTS, BLACK LABOR

McGhee points out that "Those ten years brought us four Presidents, each with his own style and political agenda that often cancelled out the efforts of his predecessor. They brought, finally, an end to one of the most unpopular wars in history but also the beginning of permanent structural changes in the U.S. and world economies that are only now beginning to be generally recognized and still not fully understood."

Both of these Black economists have also recognized that there has been an absolute decline in the Black labor force, whether employed or unemployed, and that is happening at a far greater rate than that of white male workers.

McGhee's and Swinton's essays are undoubtedly a response to the deep and continuing depression in the Black community that is compelling Black intellectuals to go beyond the compilation of statistics on how bad conditions are for Blacks seeking out the cause of those conditions in capitalist production. At the same time it has to be pointed out that McGhee and Swinton are saying nothing new in their reports. Any serious student of Marx's Capital would immediately recognize the structural changes that they are referring to, the preponderance of technology in ratio to workers in production and the resulting fall in the absolute rate of profit.

Over the years numerous articles have appeared in *News & Letters* about this phenomenon, and not just from the point of unemployment and poverty it causes, but from the point of Black and white workers opposition to automation, unimation and robotics. We have carried articles written by workers both about these new conditions and their own vision of how they would organize a new humane type of production. It is precisely these voices that we do not hear in the Urban League's *The State of Black America 1983*. Nothing is said about the Miami revolt of Black youth, a screen of statistics shields it from view.

In this sense the Urban League's report is inferior to that of the United States Commission on Civil Rights report on racial isolation in Miami, which managed to let a few voices be heard from below, on unemployment, affirmative action, education, etc. And, just because the Urban League's report has limited its scope to the so-called objectivity of professional intellectuals, who have no vision of the possibility of a new society, they reduce all of their statistical research to the advocacy of "liberal reforms," implemented by the right government.

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## LA cops kill again

LOS ANGELES, Cal. — The murder on March 3, of a five-year-old Black child, in his home, by a police officer in Orange County, and the subsequent possibility of charges against the child's mother for neglect because she left him home alone when she went to work, are a clear picture of just how inhuman and uncaring our society is.

How could anyone mistake a five-year-old for a prowler and shoot him? How could anyone charge a single parent with neglect when she had to work in order to feed her child? Something is very wrong.

The police always come into Black and minority neighborhoods with their guns drawn. The whole Black community is on edge because of continuous police killing and the choke hold. The entire community is outraged at this latest murder, including the fact that the policeman who shot the young boy has been sent home with full pay, and all the news media keeps talking about is how upset he is.

Just the thought of charging that young mother with neglect, when she has already had to suffer the death of her child, is outrageous.

We need to do something to turn this society around. We need to totally uproot a system that allows these kinds of horrors to happen over and over again.

— Working mother

## No new direction in Angela Davis book on Black women

*Women, Race and Class*, by Angela Davis. Random House. 1981. 271pp. \$13.50.

Many women writers and historians have written on the Women's Suffrage Movement of the 19th century and its relationship to the Abolitionist Movement. Some of these books, such as *Century of Struggle, Black Women in 19th Century American Life and Black Women in White America*, have enlightened us on this subject. These books have shown that Black women have played an important role in the freedom movement in this country. Yet, in some cases when history is written their role is seen as a "detour" from the mainstream of women's history\* or is shown as the fight for Black liberation first and their liberation second.

\*See my review of Gerda Lerner's *The Majority Finds Its Past*, N&L, March, 1980.

### WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

thing the Blacks could do was try to protect themselves, which they did. One of the women in the house called the Montgomery police asking for help against these white men who had broken into the house, but the police now claim that they have no record of the call because the tape equipment "malfunctioned." The two whites turned out to be police, and crowds of police stormed the house to help them. Twenty-six Black men, women and children were beaten and forced to crawl to police cars and be arrested.

Anyone who has read the articles on what happened can see and smell the racism of Montgomery. I remember when I lived there, and one night late — about 12 or 1 a.m. — two policemen came to our house, knocking on our door so hard I thought they would break it in. I yelled twice "Who is there?" but they didn't say a word. So I yelled to just knock it in. I thought it was a drunk, but then they said "Police!" They saw I had a pistol in my hands, and they asked me where did I work. After I told them I worked for a lawyer, they said they were looking for some man and left in a hurry.

That was many years ago, and we have had the civil rights revolution which is supposed to have changed everything. And yet Montgomery has a Police Chief, Swindall, who said "the Black subjects were acting in the manner of wild animals." This is the man who refused to give the Taylor family any medical treatment after they were beaten by police and in the jail. Swindall and Mayor Emory Folmar are two of the worst racist gun nuts we have ever seen. They are wearing guns everywhere, even to church.

Compare that to the Taylor family in Pontiac. Everyone who knows them says they are good, law-abiding citizens. They held a rally in Pontiac to start a support organization for the 11 defendants called the Montgomery Defense League, and 1,200 people turned out. There were also rallies in Montgomery. No one can believe what happened to them. They say these two police were mad when they saw Blacks had Cadillacs and Lincolns parked near the house.

#### THE POLICE COVER-UP

The FBI says that they are investigating why the tape recorder "malfunctioned" when the Black woman called police headquarters for help. But I remember several years ago a portion of a tape was also lost when police shot and killed a mentally retarded Black man. The investigation later proved that a gun was planted on the man's dead body, and the Mayor, Robinson, had to resign. Swindall was involved in that cover-up too.

The truth of what is happening, as I see it, has a lot to do with these elections. The racist whites put up two to run against each other, and Blacks have to choose the "lesser evil" or not vote at all. That is what is happening in Lowndes County, Ala. now, where the white Probate Judge Hammond said he was the only liberal white in the county. He would say that he let Blacks move a trailer onto his land and live there with no rent. He owns some 35,000 acres. But today he is telling all those who moved onto his land that they must get off, and he is telling all other Blacks who owe him money that they have to pay as quickly as possible.

North or South, the fact is that we are living in a racist society. Chicago has the name of the most racist city above the Mason-Dixon line, and the election campaign there has proved it to be true. As soon as Rep. Washington, the Black candidate, won the Democratic primary, every racist tactic broke loose. No, Montgomery is not an isolated scandal; it is everywhere. And so is the revolt by Black youth especially. Miami has now rebelled three times in two years, and it will not be alone. We will go on rebelling until this country is changed and changed totally.

If you would like to send help for the legal defense of the Taylor Family against the racist charges of the Montgomery police, contact:

Montgomery Defense Fund  
P.O. Box 3273  
Pontiac, MI. 48059

The main burden of Angela Davis' book, *Women, Race and Class*, is its attempt to reconstruct the history of Black women during the 19th century anti-slavery movement. It is true that Davis does point out such a historic original as Maria Stewart as the first American-born woman to speak in public, but she does not bother to relate that to the fact that it was in the same year, 1831, that Nat Turner led the greatest slave rebellion in U.S. history. Is that not because Davis' main burden in these essays is to show the division between middle-class white women and Black male suffrage, rather than to concentrate on the unique contributions Black women made in this crucial period?

The struggle for the 14th and 15th Amendments was a critical time for Black people, especially Black women. Black women spoke up for their rights, but were told by their leaders to wait, because this was the "Negro hour." Davis defends the Black male chauvinism by saying: "The fact that Black men might also exhibit sexist attitudes was hardly a sound reason for arresting the progress of the overall struggle for Black liberation..."

#### SOJOURNER TRUTH'S RELEVANCE VS. DAVIS' REWRITE

The fact that Sojourner Truth opposed Frederick Douglass on this very question is ignored by Angela Davis. And she thereby missed the turning point that American Black women had reached in the leadership of the Black and women's movements. Instead, she rewrites history to separate Black liberation from women's liberation.

When Davis does get around to quoting Sojourner Truth on the passage of the 14th and 15th Amendments it is done in a confusing way. She writes that "Two years earlier Sojourner Truth might possibly have opposed the position of Frederick Douglass. At the 1867 ERA Convention, she had opposed the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment because it effectively denied the franchise to Black women." Sojourner Truth did oppose Douglass' position!

As against this distorted view of Sojourner Truth, Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* reveals what a new moment in the history of Black women Sojourner Truth represented. This is what Dunayevskaya writes: "The turning point for American Black women was reached in 1867, after the Civil War, when even the most revolutionary Abolitionists, like Frederick Douglass and Wendell Phillips, refused to collaborate with the women in their

fight for suffrage on the grounds that this was "the Negro hour." Sojourner Truth hit back at her leader, Frederick Douglass, calling him 'short-minded'. In that Harriet Tubman joined."

Dunayevskaya concluded that "short-minded was more than an epithet." She calls it a new language of thought against those who would put any limitation to freedom. Truth's concept of short-minded reveals a total revolution in mind and activity. It is not a question of whether you fight for Black liberation or women's liberation, but rather a total view of how the two are joined in one revolutionary subject — Black women.

This is how Sojourner Truth declared the idea of total freedom at that critical point in Black history: "My friends, I am rejoiced that you are glad, but I don't know how you will feel when I get through. I come from another field — the country of the slave. They have got their liberty — so much good luck to have slavery partly destroyed; not entirely. I want it root and branch destroyed. Then we will all be free indeed. I feel that if I have to answer for the deeds done to my body just as much as a man, I have a right to have just as much as a man. There is a great stir about colored men getting their rights, but not a word about the colored women theirs. You see the colored man will be master over the woman. And it will be just as bad as it was before. So I am for keeping the thing going while things are stirring; because if we wait till it is still, it will take a great while to get it going again."

#### DAVIS' HISTORY WITHOUT PHILOSOPHY

Sojourner Truth's conception of how total the uprooting must be if we are to gain a new direction for Black and women's liberation shows that Black women are not only revolutionary force but revolutionary reason. Angela Davis' book is not a new direction for us today. It focuses on what we know is the root cause of this rotten society, without a view of a revolutionary pathway out. In these crucial times we are in need of a philosophy to help give our movement a new direction, not a rewrite of where the blame lies. Today's movements, especially Black women's, are challenging these new books on Black women's history because history itself is not enough. We must develop a philosophic view of what our history means for us today. Who of us can match Sojourner Truth whose philosophy of life and struggle began with her name? —Tommie Hope



Raya  
Dunayevskaya  
on tour



on the occasion  
of the  
Centenary  
1983

#### Chicago and Illinois

- "On the Marx Centenary: Facing the Challenge to All Post-Marx Marxists" —Tues., April 5, 3 p.m., U. of Illinois-Chicago, Chicago Circle Center, Room 605, Women's Studies, Black Studies, Anthropology
- "Dialectics of Revolution: Confrontations with Marx" —Sat., April 9, 3 p.m., Midland Hotel, 2nd floor, Holabird Room, Chicago, News and Letters
- "The Trail from Marx's Philosophy of Revolution" —Sun., April 10, 3:30 p.m. U. of Ill. at Urbana-Champaign, Conference on Third World Women and Feminist Perspectives

#### Iowa

- "On the Marx Centenary — Facing the Challenge to All Post-Marx Marxists" —Thurs., April 7, 7 p.m., U. of Iowa, Shambaugh Auditorium, Women's Studies, Universities Lectures Program, Plaines Women's Bookstore

#### Wisconsin

- "Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution" —Wed., April 13, 7:30 p.m., U. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin Center Auditorium, Women's Studies, Sociology, Committee to Stop Militarism

#### Utah

- "New Moments in Marx's Last Decade: On Women, on the Theory of Accumulation and Underdeveloped Lands" —Fri., April 15, 2 p.m., U. of Utah, Salt Lake City, Political Economy Research Association

#### Seattle, Washington

- "Rosa Luxemburg and Women's Liberation" —Mon., April 18, 7:30 p.m. U. of Washington, HUB Auditorium, Women's Committee of Associated Students

#### California

- "Marx's Relevance to Women's Liberation, the Black Dimension, the Third World Today" —Wed., April 20, 4 p.m. U. of Cal. at Berkeley, ASUC, 5th floor, Berkeley Feminist Alliance, Slavic Studies, Berkeley Journal of Sociology
- "Women as Thinkers and Revolutionaries" —Thurs., April 21, 8 p.m., Stanford U. The History Corner, Bldg. 200, Rm. 2, Structured Liberal Education, History
- "On the Centenary of Marx: Revolutionary Consciousness of Minorities and Women" —Mon., April 25, 7 p.m., U. of Cal., Santa Barbara, University Center, Pavillion II, Associated Students Program Board, Center for Black Studies
- "Marx and the Crisis in Human Freedom" —Tues., April 26, Noon, Cal. State U. at Los Angeles, Union, Room 318, United Programming Organization, Departments of Philosophy and Sociology, News and Letters Youth Committee
- "On the Marx Centenary: His Relevance to Women's Liberation and the Black Dimension" —Wed., April 27, 4 p.m. UCLA, Haines Hall 118, Center for Afro-American Studies, Women's Studies, History
- "On the Marx Centenary" —Thurs., April 28, 7 p.m. U. of Cal. San Diego, Undergraduate Science Bldg., Room 2722, Associated Students, Women's Center, Political Science.

# Campus protests counter militarism, Reaganomics, racism

(Continued from Page 1)

• At the prestigious Howard University, oldest Black University in the country, protests have been ongoing since February, castigating "President Cheek's alliance with the Reagan Administration." (See story p. 8)

• At Harvard Law School Black students and white supporters are boycotting and picketing a two-week course on racial discrimination, seen as an insulting token to defuse an affirmative action campaign they were waging to get more full-time minority professors. There are only two Blacks on a 66-member law faculty.

• And in Chicago, where Harold Washington had just won an upset victory to become the first ever Black Democratic nominee for mayor, over 100 students staged an angry demonstration at a meeting of the Chicago City Colleges board of trustees, who had hastily appointed a new chancellor, so a new mayor could not have any influence on the decision.

Such protests have been growing for over a year. They spare neither Black nor white administrators of "Reaganism" and make no separation between protests against cuts in federal student loans and those against U.S. aid to every barbarous regime in Latin America; between ever-worsening retrogression in education and ever-increasing poverty and unemployment.

Indeed, the recent demonstration of the unemployed on the steps of the Capitol, as the fate of the Jobs Bill was being debated — an overwhelming number of whom were angry young workers — not only shows that the new stage of protest today is not limited to the campus youth, but points to the inseparability of the crises gripping this land.

The truth is that the crisis in education is part and parcel of the crisis in production, and the crisis in production is exacerbated daily by the ever-greater militarization of the economy, spelled out today as Reaganism.

## MILITARISM, REAGANOMICS, RACISM

A brand new "secret" Pentagon blueprint now reveals that it will spend nearly \$2 trillion in the next five years — while the unconscionable slashes in all human services increase, affecting youth from Head Start to post-graduate levels, and in every facet from drastic cuts in libraries to the most elementary need for food in the stomach before a child can hope to learn to read. (See Readers' Views, p. 6.)

The combination of Reaganomics and racism has been the most devastating to Black students and Black colleges. All that is needed is a look at the current efforts to scrap public school desegregation plans, especially in the South, where they have been working. Especially in danger are the programs in Jacksonville, Fla.; Little Rock, Ark.; Augusta, Ga.; Norfolk, Va.; and Nashville, Tenn.

As cutbacks in federal financial aid have forced states to raise the tuitions drastically — at the very time student loans and work/study grants have been slashed to the bone — it is in the Black enrollment figures that we can best see Reaganism at work. Where the Black Revolt of the '60s brought about minority recruitment drives nationally, Black enrollment at Cornell has now declined to 650 from 1,000 a decade ago; at Berkeley it fell from 1,200 to 350.

## Reagan's non-solution to the farm problem

Chicago, Ill. — While voicing concern about the plight of the small family farmer, President Reagan's proposed solution will have the opposite effect from what he says is intended.

Reagan has proposed the payment-in-kind (PIK) program as his solution, whereby farmers will be given grain from federal stockpiles in exchange for not planting a portion of their acreage. The rationale is that by reducing federal grain supplies, farm prices will increase. However, the farmers who are in desperate straits, or who do not have storage facilities, will have to sell their share of this grain immediately, which will flood the market and drive prices down even further in the short run and force small farmers to foreclose.

Farmers, especially small landholders and tenant farmers, are caught in the middle between falling prices and rapidly increasing production costs. These costs are primarily caused by over-mechanization, extensive use of chemical fertilizers and very intensive exploitation of the land, and usurious credit rates.

These high costs, in turn, have driven farmers to mechanize even further and farm the land more intensively in order to increase production and reduce marginal costs. Thus, farm prices are being driven further and further as farmers attempt to keep afloat.

In the long run, perhaps this approach will increase farm prices. But by that time the small farmer will have gone out of business. The farmers who will be left to benefit from the price increases will be the large and corporate farmers — just as Reagan intended all along, no doubt. Another "supply side" non-solution from this administration.

— Nick Demeter

At 42 historically Black colleges freshman enrollment is down 12 percent this year alone. And at Fisk, where enrollment is down to 700 from a high of 3,000, Fisk students are being sent into Black communities across the country to beg for money to keep their school open.

Reagan's decision to penalize entire schools that have high defaults on loans now means that fully 90 percent of these historically Black institutions will be unable to obtain any new funds from student loan programs, since



Thousands protest in Berkeley

loans will be denied to any students at those schools, not just to those in default.

## REAGANISM'S PLANNED ILLITERACY

What is the most shocking of all, however, and what Reaganism is accelerating, is the decline of our public education system to the point today where a vast number of Americans are functionally illiterate; where in the New York city system, 45 percent of those who enter high school never graduate, and, of those who attend school at all, one-third are chronically absent for reasons ranging from just plain boredom to having to work to support younger brothers and sisters.

Despite Ronald Reagan's pious claim in a recent weekly radio "message" that the U.S. has always had "a love affair with learning", (just before he proposed that the Department of Education be abolished) the truth is that education has always been tied to production's needs, not to humanity's. That is why the stage of education today is precisely the stage of today's odorously stagnant economy.

There is no need for an educated populace when that populace is what Marx called capitalism's "surplus population" — by which he meant (and proved, in his greatest work, *Capital*) that the Absolute General Law of Capitalist Accumulation is the ever-greater growth of dead labor (today spelled out as more and more automated machinery) over living labor, and thus the ever-greater growth of the permanent army of the unemployed. All focus today is on educating an elite portion of the population for high technology.

When the Reagan Administration proposes tuition tax credits for private and parochial schools to help the most wealthy (and the most racist) while he seeks additional slashes in work/study grants from \$528 million to \$397 million in his new budget — and a lowering of the minimum wage for teenage youth from \$3.35 to \$2.50 an hour — it is not just that Reagan "doesn't care about the poor." It is that the growing state of actual illiteracy in this land is a planned illiteracy, every bit as much as today's unemployment is a planned unemployment.

## THE DIALECTIC OF FREEDOM

When Frederick Douglass learned that the reason his master forbade his wife to continue teaching the young Douglass to read and write was because the master feared he would then no longer be able to keep him a slave, his passion for an education was fired into a roaring blaze. Later, it was the Freedman's Bureaus during Black Reconstruction after the Civil War that brought to the South the only public schools it has ever known, making education a right for both Black and poor white children alike.

One hundred years later, the Black and white youth who created the Freedom Schools in South USA, despite burnings, beatings and murder, at one and the same time rediscovered that historic link that welded "education" and "freedom" together, and re-enacted the dialectic of freedom that Karl Marx had caught and transformed into a whole new philosophy of liberation. For it was just as he was breaking with bourgeois society and discovering that new continent of thought and revolution that the young Karl Marx wrote: "To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie." It was this vision that remained with Marx through four decades.

1. From *Private Property and Communism, 1844*. A beautiful selection of writings "From the Pen of the Young Karl Marx" is included in *The Young Marxist-Humanist*, published by N & L, 1962. (See *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection* available on microfilm from Wayne State University Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs.) For a discussion of the Freedom Schools in South USA, see *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution* by Mario Savio, Eugene Walker and Raya Dunayevskaya (Detroit: N&L, 1965), especially "Robert Moses on Education in the South," pp. 30-31. (See ad, p. 11).

Just as it has always taken periods of mass social struggle to accomplish any great forward gains in education — whether that be the Land Grants that established the state universities after Reconstruction or the GI Bill of Rights that educated 12 million rebellious young veterans after WWII — so today it has been only because of the rising mass protests that two of Reagan's most reactionary attacks on youth have been at least temporarily halted.

It was after more than 90 organizations launched powerful protests against the "squeal law" (whereby parents would have to be notified in ten days when any contraceptives were prescribed for women under 18), that Federal Courts in both Washington, D.C. and in New York were able, at the very last moment, to prevent it from going into effect. And after the Minnesota Public Interest Group, which represents some 42,000 members from Minnesota campuses, filed a lawsuit challenging it, Federal Judge Donald Alsop ruled as unconstitutional the law that was to go into effect in July denying male students financial aid if they have not registered for the draft. More than 700,000 young men have refused to register — greater than the number who refused to be drafted for Vietnam.

## NEW REVOLUTIONARY GENERATION

That the reactionary forces in this land are not taking the new "activism" of the 1980s lightly can be seen in two very different kinds of responses from Reaganland. One is a book just published by McGraw Hill — *The Year of the Monkey: Revolt on the Campus 1968-69* by William J. McGill — an account of his first year as chancellor at the University of California at San Diego. It is an unceasing outpouring of wrath against the campus rebels who interrupted his "business as usual" that year. Students in California have had no difficulty in figuring out why such a work is being brought out now, 14 years later.

The other response, and far more serious, is the new set of standards just issued that permit the expansion of FBI investigations of "domestic security" issues. Indeed, they seem specifically aimed at removing the very protections for political activism that were supposedly reinstated after the disclosure of all the spying on the dissenters of the '60s and '70s had shocked the nation.

But history does not just repeat itself. The two decades since the Black revolt erupted in the South, inspired the FSM at Berkeley, and was followed by the growth of a massive anti-Vietnam War movement have brought us to a new stage and a higher challenge today:

• Where the U.S. rape of the Dominican Republic brought forth no mass protests in 1965, the very year of eruption of the anti-Vietnam War movement, protest today against U.S. policy in El Salvador has made it almost impossible for a Jeane Kirkpatrick to set foot on U.S. campuses.

• Today it is not only a genocidal war, such as that against Vietnam or El Salvador, that has aroused new passions and forces against U.S. policies, but the threat of nuclear annihilation of civilization as we have known it. That has become the concrete question humanity must answer to, as the unthinkable has become so "thinkable" that the U.S. military can plan and prepare for a "prolonged" nuclear war!

• Today the structural changes that capitalism went through in the '70s have produced an economic crisis so deep that Marx's permanent army of the unemployed is testimony, not theory.

• The protests today not only embrace all questions at once, but involve all forces, from the newest, like women's liberation to the "oldest," like rank-and-file labor. Above all, the need for the force of a philosophy of liberation — which was proved when the year 1968-69 turned out to be both high point and aborted revolution — is today not only proved, but urgent to grasp as a philosophy of "revolution in permanence" that refuses to stop only at being *against* but projects also what it is *for* — a totally new kind of world.

This year — as all too many of the celebrations of the Marx Centenary have proved sterile and far afield from the kind of restatement of Marx's Marxism that our new age demands — the separation of these conferences from the actual activity of today's new generation of revolutionaries, gives fresh meaning to the young Marx's challenge, in 1845: "The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that circumstances are changed precisely by men and that the educator must himself be educated."

It is a dialogue with today's Youth about precisely that philosophy of liberation that the current Lecture Tour of the National Chairwoman of News & Letters Committees, Raya Dunayevskaya, is seeking. (See report by Jim Mills, p. 11, and Tour schedule, p. 9.) Whether or not you will participate in one of those lectures, we invite your participation in the dialogue with Marxist-Humanism.

2. A most interesting review by Jon Bekken appears in the Feb. 15-28 issue of new indicator, published at UCSD.

**YOUTH**

**Marxist-Humanism on campus**

by Jim Mills

Perhaps it isn't only Marxist-Humanists who say that the best way to celebrate the Marx Centenary is by making the revolution. But it is rare to hear of any others who believe that the Marxism of Marx is alive and has a bearing on the question of how to change an alienating society through revolutionary change. So, I think that the news that Raya Dunayevskaya, author of a new book — *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* — would be speaking at three campuses in the Detroit area was enough to attract enthusiastic audiences to each.

Two of the lectures were in celebration of International Women's Day, March 8. From the historic vantage offered by the day, Dunayevskaya began with the 1840s. It was then that the millenia-long struggles and passion of women for freedom — from the first women's convention in Seneca Falls, through the philosophy contained in the name that Black abolitionist Sojourner Truth coined for herself, to Margaret Fuller's transformation in the Italian 1848 revolution — coincided with the birthtime of Marx's new philosophy that posed "new humanism" as the opposite of the alienated production and property forms that mold the relationships between people. A clue to seeing that alienation — and to help end it — is in the man-woman relationship.

In the audience there was one woman who was attracted to the lecture because of the steps she had taken in her own life to break that mold. She criticized herself for being a "housewife slave" for years before rejecting that role and going to college where, however, there was no women's liberation group in which she could expand her feminist perspective.

That the ongoing history of women today would be shown in *News & Letters* was fascinating to another woman undergraduate. To her, the times when she felt most alienated were when she worked as a waitress, and she talked about the degradation for all waiters and waitresses in Reagan's new plan to make employers deduct tip money from restaurant employees' checks, whether or not they received that money. (See story, page 2.)

In all three lectures, the Black dimension was central, both to the women's movement in history and to Marx's analysis of capitalism. When Dunayevskaya discussed the coincidence in history of Nat Turner's revolt and a public speech by a Black woman, Maria Stewart, the first by any woman white or Black, in America, or when the talk turned to the influence of the abolitionist movement and the Civil War in Marx's greatest work, *Capital*, it wasn't just a history lesson. That world and historical view of Black women and of Marx attracted a Black woman undergraduate from inner city Detroit who is attending mostly white Oakland University. She said she knew nothing of Marxism, other than the myth that Russia is a Marxist state. Yet the idea that a philosophy can revolutionize the world compelled her to find out more about it.

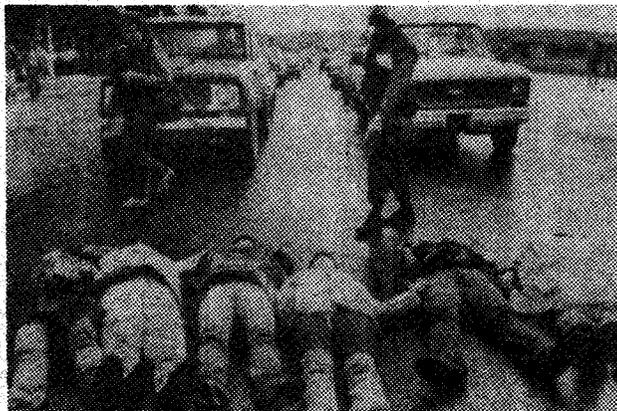
The largest group, 120 students, came to hear the lecture at the University of Michigan. This talk was on "New Moments in Marx's Last Decade." But it began with Marx's "first moments" in order to see that in Marx there is no division between economics and philosophy. Thus, Marx's doctoral dissertation, the humanist essays, the *Grundrisse*, the *Critique of Political Economy* — all led up to the process of writing *Capital* that revealed a new concept of theory.

Marx's finding new political forms in mass struggle for opposing capitalism assumed the center of all his writings, dislodging forever the view that individual thinkers alone move history forward. Flowing out of these stages in Marx are the "new moments" in his last decade. Marx, in the French edition of *Capital*, the last one he worked on, revealed a sensitivity to class struggles leading to revolutions outside of the industrialized world. This was reinforced in Marx's commentaries on the anthropological studies of his 1880s *Ethnological Notebooks* in which he returned to the man/woman relationship.

This lecture met a renewed and growing interest on campuses everywhere in Marxist thought. But in addition, the attraction here was surely also related to students'

desires to counter the oppressive reality they see with a total kind of knowledge of capitalist society that's simultaneously the action of changing it. It so happens that the U. of Mich. has attempted to win a contract to conduct military research on campus. An undercurrent of opposition to that is now coalescing with resistance to the administration's dismantling of curricula not geared to business or war. A creative protest by Fine Arts students grabbed headlines the very day of the lecture. One woman student at the lecture wore a tag on her lapel that read, "If you think education is too expensive, try ignorance."

New forms of campus militancy are being expressed this year. Yet so deep are the crisis in capitalism in this, the Marx centenary year, that not only are newer layers of youth revolt emerging to challenge its inhumanity, but that revolt is seeing a philosophic basis to overturn the system and replace it with something entirely new and human. The attempt by students to re-educate themselves in a way not possible in the classroom — by coming to the lectures — is a step in building such a foundation.



Oakland, Cal. — Over 700 blockaders at Vandenberg Air Force Base — test site for MX missiles — have been arrested as of March 23. These include "overlanders" who hiked from the camp onto the base and actually got right up to the missile assembly area. This really shook up the military! Many who took part in the blockade were kids under 18. They formed their own affinity group, making their own decisions on tactics and organization and electing their own leaders. The police treated them especially rough at the January Vandenberg action, trying to intimidate the parents against this blockade. But the kids could not be stopped.

**Youth in Revolt**

Political trials against students in Kenya are soon to begin. Although the Daniel arap Moi government has released many political prisoners arrested after the August coup attempt in which 1,000 Kenyans died and the university was closed, leaders of the student movement and democratic opposition are still in jail. Opposition to Moi's rule focused last year on his invitation to the U.S. to base the Rapid Deployment Force in Kenya.

Despite the Polish authorities declaration of the lifting of martial law, military rule in the schools has intensified so that now military commissars have been appointed as deputy heads in every school in Poland. Their role is to dismiss school employees on the spot and expel pupils for signs of protest or deviant thinking. Nevertheless, acts of protest by students continue, including in Cracow where 59 pupils were disciplined for a distributing leaflets, two were expelled and one interned.

In a national day of protest, Feb. 23, students at several colleges in England occupied campus buildings and demonstrated their opposition to educational cuts planned by the Tory government. At North London Polytechnic, police evicted students in indefinite occupation, who then occupied another building. A specific demand of that occupation was to save the college's school of librarianship. Campus employees and teaching staff refused to cross student picket lines at some colleges.

The military dictatorship which calls itself the "Islamic Republic of Bangladesh" has come up against new opposition from the youth. In February police teargassed and then opened fire on thousands of striking students, killing three. The youths were out in force to protest reactionary new laws to make education "Islamic."

William G. Paddock was sentenced to one year Oct. 6 for refusing to be drafted into the South African military. Paddock's overtly political objection to conscription comes from his view that South Africa's war on Namibia is unjust. His sentencing preceded by one month a new military callup system intended to counter insurgent freedom fighters.

(i.d.a.f. news notes)

**Free speech at Berkeley**

Berkeley, Cal. — Students Against Intervention in El Salvador (SAINTES) confronted UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick during a lecture on "human rights" at the University of California on Feb. 15. Some wore black capes and white death masks, others shouted "40,000 dead!" and "genocide, murderer!" They convinced her to cancel another lecture the following day.

In response to a demand for an apology, not only did the Student Senate at Berkeley refuse, but instead sent a "letter of regret" in which they told Kirkpatrick: "We cannot help but find it somewhat inconsistent that you feel such great concern for your own freedom of speech while blithely accepting . . . so much misery and lack of freedom throughout the world." They narrowly voted down a recommendation that she be extradited to a "liberated" zone of El Salvador.

Since the lecture, however, there has also been a concerted attack on SAINTES, under the cover of allowing "free speech." The UC administration and its faculty supporters want to use the Feb. 15 events as an excuse to have police remove protesters at future lectures. The sorority-fraternity faction in the Student Senate tried to cut SAINTES' funds but they were stopped by the Third World-Progressive students.

There is a challenge to free speech at UC, but it is not coming from SAINTES. As one student observed, Kirkpatrick got to speak — in fact, she has the biggest propaganda platform of all the Reagan government: "The way it's being talked about now, 'free speech' has really changed in 20 years. I thought it meant the right to protest when the government sponsors genocide, and that's what Kirkpatrick is supporting in Central America. That is the real issue." — N & L Committee members

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**Junior high activist**

Berkeley, Cal. — When I was in eighth grade and everything started happening in El Salvador last year, I had a very reactionary history teacher. She made me so mad that I had to go out and see for myself that what she said wasn't true.

Last February my friend and I were told about the Livermore Blockade. We decided there was a real need to do kid organizing, and we knew the Livermore Action Group wouldn't do it, so we decided to do it for ourselves.

Just like my history teacher was getting me so angry, Reagan was getting people angry with his talk on limited nuclear war. And with the added threat of prosecutions of draft resisters, anti-war groups started forming in the high schools and junior high schools.

We designed our own non-violence training, because we got bored at the adults' training. We spent less time on strategy and scenario, but talked a lot about issues affecting us like peer pressure, and the problems with not having the support of our parents.

In June our group, Lifesquad, had more and more people. Nobody did any formal outreach, it just happened. On June 21, 49 kids were arrested at the Livermore Blockade. Now everyone feels more powerful. After taking an action we felt we could do something. We're thinking of having an all-kids blockade this summer.

What kids are worrying about today are jobs, the minimum wage, the draft. Reagan's minimum wage for youth affects Black teenagers the most. This resembles all Reagan's other policies.

But the "squeal law" is what gets me most upset. No one that I know will go and get birth control with that law. The other day in class we talked about what we don't discuss with our parents. Most people said everything. The number one thing we couldn't talk about, side by side with drugs, is sex. It seems to me that the law is an attack on the intelligence and maturity of young people. Between slave labor and saying that we know better about sexual attitudes, it's just incredible.

Unfortunately, the "movement" at Berkeley High is still a very middle class, white one, and what's "in" now is to protest nuclear weapons. I have a low tolerance for being bound to talk about just nuclear weapons. All of this could only be talked about in abstractions. You couldn't talk about why there was a military budget. We couldn't talk about the economic draft, and where a nuclear confrontation might happen.

I think however people getting involved with political issues is really good. I got involved through nuclear work. But it has to be carried further. The other day I was reading an article about the youth in Soweto shutting down schools. I want to xerox it and pass it out to my friends.

—Amy

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## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

The following are excerpts from an open letter from Ewa Kubasiewicz, a woman imprisoned under martial law in Poland for organizing a strike in Gdansk. It was included in *Solidarity Information Bulletin*, Paris, No. 50.

On Dec. 14 the President of the National Council presented to the Sejm (parliament) a proposal concerning, among others, political prisoners in Poland. In a few words, I would like to take a position on this.

I was arrested on Dec. 20, 1981. Thus I have behind me a year of prison experiences and I can state that the punishment of imprisonment is not only the fact of isolation, placing someone in a penal institution, doing everything to destroy him psychologically and physically. A prisoner is a thing, not necessary, not desirable to acknowledge, so he has to go through a whole gamut of humiliations.

I do not have the status of political prisoner, as neither do my friends. I am simply a criminal. The President of the National Council did not mention a word about the right of political prisoners to a separate status, despite the fact that on the 20th and 21st of each month we re-

mind authorities of it by undertaking a protest hunger strike.

The President of the National Council proposed, however, something else — an act of mercy. Only those who, as I, went through the judicial process which was a grim farce and had nothing in common with law and order, went through the interrogation, arrest and prison, can fully understand how heinous is this proposition. After a year of fighting with myself, despite all the evil, not to surrender to hate, suddenly I find out that it is I — sentenced to ten years imprisonment and five years of loss of political rights, whose son received a three year sentence only for being my son — I have to ask for forgiveness and mercy, show repentance.

Only Mr. President did not say what forgiveness and who I am to ask. Is it the prosecutor Wojcieszka, or maybe Krywoszejew, the SB (security police) official who falsified the record? I direct this question also to Gen. Jaruzelski who, in front of TV cameras, called for a show of repentance. Who has to show this repentance? I?

Come out — yes! At any price — no!

— Ewa Kubasiewicz

Throughout Poland the struggle for freedom refuses to

be crushed. On March 9, the opening day of the trial of Ann Walentynowicz, whose firing sparked the 1980 takeover of the Gdansk shipyards, Lech Walesa told reporters: "We will have to organize protests, hunger strikes, strikes. We can't talk when so many people are in jails." Ms. Walentynowicz is being tried for continuing union activity after the imposition of martial law.

At the same time, a letter delivered to Parliament from Gdansk shipyard workers called for the restoration of Solidarnosc and withdrawal of reprisals and warned the military junta — you cannot "turn back the tide of history."

Four days later the first new Gdansk rally of 2,000 protesters took place outside the shipyards. Other rallies occurred in Warsaw and Wroclaw. The next day another demonstration took place in Gdansk as workers returned to their shift.

The Catholic Church continues to play an underhanded role, calling both in Gdansk via Walesa's personal priest, and elsewhere, for Poles to stay away from the demonstrations. But the continuing protests show how far the government is from dividing this great mass movement.

## China

Last year a magazine in Beijing printed an article on unemployed youth that quoted one young person: "I have spent springs and autumns depending on my old parents for a living, sometimes wandering to the east and sometimes to the west. When can I put an end to this wandering? The years are flying by, and my youth is slipping away." (Cited in *SPEAHRhead*, No. 16.)

To say that there was no unemployment in China even a few years ago, you would have had to count being sent to a labor reform camp as having a job. Young people like the person above can testify that the "iron rice bowl", the so-called lifetime job in China, now only applies to older workers already in the factories. Now the Deng Xiaoping government has been attacking workers' job security as holding up the country's modernization.

The right to strike was officially eliminated from the 1982 Constitution. New regulations that make it easier to fire workers are aimed at resistance on the job — in 1981, while the government closed down a number of less efficient factories, labor productivity still fell 1.8 percent.

The official prescription for jobs for youth is not so different from Reagan flipping through the *Washington Post* and declaring there are lots of jobs. Youth are being exhorted to make their own jobs, in street peddling and small handicrafts — all without the basic health and housing benefits that go with regular employment.

Watch next month for my review of a major new study of Russian totalitarianism by a noted French Left theoretician: Edgar Morin's *De la Nature de l'URSS: Complexe totalitaire et nouvel Empire* (Fayard, 1983). — K.A.B.

## Japan



More than 7,000 snake-dancing demonstrators protested the visit of the nuclear-powered U.S. aircraft carrier Enterprise to Sasebo, Japan.

## Chile

The fascist, American-supported junta in Chile is facing unprecedented resistance in its tenth year in power. The opposition has, as in Argentina, begun to gain access to the streets, after years of state terrorism.

Hundreds upon hundreds of rock-throwing demonstrators converged on the streets of Santiago on March 25 protesting against the military government of President Augusto Pinochet. Police used water cannons to battle the protesters, arresting 250 people. While most arrested were youth, many office workers and shoppers joined the chants of "Pinochet, assassin!"

Protest demonstrations have been increasing in recent months as unemployment has nearly doubled over last year to more than 20 percent in Santiago, and even higher in the provinces. More than 1,400 people were arrested in protests last year.

In December, the Left labor federation Coordinadora Nacional Sindical organized a protest in the center of Santiago, where hundreds of workers defied brutal police repression. On Dec. 15, the Left brought thousands into the streets of three cities under the slogan "Bread, work, justice and liberty." They fought with police as sabotage actions cut off electric power in most major cities.

At the Catholic University of Santiago, a student revolt broke out after Marcela Palma, a leader among the philosophy students, was kidnapped and raped by police. There were also student revolts in Valparaiso. Of crucial importance in this renewed activism, which has included also wildcat strikes in industry, is not only the underground Left, but sympathetic sections of the Catholic Church.

Repression, however, remains extremely severe, although more devious and subtle than the mass murders of 1973-74 which inaugurated the Pinochet era. At the end of 1982, the proletarian slums outside Santiago called la Cisterna and Nuevo Armanecer were raided by police — 1,500 people were roused out of their beds and put in a concentration camp for 12 hours, simply because those neighborhoods have seen a lot of opposition activity. Thousands of other suspects have been exiled, Russian-style, to remote cold or desert areas. Despite this continuing terrorism, the movement against the dictatorship is gaining numbers, unity and self-confidence.

## Germany

The influence of the peace movement continues to mushroom, not only in West Germany where the Green Party has entered Parliament, but also in the East. The East German regime, like the Social Democrats in the West, is trying to use the movement. They organized a 100,000-strong "official" peace march in February on the anniversary of the allied genocidal bombing of Dresden in 1945. But hundreds of youth broke off from that official rally to attend independent rallies at Protestant churches.

Other recent rallies included one near Jena where a Polish flag was carried by a young truck driver, earning him 20 months in prison. It should be remembered that some of the important revolutionary student leaders of the 1960s in the West, such as Rudi Dutschke, came originally out of the church-based resistance in the East.

In the West, the victory of "Reagan's man," Helmut Kohl, was a hollow one. It has by no means ended the mass anti-war movement. Nor will the 10.4 percent unemployment go away.

But contradictions within the Greens were also pointed up in March when their oldest elected Parliamentarian suddenly had to resign, after admitting that he had once been a SS member. Nothing pointed up more starkly the fact that some people support ecology from the Right. It is a challenge the movement will have to face, sooner or later.

## Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stand for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of a new human society based on the principles of Marx's Humanism as recreated for our day.

*News & Letters* was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, is the editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophical ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

Where *Marxism and Freedom*, whose structure was grounded in the movement from practice throughout the 200 years from 1776 to Today discloses Marx's "new Humanism," both internationally and in its American roots, *Philosophy and Revolution*, in recreating Marx's philosophic roots both in the Hegelian dialectic and in the actual revolutionary movements of his day, articulated these forces of revolution as Reason — Labor, Black, Youth, Women — of our day. By tracing and paralleling this age's 30-year movement from practice to theory with our own theoretical development for the same three decades, Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. has met the challenge of the "new moments" in the last decade of Marx's life by disclosing in them a trail to the 1980s. It is this trail, these paths of revolution — be it in the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries, including the transformation of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come into a Movement or the emergence of a whole new Third World — that form the content

of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. This work challenges post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present.

*News & Letters* was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "a new Humanism," as well as individuality "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead". The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under title the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection* on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

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