

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

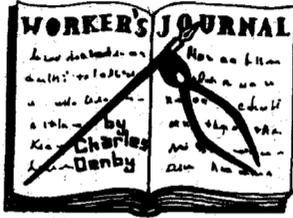
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Alabama again voting rights battleground



by Charles Denby, Editor

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

Last month I had to go down to Lowndes County, Ala. on a family emergency. The afternoon I arrived many of my family and friends were gone to Selma, to participate in the march at the Edmund Pettis bridge, on the anniversary of the original march for voting rights held there some 16 years ago.

Everyone I talked to was shocked and surprised at the turnout for the march. They had over 5,000 people, just about all from my part of Alabama. And the march really had not been given any national publicity before it took place.

VOTING RIGHTS STILL NEEDED

People who had not marched in a long time went. They were saying that as soon as Reagan got in office he declared that he was going to turn many problems over to the states—like voting rights—but many people did not think it would be so soon and so drastic. He and his racist Congress are saying that voting rights are accepted by whites now, so the law is not needed. If it is true that voting rights are accepted, then to me this is the exact proof that the law should be made permanent. But instead, Sen. Strom Thurmond wants the Voting Rights Act abolished.

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Brixton rebellion shakes Thatcher's Britain

by Nigel Quinten

London, England—On Saturday, April 10 the lid blew off in Brixton, a section of London with a large Black community. Black people gave vent to their feelings against the racist British police. Over 100 police were injured and there was massive property damage. Brixton was the second major Black rebellion in Britain within the last year. (See Editorial, p. 7.)

It started April 9 at 5 p.m. when police questioned a Black youth who had been stabbed. Local youths surrounded the pig car, grabbed the stabbed youth and attacked the police. Railton Road, the "frontline" of Black resistance to police harassment, exploded.

The next afternoon police saturated the area and arrested a Black youth outside a minicab office in Atlantic Road, Brixton. A crowd of Black youths formed demanding his release. Fighting broke out. In a matter of minutes thousands of Blacks were on the streets attacking police and police cars. Bricks, stones and Molotov cocktails were thrown. "We hate the police, they arrest us for nothing" was the catch-phrase. Buildings were burnt, shops destroyed. Vengeance was taken on shops which had ripped off Blacks or whose owners were racists. A pub which had refused to serve Blacks went up that night.

VICIOUS POLICE ASSAULTS

The police went off their heads, attacking with lead piping and coshes (clubs). Youths then threatened the local police station. Now the police had to retreat to protect the station. Massive looting started, and local white youths joined in as well.

The riot lasted through to Sunday and then spasmodically until Tuesday. The police were particularly vicious in their counterattack, breaking down the doors of Black homes and letting off their racist venom, or surrounding youths in the street and laying into them both with racist punches and racist language.

For the past five years Brixton has been subjected to increasing police heat which includes the much-hated Special Patrol Group (SPG) coming into the area making mass arrests. Thousands of people are stopped and searched each month. As the saying goes: "If you're Black, just walking on the street will draw the heat." The SUS law, which has been used by the police for decades to stop, search and arrest on "suspicion," has now been revamped. Now the police can

Miners gird for bitter strike struggle

by Andy Phillips

"We'll stay out until hell freezes over—and even longer if that's what it takes for us to get a decent contract that we can live with," declared a rank-and-file miner in West Virginia following the crushing 2 to 1 vote rejecting the United Mine Workers' contract negotiated by UMWA President Sam Church in March.

The massive repudiation of the contract surprised nearly everyone except the rank-and-file miners. Most certainly President Church was disappointed. He had predicted a 2 to 1 vote, to be sure, but he said that would be the margin of approval. The actual vote convincingly shows how far away Church is from understanding the rank-and-file miners, and how incapable he is of representing them.

GIVE-AWAY CONTRACT

Opposition to the contract centered on several provisions agreed to by Church, and included the following:

- Giving coal operators the right to buy and process non-union coal to fill coal orders, as well as not paying the \$1.90 royalty on each ton of non-union coal bought and sold. The \$1.90 payments funds the health and pension benefits of miners and their families.

- Approving a committee to review the UMWA pension benefit program with the aim of turning that over to private insurance companies, as was done with the health care program in the last contract.

- Accepting a 45-day probationary period for new miners, who have in the past always had full union

membership, rights and protection from the first working day.

- Allowing coal operators to sub-contract jobs to non-union workers.

- Permitting the hated anti-union National Review Board to pass on grievance cases for an additional 90 days before it was phased out, with all decisions to remain in force for the full life of the three-year contract.

- Agreeing to a dental plan that would not only have to be paid for by the miners out of their own pockets, but had so many extra service costs and benefit restrictions that it was a total rip-off.

- Giving operators the right to close a union mine and re-open it as a scab operation after two years.

Other major objections were the rights given to operators to veto safety recommendations proposed by a joint union-industry committee; establish harsh penalties for absenteeism, including firing; dilute seniority rights; restrict bidding on new and higher-paying jobs; and allow any one of three union safety committeemen to override a miner's objection to working in an unsafe place, as well as making safety protest procedures much more difficult.

Outside of wage and pension increases, costs which operators always pass on to coal consumers, almost every other major change in the contract represented a loss to the rank-and-file miners.

Actually, miners were expressing two kinds of protests in their vote against the contract. They were not only rejecting the terms of the new contract, they were also displaying their anger at the last contract. This was especially evident in regard to the "Memorandum of Understanding" which would have set up a committee to revise the UMWA pension system and turn it over to private insurers.

OPPOSE PRIVATE INSURANCE

This is what happened to the UMWA health care system which had provided full coverage for the miners and their families from 1948 until the last contract, in 1978. Turning this over to private insurers turned into a nightmare of service for many miners, as well as costing them hundreds of dollars out of their own pockets. Whereas before all health care costs of all miners were paid for out of the UMW Health and Welfare Fund, the changeover created chaos in service as well as different degrees of coverages controlled by the coal operators who contracted with insurers of their own choice.

Another directly related health care loss to the miners is especially bitter in this strike situation. Before health care was turned over to the operators, miners and their families kept their medical coverage during strikes. Now they must pay for the insurance out of their own pockets—and the costs are clearly designed to put economic pressure on the miners. Miners in western Pennsylvania working in U. S. Steel mines, for example, will be required to pay \$165 for health insurance the first month, \$192 the second and \$222 the third month to keep the same coverage they had before the strike.

Striking miners and their families are eligible for government food stamps, but rules are now being tightened to put added pressure on the miners. Different states have different rules, but most or all appear to be putting a \$1,500 limit on savings and other assets, and the way they are interpreting assets would cut off many thousands of miners.

On other battle fronts, striking miners are becoming more determined to stop the mining and transportation of scab coal. In Kentucky, Tennessee and southern West Virginia, gun battles between strikers and company

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Aftermath of British cops' billyclub charge in Brixton.

stop anyone at anytime.

When Blacks in the St. Paul's section of Bristol rioted against the racist police last April many wondered: how long before Brixton? A series of events both of repression and resistance fueled the flames: the increasing assaults on Black people by Nazis; the murder by guards of Richard "Cartoon" Campbell, a young Brixton "dread" (Rasta) in a remand center last year; the 13 dead in the New Cross Fire this January and the historic day of action that saw 6,000 Blacks march through London against the coverup of the fire; the government's new racist Nationality Bill and the growing mass movement against it.

All this came to a head in Brixton. On April 3 police decided on a massive campaign to "clean up" Brixton. SPG and other "heavy" police sealed off Railton Road and raided homes and cafes. Over the

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Women miners fight sexism, find solidarity

Ed. Note—The following are excerpts from a speech given by Jean Smith, Chairperson of the Coal Employment Project National Conference, at a conference on Women and Labor in Detroit on April 10, 1981.

Five days a week (well, not now) I journey down into the bowels of the earth to toil away in the dark and the damp and the danger. I've been an underground coal miner for the past four-and-a-half years and I've been asked many times, "Why did you choose this career?"

Well, I didn't choose it, it chose me. When I was about 17, I was pretty naive about the financial state of the world. When I was 16, I had a poem published in two different books and I knew I was going to be an English teacher and writer—that this was where my fortune lay.

'THIS AIN'T IT'

Eleven years, three kids, a divorce and several traditional jobs later, I said, "This ain't it kid." So I heard that Peabody Coal Co. was hiring women to work in their mines and I said, Oh, no, I don't want to go underground. And my friend said, Well they're paying \$50 a day, and I said, Where is this place? and three days later I had myself a job. Affirmative action's wonderful.

Little did Peabody Coal Co. or I know what was in store for us. It seems that the whole mining industry feels that it has no place for women. "Women underground are bad luck. A woman working as a miner is trying to be a man. A woman's not strong enough to do the work." I'm telling you, the excuses are bounded only by the company's ingenuity and imagination. To make a long story short, it is no picnic.

Women are treated differently from men from day one. There were three other women working in the mine where I started, and 860 men. . . . All our jobs, of course we're United Mine Workers, are acquired by the bid system. So when a loading machine came up for bid two and a half years ago, I put my bid in. It meant a substantial increase in pay wages but also it was my favorite job in the mine. . . . Well, I had the senior bid, but the company said I couldn't have the job because I was a woman, and they said it in front of 75 of my union brothers. They wildcatted.

During that, I learned the importance of people sticking together. . . . It's important to enlist the aid of union brothers to integrate the workforce. There's

WSU workers fight lay-offs

Detroit, Mich.—Nearly 200 Wayne State University campus workers pinned pink slips to their coats at noon on April 23, and came out to help Pres. Tom Bonner "celebrate" 25 years of WSU being a state-funded institution—a week after many of us had gotten lay-off notices, and a week after the news came out that Bonner was personally responsible for buying last fall the now-defunct Detroit Institute of Technology.

We rallied in front of McGregor Auditorium, where Bonner, the WSU Board of Governors, and state government and education big-shots were meeting, and we held up signs reading, "Let them eat bricks," "Buy out DIT, sell out me," "Wayne's 'Urban Mission'—Real Estate."

The DIT fiasco is the latest chapter in this Administration's total contempt for students, faculty and campus workers. In a year of drastic state education cut-backs, Bonner's latest scheme is massive layoffs, directed almost entirely against unionized campus workers. The budget squeeze did not, however, prevent him from spending \$27,000 (almost three year's salary for an Office Assistant) to design a new logo for WSU, nor from increasing the number of vice-presidents (lowest salary: \$36,000) from five when he came in late 1977, to 15 today.

A poem read at the rally suggested that these overpaid "chiefs" might also shovel snow, operate the parking lots, run registration, clean the buildings, do the clerical work, etc. if we are laid off.

When one union official at the rally said perhaps some of us might like to join the festivities inside, the response was overwhelming. Everyone gathered again inside on the first floor, and we chanted non-stop, "Cancel the lay-offs, open the books!" (the financial books) and "Pink slip Bonner!" Finally the "dignitaries" filed downstairs, where they were served lunch by food service workers wearing pink slips pinned to their uniforms.

The greatest part of the demonstration was definitely the spirit of the people who came. I was especially encouraged to see students take part; Bonner has promised them nothing but tuition increases each semester. This rally added new strength to our fight and we're not going to let Bonner destroy WSU and our lives.

—Library worker

strength as well as a small margin of safety in numbers. . . . But even though my brothers were supporting me in the mines, they still regarded me as somewhat subhuman. I had their respect to stand up for my rights—I had that—but after all, I was still a woman.

COAL EMPLOYMENT PROJECT

About that time, I heard of a wonderful organization called the Coal Employment Project. . . . They knew other miners, women miners who were facing problems similar to mine. So I got involved. . . . Nobody really understands like another woman miner.

They have the distinction of being the first feminist-oriented organization to make a dent on a traditional male bastion such as the United Mine Workers. They've received recognition, they've received acceptance and support from the union and in some cases they've even worked in cooperation with them to improve the health and safety conditions for miners. One of the most important things they stress is that. . . . we do not ask anything for women that we do not ask for men. Solidarity is the key.

Meanwhile back at the ranch—we have a new foreman by the name of Reagan. While it's appalling that he's even there, it's a fact of life—he is there. . . . And although I do not underestimate Mr. Reagan, I do know he does underestimate me—and all of us. . . . In 3 years 254 days, there's going to be another election. We've got to make sure that that name isn't on the ballot—or anybody like him.

People speak out on welfare

Chicago, Ill. — The militancy of peoples' reaction to Reagan's anti-human cuts was manifested most vividly during the Welfare Rights speak-out held in Chicago at the end of March. There was very little division between the speakers from various welfare rights organizations and the 500 in the audience which included Blacks, whites, Latinas, Indians and other minorities, mostly women but also some men.

The dominant feeling was that the poor will not take it any more and that action has to start right here and right now and with the people right in this room. There was no denying the urgency as speaker after speaker addressed the public aid program representative with all different kinds of demands, from instituting name plates (so people know who they are speaking to) to more translators and reducing the amount of time one has to wait in the office.

A white woman recounted her experience in Dr. King's March on Washington and said we'll do it all over again if that's what it takes. All were invited to take the floor and the most militant got the loudest applause.

WOMAN AS REASON

Dear Sisters:

I was very surprised by the different responses of audiences here on Raya Dunayevskaya's lecture tour and I wanted to share ideas with you in trying to understand the nature of the responses and what they tell us about the women's movement in 1981.

At one large Chicago university where Raya spoke on her newly completed book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, the audience was almost all women academics and professors, and yet throughout the lecture they seemed quite unresponsive to the ideas being presented. Not one woman participated in the discussion period after the talk—and this when the Women's Studies Department had co-sponsored the lecture—and none approached us to discuss informally at the reception following.

A FEW DAYS LATER, Raya gave the same talk at the University of Illinois Champaign-Urbana and the reaction was completely different. The room was so crowded that people had to sit on the floor because the organizers had underestimated the interest students would have in the lecture. The audience was very responsive and the discussion afterward was lively and could have gone on much longer. That these students were open and looking for answers was clear from the questions they asked.

For example, one young woman asked Dunayevskaya how to organize a union independent of any of the established unions. She wanted help with her fight to organize the store where she worked and did not separate it from the philosophy that Raya had presented. She went on to ask about what Marx had written on imperialism and others asked about the possibility of making a revolution in our day.

Now in trying to understand the difference in responses, I realized that the question was not a simple difference in class since both audiences were mainly



women-worldwide

Russian feminist Vera Golubeva (Natalya Maltseva) has been freed from prison due to the activity and protests of the international feminist movement, according to Tatyana Mamonova. Unfortunately, due to her failing health, continued harassment by the KGB and concern for the safety of her young daughter, it is feared that Golubeva will be unable to speak out as she had prior to her imprisonment.

Feminists twice disrupted a Senate hearing April 23 on a bill which would redefine life as beginning with conception and thus make abortion and even certain forms of birth control the equivalent of murder and subject women and doctors to prosecution under state criminal laws.



Mrs. Caroline Soltie, an officer of the newly formed South African Domestic Workers Association, watches as other women who work as maids in Vereeniging South Africa sign up for membership.

The clerical workers' organization Working Women has merged with the Service Employees International Union to form a new national union called District 925 to organize the millions of clerical workers in the U.S. The director of Working Women is determined to retain her organization's independence due to many women's distrust of unions and their lack of interest in women's issues.

The Spanish government had hoped to display Picasso's famous work *Guernica*, which depicts the horrors of war, as part of the 100th anniversary of his birth next fall. The artist had wanted the work returned to Spain after "the re-establishment of public liberties," but his daughter Maya vetoed the return saying, "We cannot talk of democracy in Spain while there is no divorce law and while the police and army of the old regime still exist."

Careerism: fear of revolution

middle-class women. But at UIC-U it was clear that the young women cared very much about transforming this world that they hadn't made but were going to have to live in, and it was the revolutionary nature of Dunayevskaya's work that had drawn them to the lecture and that made them want to continue the discussion afterward.

BUT WHAT THE AUDIENCE in Chicago reminded me of was our discussion back in 1974 about groups whose fear of philosophy revealed, in fact, a fear of revolution that made them stop at culture. We have often talked about NOW (National Organization for Women) in this way, as a group that reduces women's liberation to careerism, and their recent conference on "New Leadership" shows that they are still doing that as they propose that businesses provide childcare and suggest that childcare be organized like a public utility.

The kind of "leadership" that has reduced the very idea of a movement for freedom to a movement for getting a few good jobs for a few, will never get us anywhere. It is particularly sad to see it in a university where the very jobs women have won are supposed to help us with the self-development of ideas of freedom and not the stifling of them.

In a way, this fear of revolution is nothing new. But today is 1981 with Reaganism not yet in full bloom. Yet even in the face of his attacks on our rights and the very idea of women's liberation, women still have illusions that an academic career or culture is a way out.

What was fear of philosophy in the '70s is all the more serious in 1981 when the lines are much more sharply drawn. Please let me know what your experiences have been so that we can pose the question of philosophy vs. culture as a women's liberation committee in all of our activities.

—Terry Moon

Detroit city workers resist takebacks

Detroit, Mich.—City workers here are facing the most massive anti-labor assault in anyone's memory. Crying poverty and bolstered by the Chrysler takebacks, Mayor-Coleman Young is demanding that our contract be re-opened "for the express purpose of modifying wages and benefits." This is less than one year after we won this contract in the most militant strike ever by city employees.

Not only does the city propose a five percent wage cut; they also are mandating we give up our scheduled increases for the balance of the contract; the loss of three holidays; reduction in sick days, and the option to propose "other cost-saving proposals at a later date." Adding insult to injury, they also would require an additional five hours more work time per week.

WORKERS OPPOSE TAKEBACKS

Opposition to these kinds of takebacks was virtually unanimous in my local and it seems that this is the case in all city locals. Detroit's economy has been devastated by the crisis in auto. City workers understand this and are ready to do their part to help see us through this time of crisis. But they have lost all confidence in the mayor's claim to fairness and "equality of sacrifice." He offers to cut his own salary by five percent—but this is five percent off of \$75,000! Our union has even proposed an alternative plan of payless vacation days but the city wouldn't even listen to any offer besides their own.

Robots, racism at re-tooled GM plant

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

GM South Gate began calling back workers for the body shop and paint on March 31. The first thing was to assemble in the mess hall to listen to speeches by management praising new policies and laying down new rules — no more absenteeism, 50 jobs per hour with quality, etc.

So militarized is the thinking in this capitalist society, especially at the point of production, that plant manager Hardin opened by saying that he was declaring World War III against the Japanese. After spewing out some racist remarks against "those Japs," Hardin tried to clean it up by saying that he had nothing against the Japanese people, but against "those little cars," as if the cars made themselves.

Hardin continued: "I believe in democracy—me standing here telling you what to do and you had better do it. I will leave my door open. You can come in any time you have a problem to talk it over with me." After an hour of this B.S. and of cheering and hand clapping by foremen, ex-foremen and company sucks, we were allowed to go back to our work stations where we met our new bosses—the robots of unimation.

MORE ROBOTS, LESS WORKERS

We were surprised to see these robots were stationary, not the second generation of robots on wheels

Workers' struggle in China

The arrests of the editor of April Fifth Forum — a banned unofficial magazine — along with another activist, followed just five days after Peking police dispersed hundreds of people at Tiananmen Square, on April 5, who had come to speak out and distribute flyers on free speech on the fifth anniversary of the great mass demonstration that had so shaken up Mao himself.

Demonstrations and sit-ins have become so widespread nationwide that the government has been forced to admit that they are occurring. They call them "disturbances created by small numbers of people" — but in denying their significance they reveal that there have been workers' strikes over wages and housing; and student demonstrations over food and sham elections.

A sit-in of as many as 70,000 in remote Xinjiang province shows how many youth were forced from the cities in the decade of the Cultural Revolution. Those who have returned have often come back to no jobs — there are reports of up to 10,000 demonstrating for jobs in Shanghai. Demonstrations have even been reported in Sichuan province, the home of Deng Xiaoping and the model for China's restructuring of the economy.

Urban unemployment — already 12-20 million — has been rising and major plants have closed down under restructuring. In Shenzhen, one of the zones for foreign capital to create new jobs, one foreign capitalist closed his new plant until the government established a new labor exchange that allows all the foreign capitalists to fire workers as they please. Even workers at the giant Baoshan steel complex demonstrated vigorously when they found out their plants were closing.

Workers and unemployed youth facing the same crisis here can understand the Chinese workers very well, and know that such mass activity won't disappear by being ridiculed in the press.

—Bob Maguire

We can still remember back four years ago when this same mayor—once a union man himself—literally laughed at us and boasted how he had conned us into accepting "the best contract this city (i.e. the administration) ever got" in the 1977 bargaining—also pleading the city's poverty then. As one worker said: "If we didn't learn our lesson then, and fall for this line again, we deserve to be laughed at."

Another employee added: "We gave up wage increases before in order to help the mayor because we thought he was moving Detroit forward; but now we see that it is only the Max Fisher's and Henry Ford's that are moving forward in the mayor's plans for the renaissance of the City."

WHO'S TO BLAME

But we know that the real culprit is not any individual but the crisis of capitalism across this whole nation. It is these big businessmen, bankers and their stooges that have wrecked our economy; and now they want to bail themselves out by squeezing more profit out of the hides of the working men and women of America.

Nobody likes the prospects of massive lay-offs which the mayor has threatened if we reject his takebacks. But Detroit workers won't be fooled or intimidated again. No way will we submit to "union busting" or loss of dignity.

—City employee

that can "think" and work the line like workers, we had heard about. These cost the company \$100,000 and \$6 per hour to operate. Right away the workers began to realize that this means this plant will close, as the newer robots are only being installed in the new plants.

By closing these old plants where the labor force is already established, and moving to a new city or country and building a new plant with all the new technology installed at the same time, GM establishes a new labor force of fewer workers. This will help GM by not causing labor trouble like it would have in the old plants where a larger labor force is already established. Management is saying "This is your last chance; if you don't get 50 quality jobs per hour as ordered, the plant will close." In fact, the foremen and sucks are wearing big buttons saying "Our future is now."

After working three weeks and not reaching full production, the workers are saying it is impossible to get 50 jobs with quality. We can't get quality with the line stopping every third job.

SCHEME AGAINST WORKERS

Talking on break, one worker was saying "This is a scheme by management, union and government to put the blame for the closing of this plant on the workers. This would relieve GM of any responsibility for the plant closing."

Reagan is already trying to do away with OSHA safety standards in the plants, and all emission controls. Most workers I have talked to are saying "this would create a giant gas chamber right here in the Los Angeles basin."

On the day shift the older workers with the most seniority are called back. But for the first time they are seeing that management, the government and even sometimes the union are their enemies. "They make up one giant bureaucracy like in Russia," said one worker. Instead of seeing a solution to today's crisis outside of their own activities, the workers are now talking about their own self-activity such as the miners' strike and the general strikes in Poland as the only answer to this bureaucracy.

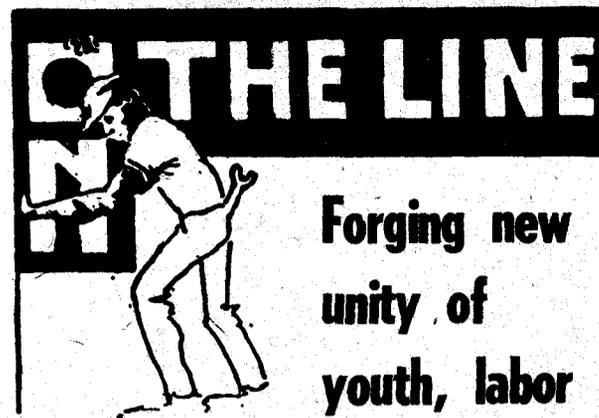
Santo Domingo protests

When two U.S. Navy ships arrived in Santo Domingo April 2, on a supposed "good-will visit," the Dominican Republic was swept by nearly a week of the largest demonstrations and protests since the 1965 rebellion. That that rebellion was put down at the cost of 3,000 lives through the invasion of 42,000 U.S. Marines, in the same month of April 16 years ago, was not forgotten by the protestors.

The severe police violence in repressing the demonstrations left four dead and hundreds injured and arrested. Among the dead were a 14-year-old newsboy, a 23-year-old reporter for La Noticia and two students.

Within four days the municipal workers were also on strike (they had not been paid for a month), joining striking truck drivers and doctors. And in the poor neighborhoods the protests became street fights against the police as youths burned barricades of tires and garbage.

Also important is the nearly total news blackout in the U.S. press. For the Dominican youth the news this year is clearly Nicaragua, El Salvador and Reagan's militaristic response, making this one "good-will visit" they would not let go unchallenged.



Forging new
unity of
youth, labor

by John Marcotte

There was another work stoppage at my shop the other week, and when the union big shot came down the workers whistled, booed and yelled him right out shouting, "We don't need you coming down here telling us to go back to work!"

I have heard many of the older workers who fought hard to bring the union in say, "Now we have two enemies, the company and the union." Others put it this way: "If you want to make trouble with the company, don't let the union know. If you want to make trouble with the union, don't let the company know. Or they'll both get rid of you fast."

FIGHT BOSSES AND UNIONS

Workers from factory after factory tell the same stories of how the company and the union work together against the workers. At a bakery plant here, the union works day and night to fire any shop steward who is really fighting for the workers' rights. Only the workers' support keeps the steward from getting fired.

All of this makes me wonder why some of the leaders of the new anti-war, anti-draft and anti-nuke movements are falling all over each other trying to get the endorsement of these same unions. I don't see what these union bureaucrats bring to any movement except years and years of experience in deception, selling out, substitution of fake demands for real ones, and the desire to control and kill any real, independent movement for freedom.

DON'T TRUST BUREAUCRATS

It would have been quite an experience for any young activist to go through the last contract negotiations at my plant. We said those union leaders should be in the theater, they were so slick at selling us out, as prepared as we were for all their tricks. They are not an enemy to be underestimated, and you can bet if they're trying to put themselves at the head of a movement they are up to no good.

I do hope these new youth movements continue to try to link up with the workers' struggles in this country but in their own new ways. The labor bureaucracy is no path to the American worker. And I hope they start by listening to the workers, to their experience and ideas too, and make a unity on this new basis. Then we will have a really new beginning.

More hassles at Schwinn

Chicago, Ill.—Schwinn is still acting like there is no contract, automatically denying all grievances all the way to step three.

They are doing everything they can to stir up hostility toward the union, like the way union dues are taken out. The contract states that union dues are to be deducted from the second paycheck in each calendar month, but they haven't been doing it that way. They took it out the last week in March and again at the beginning of April. Then workers were complaining about how often dues are taken out.

They're still moving people all over the place. One woman resigned because her pay was cut and they blamed it on the union. But she told them Schwinn runs the payroll. Some of the women, who were called back and put on jobs they can't do, took a lay-off. The union has to decide which of the many grievances they are going to take to arbitration.

—Woman worker, Schwinn

Unity needed at Art Steel

Bronx, N.Y. — Art Steel has a history of firing workers unjustly, and especially Black workers. They exploit all of the workers, but they have a secret policy towards Black workers and newer workers. They single out a worker to harass, with so-called low productivity—being a couple of minutes late to the department, and so on.

Especially now with vacation coming up the company is looking to fire workers and is over-working us.

When a Black worker was fired recently, everyone signed the petition to bring him back — Black, Puerto Rican, Dominican. That is the kind of unity we need to combat the discrimination at Art Steel.

—Art Steel workers

THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION**
and **Marxism and Freedom**

The following Special Introduction for an Iranian edition of Marx's Humanist Essays was written by Raya Dunayevskaya at the request of young Iranian revolutionaries who are involved in the battle against a counter-revolution that not only threatens from outside Iran, but that arose so quickly from within the revolution itself. We felt that this month was an historically appropriate time to share it with our readers, while Raya Dunayevskaya is on national lecture tour, because this May issue of N&L commemorates both May 1 as an international revolutionary celebration and May 5—Marx's birthday—as a true birthtime of history.—Charles Denby

Because there is nothing more exciting than addressing revolutionaries in an ongoing revolution, I feel very honored to have this opportunity, in 1980, to introduce Marx's 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, which opened an entirely new continent of thought and revolution that Marx named "a new Humanism." The year that I was first able to publish these Humanist Essays as an Appendix to my work, **Marxism and Freedom**, a quarter of a century ago, coincided with the Hungarian Revolution against Russian totalitarianism calling itself Communism. Thus, both from below, from an actual proletarian revolution, and from theory, a today-ness was shed upon these Essays that had lain on the dusty shelves of archives and had never been practiced.

Because what the contemporary world needs most today is a unity of Marx's philosophy of liberation with an outright revolution, we must re-examine what it is that Marx had meant when, in his greatest theoretical work, **Capital**, he had declared "human power is its own end"; and what, in his very first historical materialist analyses in 1844, he had meant by saying "communism, as such, is not the goal of human development, the form of human society"—what the goal is, is the creation of totally new, class-less, human relations.

WHEN YOU TURN to the Essays on "Private Property and Communism" and the "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," you will note three things at once. First and foremost is that the analysis of labor—and that is what distinguishes Marx from all other Socialists and Communists of his day and ours—goes much further than the economic structure of society. His analysis goes to the actual human relations. Secondly, it was not only Hegel whom Marx stood on his feet, uniting, instead of separating, thinking from being. It was also the "quite vulgar and unthinking communism that completely negates the personality of man." Thirdly, and above all, is Marx's concept of labor—that it is the creativity of the laborer as the gravedigger of capitalism which uproots all of the old.

Whether capitalism achieves the domination of labor through ownership of or through control over the means of production, what Marx focuses on is this: any "domination over the labor of others" proves not only capitalism's exploitative but perverse nature. To further stress the perverse nature, Marx says that the whole of capitalism could be summed up in a single sentence: "Dead labor dominates living labor." This class relationship transforms the living laborer into "an appendage to the machine." Here is how Marx expresses it in the Humanist Essays:

Private property has made us so stupid and one-sided that . . . in place of all the physical and spiritual senses there is the sense of possession which is the simple alienation of all these senses . . . The transcendence of private property is, therefore, the total freeing of all human senses and attributes.

It is here, to make sure that one thereby does not jump to the conclusion that the abolition of private property creates a new society, that Marx rejected the substitution of one form of property—state—for private as any solution to the problem of exploitation. It is why he rejected "vulgar and unthinking communism," focusing instead on two other problems: 1) truly new human relations, the "new Humanism" in place of communism; and 2) the totality of the uprooting of all old relations so that the dual rhythm of social revolution—the abolition of the old and the creation of the new—would run their full course.

IN ORDER TO FULLY grasp Marx's Historical Materialism, the foundation for which was laid by these Humanist Essays, let us turn to the history of Marx's day as well as of today. What we see, first and foremost, is that Marx, in laying the foundation of Historical Materialism, was also creating the theory of proletarian revolution, the dialectic of liberation. Marx's greatest discovery — his concept of labor which revealed the laborer to be not just a force of revolution, but its Reason—meant that the proletariat was the "Subject," the Universal Subject that was not just a product of history, but its shaper, negating, i.e. abolishing, the

Preface to Iranian edition of Marx's 1844 Essays

exploitative reality. The exploited proletariat is the transformer of reality. It is here that Marx saw the core of the Hegelian dialectic, naming "the dialectic of negativity as the moving and creating principle."

In actuality, continued Marx, there lies hidden in Hegel's **Phenomenology of Mind** "the movement of history." The mystical veil Hegel threw over it must be removed, but far from turning his back on philosophy, Marx transformed Hegel's revolution in philosophy into a philosophy of revolution. Which is why Marx held that "Humanism distinguishes itself both from Idealism and Materialism, and is, at the same time, the truth uniting both . . . (and) capable of grasping the act of world history."



Background for drawing of young Marx is a manuscript page of *Economic Manuscripts of 1844*.

"Grasping the act of world history" meant that he had to proclaim "revolution in permanence" when he saw that no sooner had the masses helped the bourgeoisie gain victory over feudalism in the 1848 revolutions than the bourgeoisie turned against them. And when he witnessed the greatest revolution in his time, the 1871 Paris Commune, and saw the masses take destiny into their own hands, Marx declared that non-state to be the "political form at last discovered to work out the economic emancipation of the proletariat." As Marx expressed it:

We should especially avoid re-establishing society as an abstraction, opposed to the individual. The individual is the social entity.

MARX RAISED THE QUESTION of "revolution in permanence" not only for his day but as the way out for all unfinished revolutions. No age can understand that better than our own, plagued both by transformations into opposite after each revolution—such as that which saw the first workers' state that arose from the Russian Revolution turn into the state-capitalist monstrosity that Russia is now; and by the aborting of today's revolutions before ever they come to completion.

The question is: **What happens after the first act of revolution?** Does conquest of power assure a classless society or only a new class bureaucracy? Our age, which has witnessed a whole new Third World emerge from the struggle against Western imperialism (U.S. imperialism most of all) in Latin America as in Africa, in the Middle East as in Asia, needs to demand that "grasping the act of world history" means spelling out total freedom.

Here again, Marx can illuminate our task in the manner in which he spelled out how total must be the uprooting of the old and the creation of the new. He turned to the most fundamental of all human relations—that of man to woman. In it we see why Marx opposed both private property and "vulgar communism":

The infinite degradation in which man exists for himself is expressed in this relation to the woman as the spoils and handmaid of lust. For the secret of the relationship of man to man finds its unambiguous, definitive, open, obvious expression in the

relationship of man to woman, and in this way, the direct, natural, necessary relationship of man to man is the relationship of man to woman.

Clearly, "each of the human relations to the world—seeing, hearing, smell, taste, feeling, thought, perception, experience, wishing activity, loving" must transcend mere equality, a needed first achievement but not yet the needed total reorganization of human relations. Abolition of the old is only the first mediation. "Only by the transcendence of this mediation . . . does there arise positive Humanism, beginning from itself."

AS ONE FOLLOWS Marx's view of total freedom, one can see how far beyond technology Marx's philosophy (Continued on Page 5)

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

When you see the forces they have got lined up from Reagan to the Supreme Court, to the Congress, all determined to send Blacks back to the old days of segregation, you can't turn away and just say it can't happen.

Some articles have been written lately remembering the Civil Rights Movement. They say that in Lowndes County winning the right to vote was like reaching the moon. That is true. But they do not understand how we won it. When Lowndes Co. elected the first Black Sheriff, John Hulett, that was a day I will never forget. There was happiness and shouting and parading all over the place. John Hulett showed me the strap he had found in the jail, a vicious-looking heavy strap attached to a board of the same length. It had been used on Black prisoners, to get them to confess to anything.

This is part of what winning the right to vote meant to us—getting rid of that strap and everything like it. But it took a tremendous and powerful movement to accomplish that goal. Today's leaders don't seem prepared for that kind of movement. They keep saying "Keep cool," when this is not the time or place to keep cool.

ATTACKS AGAINST BLACKS

Look at what is happening in Tennessee. The Supreme Court just ruled that white people can block off the public streets in their neighborhoods to keep Blacks from driving through the area. Or look at California, where the court rulings have allowed school segregation to have the green light.

In Lowndes Co., Judge Bozeman, a white judge, says that the original idea of the Voting Rights Act was good, but now he thinks it is more trouble than it is worth. He says that the county is poor, and removing the names of deceased voters is an economic hardship. The deceased are mostly all whites, since Blacks were not registered to vote in those days. Blacks have been trying to get the names off the list ever since.

Alabama is still a place where the KKK reminds you how important civil rights and voting rights are. On March 21, in Mobile, Ala., a young Black man named Michael A. Donald, was lynched. He was found hanging from a tree. They are saying it was the first lynching since 1959. But to me that is not the question. The question is how many Blacks have been murdered by racist whites and policemen just in the last year? When a life is taken, it matters little in what manner of death. Two days after the lynching, a Mobile police captain referred to another Black murder victim as a "n . . . r male." One week after that a Black man was found hung in his cell (he was serving a 10-day sentence for shoplifting). About the same time yet another Black man was shot in the back and killed by a policeman. All this happened in Mobile in a few weeks of 1981.

I think there is a lot in common between today and the moment over 100 years ago when Pres. Hayes took the federal troops out of the South in 1877. He gave the OK to the Ku Klux Klan to re-establish the old way of ruling. I am not saying that federal troops are any answer; that is not my point. What I am saying is that the Reagan administration and Sen. Thurmond, and all their friends are prepared to roll the clock back very far if they can get away with it. Ending the Voting Rights Act, or cutting the heart out of it, is part of a much bigger plan to bring back the old order in today's South.

I am sure that Rev. Jesse Jackson and others at the Selma march were as surprised as I was about how many people turned out. Thousands came because they thought they would be part of a new movement. But what I doubt is whether the leaders are ready to "lead" that kind of struggle today, with all the boycotts and other types of fighting. A total change is needed in this country, and needed now, before Reagan and Thurmond take us, back to the world of total segregation.

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THEORY / PRACTICE

(Continued from Page 4)

of revolution extended. Long, before the atom was split and out of it came, not the greatest productive force, but the most destructive A-bomb, H-bomb and N-bomb, Marx wrote in these Essays: "To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie." With Hiroshima, we saw what a holocaust the lie of separating the reason for being from the reason for scientific development can become. Now, with the eruption of the world-wide anti-nuclear movement, we see all over again how urgent it is to study and practice Marx's new continent of thought. As the great English poet, William Blake, expressed it, nothing is more binding than "mind-forged manacles." Let us finish with those manacles once and for all.

It is with the striving for such a manifesto of total freedom that I, as Marxist-Humanist, express my solidarity with the Iranian revolutionaries as we all aspire to a new internationalism. The struggle continues.

November 1, 1980. Detroit, Michigan

Mineworkers gird for long bitter struggle

(Continued from Page 1)

paid thugs guarding convoys of scab coal hauling trucks are increasing. There is no question but what these battles will escalate as the strike drags on.

Meanwhile, other measures are being taken by the miners to exert pressures on the operators to return to the negotiating table. These include setting up picket lines at mines even where there is no mining of coal. The object here is to stop the delivery of any machine parts or other mine supplies the operators have ordered to have work done during the strike. In addition, other miners are scouting their regions to note any movement of coal and to make plans to stop all coal hauling.

Another pressure point may be applied to the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) through an independent coal operators' association that claims to represent some 100 mines, and over 45,000 miners in Ohio and West Virginia, and is willing to accept the union's new demands.

If the BCOA, representing the larger coal operators, continues to refuse to negotiate, it is probable that the UMWA will invite the independent association to Washington, D.C. for contract discussions.

It is clear that the coal and oil powers were ready for a long strike, and had been stockpiling coal for that purpose which resulted in a 110-day supply above ground. The only reason they agreed to this first contract was because they never dreamed union negotiators would let the operators take so much from the miners.

EXPECT LONG STRIKE

Once the miners rejected the contract, however, the BCOA has refused to negotiate new terms brought to the table by Church and his negotiation team. The new demands exclude the seven most opposed terms of the rejected contract, including the non-union coal provision, pension study committee, probationary period, non-union and sub-contracting, a revised dental plan and changes in the Arbitration Review Board provision.

The BCOA immediately rejected the new terms, demanding that Church resubmit the one just repudiated by the miners. The big coal operators and their oil allies

Raymond Challinor, *The Origins of British Bolshevism*, Totowa, N.J.: Roman and Littlefield, 1977.

Near the end of this most important work on British revolutionary history, Raymond Challinor observes that the "two monsters" of social democracy and Stalinism, though barring the way forward in Britain for half a century, today have lost much of their force of impediment. The situation is beginning to change: "Revolutionary politics again becomes a possibility in Britain . . . The new generation is likely to look back to the Socialist Labor Party (SLP), not slavishly to copy it, but to learn from the experiences of the last truly revolutionary party to fight in the arena of British politics." Challinor's creation of this "historic mirror" is no small task.

The author dates revolutionary socialism in Britain from 1900, when George Yates, alone among the British delegation to the Congress of the Second International, opposed the entrance of Millerand and two other French socialists into the capitalist government of Waldeck-

Rousseau. A particularly outrageous feature of this government was that its cabinet included General Gallifet, the butcher of 20,000 Paris Communards.

This moment of dissent developed into a movement that split the British Social Democratic Federation (SDF), and led to the establishment of the SLP as an independent party.

THE IRISH QUESTION

Another important feature in the beginning of British revolutionary socialism was the question of Ireland. James Connolly, the Irish revolutionary, went to Scotland and threw himself into the fight against the policies of the SDF soon after the 1900 meeting of the Second International in Paris. At that conference, the British delegation's position (not accepted by the Congress), had been that the Irish Republican Socialist Party, of which Connolly was a leader, was not entitled to separate representation, because Ireland was part of Great Britain, not an independent country.

This type of unbridled chauvinism permeated the world at that time, as it still does today, despite the great national revolutions since. Challinor points out how Connolly, extending his critique of the SDF, ripped the nominal anti-war stance of that party toward the Boer War (1899-1902), when that party claimed that further anti-war agitation would only be a "waste of time and money." Indeed, the SDF paper, Justice, turned openly anti-Semitic in its attacks on "Jewish millionaires" instead of the capitalist system that had created the war.

One of the great merits of this book is its look at the year 1905, not alone in Britain, but as world-wide events helped British Bolshevism to be born. Challinor singles out the first Russian Revolution and the establishment of the IWW in the USA for their impact on Britain. What does seem odd are the "lessons" of Russia 1905, as perceived by the SLP: 1) the "necessity of having strong cadres, capable of giving a lead at the decisive moment," and 2) the "important part industrial organization could play in the conquest of power."

Only these two, and no more. For the new SLP, trying to begin afresh after the degeneracy of the SDF, one might have expected a view of the new proletarian impulse to freedom from below, where spontaneous activity and creative thought, united in the workers themselves, exploded on the world scene in the 1905 Revolution.

Throughout the next two decades, from 1905 to the outbreak of World War I, and from the Russian Revolution of 1917 to the British post-war workers' revolt 1918-20, we are again and again presented with questions of the relationship between the economic and political struggles, between the organizational relationships and the totality of the movement. In the formation of the Clyde Workers Committee, as in the organizational splits that followed the Bolshevik Revolution, the magnificent activity of the British workers is the point against which all else can be measured. That the SLP had still a great distance to travel to meet the challenge can be judged from Challinor's chapter on 1918-20, "A Missed Revolutionary Chance?"

Workers in the USA will surely be able to see in this book a whole new page of the history of Britain, as far removed from Thatcherism as the earth is from the moon. Whether we would agree with all Challinor's formulations or not, it is well worth reading.

—R. Russel

now appear determined to try to break the miners with a long strike, but the miners are now more determined to win than ever.

In the meantime, many miners, as well as Sam Church in particular, are looking beyond the strike itself to the second Tuesday in November of 1982. That is the date for the election of union officers to the International UMWA by the rank-and-file union coal miners.

DISTRUST CHURCH

At the present time, there is no question about the distrust the miners have of Church. This stems primarily, of course, from the sell-out contract Church negotiated. But there is another element, and that has to do with the attitude of Church after he had agreed to the contract terms.

Instead of insisting on the negotiation procedures the rank-and-file miners had approved at their last convention to guarantee that they have a full and complete review of every contract proposal, Church was urging them to violate their own Constitution by continuing to work rather than to strike when the contract expired.

By his actions and statements, Church angered the miners on two very important counts. One, he presumed to do their thinking for them; and two, he violated long-standing principles of unionism that are fiercely defended by miners. And nothing is more closely guarded than the principle expressed in their honored slogan: "No Contract, No Work!"

If the UMWA election were held today, as one miner put it, "Mickey Mouse would beat Sam Church." Clearly, Church has a long way to go to gain the respect of the miners. Much obviously depends on the final UMWA contract terms, but more than that is involved. And that is how able and willing Church is to lead the rank-and-file miners in battle.

The miners have spoken and acted conclusively by their denunciation and rejection of the contract. They know where they stand. Now it is up to Church to prove that he has the mettle to truly represent the coal miners and what they represent in the history of this nation. The miners will be watching him.

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LATIN AMERICA & U.S.A.—REVOLUTIONARY RELATIONS

Over 3,000 people marched and rallied in New York on April 18, to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Many participants wore buttons that said "Support the children of Atlanta, not El Salvador's junta." A group of women demonstrators, carrying placards bearing the names of women who have been murdered in El Salvador, also passed out leaflets that mourned the women who died when abortion was illegal in this country, and warned of the thousands more who will die if the "moral majority" has its way.

Many of the people who stopped at our lit table were eager to talk seriously, and were not simply looking for catchy slogans or conclusions, but wanted to be part of the process of revolutionary thinking.

Marxist-Humanist
New York

As an El Salvadoran exile, I am very interested to see a movement emerge here in the U.S. to support the El Salvadoran revolution. I was at the April 18 demonstration in Los Angeles to protest U.S. aid to the junta, and while I think it was a good rally, I'll really be impressed when we have demonstrations here like the ones I was involved in when I was in El Salvador. I was at the Jan. 22 march in San Salvador in 1979 where 300,000 came into the streets.

The people here are learning to become more active, and it is good, because it is the only way to tell this government that we don't want a war in El Salvador. We have to continue telling people the truth about El Salvador, and *News & Letters* is doing a beautiful job in telling.

El Salvadoran revolutionary
Los Angeles

A brief nationwide work stoppage took place in Argentina April 30 to support the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, the group of mothers of detained and disappeared political prisoners who have given their lives to confronting the Argentine military government. Political parties, even of the Left, have offered little support. But rank-and-file labor has included the Mothers' demands in its contract demands. Many of the up to 30,000 who have disappeared were workers. Most recently, worker activist Jorge Magrino was tortured after he and other workers protested lay-offs in the Cantabrica engineering plant.

Argentina is probably the world's most openly fascist country, yet it has never had much exposure in the Left press. Perhaps this is because Argentina's global policies are "independent." It not only ignored the U.S. call for a boycott of Russia after the invasion of Afghanistan, it went so far as to supply 40 percent of the shortfall caused by the U.S. This does not in any way prevent Argentina from being (after the U.S.) the second largest supplier of arms to the junta of El Salvador. So it's obvious who this budding U.S.-Argentina military alliance is aimed at — not so much Russia or Cuba as the uncompromising masses of this hemisphere.

Argentina support worker
New York

I heard of Marxist-Humanism through Erich Fromm's books. But your group's vision of Latin America interests me. I'll take the April issue of *N&L* with the essay on the "Peasant Dimension in Latin America," and the pamphlet, "El Humanismo de Marx en la Actualidad" to my country. After I read them I'll want to show them to other students.

Mexican woman
Mexico City

Did you see the full page ad in the *New York Times* on April 6, where "intellectuals and religious leaders" proudly "applauded" U.S. policy in El Salvador? The ad was filled with the names of the Cold Warrior set, old and

new. It included Sidney Hook and Oscar Handlin, Norman Podhoretz and Lionel Abel. The "new" group was called "The Committee for the Free World," and it vowed to fight "totalitarian Communism" — by supporting Reagan's attack on the workers and peasants of El Salvador.

What strikes you in reading the statement and the names of the sponsors is that you have seen it all before. The *Nation* had an article even suggesting that the new committee may be a revival of the McCarthyite "Congress for Cultural Freedom" that functioned with CIA money as a way of enlisting intellectuals for the State Department and the Pentagon. This stinking mess needs to be thoroughly exposed before it gets any further.

Old Politico
Staten Island, N.Y.

I was very glad to see the articles on the peasant movement in Latin America in the April *N&L*. The question of the peasantry is very important for today. El Salvador had a revolution in 1932 that had even more peasant participation than worker, and it is important to know this for the El Salvadoran experience. Some peasants in El Salvador today have begun to organize themselves, and many new peasant organizations are springing up.

El Salvadoran
Los Angeles

Here in Nicaragua, the revolution — aware of the economic aggression on the part of the Reagan Administration against the Nicaraguan people—is preparing for national unity. The FSLN once more has issued a call to all sectors willing to add themselves to the people to make a front against imperialism. In the last few days, the Reagan Administration denied us \$15 million in aid for buying wheat, and now all future aid has been cancelled and they tell us to return \$60 million which was already given us.

And while they deny Nicaragua economic aid—which isn't aid but payment for everything the American companies took out of the country for 150 years—they give military aid to the El Salvador junta, and to the rightists of Guatemala and Honduras.

The Honduran government is offering territory to Somocista gangs for training camps, and on more than one occasion they have entered and had confrontations with border guards and militia. The people have responded by joining the Popular Sandinista Militia in massive numbers. Meanwhile here inside the country, anti-Sandinista groups of the Democratic National Movement have launched destabilization campaigns and adopted pro-imperialist stands.

The suspension of North American credits is a negative point for the economy, but the people are preparing for austerity and more efficiency. In the face of North American aggression, we turn to international solidarity as a point of support for the live forces and for our revolutionary process which already has achieved many advances, in education, health and defense.

Revolutionary woman
Nicaragua

I was intrigued by the picture called "El Salvador" you ran on p. 11 the last issue of *N&L* that showed three women with haunting eyes staring out from behind bars. Where did you get it?

Reader
Boston

Ed. Note: The picture is a black-and-white reproduction of an original oil painting by our own "Our Life and Times" columnist, Peter Mallory. It is currently on display in the Detroit office of *N&L*. We are sorry readers can't see the powerful colors unless they come visit.

Readers' View

NOTES FROM THE SHOPS . . .

I'm in nursing. It's bad. Their brain-washing line for all these years has been that we're professionals, so we're not entitled to our own real union. So we have the Association, and D.C. 37 bargains our contract, and don't know anything about the nurses' working lives and conditions. But I was shocked to hear of something worse at a place called Calvary Hospital in the Bronx. No type of union is allowed and just for being heard talking about organizing can get you fired. I know of a person who put in 25 years. When she was fired and came to contest it she was given 20 minutes to be off the grounds.

A big difference between the '60s and '70s was that in the '60s almost everyone cared, even if they cared to get involved on the wrong side. In the '80s we can't let the few do the caring.

Jacobi Hospital worker
New York

I have been reading Marx's *Capital*, and everything he writes I have experienced in the factory, in struggling against the company and the union. Marx must have worked in a factory! With all the heroes they hold up for us when we're in school, why never Marx? Never. I never considered myself a Marxist, but I say if you're without Marx, you cannot understand society or history.

Latino worker
New York

Recently, second shift workers at the Chevrolet Manufacturing Plant in Flint got a surprise when they got off work at a little after 1:00 a.m. They had worked two hours of overtime. As they walked to

their cars, they found handwritten notes stuck to the windshields. The notes said that if the cars were found there again after 11 p.m., they would be damaged. The notes were signed, "Unemployed." The point was that no one should be working that kind of overtime while so many union brothers and sisters are on lay-off. I agree with the message on the windshields. It is time workers stood up to this management and union pressure to "go-along" and "save the auto industry" at the expense of other workers and themselves.

Ready to fight
Flint, Mich.

. . . AND ERITREAN STRUGGLE

A visitor is standing in front of an Eritrean exhibition. He examines the photos, which show some of the achievements of the revolution in health, in education, in political participation by the people. He then asks one of the militants standing by: "Do you get your help from the Soviet Union?" "No," replies the militant, "Then you must get it from China?" The answer is "no" again. "I see. That means you must be supported by the U.S.A.?" Yet again the reply is in the negative. The visitor is quite baffled and concludes: "You can't possibly win your war then."

The above story is told in the current issue of *Eritrea Information*, an English-language monthly bulletin put out by supporters of the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front. It contains a lot of news on the struggle there that you can't get elsewhere. You can order a subscription from:

Eritrea Information
Via della Dogana Vecchia, 5
00186 Rome, Italy

THE BLACK REVOLT: MARCHING, FIGHTING, THINKING

The green ribbon of hope and support for Atlanta and Black America has caught on big in New York. All of a sudden in the same week in March that saw the big Harlem march everyone started wearing the green ribbon. And not only Blacks. Here in the shop there are whites, Puerto Ricans and Dominicans showing their support too.

Art Steel worker
New York

I was at a planning meeting for a demonstration against the Atlanta killings in Los Angeles, where one woman got up and suggested off-duty police officers be used as monitors for the rally! What was even more amazing was some opportunistic "radicals" who went along with that.

In Atlanta, Blacks are organizing self-defense squads because of the lack of police protection and insensitivity of police to their needs. While Black and Latin people are busy fighting the police, here was one organizer who wanted to join them! Instead of that, we need to build on the new Atlanta protests and work to uproot this society root and branch so these tragedies never happen again.

Black youth
California

A speaker from the Anti-Klan Network came to my school two weeks ago, and gave a rousing talk on the history of the Klan and on the current re-emergence and increasing violence of the Klan. While the speaker was thorough in his discussion of the connections between the Klan and the government, he failed altogether to mention all of the ways that Black people have struggled against racism for hundreds of years.

He presented Black people primarily as victims, rather than as active, fighting, thinking subjects. He seemed to think that Black people need to be "organized," that they have to be taught how to combat racism. He never thought of asking the students, 99% of whom were Black and Latino, what their ideas were.

Finally, at the close of his talk, he made the remark that "we all" might be happier living in the Soviet Union than we are here, and the students, started hissing and shouting disclaimers. It clearly didn't occur to the fellow that the students would object to his statements. He just assumed that the students' vision of freedom was as self-serving as his.

Student
New York

New York Readers . . .

LOU TURNER and
DIANE LEE

Speaking on the 20th anniversary
of the death of Frantz Fanon

Fanon's 'Wretched of the
Earth' and Black Reality Today

Monday, May 11, Workmen's Circle
369 Eighth Ave. (at 29th St.) 7 p.m.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I just received the Working Women or Freedom pamphlet—thank you. I have been reading some of Marx's philosophy in terms of women's liberation or one of my political science classes, and I must admit that of all the theories we've discussed thus far, Marx's seems the most reasonable and feasible. The others, which are basically psychological theories, seem to provide a lot of explanation, but fail to provide real solutions. Meanwhile, I am hard at work helping to organize the Take Back the Night March here . . .

Feminist
Ann Arbor, Mich.



One disturbing point to me on Marxism is that before and during the Russian revolution, women were seen as natural allies. Women were doubly valuable — as workers and as mothers. But today, women in Russia are underpaid and underrepresented in managerial fields as well as in the Communist Party.

To clarify my point from a personal experience, recently I was invited to a Communist Party meeting. When I entered the room I encountered some of the petty jealousies that one sees among women over men. Some dedicated and devoted communists were seen oppressing their wives. Most of the leaders and speakers were men. Some of these men who spoke about the subjugation of women were the same men who abused their wives.

If we were to have a revolution, it may help society and oppressed groups as a whole, but women and men will still have embedded in their minds the superiority of men over women. So changing the government will not change women's subservient role. Changes have to be made at home.

Lehman College student
Bronx, N.Y.

THE TRUTH BEHIND BRIXTON

Years of domineering and racist behavior on the part of the police caused the Brixton revolt. An example is the recent case of Erroll Madden. He was topped and searched, apparently at random, by two cops patrolling in a panda car. They found two model cars in his bag, and assumed he had stolen them. After being arrested and interrogated overnight in a Battersea police station, he signed a confession that he had stolen the models.

Later, he found a receipt in his bag which showed he had paid for them, and proved his innocence. Madden recounted that the police had insulted and threatened him using obscene and racist language, and forcing a false confession. The only aspect of this case which was atypical was that Madden was able to produce evidence to clear himself and expose the police frame-up.

Dick Abernethy
Oxford, England

FIGHTING ANTI-SEMITISM

I especially appreciated John Alan's column in the March N&L on Barak's anti-Semitism. In the light of the present era, I find it essential to take a look back and see the failure of the leadership as they refused to listen to the voices of the people in the movements . . . Did you know that the "Institute for

Historical Review" will be holding a meeting this fall at a UCLA conference site? This is the organization that claims to have "evidence" that the Holocaust never happened, that it is a plot of the international Jewish community to get money and support for Israel. (There's a twist to the traditional anti-Semitic line.)

The university says it signed a contract before it knew the position of the organization; now, the university is claiming that the contract is unbreakable . . . This movement of revisionist historians is another indication of the increase in anti-Semitism around the world, linked inextricably with racism. A group of us at school is organizing against this conference now.

Furious
Berkeley, Cal.

WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY?
WHAT IS REVOLUTION?

I very much appreciated the article by Dunayevskaya in the April N&L, "What is philosophy? What is revolution?" It was helpful to me in thinking about how a revolution can be pushed from the first overthrow of the system's representative toward the full transforming of human relations. Just the phrase "no revolution is ever its first act alone," when applied to Hegel's dialectic, and as it was followed up in Marx and Lenin, really made me think about what is happening now in El Salvador and Poland.

Long-time reader
Connecticut

I do not understand why Raya Dunayevskaya has to go back to Marx or even Hegel each time she is confronted with a political question like the contradictions in the Iranian Revolution. I knew—and so did many others—that Khomeini was no friend of the workers or the Left. But that doesn't mean that in the situation in Iran in 1979-80 you could do something to change the situation. Khomeini had all the cards then, and any Marxist knows that you have to wait for history to develop the revolutionary forces. So why do we have to be greeted with questions like "What is Philosophy? What is revolution?"

WSU Student
Detroit

Khomeini's concept of anti-imperialism, including the placing of all emphasis on the taking of the U.S. hostages, gave the Iranian revolution a blow from which it has not recovered. We have to face the fact that the majority of the Iranian revolutionary Left — Marxists, not "Islamic Republic" supporters — were fooled and misled. Dunayevskaya's article addresses this issue in a way that I have never seen before. In our group we have been studying Marx quite a while, but I do not think we had ever put Hegel, Marx, Lenin and Iran in the same path of development.

Iranian-in-exile
California

THE QUEBEC ELECTION

On April 13, the Parti Quebecois won a resounding election victory in Quebec, astonishing the pollsters and winning 80 seats in the National Assembly to 42 for the Liberals. In a three-party race, they got 49 percent of the vote. This despite distortions and red-baiting by the Liberals and anti-Quebec reactionaries in English Canada.

Despite the many shortcomings of the PQ government of Rene Levesque, Quebecers have shown that they will not let the clock be turned back to another time of blatant colonial rule. What is, however, also true, is that it will not take another four years for all the class contradictions within Quebec to re-emerge. Levesque's anti-labor policies are sure to bring him into bigger conflicts than ever before with militant Quebec workers in both the public and private sectors.

Bernie Gardner
Montreal

EDITORIAL

Europe's Black dimension

Four days and nights of open rebellion April 10-14 by Brixton's Black youth have not only lit up the London sky with the flames of burning police vans and segregated pubs, but illuminated the most naked racism and class exploitation in the heart of British "civilization". Those four days and nights stand out against the nearly two years of oppressive rule by Prime Minister Thatcher and her regime, and against the interminable vacillation and squabbling among trade union bureaucrats, Labour Party politicians and Left vanguardists about how best to fight back against it.

The youth in revolt repeatedly insisted that police-state tactics against Britain's two million Blacks were at the heart of the matter. Far from the so-called "Black problem" being one of "lack of education" or "poor cultural adjustment," Britain's colonial mentality—having journeyed home from Kenya, Jamaica, and India—is what is today being indicted by those throwing petrol bombs at the police. "You aren't considered decent if you're Black", was the way more than one Brixton youth summed it up. (See report from London, p.1.)

THATCHER'S RACIST FANTASIES

Thatcher had given both neo-Nazi and police racists all the encouragement they needed in her election campaign two years ago, when she proclaimed: "(Whites) feel their whole way of life has been changed. Small minorities can be absorbed. But once a minority in a neighborhood gets very large, people do feel swamped." And as soon as Brixton exploded, she rushed to declare that "no amount of unemployment" could "justify" what the youth had done. Her Home Affairs Minister William Whitelaw immediately discovered a plot by "outside infiltrators", and offered as "proof" the assertion that Brixton "erupted and spread without warning."

Whitelaw's sojourn in this fantasy-land was rudely interrupted hours later, as he and London Police Commissioner David McNee dared to take a walk in Brixton. They were met by crowds of youth yelling "Sieg Heil!", as they charged police lines. Had Whitelaw been able to listen further, he would have heard what they were telling the press about this eruption "without warning". Not only does Britain's national unemployment now total over 2.5 million, but Black youth unemployment is up some 400 percent since Thatcher took office. In Brixton it is estimated that nearly half are jobless. They pointed out as well the fact that the all-white faces of the 636 members of Parliament are faithfully mirrored in the ranks of the police. Even today, only 286 cops are Black, out of 117,000 in England.

The past year in Black Britain has seen the development of a powerful new movement against this racist reality. From the Bristol riots of April, 1980 through the protests that followed the London fire-bomb murder of 13 Black youth this January to the march April 5 (one week before the rebellion) of 20,000 against Thatcher's proposed Nationality Bill, a new mass opposition was born, independent of all electoral and union politicking schemes. It is precisely that revolutionary alternative, that caught the imagination of many Brixton white youth, who joined Blacks in attacking police and shops. In so doing they made explicit both their own revolt, and their break from the racism that has all too often crippled the British working class in its struggles against capital.

THE NATIONAL QUESTION: BRITAIN AND FRANCE

Over 100 years ago, Marx took up this same question as it emerged in relation to another national freedom struggle—the Irish. It was not enough, Marx said, to simply be for "unity" with the Irish workers. The English working class had to support the fight for Irish independence, "not as a matter of sympathy with Ireland, but as a demand made in the interests of the English proletariat. If not, the English people will remain tied to the leading-strings of the ruling classes." Today we can see that national question, in the shape not only of Ireland, but also of Black Britain, as both keep British capitalism in turmoil.

Fifteen years after the urban Black revolts that rocked the USA, Brixton is far from a "repetition" of those events. Instead it focuses attention on the world nature of the Black consciousness movement that leaped to life in South Africa 1976, and today stretches from Soweto to Detroit, from the Caribbean to London, and from Senegal to France.

That movement offers a new perspective everywhere in the "West", even in that most cultured center, France. For the past months, the French presidential elections have dominated the headlines. But there is no doubt that plenty of warning has been given of a "Black France" determined to endure racism French-style no longer. As total unemployment reaches 1.7 million, the most vicious attacks have been launched against the "immigrants." Leading the attack is the French Communist Party, whose chief, George Marchais, demanded that "this immigration be stopped". Communist mayors around Paris have launched raids on African workers' housing in Vitry, and have conjured up a witchhunt against Moroccans for "drug trafficking" in Montigny.

The fact that the CP has initiated such racist assaults at the very time that French fascism has stepped up its murders of Blacks and Jews, has propelled new Black organizations into existence, often linking for the first time North African and Black African workers. In several factories, Black workers' committees have descended on Communist union officers, demanding that their racism cease. We have not yet seen anything in France like Brixton, but Black activists in France are now openly asking: "Is Paris or Marseilles next?"

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Essay-discussion article

Youth as a worldwide revolutionary force for the 1980s

by Peter Wermuth

Youth Columnist, News & Letters

There are so many points of crisis and revolt confronting the youth of the 1980s that it becomes necessary for us to open a dialogue on how youth can help transcend the crises of militarization, unemployment, and rampant cutbacks that have marked the opening of this decade. It may be helpful to take a look into what has come out of the 1970s, that we can use as stepping-stones for overcoming the multifaceted crises youth face today.

For while the 1970s did not have the activism and mass movements that characterized the 1960s, it not only did have moments when youth emerged as a revolutionary subject, but in those moments quite new elements emerged. Let us concentrate on the dialectics of youth revolt over the past decade, from the Soweto uprising of 1976 through the Iranian revolution of 1979-80, to today's newly emerging anti-war, anti-militarist movements. Let us see what pathways we can hew out toward uprooting this racist, sexist, class-ridden society.

SOWETO YOUTH, 1976

The highpoint of youth revolt in the 1970s came from South Africa—the Soweto uprising that began in June, 1976. This revolt over the forced teaching of



Anti-apartheid demonstration at U. of Mich., 1978.

Afrikaans in the schools brought thousands of youth spontaneously into the streets, and shook the very pillars of South African society. The youth both occupied their schools and communities and connected to the wildcats and strikes of the Black workers, especially the miners, who hit out against their living and working conditions with new creativity. What was newest was that the youth connected to a philosophy of freedom, in establishing relations with Steve Biko's Black Consciousness Movement, and in reading banned works by authors such as Frantz Fanon.

So explosive was not only the force but the Reason of this revolt, that it gave birth to a whole new generation of revolutionaries within South Africa, as well as inspiring the birth of an anti-apartheid movement in the U.S. and Britain.

In the U.S. this took the form of a campaign to force colleges owning stock in companies doing business with South Africa to divest themselves of such holdings. The movement won some important victories, and in November 1978 held a conference in New York City, which I attended, to develop a nationwide organ-

Black youth expose military

Brooklyn, N.Y.—The Northeast Regional Organizing Conference of the National Black Independent Political Party met March 27-28 at Medgar Evers Community College. Its theme was: "Black students and youth unite to meet the challenge of the 80s." There were about 200 in attendance.

At the conference, it was stressed that because of the high unemployment and miseducation of Black youth, there exists the illusion that to enter the military is the only way to escape the poverty cycle. However, the reality is that racism permeates the Armed Forces also. Black youth enter the Armed Forces uneducated and unskilled, and they remain uneducated and unskilled.

At the conference, the students pointed out that on the home front, Black people face fascism and genocide. The Reagan administration seeks to wipe out all the political and economic gains made by the Civil Rights Movement. It has increased its repression of Black people, and has encouraged the rise of the KKK. The Atlanta child-murders still go on, due to government indifference. Yet, this very same government has arrested and imprisoned over 350,000 Black youths.

The conference ended with expressing support for the national demonstration to protest the kidnappings and murders of Black children in Atlanta on May 9.

—Participant

ization in support of the South African struggle.

However, I saw how a fruitful moment for connecting to the revolutionary praxis of the Soweto youth was missed when elitist vanguard party radicals took over the podium of the conference, limiting all discussion to the one issue of university divestment. The new that came out of Soweto—youth as revolutionary and relating to philosophies of freedom, youth as Reason as well as force of revolt—was thus not taken as something for American youth to build upon for their struggles here at home. Isn't this in part why the divestiture movement failed to attract large numbers of participants after 1978? The "action" of the moment was not related to the search for a full philosophy of liberation here, as the Soweto youth had begun there.

AMERICAN YOUTH, 1980s

Today in the 1980s there is no doubt that there is the closest affinity between Reagan's reactionary tilting even closer to South Africa politically on the one hand, and his devastating economic cutbacks on the other, which are hurting the poor and Black most of all. At the same time, this swing to the Right is not restricted to politics or economics, but includes a most brutal assault on the minds of youth in the form of the so-called Moral Majority. The immoral minority which dares call itself the Moral Majority is hell-bent on reducing us all to robots, and at the same time robbing us of all our thoughts. They are mistaken, on both counts, for the totality of the political, economic, and ideological crises faced by today's youth are sure to result in new revolts, new forms of opposition, new protests that can deepen the content and character of all youth struggles for freedom.

It is the severity of the crises we face today, highlighted most of all by the rise of a new, bellicose militarism—which is by no means limited to the rapidly increasing defense budget but which now includes the very real threat of direct U.S. intervention in El Salvador—that presents American youth with the necessity of developing a total, revolutionary response to Reaganism.

For despite the Reagan administration acting as if the legacy of American youth's anti-war activism is a thing of the past, the last year has witnessed the emergence of a new anti-war movement here at home that has yet to run its course. The question for us then becomes: how can we ensure that every particular youth struggle absorbs so total a concept of freedom that the totality of the current crises is confronted in each and every movement activity?

IRANIAN YOUTH, 1978-1981

There surely was no revolution in our time that involved the youth more centrally than the Iranian revolution — as unemployed youth, as students, as working youth. Indeed, many who came here to study as students went home to Iran as revolutionaries, where they took part as full participants in the revolution that threw out the Shah in January 1979.

Yet what the 1980s must face is the fact that the subsequent focus of many Iranian youth on the taking of the 52 American hostages, (as if that meant shaking up U.S. imperialism), was actually a diversion that strengthened the hand of the counter-revolution that emerged from within the revolution. Rather than shaking up U.S. imperialism, such a diversion aided the retrogressionism of Khomeini, who along with Bani-Sadr, used it to attack the independent youth who had made the revolution, and who wanted to move the revolution beyond Islamic reaction. The result was that the revolutionary youth voices were drowned out.

Rather than projecting the experience of Iranian youth as part of the force and reason that could deepen the anti-Shah revolution into a total social revolution, much of the Iranian (and American) Left instead tail-ended Khomeini's narrow anti-imperialism or at most choose the Bani-Sadr faction. As Fred Halliday noted in a recent article, such anti-imperialism is nothing but the "anti-imperialism of fools."

What has happened in Iran, is not alone a question for Iran. It is a question American youth must ask themselves, for it impinges on the crucial question of how a struggle for freedom can fall under the whip of counter-revolution when a concept of genuine anti-imperialism fails to get wedded to action.

What, then, is the world reality we as youth find ourselves in now?

Let's take a second look at extremes and high-points. What holds great promise for stopping today's drive for war is the richness of issues and ideas being addressed by today's youth in their anti-militarist work; from the Women's Pentagon Action against militarism last November, to the rally of 15,000 workers and youths at Harrisburg, March 28, against nuclear power and war, youth are showing that they will not restrict anti-war action to a question of opposing the draft.

In today's youth protests within the U.S. and abroad many are posing the need for a total opposition to war.

Unlike the 1960s, today's anti-draft rallies often connect with opposition to nuclear weaponry and power. In Britain, a resurrected Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is being flooded with youths demanding that opposition to unemployment be made a constituent part of anti-militarist events. And in Germany, France and Switzerland, the anti-nuke movement has meant at one and the same time support work for the El Salvadoran revolution.

Here at home we will surely be facing a very hot summer when you realize that we will face the greatest unemployment on account of Reaganism, which will affect students and working youth, with Black youth suffering most of all, along with the launching of all the reactionary moves of the Administration. The rampant and vicious killings of 24 Black youth in Atlanta are a telling sign not only of the barbarism of American civilization, but of the refusal of the current administration to even try to do anything about it.

We are, in 1981, faced with a most severe drive for war on the part of our rulers and one that is sure to be met with new outbursts of opposition from American youth. But what we need to ask is whether we will be ready to articulate the Reason of revolution as well as the Force that is inherent in these youth protests. For this we need not only more "action" as in the 1960s. We need as well a manner of working out and projecting the interpenetration of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action as a pathway to a new society. Didn't Marx create his philosophy of liberation out of participating in and listening to the freedom struggles of

**Marxist-Humanist Writings
on Youth**

"We feel that the youth are a most precious source of our development. We recognize that even though the youth are not directly involved in production, they are the ones whose idealism in the finest sense of the word combines with opposition to existing adult society in so unique a way that it literally brings them alongside the workers as builders of the new society."

—from the Constitution of News and Letters Committees, 1958

"The Youth, Employed and Unemployed, Rebels All" from Workers Battle Automation, by Charles Denby, 1960.

The Young Marxist-Humanist, a youth pamphlet written by young Marxist-Humanists, 1963.

The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution by Mario Savio, Eugene Walker, Raya Dunayevskaya, 1965.

France, Spring '68: Masses in motion, ideas in free flow by Eugene Walker.

8 to 3: High School Prison Notes. Written by high school students, 1970.

Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought by Lou Turner and John Alan, 1978.

his time? And didn't this philosophy then become a "material weapon" for the still newer rebellions and revolutions that arose?

THE YOUNG MARX, 1848-1851

Take one specific moment of Marx's life—when he was a young revolutionary in the 1848 Revolutions. Here Marx's practice—in putting out the daily newspaper *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, in the midst of the European revolutions, in activity with workers' associations in Cologne—was never separated from his projection of the necessity of a full uprooting of the existing society. Thus, Marx published his essay *Wage-Labor and Capital* within the pages of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Thus, his *Address to the Communist League* in the wake of the defeat of the 1848 Revolutions became an *Address on Permanent Revolution*, a totally new beginning. Marx's actions in this period reveal what is meant by the term "revolutionary praxis."

In our youth movement today, the most urgent need is to begin to articulate, as Marx did for his day, the Reason as well as the Force for today's movement. It is only with such a concept that the banner of Youth as Revolutionary can concretely be raised for the current movement. There is certainly a new urgency for developing and deepening the new youth protests, especially now that so many have gravitated to align themselves with the El Salvadoran freedom fighters. But in doing so it is imperative that we not let the lessons of the past decade of youth revolt pass us by.

There are many questions facing us in the 1980s, and nothing becomes more important than a theoretical/practical dialogue between youth on the question of how to develop our protests to their fullest revolutionary potential. We look forward to seeing a new stage of youth dialogue now begin.

YOUTH

'Free speech' and the freedom movement

by Jim Mills

Many students at Wayne State University in Detroit have been angered by racist overtones in the campus newspaper, *The South End*. Yet when demands were raised that the editorial staff change its policy or be replaced, student government members in particular came to its defense. They said they were defending the right of free press.

The latest indignity from *The South End* came when the managing editor added "The South Shall Rise Again" to his signature on an article in the April Fools Day issue. *The South End* had seen a greater danger in the people voicing opposition last June to a city parade permit for a Nazi-KKK march than in neo-fascist, anti-black views. And it also found that "justice" has been done in the Greensboro trial verdict last November that absolved five racists "who openly murdered five anti-racist activists. Meanwhile, the editor announced that letters critical of *The South End* views would not be printed.

Does racist journalism need protection? I wondered if anyone had thought about the history of the fight for free speech. Two historical periods in that fight are relevant since they illuminate an organic relationship between free speech and human liberation. One is Karl Marx's 1842 debates against Prussian state censors, and the other is the Free Speech Movement in the USA, 1964.

MARX AND PRESS FREEDOM

For Marx, as a newspaper editor combating the censorship of his *Rheinische Zeitung* until its forced closing, a free press is nothing "if it's not the loud and natural, often the passionate and, in its expressions, exaggerated and blundering daily thinking and feeling of a people that really thinks itself to be a people."

What Marx observed in the institution of press censorship can be seen in an "uncensored," so-called free press, if it is divorced from the movement for human liberation. Thus, he criticized government and state ideologues who were free to espouse dominant opinions while banning ideas it considered defamatory. "Freedom," he wrote, is so much the essence of man that even its opponents implement it while combating its reality. Similarly, *The South End* defends its right to side with anti-human doctrine that openly talks of genocide as if the biggest racist doesn't occupy the White House with full powers.

Marx also roundly attacked a social system that subjects people to censorship and in turn enables the rulers to put the ruling ideology into print, enabling them to rule more completely. "We are asked to behave lawfully," he said, "but at the same time we are asked to

honor institutions that make us lawless." Again, when *The South End* apologizes for the Greensboro verdict by an all-white jury, it defends a two-sided justice system that receives plenty of protection in capitalist America.

Marx could have written as easily today as he did in the 1840s that "The first duty of the press, therefore, is to undermine all the foundations of the existing political system."

THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT

It was the Free Speech Movement that initiated a new relationship between freedom of expression and philosophy of liberation. In 1964, students at the University of California at Berkeley and elsewhere found that the racist, anti-human social relations they helped break down during the Mississippi Freedom Summer were institutionalized on their own alienating campus.

They discovered that ideas of freedom, like ending racist social relations, were concretized by participation

in the voter registration drives, led by Black people, in the South. The idea of free speech could only be concretized if related to freedom as well, which meant attacking the university's participation in the Vietnam war, its racist admission and hiring policies, its bankrupt ideology. Nothing that was inhuman went unchallenged, a far different perspective than *The South End's* exponents who plead for "free speech" as they defend the racist status quo.

Very fundamental attacks on free speech are now underway—from the recent burning of thousands of manuals on worker health and safety in the textile industry, to the court-ordered imprisonment of the University of Texas Texonian editor for refusing to surrender photo negatives of Iranians demonstrating in the U.S. Such censorship is sure to escalate. We can begin a true alternative by practicing the kind of free speech that embraces free ideas.

Massive protests against U.S. in El Salvador

Washington D.C.

Washington, D.C.—It took three hours May 3 for over 50,000 activists to stream across the bridge over the Potomac River to the Pentagon, projecting a wide range of challenges to the Reagan-Haig conspiracy to terrorize and abort the revolutionary upsurge in Central America, especially El Salvador.

Coming on the heels of last month's dramatic anti-nuclear, anti-war action at Harrisburg, Penn., one sign capturing the mood said, "Attention Haig, we are in control here now." The diversity of forces coming from the four corners of the country, in this largest anti-war demonstration since the Vietnam War and the largest against U.S. intervention in El Salvador yet seen, was even greater when viewed in the light of the multi-dimensionality expressed within the individuals.

"I was just laid off a CETA job," said one youth. "I know others, the very poor and Black will suffer more than me. I know what to do with my time," he

added, rejoining the march. Large contingents of gay and lesbian activists identifying with the many struggles around them chanted, "We are everywhere. We will be free." A Black youth coming on his own from Baltimore, wore a red ribbon as a reminder of the still unresolved murders of Black children in Atlanta, Ga.

Very visible were activists from the Women's Pentagon Action, a group who anticipated with their creative demonstration back in November, Reagan's threat against liberation movements abroad and revolutionary forces here, especially women.

A speaker from the Democratic Revolutionary Front in El Salvador said that the march convinced him that the majority of the American people oppose the Reagan-Haig conspiracy. A Latin student from a bilingual college in the South Bronx, feeling the vastness of energy of the crowd said, "Something like the greatness of this makes you believe there can be a real change."

San Francisco

San Francisco, Cal.—Well over 10,000 people participated in a huge march and rally here May 3, timed to coincide with the Washington, D.C. march on the Pentagon. The dominant theme was "US Out of El Salvador!" and the crowd chanted all along the line of march. Since the demonstration was held in San Francisco's largely Latino Mission district, there was a large Latino participation, and a lot of bi-lingualism.

The signs were so varied because the marchers did not separate today's crises one from another. Many signs spoke of the Atlanta child killings, others of Reagan's attacks on Women's Liberation. A big contingent of Irish demonstrators chanted "US out of El Salvador, Britain out of Ireland." Another demonstration was held afterwards at the British embassy, in support of Bobby Sands.

Los Angeles

Los Angeles, Calif. — More than 4,000 people participated in a march and rally April 18 in Los Angeles to show their opposition to Reagan's militarism and support for the ongoing freedom struggle in El Salvador.

The rally, held on the first anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) in El Salvador, began in front of the Salvadoran embassy, where church groups, students, Salvadoran exiles and others joined for a march through a predominantly Latino neighborhood. At the rally site at McArthur Park the crowd chanted "Money for Jobs, Not for War ... U.S. Out of El Salvador!"

"The Reagan administration says it is Cuba and Russia that are fomenting the terrorism in El Salvador. My friends, we don't need anybody to tell us that our children are hungry," said Victor Rubio, representative of the FDR, in his address to the crowd.

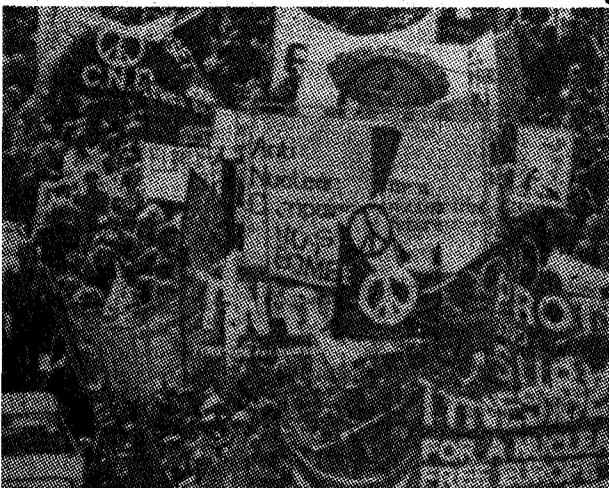
Many youth spoke of the need to oppose aid to the Junta in order to prevent a new draft and renewed militarism overseas. But one person I spoke with said, "We have so much freedom in the U.S., if only we could extend that overseas."

Several of the El Salvadorans I spoke with posed a different view, in saying they well understood how firmly entrenched the U.S. already is in Central America. "The El Salvadorans here feel very strongly about the situation," one exile noted. We suffered much exploitation from U.S. arms while in El Salvador, and many of us now living in the U.S. are just as poor as we were at home. At the same time most of us are treated as illegals, and are harassed by immigration. It is through demonstrations like this that we can convince people to get the U.S. out of El Salvador."

—Lisa, Cooley H.S.

—News & Letters participants

Youth in Revolt



About 6,000 people marched April 22 to the NATO headquarters in Brussels — where West Europe's generals plan for war — to protest deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe. The same opposition to holocaust was expressed by a demonstration of 15,000 April 4 in Bonn, W. Germany.

Former sailors are coming forward to expose physical and psychological abuses they witnessed and experienced after Seaman Paul Trerice, 21, died April 14 in the "correctional unit" aboard the U.S.S. Ranger. They report that sailors frequently are subjected to gang beatings and bread-and-water diets.

The high cost of living and lavish privileges for Communist Party officials were the targets of student demonstrations in Pristina, Yugoslavia in March. The protests, in which eleven people died, spread to miners and others who attempted April 1 to march on the local prison where previous protesters were locked up. The government imposed martial law the next day.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Conservative politicians, nascent fascists, and an assortment of closet racists, including "liberal" politicians, are rallying around the flag of "Law and Order" from one end of this country to the other. No less a personage than Chief Justice Warren Burger gave the ideological method for pursuing a new war on street crime, when he recently suggested to the American Bar Association that dangerous defendants should be denied bail, even though it may result in the denial of civil rights.

In California, Governor Brown is following Justice Burger's hint. His anti-crime package includes tougher penalties for juveniles who commit serious crimes and a so-called "Safety Bail" bill, which is more like preventive detention because it allows a judge to hold a defendant without bail if he or she thinks the accused is a potential danger to the public.

On Capitol Hill the reactionary pack is proposing everything from repealing the Voting Rights Act of 1965; to "unleashing" the FBI and CIA; to implementing a misnamed "criminal reform code" that would be even more repressive than the infamous S-1 Bill; to the revival of the Un-American Activities Committee (in the form of the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism), and re-instituting the death penalty.

PHONY CAMPAIGN

As if to prepare the country for this "new war on crime in the streets" and the possible curtailment of civil liberties, the capitalist media is doing a high pressure public relations job. Each day the TV, press and radio feature statements from the FBI, police officials and Attorney General William F. Smith's Special Committee on street crime. Crime statistics are highly questionable since their real usefulness has not been in the combatting of crime, but in the consolidation and the extension of the power of the state, the police, the district attorneys and the courts.

In an ironic gesture to deter street crime, Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne moved into a Black housing project with a platoon of policemen, while at the same time 800 people were being evicted from that same housing project because they shared their apartments with poor relatives or could not pay the rent! Street crime is a serious problem in the Black ghettos, but so is police brutality, unemployment, bad housing and bad health.

Street crime is part of the social totality of racism and poor Blacks, who suffer more as victims of street crime than any other segment of the population, deeply resent the sham of police being in the ghetto to protect them when their experience shows that the role of the police is that of oppressors.

POLICE CRIMINALS

In the Miami area, scene of last year's Black revolt, at least three incidents of police brutality against Black

Brixton revolt rocks Britain

(Continued from Page 1)

next week 1,000 people were stopped, and 100 arrested. All this preceded the April 10 revolt.

'BOILING UP FOR AGES'

Brixton was and is a depressed London borough. The housing shortage is enormous, and those houses that do stand are substandard. Rents are massive but many houses have been occupied by squatters. Black youth unemployment is almost 50 percent. Railton Road is the centre of the disaffected Black youth in Brixton without jobs. White and Black youth listen to the Reggae music while they are continually harassed by the police. The police are just looking for trouble. A Black youth commented: "It's been boiling up for ages, we just have to show the police that we are not going to take this oppression any longer."

The obsession the police and Home Affairs Minister William Whitelaw (sic) had with "outside infiltrators" manifested itself by them marking out the white youth for arrests. These white youths, however, also came from the local community. There were no "outside infiltrators." The riot was a completely spontaneous outbreak of anger against the police, what they are and what they represent. As locals said: "There were no organizers, people have been ready for this for years."

The spontaneity of the youth and middle-aged members of the community opened up the floodgates of Black resentment of this racist state. Since Brixton, Blacks and a minority of whites have attacked the police in other areas. In the East End of London, police cars were burned on Easter Monday. Prime Minister Thatcher, who was busy selling war planes to Saudi Arabia and denying she was a racist in India, may be returning to the beginning of a "long, hot summer"—not only in Northern Ireland but also in Britain.

U.S. justice a sham

people are reported each week. Nationally the Black press reports daily beatings and shootings of Blacks by police, and even when the evidence of this brutalization is so overwhelming that damages are awarded to the Black victims, the officers are seldom penalized.

It is this quality of American "justice" that looms large in Black consciousness because it is the reality of Black existence, even more perilous than street crimes. All Black Americans know and have experienced this duality under this repressive Administration, whose attitude toward police and law was so clearly expressed by President Reagan's pardon of FBI officials who have been convicted of breaking the law. What can Blacks expect?

Black politicians insist the answer to police brutality is the election of more Black Mayors or officials to City Councils, Black judges, Black police. But it is just this "political road" which increasingly demands that Black politicians give up their identities as Blacks and represent that abstraction known as "all the people." Tom Bradley, Black Mayor of Los Angeles, just re-elected to his third term in office, is a classic example whose success depended upon not being closely allied to any Black cause. And despite his long term in office, Black/police relationships have changed very little since the Watts revolt.

Black intellectuals have yet to take up seriously the role of the mass Black revolts of the 1960s — those revolts which placed on the agenda the entire question of Black American liberation by demanding the transformation of American racist society, not its reform. If the latest Black mass revolt, in Miami, has told us anything, it is that violent racism is integral to this society.

It cannot be reasoned away by logic, nor held in abeyance by Black politicians, tolerant and tolerated. The racism, the hate, the violence, which permeates the whole of capitalist society, can be dug up by the very roots only when the whole of this society is itself uprooted and replaced with one where human relationships grow.

Black women seek new image in stories, poems, essays

I have been reading three of the new collections of stories, poems and essays by Black women authors: *Midnight Birds*, *Sturdy Black Bridges* and *Conditions: Five*.^{*} What is so great and new to me about them is the break they make with nearly 400 years of men, especially white men, and white women also, writing about the world of Black women. Now it is Black women writing about Black women, writing with a conscious drive, (as Mary Helen Washington said in her introduction to *Midnight Birds*) to "forge an identity larger than the one society would force on them."

We are fighting against a system that in books, movies and on TV only shows Black women as super-women or ignorant maids, criminals or sex objects. Against this destructive image the Black women writers' movement has opened a "wide-angle lens" to view the real thoughts and struggles of our people. And there is a self-development in that movement, seen by Washington herself when she points out the difference between her *Black-Eyed Susans* (1975) and *Midnight Birds* last year: "it is . . . prouder, more strong-minded, more defiant. There is open revolt against the ideologies and attitudes that oppress women into servitude."

In *Midnight Birds*, there is a relation to white women, but it is not any easy unity. Alice Walker shows that very strongly in her story, "Advancing Luna and Ida B. Wells." Within the mind of the Black woman who is telling the story, there are two very different views of the relation to her friend, Luna, a white woman comrade from the Civil Rights Movement. They had worked together to change this society, yet when Luna tells how she was raped years ago by a Black man (also in the movement), it drives a wedge between them, and sends the narrator into a dialogue with the memory of Ida B. Wells, the great crusader against lynch-mob "justice." How should she act, and what should she write, if anything, about this horror? What is the impact of the hundreds of years when interracial rape, real or imagined, meant the murder of the nearest Black man?

Many people I have talked with about this story have been disturbed because it ends with no answer. Or several answers, all different. But to me it is revealing how deeply we need to dig up the poison of this society, how fully we need to reorganize our minds.

Another point that the collections bring out very well is the link between ourselves and Black women in Africa and the Caribbean. It is a world dimension of Black women they are discovering. Many of the essays

Support Indian fishing rights

Detroit, Mich. — The latest attack on the fishing rights of Native Americans in Michigan is due to come down May 11 from Reagan's Secretary of the Interior, James Watt. Watt told right-wing Congressman Guy Vander Jagt that he would not renew rules allowing Indians to fish with gill nets in the Great Lakes when the rules expire on that date.

Ojibway fishermen, mostly from the Bay Mills reservation near Sault Ste. Marie, have been making a living from gill net fishing ever since they won a court decision supporting their treaty rights to fish without interference in 1978. In the three years since then, the State of Michigan, the white middle-class "sport" fishermen, and white commercial fishing companies have never stopped trying to reverse the court decision or run the Bay Mills fishermen out of business.

When I talked to one of the fishermen, Art LeBlanc, he told me that the attacks have come from many directions. People may not know that the Michigan Department of Natural Resources (DNR) came up with a new ruling last fall that forces Indian gill net fishermen to go out and buy a different kind of net, a much more expensive one. Buying the new nets and the licenses for fishing costs \$800-\$1,300 per family. The average family income for the whole year on Bay Mills is only about \$5,500. In a way you could say that Watt's May 11 decision will just be the government's way of putting Indians out of business formally. They have already done it to many fishermen economically. Only five families have the new nets and licenses.

Another way they are trying to destroy Indian rights is by harassment. Some whites are still involved in damage to Indian boats and equipment. Many of the families have had to put a private watch on their boats at night, paying Bay Mills youth \$10-12 a night. Despite all the concern about the situation that the state claims to have, no one has been arrested for these attacks.

The Bay Mills fishermen are going to fight to get their licenses renewed no matter what Interior Secretary Watt does on May 7. They need as much support as they can get.

—Shainape Shcapwe

and stories in *Sturdy Black Bridges* take us to South Africa or Trinidad, Nigeria or Barbados. Paule Marshall's story "Return of the Native" gives you a feeling of the life of a Black woman in the West Indies, as she deals with whether the sugar cane will get cut, whether the mill will close, whether her son will stay in the Islands or return to the U.S.A. It isn't only her will to survive the hard and "poor life in Barbados that attracts me. It is how the "return of the native," bringing news of life in the U.S.A., convinces you that we have one struggle for freedom in both lands.

This whole outpouring of Black women's writing takes place at the same time that so many Black feminist organizations have developed. Together they are trying to uncover the truth about Black women in this country. Barbara Smith expresses it in the form of trying to develop a "Black feminist criticism." In her essays, Barbara Smith has brought out the idea of letters between Black women as a form of literature, as a way of advancing feminism. She has highlighted the world of Black lesbians. And she has again and again exposed the lies and distortions within the world of literary criticism, when it is men, Black or white, writing about Black women.

Some of the distortions are still seen even when the "critic" is a prominent white feminist writer, and one who is genuinely sympathetic to Black women, like Adrienne Rich. Rich's long essay in *New Women's Times: Feminist Review* confronts the reasons why white women's liberationists have never really studied or appreciated the Black women authors. She takes a deep look into herself and into the images of Black women, but to me, something is still missing. Isn't the true image of Black woman in white capitalist America first of all a revolutionary image, an image of women as thinkers and leaders in a mass movement for freedom?

I do not feel that it is enough to recognize that omission of Black women "warps the model, distorts the scenery, limits insight and vision," as Rich does. What is needed is to see how Black women have in fact been a central part of the force and Reason for uprooting all of this anti-human capitalist society. There is no way to escape seeing Black woman as revolutionary, once Black women begin to uncover our own images.

—Tommie Hope

^{*}*Midnight Birds*, ed. by Mary Helen Washington, Doubleday, 1980. *Sturdy Black Bridges*, ed. by Roseann Bell, Bettye Parker, and Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Doubleday, 1979. *Conditions: Five*, ed. by Lorraine Bethel and Barbara Smith, Conditions, 1979 (P.O. Box 56, Brooklyn, NY 11215).

Thousands of Azanians protest rent increases

Mass protests were organised over the weekend of April 4-5 at Tembisa, Evaton and other Black ghettos in South Africa, against rent increases of 33 percent or more imposed by apartheid Administration Boards. In Tembisa, in two meetings each attended by more than 1,000 people, residents introduced the newly-formed Tembisa Residents' Action Committee to fight against the high rent and appeal for unity of action among the residents.

The police fired tear gas into the meeting held at Tembisa Congregational Church. The people were forced to leave the church and regroup on the field where police with tear gas and dogs provoked the crowds again. Violence broke out in the pandemonium that followed. The police fired gunshots wounding at least one person. Bottle stores, beerhalls and vehicles of the East Rand Administration were set alight.

Similar anti-rent increase meetings were held in other areas at the same time. The violence spread to

Black youth spark LA rally

Los Angeles, Cal. — The environment of fear and hatred over the Atlanta killings brought out the outrage of the Black community here, April 3. A large demonstration was held to express solidarity with the families of the dead children in Atlanta, as well as to commemorate the 13th anniversary of Martin Luther King's assassination.

Over 5,000 community residents were involved in this march, and another 1,000 turned out for a separate rally, April 4, to protest the chain of vicious murders. The April 3 rally showed how serious the Black youth are about the Atlanta killings, for many showed up three hours ahead of time in an attempt to convince others to participate. A group of youths blocked traffic near Lafayette Park during rush hour, holding signs reading "Save the Children of Atlanta" and handed out green ribbons to passing pedestrians and motorists. A group of high school students chanted "We are with the children of Atlanta."

The rally later that evening at McArthur Park heard speakers attack both the Atlanta killings and the rise of the racist climate that has spawned them. The predominantly-Black crowd consisted almost entirely of working people and unemployed youth. One speaker, talking of the need to pass one more abstract law as the solution to stopping the rise of the KKK, was met with shouts of "Drop the Klan in the middle of us and we'll take care of them."

Despite the efforts of some professional politicians to dominate the rally, the very fact that so many community residents, students, working people and unemployed youth came together created something very new. It is this kind of demonstration that can forge new organizational beginnings for the anti-racist movement.

—Black youth

Warsaw uprising memorial

Chicago, Ill. — I was one of about 500 people who went to a commemoration on April 5, of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of April, 1943. As one speaker, Zalman Emyanitoff said, it wasn't just a memorial — all our activities are part of a fight against Nazism.

Various speakers pointed out the rising anti-Semitism all over Europe, from South Africa to Mexico, and from Poland to the U.S. Part of the proof was the mass marches against Nazism in Belgium and France.

Citing the racist killings in Atlanta, Buffalo, and Mobile, Emyanitoff said, "You can't separate the fight of any group for a decent life from that of another." In fact, a few Black people came — though it was in a predominantly white area — and many people were wearing green ribbons as reminders of the Atlanta murders.

The main speaker, Irving Steinberg, also brought up the connection between racism and economic hardship, the Christian Right, and the government. He mentioned that known neo-Nazis are still on the Paris police force; that the Klan and the Nazis in the U.S. have been running candidates, and won some elections; and that the KKK and Nazi murderers in Greensboro, N.C. got off scot-free.

The audience applauded the loudest when he said that any group advocating genocide must not be allowed to exist, and that a movement to fight fascism must have many women as participants and leaders.

Unfortunately, despite having spoken of the lessons for today of the uprising that "galvanized the resistance forces all over the world," Steinberg wanted the masses to defeat racism not by rising up and uprooting this racist society, but by asking Congress to enforce the laws it already doesn't enforce, and to pass more.

—Marxist-Humanist youth

other towns in the Vaal area including Evaton, Easterville and Sebokeng where bottle stores, shops and PUTCO buses were burnt or damaged.

Hours after these protest meetings, the police raided Soweto, Tembisa and other areas detaining at least 12 leaders of community organisations and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (AZAPO) in an effort to intimidate the people and stem their revolt against the rent increases and police brutality. This latest clampdown is part of an endless harassment by the apartheid regime to repress and stifle AZAPO in working with the people to organise resistance on a mass scale.

This resistance includes the bus boycott, now in its tenth month in the Pietersburg, Tzaneen and Potgietersrus area of the Northern Transvaal. At least 17 AZAPO officials have been detained in connection with this boycott.

AZAPO needs support to continue its activity across the country. The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), itself operating under extreme financial difficulties, gives support to AZAPO and its work. We need assistance to continue our work supporting AZAPO and the mass struggles of our people and to continue sending financial assistance into the country. We appeal to you to send a donation to AZAPO through: BCMA, 42 Danbury Street, London N1 8JU England.

—BCMA, London



Azanian rent strikers were joined in their struggle by Black Municipality Workers Union members, including sanitation workers who had paralyzed Johannesburg with a strike in July, 1980. The BMWU president, Joseph Mavi, celebrates with supporters March 4 after being acquitted of Labor Relations Act charges.

U.S. Black feminist looks through 'A Window on Soweto'

A Window on Soweto by Joyce Sikakane: International Defense & Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London.

"Life in Soweto starts at about 4 a.m." This is how Joyce Sikakane, a Black South African woman, brings the reader into the life of Soweto. The book is of many lives from the shantytowns of those who had the barest minimum for survival, to the Black "upper middle-class suburbs" (indoor plumbing) of Sophiatown and Alexandra Township that were subsequently demolished. Out of shantytowns and destroyed suburbs arose the ghettos of Soweto in the 1950s.

Sikakane presents every aspect of Soweto life—from work registration, to medical services, from education to food, credit and the economics of everyday life as well as sports and culture.

It is a revealing work. One which takes in the South African women of Soweto:

"The girl is on tip-toe gently holding a chamberpot lest it spill on someone's feet or the floor. Near the door she carefully puts it on the floor, opens the door, picks up the pot and puts it down on the ground outside and quickly shuts the door. She picks up the pot and rushes to empty it in the lavatory. Once outside, drops of urine falling on the ground do not call for retribution.

"A hostel for single women was built in Mzimhlope, just a stone's throw from a male one. This hostel houses 800 women. It consists of four-roomed blocks each with a common bathroom. Two occupants share a room. The 'single' women inmates are mostly domestic servants, factory workers and office teamakers. They are women who, during the mass urban removals and resettlements, were found to be without spouses. Some of them are 'push-outs' from the Soweto housing system. The latter group are girls of working age—16 years upwards according to the government law which compels African women to carry reference books and thus if they are not at school should be employed.

"The only maternity hospital for African women

Letter from Zimbabwean

My opinion is that things are going to keep the same direction in Zimbabwe — the process of stabilization and nation-building is a delicate issue indeed. People have to unlearn a lot about the past and take the situation in more realistic terms. Zimbabwe's situation is peculiar in that it was born out of war, while most African countries attained independence through a planned decolonization program.

But I'm optimistic, and I fully support the ZANU-ZAPU government at home. The shootings in Bulawayo between the former guerrillas of ZANU and ZAPU were engineered, I think, by disappointed individuals who thought that the revolution is just brawn and no brainwork. We have passed the stage of the gun and now we have entered phase two of the revolution, one of attending to the needs of the people as a whole.

A lot of people who spent their time dreaming of ministerial jobs are really getting the shocks of their lives because the government's emphasis is on efficiency not rhetoric. People like Edgar Tekere and the like don't belong in phase two. They may have been good during the bush-war days but now they have been overtaken by the development of events.

Namibia will be next now that Zimbabwe is gone. South Africa is reeling more and more to the defensive; it can't stop the winds of change in Southern Africa. It may take a little longer to liberate but it won't be too long from now.

The moral fibre and the fighting spirit of the racist Boers is eroding day by day. The victory in Zimbabwe was also a defeat on the part of all the forces that opposed changes, South Africa included. Of course they have been waiting for the Reagan Presidency to come on stage so they can have a strong partner on the international podium like the UN where the U.S. would always veto any resolutions in favor of South Africa.

But I don't think that will be the case. Military adventures don't solve political problems but only worsen them. If Ronald Reagan thinks that he can reverse the trend of development in Angola by resuming aid to Savimbi, then I think there's something radically wrong with him logically. He will have to learn that sitting in the White House isn't as easy as shooting a movie.

In Zimbabwe, people thought that we would be driven into the arms of the Soviets. We know that the Soviets are just as bad too, because they oppress their own people at home, not at all different from the American administrations, past or present. People are very much aware of this fact. The more the masses understand politics the better. Unfortunately many African countries suffer not only from normal illiteracy but political illiteracy too. In most countries this is done purposely in order to maintain the status quo of the ruling elite class.

—Zimbabwean student

in the whole of Johannesburg is at Baragwanath. It is reserved for pregnant women who work as domestic servants and who live in the domestic quarters of the white residential areas or in the single-sex hostels. This is done for two reasons: first the apartheid regime would not tolerate the birth of black babies in a white area, although by accident some babies decide to come before time, and are thus born at a white man's premises. Secondly, it is done so as to record babies who are not supposed to qualify for the Section 10 permit because their mothers in the hostels do not qualify, babies who have to be sent to the homelands as soon as their mothers get discharged.

We follow her own story as a journalist for the Rand Daily Mail. After writing stories on political trials and strikes of African workers, Sikakane herself was jailed under the South African Terrorism Act. The story of her interrogation and confinement is one of the most harrowing accounts in the book.

The writing is powerful, and yet there were two aspects of life in South Africa that I wish she would have written more about. One is that we don't see the Soweto of 1976, the year of the uprising. In part this was because Sikakane was forced into exile in 1973. Yet she does write of the beginnings of the Black Consciousness Movement that "immediately launched an attack on the systems of philosophy of separate development." How revealing a further discussion of the movement and its relation to South African women might have been.

Second, it would have been invaluable for the reader to see in greater detail the life of the worker who journeys out into Johannesburg every day. The Soweto Window extends beyond the ghetto to the heart of the city where South African society lives on Black labor.

Still, Sikakane's book is an important experience, not only of the author, but for the reader.

—Diane Lee

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

Reverberations of Polish revolt felt throughout state-capitalist world

Polish workers have continued to deepen and to extend the revolt begun last summer. In March, Communist Party thugs beat up and sent to the hospital several peasant and worker union leaders who had been campaigning for recognition of a peasant union in the town of Bydgoszcz.

The response was a spontaneous strike of 500,000 workers the very next day without waiting for the go ahead from the national union, Solidarity. When the government still refused to punish the party thugs, it became a four-hour nationwide general strike of 13 million workers on March 27.

As in Czechoslovakia in 1968, rank-and-file CP members are calling for change. At a recent convention of 750 rank-and-file party members, a delegate from Bydgoszcz stated: "We have to break radically with 36-year-old habits of inner party life. We are convinced that the biggest brake on reforms is the party itself."

Students and peasants represent a different type of ally for the workers' movement. Poland's 3.5 million independent peasants have won the right to form their own union, "Rural Solidarity," led by 23-year-old Jan Kulaj.

The reverberations of the Polish upheaval have begun to be felt elsewhere in the state-capitalist world. In Rumania, food shortages have apparently led to strikes and demonstrations, although few details have as yet

slipped out of that vicious totalitarian regime.

Inside the Russian-controlled republics, 1,000 students demonstrated March 23, and again a week later, when the government sought to restrict the already limited right of the people of the province of Georgia to have their own language and culture taught at the University of Tiflis. Last fall, several hundred Estonian students engaged in similar protests against their Russian overlords, in that occupied land near the Polish border.

Early this year, Russian worker activist Alexei Nikitin took a Western reporter on a tour of the Donetsk coal mines at considerable risk to himself and to the other workers who dared to be interviewed. The reporters heard stories of miners' rotten living conditions in a country which can fly people into space — cold water flats, kerosene stoves for cooking and cramped living space. According to many people, "If you complain to some higher authorities, they refer it to the lower authorities who ignore the complaints. The union is worthless." Nikitin and others like him have been tortured in Russian psychiatric prisons.

In Yugoslavia, Albanian students rioted against national oppression of the Albanian minority, resulting in the most serious disturbance in Yugoslavia in many years. In truth, the entire state-capitalist world is finding itself faced with the spectre of the revolutionary proletariat of Poland in the form of its own restless masses.

(We received the following letter from Polish exile activist Urszula Wislanka.)

The official recognition of Rural Solidarity shows once again that it is masses' own self-development and not outside definitions — like the government's claim that private peasants are not workers, or threats of Russian invasion in order to limit the union's demands — that continues to move the Polish movement forward.

There are signs of stress within the union itself because of a retreat from the new stage reached last August when all were participants in the decision-making. Anna Walentyowicz has been demanding the realization of the August strike decisions (for which she has been removed from the Gdansk local's leadership); Karol Modzelewski resigned his post as Solidarity's spokesman because decisions of the union's National Committee were not made democratically, and Andrzej Gwiazda has published an open letter to Lech Walesa calling his decision to call off the national strike in March "autocratic."

The government will no doubt continue to provoke the union, whether by openly attacking unionists as in Bydgoszcz; or persecuting leading intellectuals, as has been the case with Kuron and Michnik, in whose defense miners from the Walbrzych local decided on a warning strike in March; or the latest parliamentary ban on all strikes for two months. The union's answer can only come from its self-confidence and self-development. But can it develop without a vision of total freedom?

Ireland

As we go to press, Bobby Sands lies in Belfast's Maze Prison at death's door, having spent over two months on hunger strike since March 1 demanding the restoration by Britain of political status for 600 jailed members of the Irish Republican movement. Three other "H-Block" prisoners—Frank Hughes, Raymond McCreech and Pat O'Hara—are also on hunger strike, insisting that they be allowed to wear their own clothes; associate freely among themselves; do no prison work; receive one visit, one letter and one parcel a week; and receive normal "good time" remission of their sentences.

The response of British Prime Minister Thatcher, touring South Asia and the Middle East, was to refuse all negotiations, righteously proclaiming that "a crime is a crime is a crime." Her propaganda machine was meanwhile working overtime, spreading lies that "when Sands dies, the IRA will burn down Catholic neighborhoods and blame it on the Protestants." What they could not hide are the 12,000 British troops jammed into the six counties of Northern Ireland, their "legal" right-wing auxiliaries, or the proliferation of murderous neo-fascist para-military organizations, including the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Red Hand Commando. All are designed to insure the perpetuation of British rule in an Ulster shaken by revolt continuously since 1969.

The election of Bobby Sands to Parliament April 9 dealt a severe blow to Britain's attempts to convince all that only a "tiny minority" was dissatisfied with the status quo. The more than 30,000 votes for Sands underlined the continuing mass support in Ulster for freedom from British military rule, mass unemployment and minimum wages.

There is no doubt that the size of the marches and rallies all across Northern Ireland in the past weeks are an indication of the upsurge sure to follow if the hunger strikers die. Such revolts have been ceaseless in Ireland, from the Rebellion of 1798 through the Fenian movement and the Irish Land Leagues of Marx's time to the Easter Rebellion of 1916. Ireland unfree has indeed never been at peace. In the struggles ahead, much will depend on whether a banner is raised that is not limited to Irish independence, but extends to a vision of genuine socialist revolution.

El Salvador

When one of the oldest continuous military dictatorships is dubbed the defense line of the "Free World" by Reagan-Haig, the bourgeois media cave in and report the "facts" as they emanate from the Pentagon-State Department propaganda machine. When thousands of El Salvadorans — worker, peasant and middle class, but above all youth — join the guerrillas of the Democratic Revolutionary Front, we are told that the lack of open demonstrations and strikes in the streets (which had always been massacred by the military) shows a decline in support for the revolution.

When over 15,000 have been murdered so far by the military (and this in a country with a population of only 4.5 million), we are told that these killings are "by the



Fascism is alive and well and living in: A.) Argentina, B.) Bolivia, C.) Chile, D.) Guatemala, E.) El Salvador, F.) all of the above.

Left and the Right." When an estimated 1,500 peasant refugees in the province of Morazon are murdered March 27 after they hid in caves from the military terror, and this is reported to the world by the Legal Aid Office of the Archbishop of San Salvador, the U.S. media treats this as a "rumor," if it is reported at all. After all, reporters are not allowed in Morazon Province. At the same time, vague rumors from the State Department of Russian, Cuban and Nicaraguan military aid to the rebels in 1980 are reported as "fact."

The truth is that every massacre, every "sweep" through a province like Morazon only heightens the masses' determination that nothing could be worse than "their own" military regime. After almost 50 years of the "peace of the cemetery" following the massacres by the military of 30,000 peasant and worker rebels in 1932, El Salvador's people have declared war on their military rulers and the landed oligarchy of the 14 families which they prop up. As in 1932, the revolutionary upsurge comes at a time when the world economic crisis of capitalism forced cutbacks in the already starvation wages and living conditions of the masses.

Throughout Central America, from Southern Mexico to Guatemala, and from Honduras to Costa Rica to El Salvador, unrest is spreading in the wake of the fall of the hated and powerful Somoza dictatorship in the 1979 Nicaraguan Revolution.

West Germany

West Germany has recently experienced one of the largest youth movements in Europe. Over 100 apartments are occupied in West Berlin by young squatters. In December, thousands of youth battled police and smashed windows along West Berlin's fashionable Kurfuerstendamm after police evicted squatters from a house.

Since then squatters have occupied buildings in many cities, but police have not usually tried to carry out any further evictions. Police did evict and arrest youths in Nuremberg, a city controlled by Franz Josef Strauss' ultra-rightist party, but in much of the country there is widespread sympathy for the youth.

Berlin's housing shortage is terrible, as is the case in many other European and U.S. cities. No "profit" can be made by building inexpensive housing. As unemployment and rents skyrocket, young people cannot afford places to live. Youth also oppose the government because of its nuclear power plants, its allowing U.S. nuclear weapons for "defense," and its collaboration with U.S. imperialism in El Salvador.

But something more total than any of these points is involved too — a rejection of a rotten bourgeois society built up since World War II. It is a veneer of democracy covering over a Western power bloc vying with an Eastern one over barbed wire and fortifications dividing Germany, and with the threat of nuclear destruction ever present.

It is this type of feeling which has made the phrase "No Future" a slogan of the young squatters and other protesters. "No Future" is their description both of the capitalist social order in which they grew up and of their own prospects to live a fully human life within it.

Corporate Welfare

In these days of Reagan's meat axe approach to programs for the poor of America, it is refreshing to see that all the distressed are not suffering equally.

Take the case of Mr. Spyros Solon Skouras. Seems as if he had a little problem of an overdue mortgage on his wholly-owned Prudential Shipping line, one million dollars to be exact. We know how distressed he was because millions of other people are having that problem these days.

Mr. Reagan, kind soul, dashed to his aid with \$2.6 million, which he can repay over the next ten years. His feeling was that in case of war, he just might need the use of the five ships that Mr. Skouras personally owns.

Not that Mr. Skouras is among the "truly deserving needy." He also owns another three ships under the PSS Corporation and charters two others. Last month he had another loan of \$6,150,000 and received a gift from the government of \$14 million in subsidies, amounting to a total of \$548 million he has received in subsidies since he started the Prudential lines. For the next year he is to get another \$14 million plus \$3 million to diversify the capacity of his ships.

Mr. Skouras claims that his best customers, who owe him the most money, are slow payers. They are the governments of Egypt and Rumania.

So, you see, Reagan knows how to help those in trouble.