

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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No sign of recovery on the job



by John Marcotte

A new-hired woman at my factory said, "If there was anything true about Reagan's economic recovery workers here wouldn't be so scared of losing their jobs. I was just looking for work and those application lines are so long, with so many people in front of you with college education. Even department stores give math tests and lie detector tests, ask you questions like what do you feel about unions, all for a part-time minimum wage job. That tells you there's no jobs around."

This is the other side, the human reality, of the headlines about record profits and a booming stock market. At Art Steel in the Bronx, N.Y. lay-offs continue. Where are workers with 25 years in that job supposed to go after their unemployment runs out? There is no place for them in this economy.

They keep asking, what has happened to the millions of workers who keep dollars the company made every year off of their sweat, for 60 years? Where has it all disappeared, now that the company says they don't have a penny to buy steel or cartons with?

And here is the reality of Reagan's economy if you do have a job. In my shop we are exposed to ear-splitting noise, toxic chemicals and the threat of injury day after day. The lift they use to get heavy barrels off the high racks has only a broken-down wooden pallet for you to step on. One warehouseman fell off and injured his back. They put another warehouseman on and he fell off, fractured his skull and ribs.

Did they do anything about the lift? No, much cheaper to get a new warehouseman for \$5 an hour. Workers are a dime a dozen in these days of Reaganomics. But let a machine jam up and strip a gear — then you'll catch hell because you're supposed to be everywhere at the same time watching a roomful of machines.

What about the unions? We just had our first union meeting in a year, though the contract calls for one every two months. Everyone had to attend to get paid the two hours. One young

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Black World

Significance of Marcus Garvey study



by Lou Turner
Part II

No doubt, Jamaican Prime Minister Edward Seaga's "unusual request" that the Reagan Administration grant a pardon to Marcus Garvey, 57 years after J. Edgar Hoover succeeded in falsely indicting him on charges of mail fraud, appeared to come out of nowhere on Oct. 17. However, because the Reagan Administration's lies multiplied so rapidly following its invasion of Grenada, the New York Times Oct. 18 article on Seaga's "unusual request" went unnoticed.

Seaga's big lie about wanting a pardon for Garvey was designed to divert attention away from a more fantastic truth. Three days after the house arrest of Maurice Bishop and two days before Reagan set in motion plans to invade Grenada, Seaga made his "unusual request" to no one less than the Vice President of the United States, George Bush, who was in Jamaica for "talks" with Seaga. The only indication we have that those "talks" between Seaga and the former head of the CIA may, in fact, have been sealing the fate of the Grenadian revolution was the observation by Francis X. Clines in his Oct. 18 NYT article that "Mr. Seaga presented his request in the context of some sensitive international politics."

That the reactionary Seaga would, in 1984, invoke the memory of Garvey after aiding Reagan's imperialist intervention into the Caribbean has nothing to do with the revolutionary movement that Garvey led in the 1920s. It is intended to dispel the portent of revolution that Grenada symbolizes today.

In the first part of this column (January-February, 1984 N&L) we began a presentation of the "Red dimension" in the Marcus Garvey Papers which are in the process of being published as a massive ten-volume collection under the editorship of Professor Robert Hill. Our concentration there was on Garvey's relation to the Russian Revolution. In this column we wish to extend that Red dimension to see

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In the Middle East and in Central America

Reagan's drive for Pax Americana threatens global conflagration

by Eugene Walker

The imperial Presidency of Ronald Reagan at one and the same time fires mammoth 18-inch shells from the battleship New Jersey into the hills of Lebanon, further terrorizing and killing its population as it tries to prop up the neo-fascist Amin Gemayel, and, on this side of the Atlantic, moves to provoke the countries of Central America into a regional war that Reagan hopes would bring down the Sandinista government of Nicaragua, roll back the advances that El Salvador's rebels have made against their death squad-dominated government and further consolidate the military dictatorship of Guatemala. On both sides of the Atlantic, Reagan is intent on imposing a *Pax Americana* even at the risk of all-out conventional war, and to the brink of actual nuclear conflagration.

LEBANON AND THE WHOLE MIDDLE EAST

The war-mongering of this Administration in Lebanon has been so intense, not alone in words but in deeds, that Reagan has created the ground for a full-scale Middle East war even as he proclaims that he is moving U.S. Marines out of Beirut.

The almost total collapse of the Gemayel faction (termed the government), far from halting Reagan's war policy, only means that there will have to be a new, even more vicious one. Reagan had tried to establish with the Israeli-Lebanon peace accord, not a policy of peace for Lebanon, which hasn't known one in almost the full decade since the 1975-76 Civil War, but a policy intent on driving out of the Middle East any influence from that other nuclear titan, Russia.

Ever since Syria became the winner of that aborted '75-'76 Civil War by marching into Lebanon allegedly in support of the PLO but in actuality supporting this same neo-fascist Christian Phalange the U.S. now props up, and in opposition to the genuine Lebanese Left that the Phalange was destroying along with its massacre of PLO refugees at Tal Zaatar, a new entry point for Russia was opened up. Russia's arming of Syria, especially after Israel's genocidal march into Lebanon in the summer of 1982, made it more certain in Reagan's mind that Syria would have to be brought down to size. If that could not be done via the Gemayel government and its accord with Israel, then another way would be found. The provocative shelling of the coast by U.S. warships is but the beginning — not as cover for "redeployment of troops" but as a stage in the widening of the Middle East War.

Within Lebanon the government collapses. But this is not 1975 when a genuine Civil War could and did emerge. It is 1984 when Israel occupies the Southern portion of the country and Syria controls most of the North. No doubt an end to the minority Christian-dominated right wing rule is at hand. But Syria certainly has no intention of any Moslem majority government running itself independently of Syria (whose terror-run regime has been documented by Amnesty International), let alone moving to a socialist vision that was present among many who fought and died in 1975-76. And the Palestinian Liberation Organization, many of whom joined the Lebanese Left in that Civil War, (though its head Yassir Arafat did not throw his strength into that revolution), has now been splintered under Syrian pressure, and is under Syrian domination in Lebanon.

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Detroit women organize against rape



Anti-rape demonstrators gather in Detroit's Kennedy-Square on Feb. 14.

Detroit, Mich. — Black women in neighborhoods throughout the city have formed community action groups in response to the growing number of rapes of Detroit schoolgirls — 47 confirmed sexual assaults since September. These groups have blasted police and city officials both for the "conspiracy of silence" which kept the community unaware of the "epidemic" of schoolgirl rapes and for officials' callousness and indifference toward the problem itself once it came to public attention.

These women have demanded action in a number of areas, especially the demolition of hundreds of vacant buildings such as the one in which the body of 16-year-old Michelle Jackson was found recently.

The Women's Action Team Against Violence, a group composed of about 30 women from Detroit and Highland Park, held a press conference at which they accused city leaders of negligence and criticized Black churches and organizations as well for failing to organize the community to stop the assaults.

The "deaf ear" and "negative statements" of city officials which the women complained of, were characterized by Police Chief William Hart, who said that the idea of a "rape epidemic" was "created by the media," and stated twice that "fear is worse than the actual crime." (Chief Hart himself, however, in a newspaper article on Jan. 15,

was quoted as saying that attacks on Detroit schoolgirls had reached "epidemic proportions")

Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, who opposed "vigilante action," finally called a "community summit" on Feb. 7, but only for 70 hand-picked civic leaders. His aides tried to turn away over 100 Detroit residents who had come to participate. Ms. Althea Grant, the director of the city's Rape Counseling Center, said that the "oversight" by which she had not even been informed of the meeting was typical of the low political priority the administration had consistently given to her efforts to address the problem of rape.

It was just this type of insensitivity and indifference that

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ESSAY ARTICLE Eleanor Marx in America

by Terry Moon

International Women's Day this year, when the totality of the economic-political crises in the U.S. would seem to justify an Orwellian view of 1984, focuses our vision, instead, on the unfolding of ever-new forces of revolution, none of which is more urgently present than the Women's Liberation Movement. One revolutionary feminist who greatly illuminates that inseparability of woman from revolution is Eleanor Marx, whose attempts to carry out Karl Marx's direction to go "lower and deeper" into the masses, as well as her own original contributions to what was then called "the Woman question," speak to today's movement in a way that demands a closer look at her life and work.

There is no better place to start, on this international day, than with the American tour she made in 1886 — for what Eleanor Marx brought to America was a demand for genuine internationalism that would have nothing to do with the chauvinism of all too many of the German socialists, who viewed U.S. workers as backward. She brought with her a deepening of the fight for the eight-hour day; her unique concept of revolutionary feminism; her practice of genuine Marxism.

THE MOVEMENT FROM BELOW

What was inspiring everyone at that moment in history was the movement in the U.S. of rank-and-file workers, women and men, fighting for the eight hour day — a struggle which took off after the end of the Civil War with what Karl Marx called "the seven leagued boots of the locomotive." Even the anarchists, who disagreed with the movement for the eight-hour day, were swept along because, as Albert Parsons, one of the Haymarket martyrs, explained: "we did not choose to stand aloof and be misunderstood by our fellow workers."

Because of this powerful agitation from below, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (later to become the AF of L) made two motions at their international convention in 1884. The first established Labor Day. The second became May Day: "Resolved, . . . that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886 . . ." The method? If peaceful negotiations for an eight-hour day were fruitless — a strike! By mid-April, 1886, just in anticipation of May Day, 30,000 workers were granted the eight or nine-hour day. Come May 1, 350,000 U.S. workers struck. The first May Day in Chicago was almost a general strike, with meatpacking, the stockyards, and the railroads shut down.

It was this tremendous movement that the capitalists were trying to destroy when, on May 4, a bomb was thrown by an agent provocateur into the crowd at Haymarket Square. There, working men, women and children had come to protest the gunning down of four McCormick Harvester workers who had been picketing on May 3 to keep 300 scabs from taking their jobs. Now eight Chicago anarchists were in jail, seven condemned to death. The police declared war on the workers, breaking into homes and printing offices, smashing meetings, beating and arresting workers as well as innocent bystanders by the hundreds. It was to this Chicago that Eleanor Marx came in September, 1886.

ELEANOR MARX "SPEAKS AMERICAN"

Eleanor Marx was tremendously moved by the events at Haymarket and outraged by the so-called trial which

From Greenham Common

Greenham Common Peace Camp, England — It's like a mini-war down here. Our camp is right next to the fence of the U.S. Air Force base whose missiles we are protesting. The soldiers are mean and don't give us much peace, and there is a local vigilante group that comes round late at night sometimes.

Two women stay up every night to keep an eye on things and to look out for missile launchers being taken out to the countryside. A siren went off about 3 a.m. last week and an American voice asked all personnel to return to base. We all got up thinking this was it, the confrontation over deploying missiles off the base.

This all takes its toll on your mental energy. But the support is wonderful; people still come to visit. Over Christmas and New Years it was great.

We went to the Holy Loch, Scotland, American nuclear submarine base "Hunley." Twenty-six of us got arrested for "malicious mischievousness." The police were unbelievably bad and the jail cells were barbaric, big bare rooms with nothing except a toilet, and blood and excrement on the walls — and so cold. We had to give them our date of birth and proper address before they would let us out. Two women who gave Greenham Common and one who was a squatter were kept over, as they were not proper addresses.

Then on Saturday another friend who is involved in Irish Solidarity was arrested and strip-searched on some by-law about petitioning. She was kept for a few hours and let go. And we have this new Police Bill in Parliament; heaven knows what it's going to be like if it gets passed.

I couldn't cope with how the police men and women were so needlessly cruel, how another human being can treat you like that without any reason. I never really understood before how ten Irish political prisoners could starve themselves to death. I was more horrified that that could go on in a British prison, but after my experience of just seven hours in prison in Holy Loch, I think I've come a bit nearer to understanding why they did it.

There are now 102 U.S. Air Force bases in Britain. I feel as though we have been colonized and on worldwide terms we have no control. Internally, the government rules just to keep the masses quiet so that the arms race and war mongering can continue. The future looks bleak . . .

— Carol

blatantly condemned men to death, not for the bomb, but for their anarchist ideas. Although both Karl and Eleanor Marx had battled with anarchists all their lives, every speech Eleanor gave in the U.S. began with a passionate defense of the Haymarket prisoners. But Eleanor Marx wanted her American trip to be much more than an expression of international solidarity for the condemned anarchists. She was here to continue, on American soil, the battle of ideas Karl Marx had fought in Europe.

The American socialists — who were primarily German in origin, refugees from the 1848 revolutions in Europe — had originally invited Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel to come to the U.S., to take advantage of the great new stage of labor struggles in order to build the American movement. But neither Liebknecht nor Bebel could speak good English. What was needed, Eleanor discovered, was someone to "speak English" to these German-American chapters in more ways than one — for their concept of revolution was so narrowed that many of them had made it a principle not to speak English, thus showing their contempt for the indigenous U.S. proletariat.

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International Women's Day

The month of March is rich in women's history. March 5 marks the birth in 1871 of the revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg. March 8 is the celebration of International Women's Day, which was first proposed in 1910 as a tribute to the struggles of American women garment workers, and March 25, 1911 was the date of the infamous Triangle Shirtwaist Fire in which 146 garment workers were killed.



Shirtwaist strikers marching on New York's City Hall in the "Uprising of the 20,000" in 1909.

For further reading:

- Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, by Raya Dunayevskaya
- Rosa Luxemburg by Peter Nettl
- "On the Origins of International Women's Day" in *Revolutionary Feminism* (News & Letters)
- America's Working Women, edited by Baxandall, Gordon and Reverby.
- *We Were There: The Story of Working Women in America* by Barbara Mayer Wertheimer
- *The Triangle Fire* by Leon Stein.

Anti-rape organizing

(Continued from Page 1)

Black women at meetings all over the city organized to oppose. At a community meeting at Detroit's Northern High School, Feb. 3, the mother of a 14-year-old student who had been raped broke down as she criticized the school's principal — who had not even attended the meeting — for "slandering" her daughter by telling a television reporter that he found it "hard to believe" that a rape could have occurred in a school full of 1,300 students.

Other mothers reported that their daughters could not stay after school to take extra classes or to make up tests if it meant going home alone.

Detroit area YWCAs have formed Women Against Rape (WAR) groups which have held meetings and circulated leaflets listing their demands. One such leaflet urged women to attend the City-County Task Force meeting on Feb. 8, which over 500 attended to demand immediate action from city and school officials. Among the demands of the Women Against Rape groups are:

- That immediate action be taken to board up or tear down vacant buildings throughout the Detroit area.
- That Detroit and other school systems immediately adjust their operating hours so that children will not be required to leave home in the dark to get to school. (Detroit Public Schools now open one-half hour later in response to this demand.)
- That all citizens stop giving in to criminals by asking women and children to stay off the streets, and to take on their responsibilities of providing safe, clean streets for our children to grow and prosper in.

Women's groups have promised to continue organizing to make Detroit's streets safer for Detroit's schoolchildren and women of all ages.

Letter exposes sexism

Editor's note: Women at Medgar Evers College recently won the removal of their college president in a long struggle against racist and sexist policies at the school. (See N&L Aug.-Sept., 1982). The 75% female student body had demanded that a Black woman be selected to replace the president, so that policies more responsive to the students' needs could be developed.

After screening 95 applicants, three final candidates were chosen — only one of them a woman, Dr. Gloria Joseph, Black feminist author, activist and teacher at Hampshire College. Citing a need for "administrative experience," the chancellor chose a man to head the college in direct affront to the students' demands.

The following are excerpts from an open letter from Dr. Gloria Joseph to the Chancellor of the City University of New York:

Dear Chancellor Joseph S. Murphy:

I am responding to your letter of December 15, 1983, in which you informed me of your personal recommendation for President of Medgar Evers College. I feel obliged to express to you my political perspective with regard to your decision.

There are certain facts . . . that you choose to disregard.

— Medgar Evers College has a population of over 75% females.

— The Student Committee called for a Black Woman president.

— The students overwhelmingly called for the Black female candidate for president. (And I applaud the male students for their insightfulness, integrity, and idealism.)

— There are no Black women presidents in the CUNY system.

— Black studies was a MUST for the students of MEC . . . it was only the female candidate who strongly advocated a Black Studies Program.

Given these facts . . . the question must be raised, "Why was the woman candidate NOT chosen?"

In my effort to understand your statement about the "time spent reflecting on what you believed to be those ingredients that are needed at this special time in Medgar Evers history," I can fathom only two possible reasons for your decision. One, a lack of courage, and the other ignorance concerning the need for female leadership, Black female leadership at this particular time in history when the women's movement is a most critical social movement.

Why lack of courage? Because . . . you KNOW the woman candidate was the appropriate and correct choice! The time was right . . . Therefore, . . . there must have been some hidden agendas operating which dictated your decision.

In essence the women's network of feminists, the students of Medgar Evers, both males and females, and the Student-Faculty-Community-Alumni Coalition to Save Medgar Evers were rudely insulted. For you to appear on campus to elicit comments and recommendations and then to ignore them is tantamount to betrayal, and I feel an apology to them is in order.

Once again racism and sexism have combined to defeat a well deserving Black woman of an opportunity to fulfill the visions of a predominantly Black female college. I trust you realize the role you have played in this defeat . . .

Dr. Gloria Joseph, January 12, 1984



women-worldwide

After a nearly two-year-long struggle with the University of California at Berkeley, Merle Woo has won reinstatement with a two-year teaching contract, and a \$48,584 cash settlement. Woo was fired from UC-Berkeley in 1982 because of her outspoken activism as an Asian-American lesbian socialist-feminist (See N&L, July, 1982).

Seeking, a novel published last July in China's Yunnan province by Yu Luojin, has enjoyed great popularity among Chinese youth, because of its defense of love as the basis for marriage. The Communist Party, however, has launched an attack on Ms. Yu, accusing her of quoting "out of context" the words of Engels regarding "a marriage without love as the most immoral of marriages." Party ideologists say that this only applies in capitalist society, not in today's China, which it characterizes as a "low stage of communist society."

The Minneapolis City Council has sustained the Mayor's veto of an anti-pornography amendment to the municipal civil rights code. The amendment, drafted by radical feminists Catharine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin, declared pornography to be a violation of women's civil rights and instituted procedures for redress. A revised version, however, has been reintroduced to City Council, and the discussion and activity is continuing.

Information from Gay Community News and Marj Thera

Women workers in India who roll papad dough struck for the first time against Lijjat Papad, after management refused a 70-point charter of demands. The company is supposedly a cooperative managed by the women workers, but demands included a pay raise, rotation of all tasks equally, and an end to the all-male administrative staff. The strike ended with a small wage increase, but the women have vowed to continue to fight male domination and corruption.

Information from Manushi

CTA steals Chicago bus drivers' future

Chicago, Ill. — More than two years ago our bus drivers' local loaned the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) millions from our pension fund to keep the system running. Now, when they are supposed to be putting the money back into the system, they made a new agreement with the union President, John Weatherspoon, to keep the money longer.

They are doing this while "giving" us some of our money. But the CTA is paying us with our own pension money. And it is all being done with an ultimatum — either accept this or we will begin lay-offs.

The company should never have been allowed to put its teeth into our fund. Originally the CTA went to our union president to get the money. Weatherspoon never went to us and asked us what we thought. He just came and said either loan the money or there will be lay-offs.

They even arranged for Mayor Washington to come in and support the agreement at the meeting. The company sent a letter a few days before the vote explaining the "benefits" of the agreement. I can understand why the majority of the workers voted for it. Our backs were to the wall and many workers needed the \$1,000 to help support their families.

But I think it was a sellout. This taking from the pension fund is a tactic by the company to destroy our union. Yet Weatherspoon goes along with it. He doesn't have his eyes open. If the pension fund has been doing so well what we could loan money, and have payments into it suspended, then the money should have stayed there and been given to those who are retired now.

Instead we get those ultimatums. It is really part of other problems at CTA. The working conditions are not great and

McDonnell-Douglas strike exposes UAW bureaucrats

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

After being on strike for 117 days, the McDonnell-Douglas workers in Long Beach, Cal. voted, Feb. 9, to accept a concession-ridden contract they had rejected twice before. The strikers felt they had little choice but to return to work, since McDonnell-Douglas was threatening to replace them with scabs.

Their struggle began in the Fall when they voted down by 84% a contract calling for wage and benefit increases only for the higher-skilled and higher-paid workers, creating a "two-tier" system in the plant. Though some crossed the picket line, most stuck it out through Jan. 31, when the workers voted down the same contract offer by 72%, in spite of McDonnell-Douglas' announcement that a "no" vote would cost the strikers their jobs.

STRIKERS' JOBS AT STAKE

A day before the vote, over 3,000 unemployed lined up at McDonnell-Douglas' hiring hall to fill out applications for the strikers' jobs. Many came from Ohio, Indiana and elsewhere in the Midwest, sent by unemployment offices who told them "plenty of jobs will open up in Long Beach." Quite a few of these unemployed didn't like being used as strikebreakers.

A few days later the local union held a demonstration demanding the company return to the bargaining table. Over 3,000 workers took part, including hundreds from other unions, from PATCO and the Continental Airline pilots to laid-off auto workers. But the McDonnell-Douglas workers were up against more than the government and the company.

Throughout the whole strike the UAW International leadership acted like strikebreakers. Owen Bieber had pressured the local union leadership into calling the second vote on the contract. The very week McDonnell-Douglas said they'd fire any worker who didn't return to work, the International cut the workers' supplementary strike benefits in half — from \$175 a week to \$85 a week — even though the UAW has a half-billion-dollar strike fund!

The result was that by Feb. 9, the workers felt they had little choice but to ratify a modified contract that at least saved them some seniority rights, since by then hundreds of workers had crossed the picket line. But the workers returned feeling different than defeated. They felt they had won something important by being out for 117 days. One striker told me, "We lost everything in this strike except our pride. And that is the important thing. We showed we could fight."

STOP ALL SCABS

I have been saying for years that as soon as a single scab is allowed to cross a picket line, a strike is as good as lost — and that includes allowing foremen to cross the picket line too. Some workers at the plant agreed with me, saying the next time around they'd have to shut the whole plant down and not let a single scab get in the door.

Others spoke of the need for a new kind of labor organization. Many were shocked to see unemployed workers brought in from the Midwest to be strikebreakers. "If we had one big union like the Polish workers had," one woman said, "they'd never be able to break a single strike."

While at the start of the strike it appeared the leadership and membership were one against the company, by Feb. 9 UAW Aerospace Director Majerus was booed loudly when he told the strikers "The international supports whatever decision you make." The workers cursed him so loud he had to leave the podium early.

For workers every struggle is a fight, and a school at the same time. It is only through the struggle that workers discover their own thoughts, their own ideas, their own pathways. The McDonnell-Douglas strike may now be over, but the 117-day experience of their strike showed the kind of power and consciousness that is brewing to be born in this age of give-backs and concessions.

could be improved. We get suspended for minor accidents. We lose a day and have to go to retraining.

The bus equipment is sometimes unbelievable. No shocks, the buses are falling apart. You can end up driving a bus that is 25 years old with no mirror, and no heat in below zero weather. When you call control (dispatching) to complain, they say that it is better than being outside the bus in the street.

You wonder what is going to happen to our pension fund, our union, our job, if things go on this way. — CTA worker



Nearly 500 people waited in line to apply for 20 minimum-wage jobs at a Detroit store not opening till Spring.

Look for human work, and this system rejects you

Chicago, Ill. — Agar Foods closed four months ago, and many of us are still unemployed. Besides the difficulty of finding another job, what distresses me is the way the system tries to mold us to meet the needs of capital. If you can't be molded, you're rejected.

The job-training programs in Chicago offer primarily office and computer-related skills, as well as things like cable TV installer, telephone installer and diesel mechanic. The agencies project that those are the jobs of the future, and they want to train people for "meaningful jobs," i.e. jobs that exist.

But what if you are a woman who wants to learn to operate and repair machines? What if years ago you began to study commercial art and physical therapy and had to quit to work, but art and health care are still your real interests? What if you never learned to read well, but you want to learn now so that you can help other people?

And what if you are Black and middle-aged and no company will hire you, no matter what skill you learn, because they can't get another 20 years out of you? When a former Agar worker was filling out an application at one company, a man stepped out of an inner office and yelled at the person taking the application, "What are you doing? I told you we didn't want anyone over 35!"

A Black mechanic from Agar answered a want ad for a maintenance mechanic with a minimum of three years' experience in canning and bottling. Although he had 30 years of experience in canning, personnel wouldn't even take his resume, because he didn't know anything about bottling. Can't bottling be learned?

Because I am young and female, people often assume that I am looking for a clerical job, rather than factory work. When that happens or someone says something about "the guys" on lay-off, I assume women don't work at that plant. At one plant the security guard and two other men spent a lot of time trying to talk me out of working in a factory, offering to help me get a job in a bank, a drugstore and a lounge. They ended the conversation by saying, "We make steel here."

I wish just once it would be enough to say, "I come to work on time every day, I work hard and I'm willing to learn." That will never happen in this system. So while I'm looking for a job, I'll also be thinking about how we can change things so that society meets our needs.

— Unemployed Agar worker

MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

Retrace 40 years of labor history as ground for today's battles, in

News & Letters and

The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism, 1941 to Today, Its Origin and Development in the U.S.

- Oil and Labor, by John Fredericks, 1948 — New technology and the oil workers.
- Coal miners meeting on general strike, 1950
- Workers Battle Automation, by Charles Denby, 1960.

Order the Guide to the Collection, \$1.00 from: News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit MI 48211

The whole collection on microfilm is \$60 from: Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Walter Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit MI 48202

WORKSHOP TALKS

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woman dared to speak up about some of the problems in the shop. Her supervisor was at the meeting too, because District 65/UAW has what they call "working supervisors."

Sure enough, the very next day he fired her, said she was a troublemaker for complaining the fumes on her machine made her sick. The union got her her job back but she went right back to the same machine, still sick. She called the union health and safety department, and on the same day the boss was told they were coming to make an inspection he fired her again.

She has been out of work a month and a half now, can collect neither unemployment nor disability, and is still waiting to hear when her arbitration date will be. Workers are so mad and disgusted with the union they swear they won't go to any more union meetings if they'll just get fired for speaking up and the union can't do anything to protect them.

At that same meeting, here is what workers thought of the union bureaucrats' five point agenda which left all our grievances and problems to the last point — "good and welfare"! We took over the first point and made the bureaucrats listen to us. Workers told them our previous organizer "had lunch with the boss too much" and "was never there when we called." When we were done and even as the bureaucrat was shouting to be heard on point two, everyone rushed up to sign the attendance and run out the door.

What is true is that if Reaganomics has laid the ground for union-busting and rolling back labor to pre-CIO conditions, there is no CIO today and even "progressive" unions like District 65 just roll over and play dead. They are the ones letting the companies break the unions every day. The road to freedom is one we will have to carve out ourselves, independent of the existing labor-management slave system.

Striker's murder inspires victory at Union Oil

Editor's Note: Union Oil workers went on strike Jan. 17 and two days later a young striker, Gregory Goobic, was murdered on the picket line by a scab truck driver. One striker told us the following at a demonstration of more than 1,000 workers from different Bay Area unions.

Rodeo, Cal. — The reason we walked out is that Union Oil was trying to force us into a two-tier wage system. That means with two workers doing the same work, one would get less pay than the other. There's no way we could accept that. That flies in the face of everything that is American — Blacks and women have been fighting for years for equal pay for equal work.

Some really didn't want this strike and weren't feeling very strong about it, but the murder of Greg Goobic brought us all together. Now they are determined to fight. I think maybe Union Oil picked this particular local because they thought we were weak. But that isn't true anymore.

You've probably seen the Union Oil commercial on TV on the spirit of '76', well this is the spirit of '76' out here. The workers were the ones who made Union Oil what it is. Union Oil likes to project a good image, but they have blood on their hands now.

They are looking at the huge numbers of people who are out of work, who are looking for a job, any job, and they'll go to work for any amount of pay. When those people come and see they are not getting paid as much as their fellow brothers and sisters, why should they stay in the union? This is a way to break the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) and all unions.

We've read about the PATCO strike, the Greyhound strike, and concessions from the auto workers. This isn't a distressed industry, but we knew they weren't going to give us much of an offer. Union Oil is spending billions on construction, a commercial oil shale project, and a geothermal project without even having to borrow anything.

Yet when we come to them, what do we get? For some reason Union Oil decided to push us against the wall. All the others are still talking. We're determined to fight. Good union people are dying to preserve what we've won and we're not going to go backwards.

Union Oil workers returned to work Jan. 30 under a contract without the two-tier wage system.

Ford workers were robbed

Dearborn, Mich. — Ford's announcement of \$1.8 billion in profits last year made a lot of workers angry at Rouge Steel, particularly in the Coke Oven Blast Furnace Unit. After the first concessions in 1981, workers were saying I have to get one day of overtime a week to make up for the loss of incentive pay. In 1982, after they took away paid personal holidays, workers said I have to figure out how to get two days of overtime.

Since the last concessions at Rouge Steel in 1983, workers are saying I have to get as much as I can — although even 40 hours a week is too much under these dirty working conditions. Altogether each worker at Rouge Steel has lost more than \$2,000 since our concessions took effect last Oct. 5. Yet, steel profits, like Aerospace and Glass, don't get reported with Auto and might have gone through the ceiling in 1983.

It proves the company doesn't even have to act smart to put one over on the union. It was not the company but the union that threatened that the plant might close down — initiating the first round of givebacks without getting any real guarantees.

— Rouge Steel worker

THEORY / PRACTICE

New Introduction to 1984 Edition

Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions

by Raya Dunayevskaya

"Our epoch is a birth-time and a period of transition."

— Hegel, Phenomenology of Mind

"When the narrow bourgeois form has been peeled away, what is wealth, if not universality of needs . . . the evolution of all human powers as such . . . the absolute movement of becoming."

— Marx, Grundrisse

The emergence in our age of a new Third World, not only Afro-Asian but Latin American and Middle East, was no mere geographic designation, as massive and substantive as that was. Rather, Third World became synonymous both with new forces of revolution and with those new forces as Reason. These new revolutionary forces — peasants as well as proletarians, Women's Liberationists as well as youth anti-war activists — saw in that most exciting color, Black, so deep a revolutionary dimension and so intense an internationalism imbedded in their national liberation struggles that, far from being a "Third" World, it encompassed the whole world.

The world of the 1960s, indeed, was aflame with rebellion, North and South, East and West. The depth of the revolt that freedom fighters in East Europe unleashed against the Communist totalitarians characterized, as well, the new generation of revolutionaries in the West, rebelling against the bureaucratic, militaristic, capitalist-imperialist world they did not make.

JUST AS THE AFRICAN DIASPORA meant not only South Africa but South USA, and Black meant not only Africa — South, West, East and North — but also Latin America, including the Caribbean, so Black Consciousness, plunging into the struggle for freedom from Western imperialism did not stop at the economic level anymore than did the East European freedom fighters struggling against Russian totalitarianism calling itself Communism. By no means did this signify a forgetting of the economic impoverishment of the masses; while man does not live by bread alone, he must have bread to live.



South African women demonstrating against apartheid's Pass laws (1958)

Once in power, however, the division between the leaders and the masses, whose revolutionary spontaneity had achieved power for them, widened. What increased the distance between leaders and ranks was the problem of how to industrialize non-capitalistically, private or state; of how, at the same time, to expand political liberties and maintain worker control of production and the state. What was disclosed was a void in the philosophy of revolution. The banner of Marx's theory of liberation, which had been so great a pole of attraction, so powerful a force of mobilization and solidarity, was now narrowed to staying in power. Indeed, all sorts of shortcuts and substitutions, religion included, were indulged in. The revolutions were aborted.

As I put it in this pamphlet in 1959¹: "So powerful and polarizing a force is the Marxist theory of liberation that throughout the Middle East, the Orient and Africa, there are attempts by various religions, Buddhism, Christianity and Mohammedanism, to find a bridge to it, even as there is a similar attempt on the part of Communist China and Russia." I warned that because the petty-bourgeois leaders had not faced the realities of the new stage of capitalism — state-capitalism, and had not grasped the meaning of what the masses were doing in opposition to that new tyranny,

1. First published by News & Letters in Detroit, in August, 1959, this pamphlet was republished in England in May, 1961 by the Left Group, Cambridge University Labour Club with a new Introduction and added material, as it appears here.

they would inevitably fall into the old trap of thinking the workers backward and mislead them.

IT WASN'T ONLY AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI who transformed the 1979 massive Iranian revolution into its total opposite — a counter-revolution. It was the Left itself in Iran who aided in that usurping of their revolution by bowing to the religious substitute for philosophy, whether that affected the workers, the peasants, the Women's Liberationists, or the question of education. For that matter, the same attitude of capitulation characterized the national liberation leaders in power who hung onto the state-capitalist Communist orbit of nuclear power.

The Communist world, parading its state-capitalism as "Marxist-Leninism," still serves as a pole of attraction for some revolutionaries in the Third World. And while Reagan's description of Russia as the "evil empire" convinces none outside of Reagan's capitalist-imperialistic co-rulers, because U.S. imperialism is today's reigning world Behemoth, even an Ayatollah Khomeini has succeeded in presenting himself as "anti-imperialist" and the U.S. as the "Great Satan." None have faced world crises and realities from the vantage point of the freedom of the masses. It has resulted in the degradation of the national liberation movement itself.

TAKE GRENADA, which won power on its own and maintained it for more than three years, and yet tailed one of the world superpower orbits, which meant silence on the crucial question of dialectics of revolution. The result was both that philosophy of revolution was degraded to the question of "leadership methods" and that they were so dominated by the view of the "backwardness of the masses" that all discussions were kept a secret from them. Can the Left possibly not face the fact that the first shot of counter-revolution came from within the new Party, which thus opened the road for U.S. imperialism's invasion? Nothing can erase the stark fact that the shot

2. See the collection of my eight Political-Philosophic Letters on "Iran: Revolution and Counter-Revolution," written between Nov. 13, 1978 and Sept. 25, 1981, and translated into Farsi by Iranian revolutionaries. See also English translation of the Introduction to the Farsi edition of this pamphlet on the Afro-Asian Revolutions by Raha, which was printed in News & Letters, August-September, 1983. Of the many crises in the Middle East, the most horrifying is the disintegration and destruction of Lebanon, which began even before Israel's genocidal 1982 invasion. I am referring to the 1975-76 Civil War. See my Political-Philosophic Letters of 1976, especially Letter Number 6, "Lebanon: The Test Not Only of the PLO but the Whole Left." News & Letters, Detroit, MI.

3. See my Political-Philosophic Letter of November 28, 1983: "Counter-Revolution and Revolution: Grenada, The Caribbean Today, and the Challenge from 30 Years of Movements from Practice that were Themselves Forms of Theory," available from News & Letters.

that murdered Maurice Bishop came from his co-leaders in the Party, led by Coard and Austin. Nor can anyone skip over the infantilism of making the point of debate a question of Maximum Leader vs. collective leadership and "leadership method," instead of the dialectics of revolution and the question of which road to take out of the crisis in their country, a crisis determined by the myriad world crises.



Soweto youth in rebellion (1976)

As the analysis of the battle of ideas in Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions shows, from the very first emergence of the Third World, I held that to assure the forward movement of this new world it is as important to work out the new stage of cognition as the new stage of economic realities. It now becomes imperative for the Left to face itself; to take a deeper look at what was truly new in the last two decades since the first publication of this pamphlet when a new world had arisen. None of the mass revolts have suffered either from lack of daring or from initiative. Nor, for that matter, have they suffered from lack of sacrifice by both masses and leaders. Nevertheless, what the past two decades has revealed is a failure to meet the challenge from the masses. What was demanded was a totally new relationship of theory to practice which was grounded in the new movement from practice that was itself a form of theory.

Just as, from the start of the new stage of production — Automation, now computerized into robotics — the American workers have asked "What kind of labor should

(Continued on Page 5)

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stands 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*, became 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 philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

Where *Marxism and Freedom*, whose structure was grounded in the movement from practice throughout the 200 years from 1776 to Today, disclosed 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 the 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.

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman,
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor (1955-1983)
Felix Martin Labor Editor
Eugene Walker Managing Editor

of Nationalism, Communism,

(Continued from page 4)

men and women do?" (by which they did not mean skilled vs. unskilled, but why should there be such a division between mental and manual labor?); and just as the East European masses fighting against "work-norms" have, from the 1950s right through to today, tried to throw off the shackles of the Single Party state-plan, and thereby placed Marx's Humanist Essays on the historic stage; just so the theoretician's task is to work out a new point of departure in theory, a philosophy of revolution.

THE TASK IS NOT SIMPLY to go in for ever more activism as if that alone could achieve a full, successful, social revolution. Theory is a rigorous as well as creative activity that cannot be picked up "en route." It gives action its direction. Each age must work out for itself the principles of Marx's Humanism.

The new generation of revolutionaries cannot avoid responsibility for that by indulging in shortcuts and weightless abstractions. When, in the last decade of Marx's life, he witnessed the unprincipled, empty rhetoric for unification of two socialist organizations, he insisted, in his sharp critique, that only an internationalism unseparated from principles of revolution-in-permanence could become the ground for organization. Otherwise, Marx cautioned, the unity should be limited to unity of action against what is, while one continued to work out theory as ground for principled unification. First of all, it was necessary to clear one's head.

To meet the theoretic challenge of a new stage of cognition, one has to have full confidence in the masses, not only as force but as Reason — that is to say, confidence that their movement from practice as a form of theory does, indeed, signify that they can participate in the working out of a new theory. That is exactly what was lacking in the leadership in Grenada as they debated so-called "leadership methods" instead of the dialectical methodology which flows from a philosophy of revolution. Without that, leaders inevitably fell into the trap of hanging onto one or another state power.

There are signs of a new direction in the attempts, East and West, North and South, to restate Marx's Humanism for our age. Thus, in Nigeria, among other African countries, the Marx centenary brought out no less than a thousand scholars, trade unionists, and revolutionary activists, to discuss the "body of theories, founded by Karl Marx," a discussion which was broad enough to also focus "on the way in which patriarchal and sexist prejudices are being increasingly propagated in Africa." This recognition of a new revolutionary force is a beginning but a beginning only.

THAT THIS PAMPHLET can aid in grappling with the task today of articulating, rethinking, how to develop the unification of theory/practice with these new forces of revolution has been proved by what we have learned from Marx's last writings — his *Ethnological Notebooks*.⁴ That is to say, the presentation of Marx's Marxism as a totality, as a new continent of thought and of revolution, has been verified by the publication of those writings which touch on the problematic of our day — the *Third World*. They round out Marx's break with capitalist society and his first discovery of a whole new continent of thought as Marx articulated it in the 1844 Humanist Essays, which did not limit his revolutionary challenge to capitalism only to what he was against and meant to overthrow. Rather, in unfurling the banner of revolution, Marx's magnificent vision disclosed the new human relations he was for, from a new relationship of Man/Woman to the end of the division between mental and manual labor. In the 1850s that vision pointed to the need for a "revolution in permanence"; and by 1857 his *Grundrisse* projected humanity's as well as the individual's

4. See Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program and my analysis of this profound document in Chapter XI of Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*: "The Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates New Ground for Organization."
5. See report by Saidu Adamu, Conference Coordinator for the Steering Committee, in *Journal of African Marxists*, Issue 4, September 1983. The Conference was held March 14 to 19, 1983.
6. See chapter XII of my work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*: "The Last Writings of Marx Point a Trail to the 1980s," especially Section 2, on "The Unknown Ethnological Notebooks, the Unread Drafts of the Letter to Zasulich, as Well as the Undigested 1882 Preface to the Russian Edition of the Communist Manifesto."

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development as an "absolute movement of becoming."

What the last writings reveal are the "new moments" which round out — that is, totalize as well as concretize — his philosophy of revolution. Thus:

1) Marx insisted that the climactic analysis of "The Accumulation of Capital," in his greatest work, *Capital*, was not a Universal which the East must follow, but the description and historic truth of West Europe; that other paths to revolution could come from technologically under-developed countries.

2) Marx's multilinear view of the four historic stages of human development — the "Asiatic Mode of Production" as well as slavery, feudalism and capitalism — opened so many new roads to revolution, in such concrete ways, that the 1857 "absolute movement of becoming" was spelled out in the last decade of his life — though only in notes — as a Promethean vision of the possibility of a unity of the two extremes — primitive communism and the future developed communist society of totally new human relations.

This trail to the 1980s is not any blueprint, nor was it fully worked out for his age. It is there for us to work out for our age. This pamphlet has laid the ground for that task. When the capitalistic (private and state), exploitative, crisis-ridden imperialistic world of 1984 threatens to unloose a nuclear holocaust that would put an end to humanity as we have known it, it is clear that it is the urgency of the times which demands that this generation of revolutionaries turn to revolutionary praxis, to philosophy as action and action as philosophy.

Let us put an end to substitutionism and return to Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence" to create non-exploitative, non-sexist, non-racist, totally new human relations.

— Feb. 15, 1984

Newspaper editor arrested in the Gambia

The arrest on Jan. 5 of Dixon Colley, the editor of the Gambian newspaper, *The Nation*, in Banjul, Gambia, is the latest in a series of police harassment against critics of the Dawda regime. Colley's *Nation* has, since independence 20 years ago, been a forum for the critical discussion of issues affecting the political and economic development of this last of Britain's African colonies to gain independence.

However, in the last several years the government's Criminal Investigation Department has cracked down on writers for the *Nation* who have exposed corruption and administrative mismanagement in the ruling bureaucracy. The specifics of Colley's recent detention for publishing "seditious" articles surrounds a piece by Colley titled "Till Doomsday" which appeared in the Dec. 3 issue of *The Nation*.

In the same Jan. 14 issue of *The Nation*, which carries the report of his arrest and a reprint of his article, appears the government's position in the form of President Dawda's New Year's message to the country. In an allusion to the

In Brief . . .

PHILIPPINES—Demonstrations against dictator Ferdinand Marcos continue almost daily. Tens of thousands lined the streets in Manila Jan. 31 to greet runners who took part in a 75-mile protest trek, from Tarlac which is the home province of the assassinated Benigno Aquino, to the airport where he was slain. Soldiers tried to keep the runners from entering Manila. Widespread anger against the army sparked the massive welcome. As many as 10,000 union workers held a protest the next weekend demanding that Marcos resign. Workers and the unemployed are bearing the severe economic crises most directly.

INDIA—Farmers in Karnataka state blockaded railways and roads in late January for well over a week to protest low crop prices and to demand title to the government-owned land they have been farming. Over 25,000 farmers were arrested and jailed as schools and plants were converted into prisons. In Maharashtra, farmers have been demonstrating against the low prices offered them for their land which the government has expropriated for a port. They were supported by a general strike on Jan. 31 which shut down Bombay. Two million people stayed off work, and some 200,000 activists in opposition parties volunteered to be arrested in civil disobedience to support the farmers' demands.

SUDAN—The rightist Egyptian and U.S.-backed regime of General Numeiry has recently adopted an "Islamic" legal code. The Muslim majority will now get preferential treatment in court, thieves will have their hands or feet cut off, women's rights will be further curtailed, etc. Meanwhile rebels in the South—Christian and "animist"—have increased the scope of their armed rebellion for autonomy.

COLOMBIA—This "democracy" had 1,289 political murders from August 1982 to August 1983. The rural zones of Uraba, Cauqueta and the Middle Magdalena region have been hit by right-wing violence, causing one political murder a day. These areas are under military occupation. Over 169 citizens have "disappeared." President Betancur, who promised social reforms and denounced U.S. imperialism after his election in 1982, has in 1983 and 1984 turned toward appeasement of the reactionary military. (thanks to *Informe Colombiano*, Box 1284, Cathedral Sta., New York, N.Y. 10025).

Iran's hidden civil war

While much of the world media focuses on the Iran-Iraq war, in Iran a "more or less concealed civil war," as Marx put it, has been raging.

• On Jan. 1, cigarette workers in Teheran struck to protest a simultaneous lengthening of the working day and cut in wages. They were attacked by pasdaran (Khomeini's Revolutionary Guards), but it took a full day of workers' resistance and scores of arrests before the strike was broken.

• On Dec. 10, auto workers at the huge Iran National plant in Teheran went on strike and held a demonstration inside the factory yard. Pasdaran were sent against them, but the workers held out until the middle of the night. Dozens were wounded, many more arrested.

Now more than at any other time, the Iranian regime wants to sieze every morsel to feed to the war with Iraq, a war that consumes both fresh blood and hard cash. This war has so far left hundreds of thousands dead or wounded, and has cost over \$38 billion. So now the regime has turned to further exploit the source of all value, the workers.

The 1984-85 budget, devised on "the war against external enemies," has been transformed by Prime Minister Mousavi into a declaration of war against "internal enemies," condemning "excess demands" and "welfare demands," and greedily targeting the "reduction of cash money" (workers' savings). Its aim is to transform the little left over to the masses into but another element of capital accumulation.

Meanwhile, the government has unleashed a new wave of arrests and dismissals of workers. In early January, the oil minister, Gharazi, revealed a current purge going on in the critical oil fields. Workers have been dismissed, transferred and demoted. Authorities examined files on 8,045 workers; only 116 were considered "safe" by the regime. One of the fired workers reported that as of last October, 1,500 had already been fired.

—Iranian in exile

Nation, Dawda states that "it is essential that the economic situation is clearly understood so that our people are not misled by false and subversive propaganda and sensational journalism."

After publishing the President's position on the front page



of his paper, Colley goes on to reprint his own view of the state of The Gambia in the following terms:

"Quota politics to counterproductive and reinforce tribal hegemonism is counterproductive, destructive, and dangerous. Twenty years ago, lofty promises were made to harmonize relationships between man and man, man and society, man, society and nature . . .

"Twenty years later, we witnessed an unabated process of amputation of the very institutions meant to guarantee good and prosperous living, worthy of emulation by our children, namely, a limping educational system that calls for sacrifices beyond material reach of parents; a disorganized sanitation service that seeks to engender disease outbreaks of epidemic proportions; a network of roads and nameless streets cratered by what seems like tons of explosives . . . a judiciary system seemingly politicized so that judges in order to secure their jobs must bow to pressures from above — all supposedly in the name of justice and equality before the law.

"You name it under sun, we have it, have had it in this administration. For twenty years they have ignored the persistent cry of the majority of the people of this country for positive change and productive livelihood . . .

"Instead, the administration or the government appears to lift the images and material well-being of selected groupings in a subtle form of tribalism at the detriment of national development . . .

"And unless there is a change, this trend will continue till doomsday when it would be too late to correct."

At the end of his article Colley adds the following editor's note: "This is a matter of opinion that merits a debate. At a point in this Correspondence and other matters published it is relevant to ask whether the time has come for a national debate on the root cause of the disturbance in July of 1981 (the attempted coup) in support of those engaged in finding the answer on behalf of the Government."

Having heard the charge of sedition for writing this article, Colley pleaded not guilty, not only before the court, but, by reprinting it, before the people of The Gambia.

Coming next issue —

Essay article on U.S. Black anti-imperialist leagues of 1890s

THE REAL STATE OF THE UNION — REAGAN'S USA AND OURS

Practically every day since your last issue, I have thought about the "real state of the union" you presented, as opposed to Reagan's idea of the state of the union. Now that the Presidential campaign is on, the junk from all the politicians (Reagan especially) will grow worse. Your article (Jan.-Feb. N&L) told the truth about hunger, unemployment and the conditions of women. But what I liked best was right near the beginning, when it said that if Reagan thinks "that he does not have to fear the threat of revolution that confronted FDR in the throes of the Great Depression, the mass outrage simmering in the land will teach him differently."

Student activist
New York

The day after Reagan's "State of the Union" speech to the class of the elite, I was selling N&L on the sidewalk in front of the unemployment office in Whittier, California. I had never been asked anything about what I thought in polls taken by the petty-bourgeois poll takers. As a member of the working class I decided to take my own poll. I asked each person that passed or bought the paper, "how do you stand with Reagan, tall, short or not at all?"

Out of 106 people that answered, 104 said "not at all." Two said he has the right to run for the second time, but if elected again those who elected him "deserve what they get." Sure this poll is one-sided, just like the polls taken by the rulers, but the working class should be asked how they stand on issues that concern them.

Ex-autoworker
Pico Rivera, Calif.

I appreciated your article (Jan.-Feb. N&L) on the reality of the "feminization of poverty," inseparable from a critique of those who want to blame that poverty on women themselves. I heard a shocking different perspective presented recently by the socialist-feminist writer Heidi Hartmann. The economy is improving for women, Hartmann said: after all, there are so many jobs opening up for us. True, they're minimum wage jobs, but they're minimum wage for both women and men.(!)

This is the theorist who considered Marxism "incomplete," who wrote the essay "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism" as her own socialist-feminist "synthesis," without mentioning one strike or action or idea of working class women themselves.

Member, Women's Liberation—N&L
Los Angeles

Congratulations are in order for the members of the UAW in Flint who obtained copies of GM's secret strategy paper last week. It revealed to everyone that GM intends to cut back its workforce by 80,000 production workers in the next two years, by a combination of increased robotization, subcontracting to non-union and foreign firms, and just plain speed-up. This would be on top of the fact that the number of production jobs at GM has already fallen from nearly 600,000 to about 300,000 since 1978.

UAW President Owen Bieber's comment on the report was to say that he was not wor-

ried, because "they will never get away with it." I am worried, and many other workers I know are worried, because the UAW these days lets them get away with anything they want.

Autoworker
Detroit

I'm graduating from college and I really want to do something useful. Some people say I'm too "idealistic" but I object to getting stuck in just surviving. I have an opportunity to work for McDonald's and get paid a high salary but what has this to do with the many people who are starving in Latin America? My wife would like to work on the problem of nutrition for pregnant women. It makes her so angry to know how the food corporations create dependency on them for profits but don't really get at the central problem of poverty itself. As a Hispanic we applied for "equal opportunity" jobs posted at the university but we found out nearly all, about 50 jobs, were phony, since they had already hired someone.

Angry Latino student
Chicago

CRISIS POINTS: LATIN AMERICA . . .

I want to tell you how much I needed Ida Fuller's column "Latin American Support Work" (Jan.-Feb. N&L), after the most recent Central American support meeting I attended. There were many "new" people at this meeting interested in Central American events. Yet, there was no time for discussion after a 30-minute presentation on the Kissinger Report. There was no time for discussion after the movie shown, "El Salvador, The Next Vietnam". Instead, all the "new faces" were taken away from the General Forum to learn the tasks that the support committee had laid out for them, such as stuffing envelopes and creating phone trees.

In contrast, what comes through so clearly in Fuller's column is the need to view masses as Reason, not only in Central America but here in the United States when doing support work. The discussions she's participating in with Latina high school students show so clearly the universal discrimination all women face, in Central America and the USA.

Rickie Rae
Chicago

I talked to a guy who just came back from two weeks in Nicaragua. He has been involved in the local Labor Committee on Latin America. He is a bus mechanic and very much pro-Sandinista. Yet he recognizes the state-capitalist nature of the Nicaraguan economy. He mentioned a form of worker resistance I hadn't heard about. Nicaraguan workers, forbidden to strike, but wanting to get rid of their bosses, simply locked the bosses out of the factory and went on working! It worked.

Central American solidarity worker
Arlington, Va.

. . . AND THE MIDDLE EAST

I heard Noam Chomsky speak at UCLA, where he spoke before 500 with 200 more turned away for lack of seats. He gave a

NEW FERMENT OF IDEAS STRETCHES AROUND BLACK WORLD

Thanks for sending us the article on the fall anti-racist march in France (Jan.-Feb. N&L). There was a small error: the "marchers" were what one calls the immigrants of the second generation — that is, French. Young people of Algerian origin are most often French by birth; if they are born in Algeria, they can choose between the two nationalities at age 18. But they do not want to make this choice: they want to be Algerian and French at the same time. The problem for immigrants of other nationalities than Algerian is that they would like to be able to go home after having lived 10, 20 or 30 years in France. It is not the law which prevents them from becoming French. (Asians, for a counter-example, get themselves naturalized as soon as possible).

The Socialists had promised that, as in Sweden, the immigrants would be able to vote in local elections after six months residence. But they renounced this idea very quickly. At Peugeot-Talbot, management sought as workers illiterate peasants from southern Morocco. After 20 years of work (and now layoffs) they offered them nothing. The government proposes job training but they are too old to adapt to that and they prefer to return to Morocco.

Teacher
Besancon, France

Recently I was looking for a book on the African revolution, and I tried several bookstores around Columbia University. No luck. It made me realize that works on Black America or Africa are often hard to find at Left or campus bookstores, even in New York. Then I went to Liberation Bookstore in Harlem. It was so packed with people that I had to wait 10 minutes in line to buy this book I had been looking for. During that time, I think the store did \$100 or more in sales. Right in Manhattan there are two nations . . .

Sociology teacher
New York City

Readers' View

view of how the link of USA and Israel will bring on nuclear war through the confrontation in the Middle East. This demands, he says, that we critique the bourgeois press! Period. Not a word on opposition, human forces, much less philosophy of liberation.

When I took the floor to challenge him on the latter, saying that just analyzing horrors without offering an alternative is to lead one more generation down a dead-end, he responded, "Yes, maybe that's true, but things like philosophies of revolution we can get to only after the Middle East crisis is resolved." Sounds like waiting for Godot to me, only in this case it could be all-out war.

Student
Los Angeles

There is a new interest here in two Political-Philosophic Letters by Raya Dunayevskaya: on the 1975-76 Civil War in Lebanon, and on Andropov's rise to power in November 1982. Now that Andropov is dead, it is amazing that the pundits still know nothing about him, despite martial law in Poland and Andropov's repression against dissent within Russia, including the severe anti-worker laws he put into effect. It's especially urgent the anti-war movement here come to know how "Andropov's ascendancy reflected the final stage of state-capitalism's degeneracy," as Dunayevskaya puts it, so they don't get pulled onto that Stalinist ground no matter who follows Andropov.

Activists holding seemingly opposite positions (pro-Israel and pro-Palestine) are now buying Dunayevskaya's analyses of Israel, Lebanon, the P.L.O. and the Left. Marxist-Humanist
Oakland, Cal.

Editor's Note: Both Political-Philosophic Letters — "Lebanon: The Test Not Only of the P.L.O. But the Whole Left" (1976) and "Andropov's Ascendancy Reflects Final Stage of State Capitalism's Degeneracy" (1982) are available from N&L for 50¢ each.



INDIAN
WOMEN:
'HALF THE
WORLD'S
POPULATION
IS IN FETTERS'

Our organization has been working in Andhra Pradesh (India) since 1978. We are publishing a literary and cultural monthly. We firmly believe that half of the world population is in fetters — that is, women. In our country as in the case of other countries, women are burdened with double slavery — the feudal and imperialist slavery, and the slavery to men.

Unless and until the exploitative society is abolished it is impossible to achieve women's liberation. So women should participate in the social movements that aim at social change and at the same time try to alleviate their own sufferings. Recently we brought out our Jan.-Feb. issue as a special issue on women's problems . . . We would like to reproduce some of the material from N&L in translation in our monthly.

People's Cultural and Literary Foundation
Andhra Pradesh, India

WOMEN'S ISSUES IN OLD SOUTH, CITIES OF NORTH

I wish that Diane Lee had gone more into detail about some of the Black women writers she was critiquing, in her column in the Jan.-Feb. issue. I am reading Walker's *The Color Purple*, and I think it has a lot to say about Black peoples' lives in the Old South; it is a sharp critique both of Man/Woman and of Black/White relations. Lee's point would have been stronger if she had first shown more concretely what are the high-points of some of these works, why so many Black people, especially Black women, are reading a book like *The Color Purple*; then she could have brought in her criticisms.

Black worker
Los Angeles

Detroit City Council has just voted \$100,000 at Mayor Young's request to pro-

mote a boxing match and launch an advertising campaign to promote a positive image of Detroit.

As if that weren't bad enough, they have dreamed up the slogan "Do It in Detroit." In view of recent rapes of Detroit school-girls, the outrageous sexism of the slogan has taken a grimly ironic meaning. Will the next memo from the School Board advise girls not to wear "Do It in Detroit" T-shirts while they walk to school?

Furious parent
Detroit



EL SALVADOR
UNIVERSITY
UNDER ATTACK

The University of El Salvador would like to take this opportunity to denounce to the American public the atrocities that the Salvadorean government has been perpetrating against its own people, their culture and its institutions. On June 26, 1980, the Univ. of El Salvador was occupied by government forces that almost completely destroyed the campus. Twenty-eight people were killed and more than 300 were wounded. The Social Sciences library was bombed and burned, its books reduced to ashes.

Six months after the military occupation the university president, Felix Ulloa, was brutally assassinated after he had begun an international solidarity campaign in support of the Salvadorean people and the university.

All the difficulties have forced university officials to seek international support. For this purpose the university started an International Matriculation Campaign in March 1983, through which anyone can become honorarily enrolled by acquiring a certificate of matriculation. It costs only \$5.00. It will make the enrollment of a greater number of Salvadorean students possible, and it will help provide better social services for the needy. If you want to help, write to

University of El Salvador, c/o CLAO
Student Union Box #6
Flushing, NY 11367

ON OUR NEW COLUMNS

Ever since I heard the news of Charles Denby's passing, I wondered what would become of his column "Worker's Journal" and all that it represented in N&L. I just want to say that I think you did the right thing by establishing the two new columns of "Workshop Talks" and "Black World". I liked both of the columns last issue, and I feel sure that the new writers will continue in Denby's spirit.

Black activist
Alabama

Lou Turner's new column — "Black World" — has the most beautiful picture with it, the two powerful faces of a Black man and a Black woman. Where do they come from?

Black student
Chicago

Editor's Note: They are Ife sculptures (masks) from Nigeria, created in bronze back in the 18th century.

I noticed in a footnote to the new Introduction to American Civilization on Trial a reference to the Marcus Garvey Papers that pointed to the way they uncovered the relationship between Garveyism and the Irish national liberation struggle. Then in the last issue of N&L I liked very much the way the new "Workshop Talks" column was begun with a quotation from James Connolly, which showed where the name of the column came from.

But after all that I was disappointed when I read Lou Turner's "Black World" column on the Garvey Papers, and didn't see any development of this relationship between Black and Irish movements. Here in Britain now, that relationship is evident, even in the Scarman report, which says that the use of the "petrol bomb" in Britain was "copied from the disturbances in Northern Ireland" by Black youth . . . I hope you will pursue this in issues to come. Or perhaps we should do it in Britain?

Activist
London, England

TODAY'S FREEDOM STRUGGLES AND OUR CLASSES IN THE MARXIST-HUMANIST BODY OF IDEAS

The classes in "the Marxist-Humanist Body of Ideas" have opened up many new points for me in Marxism & Freedom, a work I thought I knew very well. It was especially interesting to look again at some of the footnotes, and see what was in the back of Raya's mind, and so to speak, in 1957. One that was really striking was footnote #5, which speaks of the 16th century peasant war in Germany, showing how that betrayed and incomplete revolution caused Germany to disappear for three centuries as a leading country. That was what Engels had proved. But Raya's footnote then connects that betrayal to the incomplete U.S. Civil War, after which the Black ex-slaves never got the "40 acres and a mule" they had demanded.

Suddenly I saw both the ramifications of a half-way revolution and the importance of the peasantry as a revolutionary subject. What I am still puzzling over are the events of our own age — the post WWII world — that propelled Raya to bring together two such disparate events in such an illuminating way.

Long-time N&L reader Michigan

This semester I am doing a course on Marxism, and Dunayevskaya's work on Hegel is relevant since I am beginning with Hegel (and the Young Hegelians) in the course. I had heard of N&L some years ago, but thought of it again when Dunayevskaya's recent talk in Morgantown (W. Va.) was reported to me — favorably, I might add — by a friend there.

I find myself on the whole very much in

sympathy with your dialectical humanism. My past and present identification has been primarily with what in Europe is variously called "ultraleftism" or even "libertarian communism" . . . I regard the communist movement as any instance of autonomous working class activity . . .

Professor West Virginia

That Ch. 4 of M&F — "Worker and Intellectual at a Turning Point in History" — was most amazing to me when I first read it in 1957, because I could see in its description of the tendencies in the movement of 1848-61 all the varieties of radicals out to "lead" the workers we experience today. Now, in 1984, the question of the relationship between worker and revolutionary intellectual is so much more critical even than it was then. I think of Grenada and the way Bishop told workers to "use their own consciousness," yet at the same time when he had disputes within the Party leadership on the direction of the revolution, the masses were not informed, much less involved.

Working woman Detroit

I was introduced to N&L and the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism by a friend, and after reading it (especially the Youth section), I decided to share my feelings. I have always been put down and imposed upon by my parents and the "Marxist group" which I was a member of. They always decided what was good and what was bad for me. They even told me how to

think and how to talk. They never looked at me as a human with a mind.

Through the dialogue that I am having with my new friends, I found that I can be a self-thinker, and it opened a new dimension in my life. I heard that there is going to be a class meeting on Raya's books about Marxist-Humanism and I am looking forward to it.

Iranian youth in the USA

I've been re-reading Marxism and Freedom, especially Part II — "Worker and Intellectual at a Turning Point in History, 1848-1861". I was once again struck by how little socialists seem to have learned in the past 120-135 years. They are still obsessed with the idea of a small clique of leaders who will bring the masses to victory through them. It is surprising that these so-called Marxists don't understand the basis of history — masses in motion . . .

Young activist Kentucky

When you say we need a total change I'm with you. This is what I see is the point of the classes. I am familiar with union negotiations; I've been in the plant some 15 years and I've been a steward. Each time we have a contract, we lose something. And we don't realize it until after the contract is in effect. Concessions didn't just start in the last year or two. They've been going on as long as I've been there, but now they are more pronounced. The union leaders are a lot like this fellow Lasalle; they only want your vote so that they can get elected and put in their own program.

Ford worker Detroit

The series of classes on Marxist-Humanism as a "Body of Ideas" has made me think a great deal about embryo and process, that is, about an original contribution within the Marxist movement and how that contribution is extended or expanded.

For Marx that original contribution stretched from his early Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts when he broke with bourgeois society and with Left Hegelians and vulgar communists through the 1848 Revolutions to his summation of that period with his Address on Permanent Revolution. What was created in embryo in the first half dozen years of Marx's revolutionary outpouring, in turn became the process by which the revolutionary developments in Marx's thought from 1850-53 unfolded.

What was exciting in hearing Dunayevskaya's presentation at the first class was how that became related to Marxist-Humanism's original contributions on the nature of the Russian economy as state-capitalist, on making a revolutionary

category out of the movement from practice, as in the Miners General Strike of 1949-50, the East German Revolt in 1953, the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1956, and on the todayness of Hegel's Absolutes — all put forth in her Marxism and Freedom. Then to watch how Marxist-Humanism's subsequent works are extensions and expansions of the original contributions.

The point on embryo and process is that the revolutionary thinker has to see that his/her original contribution not only is a distinguishing point from other tendencies, but is the ground for one's own further development as a revolutionary tendency. This is what Marx did and what Marxist-Humanism is striving to do.

Participant in the classes Detroit

LATEST THREAT TO KURDISTAN

Last week I met a Kurdish couple and another friend. They were worried about the recent talks between Iraq's Saddam Hussein and a Kurdish leader, Telebani, over Kurdish autonomy. As the Kurdish woman expressed it: "We never trusted Saddam's talk. And even when we were forcefully drafted to the army, we would get the guns, the training and then run away to become guerillas." They felt that while the Kurdish people want a cease fire after long fighting, Saddam wants them to die in battle against Khomeini's forces . . .

Recently I also met a long-time activist from the mid-1960s who has just come to the U.S. from Iran. The working class neighborhood he comes from in Tehran has been having continuous demonstrations against the government. The women have been prominent in them.

Iranian Marxist-Humanist in the USA

SELECTIVE SERVICE CRIMES

The Selective Service System has repeatedly violated its own laws both in registering men not yet close to 18, and in holding registration in schools and by mail when the law calls for registration only in post offices. These criminal violations are all part of a Selective Service effort to follow military recruiters into high schools. The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors will call upon the Attorney General to bring indictment against those Selective Service officials who have violated the law, or alternatively, to dismiss indictments against young men charged with refusing to register. Get more information from:

Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors 2208 South St. Philadelphia, Pa. 19146

Come and participate with News & Letters in our ongoing classes on

A Marxist-Humanist Body of Ideas: the Other America in International Ideas of Freedom and the Black World

The focus of these classes will be the growth and development of Marxist-Humanism from its historic beginnings in Marxism and Freedom through 30 years of new objective situations and new subjective forces of revolution to 1984. The goal of the classes is not alone to learn what is Marxist-Humanist methodology, but the practice of that methodology for the urgent problems of our day in a way that will help push the freedom movement forward.



Discuss the revolutions and movements of our age — from the Black and anti-war movements in the USA to the Iranian revolution; from Latin America's continuous resistance to Women's Liberation world-wide — in the context of Marx's Marxism.

Classes are now being conducted in New York, Detroit, Chicago, Salt Lake City, Los Angeles and San Francisco. For further information, or to obtain a syllabus for the classes, please contact the N&L address in your area, as listed in the directory on p. 8.

PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," By Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" By Charles Denby \$2 per copy
Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis By Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion By Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
Working Women for Freedom By Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
Latin America's Revolutions Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America \$1 per copy
New Essays On Hegel, Marx, Post-Mao China, Trotsky By Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought By Lou Turner and John Alan \$1 per copy
Guatemalan Revolutionaries Speak \$75¢ per copy
Dialectics of Liberation Summaries of Hegel's works and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks. By Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy

- Women as Reason and as Force of Revolution By Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy
The First General Strike in the U.S. By Terry Moon and Ron Brokmeyer \$1 per copy
Theory and Practice By Rosa Luxemburg - First English translation By David Wolff \$2 per copy
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Marxism and Freedom 1982 edition. New introduction by author By Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
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Chile protests continue against Pinochet

Santiago, Chile — It is summer in Chile and last year's monthly "Days of Protest" have been suspended, but protests go on continuously. On Dec. 31, when Pinochet went on radio and television with the traditional New Year's Eve speech, he was drowned out by the banging of pots and pans all over the city. People banged whatever they could find that sounded loudest; I used a metal drum. When he finished his speech and the government began to play the national anthem, the noise in the streets started to diminish, but when the song got to a line about our "valiant soldiers," the banging started up louder than ever.

On Dec. 28, the poor and unemployed fought the police and army the entire day. The city government had announced it was giving away food packages for the holidays, but after people waited at the warehouses for hours, they were given nothing. When this has happened in the past, people went away mad; this year they revolted.

Also at the end of December there was a meeting of 7,000 women demanding an end to Pinochet's rule and to the repression. They denounced the government for killing so many children in the protests, in which youth have played the biggest part. Even the upper class university students have joined the demonstrations. Children as young as 12 are in the leadership in the poor neighborhoods, building barricades and carrying banners.

Repression is growing worse. Disappearances are down, but repression is everywhere in the poor neighborhoods, in punishment for the national protests. The protests won two concessions: an end to secret jails, and the immediate turning over of prisoners from the secret police to the legal system.

But now they are framing and arresting political activists. Many people think the recent acts of sabotage are being done by the secret police in order to rally the right-wing against the protesters.

Thousands of people who were employed in public works programs called PEM and POJH have been fired. They were working for \$20 to \$40 a month, without any benefits, a starvation wage. They organized themselves — many had

jobs such as sweeping the streets, and so were organized block by block — and demanded an increase in pay. Instead the program was ended.

Everyone is expecting more protests in March, when the schools reopen, and some opposition groups have called for a national work stoppage on March 27.

Meanwhile, farm workers have lost a great many of the rights they had won through years of struggle. There has been a return to feudal attitudes whereby the landowner pays whatever he wants. I know places where the owner owes workers up to nine months' wages. If a worker complains, he is accused of being a subversive and fired.

The government has taken away all rights of the Huilliches, an indigenous people in the south of Chile who resisted conquest for 500 years. They have now lost their land, schools, and all institutions which preserved their culture.

Lima demonstrations

Lima, Peru — Every day here there are work stoppages, strikes, demonstrations. The miners from Cata-Acari, Canarias, and other towns are still here, hoping their jobs will reopen, more than a year after their "march of sacrifice." They walked from their mining towns to Lima to protest the closing of the mines, and ever since have been camping on university land, where the students have been feeding them.

Last week, the bold students had a pitched battle with the police; thousands of students fought with them block after block. The entire center of Lima was witness to how thoroughly the students made the police run. The students kicked the police and held some hostage in order to exchange them for students who were seized by the police, and they succeeded in the exchange. All for the darn new laws on the universities.

Thus is Lima. And in the middle I, without stable work, without an economic future, with only my guitar . . .
—Unemployed with master's degree

Significance of Garvey study

you see there villainy . . . of a large percentage of our people and we, the few of cultured tastes, can in no way save the race from injury in a balanced comparison with other people, for the standard of races or of anything else is not arrived at by the few who are always the exceptions, but by the majority." Thus, we can see that what may appear as a superficial opinion of Garvey's concerning the Caribbean peasantry is, in truth, an embryonic philosophy of liberation.

Professor Hill in his introduction to the Garvey Papers calls attention to the roots of Garveyism in the independent Caribbean peasantry: "The dominant social consciousness of the Caribbean was the special creation and possession of a fiercely proud and independent peasantry. As the black majority, their real achievement throughout the post-emancipation period was the development of a dynamic and expanding peasant economy that, in some places, even challenged the dominance of the plantation system."

Among the dimensions which give a todayness to Garvey is what our age allows us to see like no other, namely, that the Third World revolutions have brought onto the world historic stage what earlier Marxists had previously subordinated — the peasantry. It is now evident that in singling out the proletariat in developed lands, Marx had also viewed the Black peasantry as a revolutionary force as he traced the continuous revolt against capitalism in its colonial periphery.

It is this appreciation for the Black dimension including the Black peasantry which makes for an affinity of ideas between Marx's Marxism and Garveyism. It is not that they were by any means one and the same, nor that they had the same philosophy of revolution. But, even where Garvey's "back to Africa" scheme failed, it succeeded in showing the profound unrest among the Black masses. It was not that they thought they were going back to Africa. Rather, so totally did they despair at ever achieving full democracy in America that Black folk flocked to Garveyism.

Nevertheless, the affinity to Africa was not superficial. It expressed the revolutionary dimension of the Black world, one which shows its relevance to the masses today. * It is in the sense that we seriously look forward to the publication of the remaining volumes of the Marcus Garvey Papers.

*The relationship between Black and Red within Garveyism was not, as Eric Foner claims in his *New York Times* review of the Garvey Papers, merely "rhetorical." It was shown last year in Africa during the Marx Centenary, where three conferences took place in Zambia, Tanzania and Nigeria. The Nigeria conference, numbering no less than 1000 participants, was one of the largest international commemorations of the centenary of Marx's death. (See the September, 1983 issue of the *Journal of African Marxists*, pp. 6, 17).

'Latin American Peasant Women'



The Triple Struggle: Latin American Peasant Women, by Audrey Bronstein, South End Press, 1982.

In this beautiful book, Bronstein lets peasant women of Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, El Salvador and Guatemala speak for themselves. Each section is introduced with facts about the country, its women, and its history showing the effects of a destructive U.S. imperialism. Bronstein's feminism is revealed both in making a place for the voices of what she calls the "least heard members of the global society," as well as in her concluding chapter, "Poor and Female" which ends short of calling for revolution: "Development must involve a reallocation of power."

What strikes this reviewer in comparing *The Triple Struggle* with what peasant women actually involved in the revolutionary process are saying, is how the involvement in revolution deepens and accelerates the self-development of peasant indigenous women (see the News and Letters publication, *Guatemalan Revolutionaries Speak*).

Report from Nicaragua

Punta Nata, Nicaragua — I recently had the pleasure to travel to Free Nicaragua on a work brigade organized by the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People. Our purpose was to help with agricultural production and to learn about the Nicaraguan revolution. I'd like to share this inspiring trip with you.

The first and most lasting impression that I got in Nicaragua is the sense of a revolution which is happening. It is a continuing revolution, which began over 60 years ago. People would ask me, "What do you think of our revolution?" and they weren't talking about anything in the past. They were talking about contemporary Nicaraguan society and what they are doing now that they have power.

We stayed in Nicaragua for a total of two weeks. The first two days we spent in Managua and then we went to the cotton fields at Punta Nata in the extreme northwest corner of the country, in Chinandega Province.

Punta Nata is right on the Gulf of Fonseca, so we could see El Salvador and Honduras, and the lights of a joint Honduran/U.S. military base in the Gulf, and the U.S. fleet in the Pacific. To me it was shocking. There it was, the threat, that monstrous fleet. And the people all knew it. They felt a threat certainly, but they showed a quiet determination and a great understanding of what was going on. This was remarkable.

Punta Nata has taken on a great significance for me since my return because it is close to the place where counter-revolutionary border raids have recently occurred. On Feb. 2 and 3, eight soliders died and at least 13 were wounded near Punta Nata. The victims may have been people I met. The jets and bullets that were used without doubt came from the USA.

The most impressive aspect of the revolution is the youth. The members of the Sandinista Youth organization (the Juventud Sandinista 19 de Julio) were the strongest supporters of the revolution I met. They had been involved in things like the literacy crusade of 1980, the first full year of Free Nicaragua. The Sandinistas believe that in the revolutionary society everyone should learn how to read, everyone should be educated. And that was basically the first thing they did. The Juventud, mainly high school students, went out to the countryside and taught the illiterate people to read.

I carried my notebook with me so I could write down some of the things I was seeing. I would sit down when I had a moment to write and I would immediately gather a crowd. Everyone wanted to show me that they could write. And I have it in my notebook, I couldn't stop them. It was really beautiful. That is one way that the revolution really touched a lot of people, both the students who went into the country to teach and those who learned.

Another way that the revolution continues, and the government is stressing this, is in production. In other words, to increase production to help raise foreign exchange is to help continue the revolution. This brought up an interesting contradiction I think. In order to develop, they need foreign exchange to build factories and create jobs in their country. So they are in a situation where they need to encourage production for exchange, for foreign exchange in fact, not for local use. It seemed to me that production for foreign exchange was something they fought to get away from. But most people seemed to have the patience and the long view to support this policy.

The revolution continues also in the defense against counter-revolutionary attacks. There is a great awareness of this problem. In fact a few days before we arrived a Pacific coast port town was bombed. But the people are prepared and their morale is high to defend their country and their revolution. These courageous people have inspired me to redouble my efforts to stop Reagan's war plans.

— Sean Curran

BLACK WORLD

(Continued from page 1)

how both Marx and Garvey viewed the Jamaican peasantry as part of the revolutionary dimension of the Black world.

MARX, AND THE JAMAICAN PEASANTRY

When Marx wrote to Engels in 1865 on his work on *Capital*, he singled out the Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica and its bloody suppression by British imperialism. Marx wrote: "The Jamaican business is characteristic of that dirty dog, the 'true Englishman' — who has nothing to reproach the Russians with. But, as the brave Times says . . . they (the Jamaicans) enjoyed the liberty to be bled dry with taxes in order to provide the planters the wherewithal to import coolies, and thus to drive their own labor market below the minimum . . . Nothing was lacking to totally unmask English hypocrisy but the Irish affair and the Jamaica butcheries, hard on the heels of the American war!"

Black revolt in the West Indies becomes part of the history surrounding and sending out impulses to Marx who in the mid-1860s radically restructured *Capital* under the impact of the American Civil War.

Seven years earlier Marx had written in the *Grundrisse* (his 1857-58 notebooks for *Capital*): "the Quashees (the free blacks of Jamaica) content themselves with producing only what is strictly necessary for their own consumption, and alongside this 'use value', regard loafing (indulgence and idleness) as the real luxury good . . . they do not care a damn for the sugar and the fixed capital invested in the plantations, but rather observe the planters' impending bankruptcy with an ironic grin of malicious pleasure . . . They have ceased to be slaves, but not in order to become wage laborers, but, instead, self-sustaining peasants working for their own consumption. As far as they are concerned, capital does not exist as capital because autonomous wealth as such can exist only either on the basis of direct forced labour, slavery, or indirect forced labour, wage labour."

GARVEY, THE PEASANTRY AND AFRICA

A little more than half a century later Garvey, in challenging the cultured elite to confront Jamaica's peasant reality, told them to "Go into the country parts of Jamaica and

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Reagan's drive for Pax Americana threatens global conflagration

(Continued from page 1)

Since Arafat's expulsion from Lebanon, a new alignment on the Palestinian question is emerging with Jordan, Egypt and Arafat anxious to keep the Palestinian question out of Syrian domination, and Syria's unity with the PLO rejectionists determined to halt any negotiation between Arafat and King Hussein of Jordan leading to talks with Israel.

Within Lebanon, the largest minority, the Shiite Muslims, who have been excluded from any real political power under Lebanon's laws, have found themselves under the gun of Gemayel's Phalange-dominated government, and the boot-heel of Israel's occupation. Many of the Shiites have become radical in their opposition to this double occupation, but some have also come under the influence of Iran's counter-revolutionary Ayatollah Khomeini. The Druse too found their Israeli occupied territory in the Shauf mountains given over to the Phalange.

The Phalange faction rule since Gemayel's ascent to the presidency, has meant that the almost half a million Palestinian refugees remaining in Lebanon have been persecuted by the Phalange-dominated army. The Lebanese Army was deployed in Moslem areas while only present as a token force in Phalange areas. Under Phalange rule security services singled out groups along religious and political lines for harassment. Health services deteriorated and water shortages were common.

It has been the refusal of Gemayel to have any genuine "power sharing," or to institute any reform in the National Covenant from 1943 — one that institutionalizes Phalangist minority power and which led to the Civil War of 1975-76 — that brings together non-Phalangist Maronites together with Druse, Shiites and Sunnis.



U.S. Marines in Lebanon

It is not that Reagan and his State Department and White House advisors are ignorant of all the factions and infighting that is part and parcel of the internecine battlefield called Lebanon. It is that they feel they can run roughshod over these realities by transforming Lebanon, and indeed all of the Middle East, into an East-West battlefield, a battlefield that could well involve direct U.S.-Russia conflict with nuclear consequences. The latest events in the Persian Gulf only underline that Lebanon is not the only point where such a war could break out.

Reagan is willing to flirt with the idea that he could start something as volatile as the deepest of all Middle East Wars, so long as it is a conventional war, and one that might even help him to a second term in the White House in the name of patriotism. But Russia has already deployed several thousand military personnel in Syria, together with modern missiles. Thus any confrontation could escalate rapidly. Reagan seems willing to run this risk to establish a U.S. domination over Russia in the Mid-East as part of his drive for single world domination.

It will help us not to separate the Middle East from Central America in order to see clearly why Reagan foreign policy in these two distant fronts has but one goal — destroying revolutionary masses.

CENTRAL AMERICA: MILITARIZATION vs. INDIGENOUS MASS MOVEMENTS

Where in the Middle East the danger of a U.S.-Russia confrontation is all too real, in Central America the danger, as it has for more than a century, comes from U.S. economic, military and political domination. Reagan, has chosen to use the same anti-Communist language to justify the greatest militarization of Central America's history. There, the opposition to his *Pax Americana* comes from the mass movements in El Salvador, in Nicaragua, in Guatemala.

El Salvador

U.S. military aid to El Salvador came to \$6 million in 1980, on the eve of Reagan's taking office. It reached \$65 million in fiscal 1984. The Kissinger Commission report singled out El Salvador for massive further increases in military aid. The Reagan Administration has quickly followed up the report with a request for an additional \$178 million supplemental aid for this fiscal year! This would be followed by some \$376 million for the next two years.

These multiple increases in military aid come in the wake of the significant advances made by the El Salvadoran rebels throughout 1983. Their offensives have been able to take and hold towns, destroy major bridges and power stations. The production of El Salvador's main export crops, coffee, cotton and sugar has plummeted.

The response to the Salvadoran growing mass movement on the part of the right-wing government has been intensification of death squad activities and a gutting of any meaningful land reform. El Salvador is a country where some 40,000 civilians have been murdered by death squads and the military since 1979, and where an estimated half a million Salvadorans (one in eight) have fled their country.

Reagan seems intent on pursuing a military victory. Thus the present Salvadoran government and the Reagan policies have eliminated any route to power but armed struggle.

Honduras

In Honduras Reagan has opted for a militarization of the country even before an opposition movement grows large.

But if the histories of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala are followed, it will be precisely the presence of militarized governments which creates the opposition.

Nonetheless, the decision to turn Honduras into a huge arsenal, including the semi-permanent stationing of U.S. troops, has been made. Since mid-1982, when the Reagan Administration signed a base access and construction agreement, \$13 million has been spent to lengthen the runway and install facilities at Palmerola air base. The Pentagon wants to spend \$6 million more to build an ammunition storage depot for the U.S. Air Force at Palmerola.

There have now been six months of large-scale U.S. military maneuvers in Honduras to add to the base building. Over 5,000 U.S. troops were involved in the just completed Big Pine II exercise, one in a long series involving U.S. troops. Grenadier I and Big Pine III exercises are planned for this Summer and Fall and it is reported that military exercises are scheduled in Honduras through 1988!

Guatemala

The Reagan Administration is seeking to reverse the policy of not providing military aid to Guatemala because of their abusive human rights policy. A 1979 congressional ban on military assistance is in effect, however the Reagan Administration has already agreed to sell \$2 million worth of spare parts for its military helicopters, stating that since it is a cash sale it does not violate the ban on military assistance.

In a new proposal for aid, the Reagan Administration is asking for \$10 million in military aid for the Guatemalan government in 1985. Even the Kissinger Commission report advised against the military sales which Reagan is conducting. They found the human rights abuses of the Guatemalan military government to be out of control. There are reports of over 200 Guatemalans murdered by the army every month. Hundreds of thousands of Guatemalans have fled the repression to exile in Mexico while an estimated half-million have become internal refugees, many hiding out in remote parts of the countryside.

Against the massive repression of successive military governments, each having its own way of dealing with the "Indian problem," a guerrilla armed struggle has been taking place. In the most recent period it has been forced into a defensive position, but the repression and miserable conditions of life and labor, including an unemployment rate estimated to be between 33 and 43 percent, and a daily wage often around \$2 a day is certain to bring forth new pathways of resistance.

Nicaragua

The mass revolutionary movement that most sticks in Reagan's throat is Nicaragua's, for there a people have rid themselves of 40 years of dictatorship — the U.S. propped-up Somoza dynasty. That revolution has made modest gains,



Nicaragua in revolution commemorating 50th anniversary of death of Augusto Cesar Sandino

especially in literacy and health care. But it has tremendous obstacles of a poor and fragile economy, and certainly has serious internal questions as with self-determination for the Miskito Indians. But there can be no denying the revolutionary spirit and support of its people. (See in-person report from Nicaragua, page 8 of this issue.)

Against this revolution, Reagan has launched the war of the contras, bands of counter-revolutionaries, whose core is remnants of Somoza's old National Guard. Equipped, financed and directed by the U.S. they have launched isolated attacks in border areas as well as bombed oil storage facilities. In the latest attacks, planes flying from Honduras have bombed oil storage tanks and radio broadcasting facilities.

Again, in Central America as in the Middle East, Reagan's policies do not stem from ignorance. Instead they are part of his single-minded world view of an American Century or Pax Americana, the struggle for world domination with that other nuclear titan, Russia.

We cannot afford to take Reagan's ground of talking about only the immediate "redeployment of troops" in Lebanon, as if it is not the widening into a full Middle East War and the wholesale decimation of Lebanon which is at stake. We cannot allow the debate in Central America to be framed either in the abstraction of Communist conspiracies, or in Congress' narrow demand for human rights checks while continuing to dole out military hardware. We need to recognize that what is at stake is the fullness of mass movements for freedom versus the Colossus of the North and its henchmen in power in Central and South America.

Any discussion which does not in thought take as its ground the total uprooting of society needed, in the Middle East, in Central America, indeed globally, will not be able in action to confront Reagan's regional wars that threaten us with nuclear conflagration.

EDITORIAL

Workers face international exploitation, need international solidarity

Record profits for the Big Three automakers are further proof to Reagan of what he is promoting as economic recovery. But those lush profits did not come from increased production — GM made \$3.7 billion while producing 1.7 million fewer vehicles than in 1978, the previous record profit year — they came from the living standards of GM workers, from their contract concessions.

The pressure has so intensified to roll back gains of all organized workers that in 1983 union industrial workers' wages rose far less than non-union pay — 3.6% compared to 4.7%. For the three million workers in the first year of a contract, the average was just 2.6%. And for many, actual decreases were the reality.

At the same time, just-released Federal Trade Commission (FTC) documents project the loss of tens of thousands more auto workers' jobs nationwide as the production system GM and Toyota will introduce jointly at Fremont, Cal. becomes the new standard of productivity for the whole North American auto industry. UAW bureaucrats had outshouted the companies to blame Japanese workers for the massive permanent layoffs of the last five years. Now the UAW is offering no challenge to the inhuman conditions that more and more will be confronting U.S. workers, not only at Fremont.

NISSAN IN JAPAN, IN U.S.

Nissan (Datsun) is intent on bypassing any union at all at its new truck plant in Tennessee. A study of Nissan's plant in Japan shown on U.S. TV showed the degree of control of job conditions the company strives for — because of its productivity, U.S. capitalists are emulating that system.

Nissan's supervisors typically are shop stewards in the company union, and inspect each worker's ballot both on contracts and in union elections. The head of that union, which formed after Nissan broke a militant strike in 1953 during a four-month lockout, is known as "Nissan's second president" and the union serves as a police force for the company. Because bonuses are a large percentage of annual wages, but are paid only for loyal behavior, it is little wonder that despite rank-and-file opposition Nissan's contracts are overwhelmingly ratified.

In the last ten years productivity is up more than 70%. Robots are in heavy use, but as one worker said, "Robots brought no relief — robots know no fatigue, and we have to keep up with them." The virtual elimination of relief workers means workers are discouraged from taking sick and vacation time, and are forced to keep up by building stock before their shift begins, for no pay.

We've been informed repeatedly that these workers at least have guaranteed lifetime employment. But millions of others do not as Nissan, like most large Japanese companies, use subcontractors whose workers have far inferior wages and

benefits, and certainly little or no job security.

Here in the U.S., workers are being pushed in the same direction. Reagan's National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), composed of appointees with their background in union-busting firms and right-wing funded "right-to-work" groups, last month overturned all precedents in the case of Milwaukee Spring to approve the company transferring work from a union plant to a non-union plant in mid-contract.

THE ANTI-LABOR NLRB

When even the NLRB cannot decide for management, as in open-and-shut cases of workers fired for union activity in an organizing drive, deliberate backlog — 18 months to three years to review company appeals — is intended to have the same chilling effect on workers' efforts for organization or control on the job. NLRB Chairman Donald Dotson has stated as his aim for the NLRB restoring the "marketplace as the mechanism for determining the value of labor."

That "marketplace" for determining what wages capitalists pay is worldwide, as Karl Marx proved over a century ago. There has been no slackening of runaway production to lower-wage areas and countries — in 1983 alone, U.S. companies hired 50% more workers in just one zone, border plants in Mexico.

But what is new is how many companies have achieved runaway-shop wage levels and conditions within the same old four walls and with their existing work force. In effect, they have offered their current workers first crack at the subsistence wages they intend to pay in the Third World.

As we go to press comes news of the Supreme Court decision voiding labor contracts for companies declaring bankruptcy, and leaving every worker's wages and job conditions in jeopardy.

Against this system that undercuts wages and spreads unemployment across borders, rank-and-file solidarity has to be equally international. You cannot look to the union bureaucracy, which by its ineffective response has spurred capitalists in Reagan's America to call in scabs in strike after strike.

What is needed now is an international exchange of ideas and actions between rank-and-file workers. Marxist-Humanists have had the opportunity to aid in such an exchange between auto workers in the U.S. and Japan for some 20 years, from Raya Dunayevskaya speaking with Toyota workers in their tightly-controlled company town, to Labor Editor Felix Martin's "Open Letter from a GM Worker" that was reprinted in an independent paper in Toyota City. These are only beginnings, but they are the kind of beginnings needed to establish genuine international solidarity and guarantee that the growing army of the unemployed will be joined by those still at work among the robots in bringing this system down.

ESSAY ARTICLE

(Continued from page 2)

In contrast, what Eleanor saw was how American workers were struggling for socialism as a part of their fight for the eight-hour day. She stressed again and again the importance of joining with the U.S.-born workers, letting them take the lead, so that their innate socialism could develop.

Eleanor's Chicago speech revealed her determination to talk about socialism in a way that any worker would understand and to which they could feel an affinity. To do this, the body of her talk took a great deal from the form of Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, explaining just what socialism is as opposed to what the bourgeoisie says it is.

What best proves that Eleanor's insistence on the revolutionary character of the native U.S. worker was correct, is the response her Chicago speech received. This is how Yvonne Kapp describes it in her biography of Eleanor Marx: "Large numbers had to be turned away from the doors of Aurora Turner Hall. Even then too many had been admitted: the gallery sagged and threatened to collapse under the weight of 'people standing on the forms, between the forms and almost upon each other,' while in the body of the hall the crowd was unable to applaud in unison because, as they said: 'We were packed so closely that some of us could not move our arms unless those standing by put theirs down to give us a turn.'"

At the same time, her whole attitude to what was then called "the woman question" brings out the todayness of women as Reason and as liberationists.

"THE WOMAN QUESTION"

Even in her speeches on what most would consider "other topics" she always brought in women. She talked of "men and women" and rarely used the word "man" alone because she meant both. In her Chicago speech, again following what Marx had developed in the *Manifesto*, she showed how capitalism had dehumanized women and transformed love into prostitution and exploitation.

She also brought in a vision of what women are: "To the socialist a woman is a human being, and can no more be 'held' in common than a socialistic society could recognize slavery."

Shortly before her American tour, Eleanor had written on *The Woman Question* in a pamphlet co-authored with Edward Aveling. To get a better understanding of her important feminist contribution, it is important to look a little more closely at this pamphlet. It was supposedly a review of August Bebel's book, *Woman — Past, Present and Future*, although she tells us in the pamphlet that, "we have wandered so far from Bebel along our own lines of thought . . ." Indeed, while those who write of Eleanor Marx as a feminist continually try to trace her feminism to the influence of Bebel, Engels and Ibsen, this pamphlet shows her as very different, certainly distinguishing her as a unique socialist feminist who was not following Bebel, Ibsen (whose play, *A Doll's House*, she both translated and acted in) or Engels (whose *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* was published in 1884).

In *The Woman Question* Eleanor states that, "Women will find allies in the better sort of men, as the labourers are finding allies among the philosophers, artists and poets. But the one has nothing to hope from man as a whole, and the other has nothing to hope from the middle class as a whole." Eleanor had much of what is thought of as "socialist criticism" of bourgeois feminists — particularly that they didn't understand that "The position of women rests, as everything in our complex modern society rests, on an economic basis." But her more original criticisms were that, with the bourgeois feminism of her day, "The actual position of women in respect to men would not be very vitally touched," and that none of the bourgeois feminist demands "touches (women) in their sex relations."

She writes with passion of the unmarried woman, asking why it is that one can always pick her but not the unmarried man out of a crowd or family gathering? She describes what forced celibacy does to a developing human nature and attacks the practice that only men are permitted to "proffer affection," showing, by quoting Shakespeare, how that is not a natural state of life and pointing out how marriage is a purely economic arrangement. She takes up the age that people married, showing it to be a class question and opposed to human nature. She gives her views on how children should be told of sex and ends with her vision of human relations which (although she characterizes it as monogamy) is an expression of genuine reciprocity between men and women.

What those who try to tie Eleanor Marx as feminist to Bebel, Engels and Ibsen all ignore is her philosophic relationship to Karl Marx. It is not that, as his daughter, she had a unique experience, growing up in a household where her own and her sisters' intellectual curiosity and their interest in the revolutionary movements of their day were

strongly nurtured. It is that there is no doubt whatsoever that it is from his writings that she got her inspiration to grapple with "the Woman Question."

It was his philosophy she was seeking to make real in all her writings and all her activities, whether that be with women, with the unskilled and unorganized workers, or in her internationalism. Indeed, those she had to fight the hardest were the elitist leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, who, in trying to play down the revolutionary road of Marx's Marxism, kept gossiping in letters to each other that Eleanor was trying to make a "god" of her "father" — as if Karl Marx was not the founder of the revolutionary socialism they all supposedly followed.



Eleanor Marx

PRACTICING MARXISM

What becomes clear in reading *The Working-Class Movement in America*, written after the American tour, is how much *Capital* had influenced Eleanor. Following the way Marx had documented the conditions of the English workers in *Capital*, the conditions of the working-class in America are here likewise documented by the capitalists' own statistics — the "latest annual reports of the Bureau of Labour for the various States." The horrible working conditions that led to the upheavals of the 1880s and 1890s are revealed in the despair of the labor commissioners themselves as they report on woman and child labor, the 18-hour days, the company stores, the fines, the "black lists."

And a special awareness of the Black dimension is seen in the way Blacks are quoted to show "that the immense coloured population . . . is beginning to understand the wage-slavery question. 'Their purpose' (i.e. of the 'idle classes') 'is to keep us poor, so that we will be compelled to toil for their benefit . . . The coloured people are getting awake on this matter. The time is past when they can be deceived.'"

As Others See Us

G.A. Kelly reviews Dunayevskaya's new work

Editor's Note: Below we print excerpts of George Armstrong Kelly's review of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* that appeared in the journal *Political Theory*, November, 1983.

Everyone feels in his soul that we live in troubling days of capitalist contradiction. Profit-making presses prefer texts of Marxology to other political works. Urban bookstores shun the classics of history, but provide large shelves for "Marxist studies," "women studies," "black studies," and "astrology, religion, and philosophy" (*sic*). Although mainly rebuffed by economics departments, Marxism has made a discreet entry (often in weird partnerships) to philosophy and literary criticism. A good deal of crude Marxist imagination and vocabulary has conquered the speech habits of "the brighter students." Yet the work of Raya Dunayevskaya has been unjustly neglected. I can think of only one good reason why this should be so, academic smugness.

SHE IS NOT a "socialist of the chair" — one can scarcely imagine her sitting down. She is what might be called in archaic parlance an agitator or political journalist. Most of her activity has been in Detroit, where she has been involved, at close quarters or from afar, in decades of the tangled politics of the Extreme Left — from the heroic days of the CIO to those of the NBF (National Black Feminist Organization). She is a compendium of who-is-who in liberation movements from Zanzibar to Tirana and from Teheran to Lima. She is an intellectual of the barricades. Yet she prefers to work in an atmosphere of argument, persuasion, and freedom. That much is demonstrated by her concern for scholarship, historical accuracy, and (by her lights) philosophical consistency.

Since Dunayevskaya's years have been spent in the nitty-gritty struggles of the Marxist revolutionary movement to expand its strength and correct its tendencies, she has never catered to her own self-advancement. Aside from a great deal of fugitive journalism, she has published four books: *Marxism and Freedom*; *Philosophy and Revolution*; *Nationalism, Communism and Marxist-Humanism* and *the Afro-Asian Revolutions*; and the volume under review . . . they are an effort to transcribe for intellectuals what the straight and true path of Marxism is and to show how the society for which Marx fought and made phil-

Significantly, the longest chapter in the book is on "Woman and Child Labor," and the meetings with American feminists are discussed in the chapter on "Some Working-Class Leaders." These are not working-class women but suffragists and although Eleanor criticizes them for their similarity to the English bourgeois feminists, she also points out how "American women suffragists differ from the English in one very important particular. They are ready and willing to listen to the ideas of other schools of thought . . . ready to engage in the more far-reaching struggle for the emancipation of the workers as well as in that for the emancipation of their own sex."

Beyond that, she singles out the suffragists as being "much more outspoken" than their English sisters: "They call things honestly by their names, and are not like the English, afraid of being thought 'improper.'" Eleanor Marx was not afraid of being thought "improper." She led a most extraordinary life and her contribution to today's Women's Liberation Movement and the American and British labor movements is only now beginning to be fully explored.

A DIRECTION FOR TODAY

What speaks to us today is not only that her insistence on the primacy of American workers as creative leaders has been proved historically in that every working-class advance made in America has been the result of a uniquely American proletariat, unseparated from the added dimension of Blacks and women. While it was in America in 1886 that Eleanor Marx first immersed herself in the movement for the eight-hour day, the passion workers revealed in Chicago to control their working day was something she was to experience again in the 1890s in England when she helped organize the lowest unskilled women workers in the slums of London's East End. There she did some of her most magnificent work, transcending the in-fighting of the Leftist groups because she was grounded both in her experience in Chicago and in Karl Marx's *Capital* where he contrasts the "pompous catalogue of the 'inalienable rights of man'" to the true "Magna Carta of a legally limited working-day" and the real struggles for the eight-hour day.

It is here, precisely, where she can help point a direction for today's Women's Liberation Movement. What was so important about Eleanor Marx was that she did not put women's liberation and socialism in separate compartments. If women's liberation wasn't on the official agenda, it was on hers, and it wasn't only lip service or just a tool to involve women in the "real" struggle as it was to so many of her contemporaries.

Doesn't the fact that she made "the woman question" her question, and never separated it from her activity in a period when women's liberation wasn't the most exciting movement, speak to what we are facing today? Can't we, as revolutionary feminists, bring in women's unique contribution in deepening the very concept of revolution, to every activity we engage in — be that support work for Central America, anti-nuclear/anti-war activity, our work in the factories and on the picket lines, and with the Black dimension? Wouldn't that be one way to help develop revolution, celebrate International Women's Day, and honor a truly international women's liberationist — Eleanor Marx?

osophical provision is laboring to be born in all corners of the earth . . .

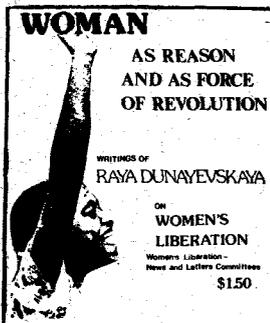
WE NEED TO locate Dunayevskaya in the galaxy of Marxism. She is, by her own declaration, a "Marxist humanist." This means, first of all, that she is a fervent advocate of the human being as maker of himself, rejecting thought of any higher intelligence or higher creation (in Kolakowski's words, "the self-deification of mankind"). It means, secondly, that she places heavy stress on the developmental continuity of Marx's project and writings, and insists on the importance of the Paris manuscripts, where, according to the author, are to be found in embryonic philosophical clarity the claims by which Marxism is privileged to become the "science" for a variety of worldwide movements of liberation, however disparate they might seem to the naive observer. Third, it means a resounding rupture between the true Marx and the leaky legacy left to his followers by Friedrich Engels. Not only did Engels bequeath to the communist movement a mechanical and complacent tendency, but he misread and distorted Marx's interpretation of the man-woman relationship in his work on *The Origin of the Family*. According to the author, a careful reading of Marx's 1844 text in conjunction with the newly available *Ethnological Notebooks* sets the matter straight.

The focus of this book is announced to be Rosa Luxemburg and her revolutionary connection with the feminist consciousness. We are told that this connection can be taken further than is commonly supposed. The personality of Luxemburg, her position in international socialism, her courage, and her pathos are well expressed in the earlier chapters. A principal point that Dunayevskaya wishes to make is that (*pace* Nettl, Luxemburg's excellent biographer) Luxemburg was a totally liberated woman who did not go into a decline following the rupture of her liaison with Leo Jogiches, but went forward to ever more productive activity. This is demonstrated very convincingly. The book is not, however, really about Rosa Luxemburg; rather, it is about some of the lessons that she teaches as much through her errors as her indomitable will. Luxemburg was a first-class revolutionary who got her economics a bit wrong, could not reconcile philosophy with organization, and, in fact, suffered from "near tone-deafness in philosophy" . . .

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YOUTH

Anti-war movement faces challenges to its growth

by Jim Mills, youth columnist

While all eyes have been trained on the crises for U.S. imperialism in Lebanon and on the ascendancy of Chernenko in Russia, the anti-war movement in the U.S. has been quiet. While quietness may reflect reassessment in the wake of Reagan's trigger-happy invasion of Grenada and his successful deployment of Euromissiles over mass opposition worldwide, it may also be that the movement is not fully prepared to stand in the way of more retrogressive steps toward war that Reagan is sure to make.

To be fair, many in the anti-war movement have not totally ignored these kinds of developments. Spontaneous outpourings of opposition to the invasion of Grenada emerged at the time, and the Nov. 12 march on Washington against U.S. intervention in Central America, though not massive enough, did contain new elements, including anti-nuke, because of that new objective reality. And 1983 saw more arrests than ever before — 5,300 — from direct action against the arms race.

Yet a major part of the anti-war movement still seems to ignore new challenges to its growth and success. The lies Reagan told to justify the U.S. invasion of Grenada should tip us off to the reality behind his new guise of demilitarization. In a speech on the day of the official observance of Martin Luther King's birthday (which he fought all the way), Reagan said, "My dream is to see the day when nuclear weapons will be banished from the face of the earth."

The Pentagon is in the middle of an unimaginable \$1.5 trillion, 5-year military budget. The military's recent emphasis on conventional weapons means that nuclear war is more likely, not less. And with Naval bombardments of Beirut, the U.S. military role in the Middle East, which could be a nuclear flashpoint, is escalating rather than diminishing.

In the face of these deceptions, it's disturbing to hear in 1984 that debates continue in the anti-nuclear war movement over things like whether anti-nuclear groups should discuss other forms of imperialism other than the arms race. For example, Theo Brown of Ground Zero, argues against addressing "the specifics of American military policy" and for educating people about "the urgency and uniqueness of the nuclear threat." He says more "baggage" would weigh down the movement and "those who consider themselves conservative must be brought to this issue in large numbers or we have little hope of success."

This kind or narrow thought can lead to us getting blindsided by the next military confrontation engineered by Reagan. Worse yet, it fails to present the other America who is with the struggles for freedom of peoples under the heel of U.S. imperialism.

There is another serious ramification of this strategy that is not actually linked to military or foreign policy. It is the attempt to bring anti-abortion right-to-life supporters into the anti-nuclear struggle. The door to this was opened by the controversial pastoral letter on war and peace issued by U.S. Catholic bishops last year. It included the church's traditional opposition to women's liberation and to the right of women to safe and legal abortion on demand.

A front-page article in the New York Times recently reported that Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, who helped draft that pastoral letter, wants to make the anti-nuke struggle another pro-life issue. To try and build the movement on such hollow ground is to invite its break-up by Reagan who in his State of the Union address resumed his attack on the right to abortion.

Study and Struggle

An anti-militarist movement that misses an opportunity now to sort out new appearances of militarism can be a precondition for war. Reagan's maneuvers in foreign policy show that a new objective reality is at hand, and the movement needs to lay an independent ground to prepare for the next crises. Our plans must not be encumbered by the anti-abortion church, a fetish for conservative support for electoral solutions, or the government's mouthpieces that say "peace," yet practice war.

Mobilization for Survival debates anti-war role

Berkeley, Cal. — Over 300 anti-nuclear activists from groups all around the country attended a national strategy conference held by Mobilization for Survival (MFS) here on Jan. 20-22. Throughout the weekend the hottest discussion was on the anti-nuclear movement becoming fully anti-war. The other main point was how it will become "multi-racial."

One of the better talks I heard was by an organizer from Boston who showed how much deeper the opposition to war has grown since June 12, 1982. Then, despite the fact that Israel had just invaded Lebanon, no speaker at the massive June 12 rally could speak about that "conventional" war. Like many others, the speaker felt it was paramount to focus on U.S. intervention in the Middle East and Central America.

The MFS itself divided its strategies into compartments, separating disarmament from human needs. Newer outreach strategies ranged from conferences called "The Deadly Connections," to coalition actions, to jumping into Jesse Jackson's campaign to win over the "rainbow coalition."

Two different attitudes to outreach emerged when a woman in a group discussion I was in stressed the need to educate the "brainwashed youth" about the military. One local youth draft resister disagreed. During recent protests at Vandenberg Air Force Base, he was lined up against several Black youth in the military, and "was amazed at how many youth in the service don't want to be there, who hate their jobs and don't want war. Seeing that is how we can break through this block between us."

Several activists also discussed how to keep focused and flexible when you don't know where the next flashpoint for war will be, like this fall when Reagan invaded Grenada, and we were mobilizing against intervention in El Salvador and Euromissiles at the same time.

On the one hand, many there were trying to organize an emergency response network to be prepared if Reagan invades Nicaragua. But I was glad we in News and Letters were able to hold a workshop on Grenada, because I feel that horrifying event has ramifications for the anti-war movement that go even deeper than the need to show our outrage. In the discussion, a Puerto Rican woman activist told of her shock at realizing the divisions within Grenada's leadership had given Reagan the opening he needed. Two others showed great reluctance to face the revolutionary shortcomings in Castro's support for Grenada, particularly given the horror of U.S. imperialism.

I heard many at the conference calling for more national conferences. Even when the discussion is on strategy, I feel it is questions like these that make us clarify what we are for. They urgently need more discussion, especially now that the anti-nuke movement is becoming fully anti-war.

— Laurie Cashdan

Youth in Revolt

Fifteen-year-old Emma Sathegke was killed and several other students injured by police Feb. 13 after a week of demonstrations and school boycotts by thousands of Azanian students protesting both frequent corporal punishment and a ruling that students who failed a national exam cannot be readmitted to school. South Africa's apartheid system spends 6½ times as much money per white as per Black child, while six times as many Blacks as whites failed the test.

* * *

Two high school women who were kicked out of the National Honor Society for becoming pregnant are fighting their dismissals to protect the rights of other young women. Loretta Wort, 19, of Springfield, Ill., and Arlene Pfeiffer, 17 from rural western Pennsylvania are fighting legal battles against their respective school districts, both of which claim that "character" and "leadership" qualities were lacking as a result of their pregnancies.

* * *

Marking the first anniversary of a battle between squatters and police, 150 youths fought with cops in Copenhagen in January. There are 75,000 people under 25 in Denmark who have never had jobs, while nearly 100,000 people who leave school this year will also face a depressed job market and cutbacks in social programs.

* * *

International support actions have won the release of Ulriche Poppe and Barbel Bohley, members of Women for Peace in East Germany, who were arrested for meeting with British disarmament activists. In one action, women from many countries signed a letter demanding the release of imprisoned women for peace in East Germany, Russia, Britain and the U.S.

* * *

Over 1,000 anti-nuke protesters demonstrated at California's Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant Feb. 12. In the last month protest there has been unceasing, and has involved many local residents as well as activists from around the state. Over 300 have been arrested in this all-out effort to prevent Diablo from being activated.

Homeless erect 'Tent City'

Editor's Note: Homeless men and women in San Francisco erected a tent city in the Civic Center Plaza on Jan. 23. Following are excerpts from an interview with one participant, also a member of a new statewide "Homeless Caucus" in California.

San Francisco, Cal. — About 75 of us stayed overnight here last night but there are a few hundred today. There's nobody backing us, we're out here for ourselves. We're homeless are tired of having politicians speak for us. Nobody wanted to hear what we had to say for ourselves. We got this caucus together ourselves so we can say what our problems really are.

I got laid-off two years ago from my job repairing refrigerators and air conditioners, because of Reaganomics. Last year we stayed at a tent city in Phoenix. The cops came in at night and beat us and collapsed our tents. Now my AFDC (Aid for Families with Dependent Children) eligibility worker here has told me to get a job. She put my wife and me and our two children in one room that costs \$300/mo. and that comes right out of our AFDC. We can't live in those conditions; there aren't even cooking facilities. But you have to put too much money down to get an apartment.

We set up the tent city for this week, but a lot of people want to sit here until they do something. We can't get jobs, because you need an address and phone number. We have to get off the streets before we can get jobs. We're doing this while the Mayor is in Washington, and many people have asked why. To me it shows that we don't want it left at a political question that the politicians are taking up for the elections. We want to be heard.

My concern goes beyond just homeless people. I went down to the bus station to support the Greyhound strikers too. You never know who will be laid-off next.

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A Trilogy of Revolution: 25 years of challenge to youth revolt

Marxism and Freedom

The freedom Fighters of Hungary embraced all layers of the people... Children, from twelve to sixteen years of age, were seen with rifles and tommy-guns slung over their shoulders and hand grenades in their pockets. They destroyed Soviet tanks by diverting the attention of the gunners to the rooftops, then dashing in under the elevated guns to throw gasoline over the tank and set it afire. Others led the tanks down narrow streets where they were ambushed and unable to turn around.

Philosophy and Revolution

So integral is empiricism, so a part of the very organism "American," that even those who wish to uproot capitalism — the youth who have become aware of themselves as revolutionaries through relating their feeling of alienation in academia to Marx's theory of class alienation — still separate what history has joined together: Marx's beginnings as a "new Humanism" and the culmination of the Hegelian philosophy in the Absolute Idea.

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

Whether the creative drama of human liberation... was romanticized by the young revolutionary philosopher, Marx, the point is that he lived, worked, organized on this planet, and this planet meant a planet of new beginnings...

It is true that, with Leo Jogiches, Rosa Luxemburg already headed the small underground party in Poland; at age 22 she had already been made editor of its paper, Workers' Cause... She was uncompromising in her many-faceted involvements and made clear that they were as far-reaching as the whole new revolutionary continent of thought that Marx had discovered...



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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Japanese mine disaster

Close to 700 miners were working, Jan. 18, when a fire broke out two miles inside a shaft of the Ariaki pit of the Mitsui-Miike colliery. Smoldering coal filled the mine with thick smoke and deadly carbon monoxide. When the rescue operations concluded two days later, the grisly toll counted 83 miners dead.

The fire was sparked by an overhead coal conveyor belt motor. Nearly five hours passed before mine company officials called for outside help. Miners, their families, and union officials are charging the company with criminal negligence in underestimating the fire's deadly danger.

Mitsui is one of the most highly automated mines in Japan. Sensors on the coal conveyors, designed to stop the belts automatically if they overheat, failed. So, too, did the automatic alarms in the mine, said to be the most up-to-date gas and heat detection devices. The mine is also one of the largest — producing fully one-fourth of Japan's total coal production. Miners blamed the overheated conveyor motors on recently increased coal production quotas.

The Mitsui mine became infamous in 1963 for being the site of Japan's worst mine disaster, in which 458 men were killed. In a land now synonymous with robotics, the Mitsui tragedy has underlined in blood the truth that only miners' control, not automated machines, can ensure safe working conditions.

Food riots in Morocco

Just as the World Islamic Conference was being held here, food riots broke out resulting in more than 60 people being killed by the government of King Hassan II. It began Jan. 5 with a student strike in 17 of the country's 36 high schools, protesting tuition increases. When they moved into the streets after being chased out of the schools by police, the students soon found themselves joined en masse by the urban poor, who had grievances against a whole wave of increases in the prices of food and other basic commodities to satisfy the demands of the IMF.

Soon barricades went up, stores were looted and cars attacked. In Marrakesh, fighting was extremely prolonged and violent — one report stated that over 100 were killed there alone. Details are hard to get since the King clamped a wall of total silence on the country, and expelled outside journalists. The King reacted to the riots by rescinding some of the price increases, but also rounded up hundreds of regime opponents.

Since Moroccan independence, there have been mass anti-government riots in Casablanca in 1965, several attempts by young officers to overthrow the King, and again in 1981 in Casablanca, food riots in the slums resulting in repression by the military at a cost of 600 civilian deaths.

The 1984 riots were the most serious challenge yet to the regime, for they involved protests on a national scale, or nearly so, rather than in a single city. The King publicly blamed "Marxist-Leninists, Zionist agents and Khomeinists" — a weird and unlikely amalgam.

Krome detention camp

Haitian women in the Krome Avenue detention camp outside Miami began a hunger strike Jan. 19 to protest the inhuman government delays in reviewing their asylum claims. They were joined five days later by Haitian men, and the next day by other refugees, including Lebanese,

Salvadorans and Bangladeshi. By Jan. 25, 150 were on hunger strike. One of their signs proclaimed "Freedom or Death." Many of the refugees have been held over 17 months at what the Haitians call "Reagan's concentration camp."

The unambiguous tie between Reagan's racist repression at home and abroad surfaced again in February, when his Administration certified Haiti to receive more U.S. aid. While Reagan turned his back on the tyranny of the Haitian dictatorship, he congratulated them on halting Haitians from trying to flee to the U.S. Reagan is so intent on keeping Black refugees out of the U.S. that he had earlier concocted a plan to move Haitians to resettlement areas in poor, predominantly Black Belize. He quickly withdrew the scheme when it was exposed by Black representatives in Washington.

Reagan's mouthpiece Shultz recently went to the Black Caribbean, in the wake of the barbarous U.S. invasion of Grenada, promising unending military aid to halt the "Communist threat." But when the Krome hunger strikers are forced to call for a "collective suicide" if they can't get freedom in the U.S., it is clear the threat to freedom is much closer to home.

Brazil



More than 50,000 people rallied in downtown Rio de Janeiro Feb. 16, calling for free and democratic elections. Up to 400,000 had demonstrated in Sao Paulo, Jan. 25, in the largest protest in Brazil since the U.S.-backed military coup in 1964. Mass starvation stalks this giant drought-stricken land. In the northeast, up to three million face starvation, in an area where the infant mortality rate is already a shocking 250 per 1,000 births.

Labor unrest in Israel

Israeli workers — from teachers and health personnel, to miners and the unemployed — have struck and demonstrated over the past three months, demanding relief from a raging inflation of 200% and worsening living conditions. More than 60,000 civil service workers took part in various actions, from strikes to slowdowns and civil disobedience. When 4,500 postal workers returned after a three-day strike to find the government intended to dock their pay, they went back out on strike. Thousands of workers have simply stayed home in disgust.

The current crisis in Israel has been sharply exacerbated by full militarization of the economy. Over 30% of the nation's budget is spent on the military. While the government subsidized prices for food, transportation and utilities, they also underwrote the costly imperialist program of West Bank settlements. But President Shamir is finding out what Lyndon Johnson discovered in the U.S. when he tried to sustain the lie of "guns and butter" during the Vietnam War. The Israeli government has planned severe cuts in consumer subsidies. The price of food and clothing is already up twice as high as last year.

Meanwhile, a new resistance — Yesh Gvul (There Is A Limit) — has arisen within the heretofore unassailable Israeli military. Over 100 soldiers have been jailed for refusing to go to Lebanon. Some have refused to go on patrol in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, and still others have managed to evade military service altogether.

The Israeli government spent \$2 billion in its savage invasion of Lebanon, and is now spending \$1 million a day there in its aftermath. Histadrot and the Labor Party have raised little serious opposition to Shamir's open policy of reducing the workers' standard of living. It is the unrest from below that can become a new opening.

Uruguay's general strike

Factories shut down, buses didn't roll, stores remained closed, and Montevideo's streets were empty on Jan. 18, when workers mounted a 24-hour general strike—the first in Uruguay in over a decade. The Inter-Union Workers Assembly, a coalition of 150 unions, called the strike to demand a \$57 raise in the \$150 average monthly wage, the right of public workers to unionize, the release of political prisoners and a return to democracy.

The trade union movement has begun to regain strength after a decade's repression since the military dictatorship came to power in 1973. But the real momentum of the current protests has come from the rank-and-file. A week earlier bus drivers had struck, and textile workers occupied their plant for several weeks. During the general strike, workers at three plants barricaded themselves inside, and government troops were dispatched to break up the occupations.

New voices are being raised in the ferment to end the rule of Gregorio Alvarez. ASCEEP, a union of university students, was instrumental in organizing for the Sept. 25 national day of protest, and students have been active outside the range of the traditional parties. Organizations like "Mothers of Prisoners Sentenced by Military Tribunals" have been working largely on their own to bring the government to account.

The general strike was supported on the left by the Frente Amplio, long banned by the government. But the three legal established parties, who expect to gain some power when, if ever, elections are held, denied support saying the strike was "inopportune."

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

At this very moment, 150 million people in 22 African nations are threatened with famine. This is the conservative estimate of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). It is believed that many more people will be faced with starvation as severe food shortages develop in 18 other African countries.

The present drought and food crisis that is sweeping through Africa is not a sudden visitation of disaster upon the African masses. It is the continuation of the 1973-74 famine that took the lives of half a million people, and caused acute malnutrition among many more that has resulted in many thousands of cases of mental retardation and permanent damage to health.

The famine and drought of 1973-74 was centered in the Sudano-Sahel region of Africa. Today the drought has extended into Eastern and Southern Africa, covering an area from Mali to Mozambique to Tanzania. Never in the decade between these two disasters have the African peasant and worker enjoyed an adequate amount of food. According to the UN experts, Africans have been "chronically hungry and tens of millions suffer from thirst and contaminated water supplies."

NEED IMMEDIATE FOOD DELIVERY

To contain the present crisis in the drought areas the FAO has estimated that it is necessary that there be an immediate delivery of 700,000 tons of food and aid to the most severely stricken countries — Ethiopia, Mozambique, Ghana and Sao Tome. An appeal for this emergency food was sent out last October by Edouard Saouma, director general of the FAO, to what he called the "traditional donors," the United States and Western Europe. As of January less than a quarter of

Famine threatens millions throughout Africa

this aid was pledged. This is not an unexpected reaction. All along there has been an indifference to the African crisis by the big powers. Last summer many of the stricken countries made individual appeals and got little or nothing.

Of course no aid, no matter how humanitarian it claims to be, comes without its political ideology and ideological conflict. Thus we see that in the midst of attempts to get some food for starving millions, the East/West conflict raises its head. Those African countries that have aligned themselves with Russia and the so-called bloc of Eastern Socialist States point out that they are getting little or no substantive aid from the United States or Western Europe, "that the humanitarian aid program has become politicized" because of their "anti-imperialist foreign policy."

In Washington, Senator John Danforth, who seems to speak for the Reagan policy, urges his colleagues in Congress to give aid to Africa only on a priority basis and "that a relative modest increase in our commitment to Africa can help that continent survive the present crisis." The Senator made a sharp difference between giving emergency aid and giving development assistance to those countries whose governments control farming.

EAST/WEST CONFLICT

The bringing of the East/West conflict into the African food crisis obscures the fact that the present crisis is rooted in the neo-colonial status of the African economy, in its relationship to both poles of world power; and that this relationship has fostered, in Africa, a political economy that has neglected the production of food for the masses in favor of the production of exportable commodities for the world market.

While both droughts — 1973-74 and the present one — have played roles in exacerbating the food shortages, they are not

the driving mechanism of the crisis; that is to be discovered in the political-economic policy of the African elite who, regardless of whether they call themselves socialist planners or private capitalists, have understood development as industrial development in the image of the technologically advanced countries.

This elite has ignored the rural, peasant masses of their countries, that is, the two-thirds of the population residing and working on small-scale family farming units and where the system of land ownership is primarily communal. The only interest that this elite has in agriculture is "plantation production" of tea, coffee, cocoa, sisal, etc. and mining, all commodities that can be sold on the world market and are acceptable to International Monetary Fund financing.

AFRICAN ELITE IGNORE MASSES

The African elite that took over the political leadership after the political revolutions that decolonized Africa in the 1960s, have failed tragically in either moving toward the creation of a new society or in deepening the explicit humanism that the revolutionary masses were calling for. They turned their collective backs on these masses, as Fanon pointed out in *The Wretched Of The Earth*, and opted for catching up with the technologically advanced countries.

In one form or another they tied their countries to the world capitalist market, neglecting indigenous food production, thus creating enormous food import bills. The slightest downward change in the price of the raw material that they export causes inflation in food prices and a severe debt payment crisis.

The drought exacerbates this situation, governments fall, replaced by the military who think that they can solve the problems by draconian methods, when what is needed is a social revolution by the African masses.