

# Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

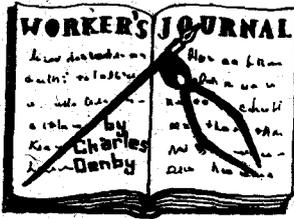
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## Black political gains eroding in South



by Charles Denby, Editor

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

A number of articles that I have read recently about what has been happening to Black people in the South shows very definitely that the Voting Rights Act is needed now more than ever.

I was reading about how whites have ousted a Black mayor in Tchula, Miss. He was elected in 1977, the first Black mayor since Reconstruction. Tchula, a town of 2,000, is 75 percent Black and the official unemployment rate is 40 percent. Two thirds of the town is dependent upon welfare. Holmes County, where Tchula is located, is the tenth poorest in the U. S.

The majority of Black people who live there are in homes which lack plumbing or electricity. When Eddie Carthan was elected mayor he began to make changes, securing federal funds to improve conditions, and moving to bring in small businesses. He initiated programs to repair, remodel and weatherize homes. He started a day care program and a nutrition project for senior citizens and handicapped.

### WHITES THREATEN BLACK MAYOR

But he always had trouble with a small clique of whites—many of whom are descendants of former slave owners—who dominate the local economy. They had stayed in powerful political positions through a variety of means that undermined Black voting rights. When Carthan was elected they tried to control him with a \$10,000 bribe, but he said he was not that kind of person. (Continued on Page 10)

## Racist U.S. murder of Haitian refugees

In every Black community in this country, people are saying that the most disgusting racism of Ronald Reagan is the way he is treating and murdering the Haitian refugees. When we turned on our TV sets to the news on Oct. 26, we saw the bodies of 33 Haitians, including young children, being washed up onto the beach in a rich white section of Florida. They died because their sailboat capsized just a few yards from shore, but they were murdered by the policies of the U.S.

There is no other way to explain why Haitians are being treated in a totally different way from all other immigrants, except that they are Black, and they are fleeing the vicious dictatorship of Reagan's ally, Jean-Claude Duvalier. In Haiti, the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, 50 percent are unemployed, and the minimum wage is only \$2.20 a day. Many U.S. companies have set up factories to take advantage of the cheap labor and total repression. It is no wonder that thousands keep trying to flee.

### RICH WHITES WATCH

Ever since Sept. 29, when Reagan ordered the Coast Guard to "interdict" Haitian refugees on the high seas and take them back to Duvalier, the little boats have had to take more and more chances. That is how the 33 died. You watched the rich whites looking at the bodies and saying, "why did they have to wash up on our beach?"

Now Reagan has a new move against those people who did make it here alive. He has asked Congress for a law giving special hearing officers the job of denying asylum quickly. The decision would not be appealed to the courts, and most of their civil rights would be gone.

Reagan has now opened two abandoned army camps to house refugees, while they are waiting for their hearings on asylum in this country. Anyone can see that they are nothing other than modern concentration camps. One is in Fort Allen, Puerto Rico, where 778 are held. The main one, called Camp Krome Avenue North, is located in the swamps west of Miami. The health conditions for the nearly 2,000 there are very bad. Even the

### WILL THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS BE ALLOWED TO LIVE?



The four horsemen of the Apocalypse



Women in the Nicaraguan revolution

Barricada photo

### In-person report on Nicaragua, Peru, Mexico

## Latin America's revolutionary spirit

by Anne Molly Jackson

From Nicaragua, which is trying to deepen its revolution in spite of economic strangulation by the U.S.; to Peru, where the government's

new repressive measures only highlight the contrasts between the law and the continuous mass revolts; to Mexico, where liberal foreign policy cannot mask either the exploitation or resistance of everyone from peasants to intellectuals—Latin America sizzles with revolutionary activity and thought.

Everywhere there are new and growing organizations of industrial workers and domestic workers, neighborhood organizations and peasant groups, women's and youth organizations. And everywhere they are discussing such questions as: What is the relationship between international capitalism and our conditions of life? What is the relationship between revolution and women's liberation movements? Can we not only overthrow the old governments and kick out U. S. imperialism, but also build a new society based on human needs and creativity?

### 'EVERYTHING IS DIFFERENT NOW — THE CHILDREN ARE HAPPY'

It is not possible to know a country in a few days spent in and around the capital city, but in Nicaragua the people are so full of revolutionary spirit and purpose that even Managua is beautiful. "Even Managua" because at first the city shocks: the downtown area destroyed by the earthquake of 1972 has not been rebuilt, and many housing accommodations are flimsy shacks or the rubble of destroyed buildings. People are very poor but full of hope and concern for one another. Without seeing the agricultural areas where perhaps the most change has occurred, it is still clear from talking with workers, teachers and housewives that the revolution is very much alive.

Most impressive are the grass-roots organizations of women, workers and youth who are trying to deepen that revolution by working out new economic and social relationships. The Pre-Cooperativa Nueva Nicaragua, for

(Continued on Page 4)

county health officials have testified that the water in a well serving the camp has high levels of bacteria.

### REBELLION IN CAMP

The refugees report incidents of brutality by the guards. The INS spreads rumors and lies. Visitation rights are severely limited, like in a closed society. One of the few reports from inside the camp was recently published by the newsletter, *Haiti Alert*:

"An actual rebellion was precipitated by a camp guard who beat a refugee with a chair. The next day a hunger strike was begun to protest the brutality as well as the general conditions in the camp. 250 persons joined the hunger strike. When the guards noticed a meeting of strike leaders they began throwing teargas canisters into that area. As a result, more than 100 Haitians fled the confines of the camp by knocking down a fence and entered the swamp shouting 'Liberty, liberty.' The escapees were rounded up and 27 'malcontents and troublemakers' were shipped to Otisville, New York prison."

Civil rights groups like the NAACP and the SCLC have begun a campaign against Reagan's racist policies. They are trying to stop his latest trick, moving 600 Haitians to Fort Drum, on the north side of the Adirondack mountains in New York, where it gets down to 30° below in the winter. Now is the time to act. Today the government is busy holding hearings and saying how sorry they were about what they did to the Japanese-Americans 40 years ago, when it is much too late to matter. Will they be saying how sorry they are about the Haitians 40 years from now?

Haiti gave the world the first Black revolution for freedom all the way back in 1804. They showed the whole world what liberty really meant after the French Revolution. The French had fought for their own freedom, but sent an army against the Haitian Revolution. Today, in the U.S.A., the Haitians are fighting for freedom again. They need our support. If you want more information about the struggle, you can write to *Haiti Alert*, 32 NE 54th St., Miami, Fla. 33137.

—Tommie Hope

## ON THE INSIDE

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## Women's Pentagon Action confronts military

New York, N.Y. — Over 2,000 women assembled in the cavernous Washington D.C. Coliseum on Nov. 15 for the beginning of the Women's Pentagon Action (WPA). We joined with women who had traveled from the Northeast, Midwest and West, to express our opposition to militarism.

The day began with workshops, and we were struck with the internationalism of the discussions, represented by women from Japan, South Africa, Iran and Cuba. At the plenary session which followed, two women from "Women for Life on Earth" in Britain read a letter of support. But the greatest applause was for a Salvadoran woman who spoke on the solidarity of our fight against militarism.

The serious discussion at the workshops and the expressions of internationalism, however, couldn't hide the fact that only a tiny number of Black women participated in the WPA, or that there seemed to be little concern about it. (See "Readers' Views," this page.) There weren't any Black women at the workshop on racism.

The next day, Monday, we marched through Arlington National Cemetery, past the rows of soldiers' graves, to the Pentagon mall, where tombstones had been placed with the names of women who have been murdered by this society's brutality: from the four Black girls who

died in the 1963 Birmingham, Ala. church bombing, and the Haitian boat women, to Karen Silkwood.

After looking at these markers, many of us were especially angry when we went up to the Pentagon where the military chiefs were going in to work "as usual." A woman who threw blood on the building was arrested, as were others blocking the steps.

After these confrontations, it was a real non-conclusion to end the whole WPA with a ceremony that invoked the "spirit of mother earth." In fact, quite a few women didn't participate.

As opposed to this retreat into mysticism, many of us left with the conviction that our work as feminists against militarism will mean addressing many questions raised during the WPA, along with our renewed antimilitarism activities. It is in this spirit of sisterhood that we welcome hearing from our readers about the conclusions they drew from the WPA.

—Participants, Women's Liberation—N&L

## ARA food workers case ends

Detroit, Mich.—After 11 years of constant struggle on the job, in the Michigan Dept. of Civil Rights, and in the courts, four women workers from the vending and catering company, ARA Services, Inc., have finally won their sex discrimination case against the company and their union, Local 1064 of the RWDSU. Although the women will finally receive a total of some \$80,000 from the union (the company settled out of court years ago), it is a bitter victory. Of the five original plaintiffs who declared their case a "women's liberation issue" in 1970, one is now dead and two others physically disabled.

June Chambers, who had held the top seniority in the bargaining unit in 1961 when ARA switched its operation at the Great Lakes Steel mill to vending machines, was the first to be denied the chance to become a "vending machine serviceman," by company and union collusion. In the years that followed, every "serviceman" was male, and nearly every "attendant" employed was female — with huge differences in wages, hours and conditions. Over and over again, testimony at the Civil Rights Dept. and in the courts proved the practice, and even the intent to discriminate by both company and union.

Ms. Chambers told N&L, "the fact that it has taken 11 years to get this much is outrageous. First the District Court said that they had abused us. That was back in 1976. Then, five years later, three judges of the Court of Appeals said that the facts were clear to anyone. But even then the union and its lawyer, William Mazey, asked for all the Appeals judges to rule, but they were turned down."

The union has been forced to pay damages in lost wages and compensation benefits, as well as a small amount of money for mental suffering. But as Ms. Chambers summed it up: "Justice delayed is the story of our lives. When we began this case, all the experts said it was 'the attorneys' dream.' But it has turned out to be the plaintiffs' nightmare. I love my country, but I have no faith in this system."

## WOMAN AS REASON

### Rosa Luxemburg—original character and revolutionary

Dear Sisters:

In all our recent discussions and activities around feminists against militarism, the question of the need for a theory of women's liberation in addition to our activity has constantly been at issue. Because this is such a burning question, and more so every day with Reagan-Haig preparing for war, and because Rosa Luxemburg was so magnificent in her anti-militarism, it is a real tragedy that the Women's Liberation Movement has never embraced her as their own.

On Aug. 4, 1914, when the German Social Democracy (GSD) betrayed socialism by voting war credits for the Kaiser to embark on an imperialist war, it was Rosa Luxemburg who immediately called a meeting for that evening in her apartment to send out 300 telegrams denouncing the betrayal and calling for opposition to the war.

Luxemburg spent long years in prison, which ruined her health, because of her opposition to the war. It was from prison that she continued her theoretical work writing the Junius pamphlet, the first anti-war document from within Germany, and from prison that she wrote some of her most beautiful letters. In one such letter, she tells of her agony at seeing a soldier cruelly beating a water buffalo who could not pull a heavily-laden cart over the threshold into the prison.

She describes the look of pain in the animal's "huge, soft eyes," telling how these once wild animals were taken as war booty from Rumania. She ends by comparing the "green, lush fields of Rumania lost forever" to the "fotid stable" and "strange and terrible men." I found this one of the most moving passages I have ever read, for in it she not only cries out for her own freedom and shows the terrible dehumanization of war, but also shows the irreparable damage done by the betrayal of the GSD.

What is truly maddening is that so many, even of those who knew her personally, act as if there were two Rosas—the "Red Rosa" who could be scathing in her criticism and the more "feminine" Rosa who loved culture, literature, flowers and birds.

If they could not see—and if the Women's Liberation Movement has not yet seen—we must see that Luxemburg's life represents what we raised at the beginning of our movement: a woman of such magnificent eloquence in everything she did, could not and cannot be free under a capitalist society.

Luxemburg posed the question as one of socialism vs. barbarism and this is certainly true for us today. What we are finding in studying the manuscript of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution by Raya Dunayevskaya is that there is as much to learn from Luxemburg's mistakes as from her highpoints.

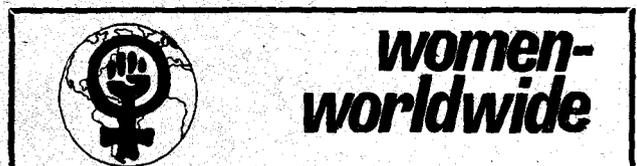
In the beginning of Part III of the book, Dunayevskaya shows how Marx in his 1841 doctoral thesis concluded that Hegel, although he had made a tremendous breakthrough in thought, had not concretized it in the realm of human activity, and by not doing so had accommodated himself by not breaking with bourgeois Prussian society. But Marx was not content to expose this accommodation. He set off to find "the inadequacy of the principle which compelled that accommodation" so that through his critique he could find a new beginning.

As the first to sense the opportunism of the GSD leaders, particularly Karl Kautsky in 1910, Luxemburg stopped at exposing them and did not dig deeper to see that at the root of it was a serious deviation from Marx. But just as Luxemburg did not go beyond expose, neither did the Women's Liberation Movement of our day when it exposed the male-chauvinism within the Left during the '60s. Instead of digging deeper into Marxism to find the roots of the accommodation, many women simply assumed that it arose from Marx's being male and threw all of Marxism into the "dustbin of history" to which it had consigned Luxemburg for not devoting herself totally to the Woman Question.

Fortunately, we are finding in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution that Marx's writings on Man/Woman illuminate much of Luxemburg's time and of our own. In this work, Dunayevskaya has singled out Rosa Luxemburg as an "original character," rare in history and arising out of masses in motion; combining yesterday, today and tomorrow in such a way that a new age suddenly experiences a "shock of recognition" whether it relates to a new lifestyle or need for a revolution here and now.

Just two and one-half months after the German Revolution freed her from prison, Luxemburg was murdered by pre-Nazi mercenaries as the counter-revolution swept in. Can we begin now a serious theoretical dialogue so that the highpoints and lessons of this magnificent life are not lost for our own revolutionary movement?

—Suzanne Casey



Nurses in Ohio have been on strike for 15 months trying to win the first union contract at Ashtabula General Hospital, which rejected a federal mediator's proposal to settle the strike on Sept. 18. The nurses intend to reject any settlement in which all strikers are not called back and demanded to see an assignment list before voting on the last proposal. Of 170 strikers, only 48 have returned to work and they have maintained a 24-hour picket line since July 2, 1980, stating, "We're out to say that nurses have a right, even as professionals, to have a say-so in our work situation."

Information from What She Wants, Cleveland

One hundred Algerian women carrying banners demonstrated outside the Popular National Assembly in Algiers on Oct. 28 to protest a proposed Family Code which would institutionalize the subordination of women, mandating, for example, that a woman receive her husband's permission to work outside the home. "We want to decide our existence and our future," the women said and presented a petition with 1,600 signatures against the proposed law.

Information from des femmes hebdo, Paris

In San Francisco, the Women's Liberation Action Brigade destroyed two dozen pornography dispensers by jamming coin slots with perma-glue and painting slogans: "We've had enough of degradation, we want women's liberation."

Information from Big Mama Rag, Denver

## Readers respond to "Black women test WLM, Left"

Editor's Note: We wanted to share with you some of the responses Terry Moon received on her column, "Black Women Test WLM and The Left," in November, 1981, N&L.

I am a new reader of News & Letters. I have been a member of a "vanguardist" left party. Some of your criticisms of leftist elitism are right on the mark. But I must take issue with Terry Moon's latest "Woman as Reason" column.

Moon accuses the women's movement of apologetic racism, and the left of anti-feminism. The arguments she raises for both-claims are arguments I haven't heard in 10 years. She treats the left and the women's movement as unified entities which they are not.

Some white women activists today, such as some of the leaders of NOW, are racist as well as militarist and anti-working class. But I believe most white feminists today are consciously trying to work beyond our inevitable socially ingrained racism. As for the left, many leftists — mostly men, both Black and white — used these anti-women arguments but few groups use them now.

To the extent that there is racism and elitism in progressive movements, we should all be working to defeat them through coalition politics and personal example, not through accusations and guilt-baiting. Terry Moon's article only serves to resurrect those old differences when many of us are at least trying to work beyond them.

—Millie Phillips, Utah

The column by Terry Moon in the last issue of N&L pinpoints one of the contradictions that has occurred within the Women's Liberation Movement for the past 10 years. I participated in the Women's Pentagon Action, and while I was one of only a handful of Black women there, those I spoke with were happy to see this column in N&L. It certainly told a tale about the recent Washington action.

The color Black had been used in a derogatory manner during last year's WPA. The women who made puppets for the march had made Black the symbol for "mourning" and white the symbol for "defiance." After Black women had objected, the colors were reversed this year. But when a Black woman spoke on the issue, to remind the women what had happened last year, those who responded tried to cloud the issue, making it appear as if the real point was some symbolic changing of the meaning of the colors.

To me, and to other Black women I spoke with, the attitude seemed to be, "Let's stop talking about this issue. No matter what we do, we can't seem to satisfy you. The colors are now reversed, so the problem is solved." This became the issue, rather than speaking to the need for a dialogue on how, in 1981, feminists against militarism can make such an old mistake.

Hopefully, columns like Terry Moon's will not only bring out the contradictions within the Women's Liberation Movement, but will make room for a full discussion on how we are to overcome these contradictions now.

—Diane Lee

## South Gate workers respond to mass lay-offs

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

*West Coast Editor's Note: I would like to devote my column this issue to excerpts from the latest Blue Sheet written by myself and others in the GM South Gate Workers' Committee in response to the lay-off of the second shift at the GM South Gate assembly plant:*

Just in time for the holiday season General Motors has announced Nov. 30 as the target date for closing down second shift at South Gate. And so concerned is the company about what laid-off workers might do between now and then that it has laid off both shifts the week before Thanksgiving.

It has only been one month since the second shift started up, and now the word is that 1,800 workers are to be laid off. What GM is afraid to say, but what everyone knows, is that the plant is on the verge of closing completely. As one new hire who worked 27 years at Ford put it: "Today the line is very thin between a worker having a job and a worker being on relief."

For those of us without seniority, or who are new hires, GM has once again pushed us over into the lines of the unemployed.

Those laid off will certainly be the hardest hit, especially after so many had quit other jobs to come work at GM. But, what about those of us who will be left in this monster? . . . Getting rid of second shift now means the company will force the production of two shifts out of one shift.

### WRECKING GM'S PLANS

What the company, and the union leadership for that matter, do not want workers in South Gate to hear is how GM workers in an Oklahoma plant refused to build out when word came that they were to be laid off. Every

## Hospital pay the real joke

Detroit, Mich. — Detroit Receiving Hospital began a new promotion, BAD, to get each employee to save the hospital a "Buck-A-Day." People have treated it as a joke, because we have all been saving the hospital a whole lot more than a buck a day out of our own pockets.

Former city employees who transferred over when the new city hospital was given away to a private corporation haven't had a raise in almost two years. In a time of double-digit inflation, that is a real gift to the hospital. Even more, whenever an ex-city employee leaves, the new-hire may get as little as half as much as the worker who was replaced, the hospital's new pay scales are that low. They are taking advantage of depression conditions now in Detroit.

Every time we are out sick we are saving the hospital a whole day's pay, even if we got sick while on duty. There is basically no paid sick time the first two days off the job. Yet, we get pressured to carry the extra load of anyone out sick or not replaced.

The main problem is that because the hospital so far prevented a union election for most hospital workers, the administration has the only official voice in setting up working conditions and determining wages. More than a year after a majority of workers decided to be represented by AFSCME which had represented city employees, the matter is still in the courts. Getting a union at Detroit Receiving Hospital would not be a bad idea.

—Hospital worker

## The Blues: what happened to voluntary overtime?

Detroit, Mich.—What has happened after the new contract at Blue Cross-Blue Shield? Not very much. In some situations, things have gotten worse. The production levels are still too high. But what people are really angry about now is overtime. We've had voluntary overtime for years. But do you know the way we now have to "volunteer"?

Everyone is "asked" a month in advance to do overtime. But the problem becomes—we no longer know what days we will be working. This is very important for everyone but especially for women with children. They are the ones who need to know when they will be working more hours, particularly if it's on a Saturday or a Sunday. Before the contract, management asked one week in advance if we could work overtime for that week.

But today, if a worker cannot do overtime, their excuse has to be validated by management. These excuses will be treated in the same manner as sick time, with three occurrences allowed in one year. When a worker has too many occurrences, she or he will be written up and eventually fired. We never had a problem with voluntary overtime, but now we do.

Management is trying to make it look as if we are now having these problems because we've voted in this contract. We know that is not true. If management tries to change overtime to the mandatory system, who will do the overtime — those with the higher seniority or will it be those chosen by management? Manage-

ment can't answer this question because they don't have their facts straight.

But we can get the facts straight, when we see the contract. We demand to know what these facts are, so that we can have a say on our conditions of work. There are many questions we are raising, one of them being: What is the union doing and saying about all of this?

—Woman Worker

worker stayed home and really fouled-up GM's plans, before the company had a chance to lay them off.

Today, workers across this country are feeling the cut-backs from the Reagan Administration and giant corporations like GM, which are governments unto themselves. In a rare moment of honesty, even Reagan's main mouthpiece on the economy, David Stockman, admitted that Reaganomics is just a "Trojan horse" carrying lower taxes for only the rich. Stockman also admitted that the Reagan Administration's "supply-side economics" is only a new name for the traditional Republican trickle-down theory of channeling profits and income to the wealthy. After the unthinkable sum of \$1.5 trillion for the military budget and \$1 trillion projected for the national debt, what can working people expect to "trickle down" but missiles and poverty!

### ROBOTS AND NO JOBS

Since the 1974-75 recession the American economy has been going through a fundamental re-structuring. Though oil prices and foreign imports are made the causes for the recession (which looks more like a depression) by government economists, the actual cause is found right at the point of production, in plants like GM South Gate.

General Motors expects to use about 14,000 industrial robots in its factories by 1990. They see these machines as the salvation for the industry. Together with Reagan, corporations like GM are attempting to re-structure the American economy by pushing down the wages and living standards of American workers, at the same time as they transfer the wealth into the hands of big corporations. In turn, GM and other industries will use the money to invest in new machinery, new automation and robots to boost their lagging production.

Reagan's militarization of the economy and GM's replacing of people with robots has given American rulers, in and out of government, the illusion that there will be another economic boom. The truth is that there will be no next boom for the American economy. We are living through a period of permanent recession (if not a depression), inflation and no economic growth.

Reagan's answer is missiles, missiles, missiles. Working and poor people are asking, but what about jobs, what about the survival of humanity. For unless Reagan-Haig-Weinberger are stopped the next boom will be World War III, and the end of civilization as we have known it.

The "Polish Lesson" the Solidarity union is teaching its bosses and rulers is a signal to workers everywhere to take their lives back into their own hands.

Thus, the GM South Gate Workers' Committee, in issuing this Blue Sheet #2 for this year, wants to get together with other workers to see if that Solidarity spirit can be created here, before there are more lay-offs and plant closings and before Reagan gets a chance to blow us up.

*The Blue Sheet scared the hell out of the union leadership. Sal Astorga, chairman of the shop committee, read the leaflet in the parking lot; then headed back in the plant saying that the announced meeting on plant closing and lay-offs that evening was only a steering committee meeting. Of course he was on his way to talk over the Blue Sheet with Bill Harden, plant manager. They closed the union hall for the meeting—everyone was told that they couldn't use the hall, that the Blue Sheet was the cause.*

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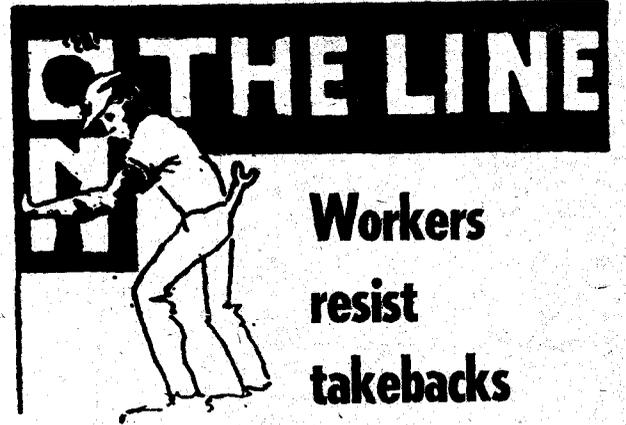
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by John Marcotte

Solidarity Day in Washington feels like a long time ago. And it's beginning to look like it was to be a one-shot deal on the part of the labor "leaders" after all. But the attack of the corporations on the working class is intensifying.

At the Ford Motor Co. aluminum casting plant in Sheffield, Ala., the company presented the workers with this ultimatum: take a 50 percent cut in wages and benefits, or we'll shut down the plant and throw you out. There are no other jobs like that in the area. But the workers answered, the hell with it, shut it down. Slavery is over.

Ever since Chrysler started crying broke and black-mailing its workers to accept wage and benefit cuts totaling \$1 billion or get locked out, one major industry after another has jumped on the bandwagon. Auto is at the forefront, with the contract coming up in 1982. In Clark, N.J., the GM Hyatt Bearing plant is making its workers buy the plant and take a 30 percent cut, or shut down. A worker said, "We're supposed to be buying the place, and they treat us worse than dogs. We never know what's happening."

Timken Steel in Ohio, and Goodyear and General Tire, have all tied new plant investment to such black-mail. At Timken, they say they'll build a new steel mill in Canton, Ohio, only if workers agree not to strike there till 1992, give up their transfer and seniority rights there, and have new workers start at 80 percent of pay and be on probation for 90 days.

This is a historic attack on the standard of living and conditions of labor of U.S. workers. It presages a tremendous explosion of the working class. Any, from Reagan on down, who do not believe this, are fooling themselves. And that explosion is not coming out of the AFL-CIO convention in NY, no matter how fat their budget gets.

Yet, times look bleak just now. Where I work, we are not under a frontal attack as in heavy industry. It is more of a slow squeeze. We're down to 400 on one shift, from nearly 1,000 on two shifts several years ago. Sure, it's harder to struggle under those conditions. We don't have the constant work stoppages and shop leaflets we had then. The company does things for no other reason than to show they feel they've got us under their heel.

It will be a hard winter. We just got a \$260 "cost of living" bonus. But a conservative estimate of 12 percent inflation last year on a paycheck of \$200 a week means we lost \$1,260 to inflation over the last year. The company pocketed the \$1,000 and gave us the change. We don't get another COLA for two years, and then when we get ready to strike we won't get food stamps anymore, thanks to Reagan. But we will find a way to fight. This is just the quiet before the storm.

## Schwinn deceit saps benefits

Chicago, Ill. — Schwinn is doing any little thing they can to cheat people. People have been waiting since February for the pension plan but Schwinn keeps dragging its feet. Then there was one guy who was out on disability. When he went to collect his sick pay the company made him so mad he quit. He could have retired. Then when he died, his wife didn't get a thing, and she used to work at Schwinn too. The guy was demented when he went in there, and they took advantage of him.

When you have sick pay coming and really need it, sometimes it takes six or seven weeks to collect anything. They are self-insured with the insurance company only administering it, so the more they can stall on the money, the more interest they get.

By law Schwinn is supposed to offer the H.M.O. health plan, giving each worker a choice. But they keep refusing the registered letter which would make them liable. The company keeps telling people, all the disadvantages of H.M.O. as though they would be forced to take it. We are supposed to have a choice, but that would cost Schwinn more.

—Schwinn worker

# Eyewitness report: Latin America's revolutionary spirit

(Continued from Page 1)

example, began just six months ago when five neighborhood women with sewing machines, organized by the Sandinista women's organization AMNLAE, began to plan, buy, make and sell clothing collectively. In an interview (see p. 9) they discussed not only their increased income, but what they have learned about work, their participation in civic affairs, the changes in their home lives, their library and plans for a child care center. As one woman said, "Everything is different now—the children are happy."

Such forceful women are the backbone of the current health campaigns, which have already eliminated three major diseases. In the November malaria campaign, which tried to get every person in the country to take anti-malaria pills on the same three days so that the cycle of the disease could be broken, one saw what mass participation means. While many pills were dispensed at jobs and schools, at least one person per block had to volunteer to take the census and keep visiting the homes to make the campaign work. Women did this with enthusiasm.

Last year's literacy campaign, which lowered illiteracy from 50 percent to 13 percent, laid the basis for continued mass mobilizations. Under the slogan "literacy is liberation," 180,000 volunteers were given a pair of boots, a mosquito net, blanket and Coleman lamp, anti-malaria and water purification pills, and were sent out in the countryside. They taught in people's native languages, including English and Indian tongues on the Atlantic Coast, and in Braille. The feeling of living history pervades the small museum which houses posters and charts, letters of appreciation from those who learned to read and write, and personal effects of brigadistas who died from accidents or diseases.

AMNLAE organizes women in groups as small as two to five in factories and plantations, rural and urban communities, centers of study, state and private institutions, markets and hospitals. It backs a union of domestic workers which has succeeded in changing the law to limit their hours of work to ten per day and raised their pay and benefits. There is also an active organization of youth, including young children. Now all children go to school but as there are not enough facilities, many are on double shifts. There are a few child care centers, which take infants as young as one-and-a-half months, and in many families there is increased participation in family responsibilities by men and boys.

The terrible poverty makes one wonder whether the present policy of walking a tightrope between private capitalism and any kind of socialism can succeed. One yearns to see the full release of the human creativity that made that revolution. At present, the threat of U. S. intervention and the dire state of the economy have everyone worried. Since the government assumed Somoza's national debt in order to be able to get credit from international banks, and since the U. S. cut off promised economic aid, the U. S. can manipulate the economy as it did in Chile and as it does daily in Latin America, especially in Peru.

## PERU: A LAND OF CONTRADICTIONS

Peru is a country of glaring contradictions, where international capital's economic domination hits you wherever you go. It seems as if every corporation in the world, from Aji-no-moto to Swiss chemical companies to even the smallest U. S. companies, have set up shops in and around Lima. Modern industry has left the Peruvians with a debt to the international banking system of 12 billion dollars, a drop in real wages of 40 percent since 1973, vast unemployment and underemployment, and much actual starvation. In the last 10 years the currency has been devalued 400 percent; the vast shantytowns around Lima have not improved in 15 years, and new construction is seen only in the city.

At the same time, the revolt against these conditions is every bit as evident. There is not a wall in Lima,



News & Letters photo

Fundo Marquez shanty town, Lima, Peru

whether factory, shop or home, which is not covered with political slogans, and there seem to be almost as many new revolutionary groups to match them. There is labor organizing everywhere, a multiplicity of women's liberation groups, new Left and student organizations, and peasant uprisings. It is impossible to walk down the street in Lima without passing some place on strike, including, in one week in October, two government ministries and the customs workers, this in spite of the fact that public employees may not legally have unions!

Everyone has been on strike lately, from miners to doctors to bank employees. The government's response is to increase repressive measures, especially against workers and peasants outside Lima, who are shot in cold blood or tortured and imprisoned. In a recent general strike in Cuzco, the police killed a student by shooting into a demonstration.

The police and army use the excuse that they are looking for "terrorists" to terrorize the population, harassing and imprisoning intellectuals as well as murdering the poor. But the repression seems only to have increased the revolt. In addition to the continuous strikes in traditional industries, new layers of the population are organizing, from university professors to nurses to domestic workers to other "women's industries"—candy, textiles and electronics—where labor disputes have led to factory occupations.

A visit to the Lucy candy factory found a handful of women who have been occupying the small premises for 16 months! A woman told how the owner had tried illegally to close their unionized shop by sending a truck to take away the machinery.

"It was May 9, 1980, Mother's Day. The owners had the idea to take apart the factory and leave us completely in the street. So we told the truck driver, 'You get out of here immediately or we'll burn your truck. We are defending our social rights.' For the next two days we worked all day and at night we stood guard out in the street, without sleeping, just sitting on newspapers."

Then the employer closed down, taking away the materials and machines, and the women began their occupation and their trips to the Ministry of Labor, trying to reopen the factory or at least to get severance pay.

Lima's growing women's liberation movement is involved with the struggles of working and poor women. Feminists such as ALIMUPER have supported the factory occupations with publicity, fund raising and street demonstrations against the government, which responded by turning the fire hoses on the women. Groups, including one named for Flora Tristan, are teaching classes to women in the slums and in the domestics' union, and offering legal assistance to battered and abandoned wives. The feminists recently restated their demand for legalized abortion by pointing to the latest case in which two peasant women were raped by soldiers engaged in repression, resulting in a pregnancy. At the same time, the feminists are trying to work out what they mean by "socialist feminism" and are engaged in theoretic work. They gave an enthusiastic welcome to a visiting Marxist-Humanist from the U. S.

Other new forms of revolt have involved the 200,000 street peddlers in Lima, who successfully resisted the government's attempt to clear them out and take away their only means of eking out a meager living.

Even in the shantytowns on the distant outskirts of Lima—without water, electricity, farmland or employment, they look like towns dropped onto the moon—people are organizing their own forms of working and learning, and are fighting the government daily. A group of professionals called Peru Mujer teaches classes in civics to women in some of these towns. A visit to a class, which begins with "Every person has a right to be called by his or her name, and not to be assaulted," found the women eager to learn and full of ideas of their own. Like Lima, the feeling of revolt is very close to the surface.

## MEXICO: OIL RESERVES, POVERTY, STRIKES

The political climate in Mexico is not very different from Peru, in spite of the Mexican government's liberal veneer in foreign policy, such as its backing the guerrillas in El Salvador. While that is important to the Central American revolutions, and while the Mexicans are understandably nationalistic after so many years of domination by their neighbor to the north, neither foreign policy, nor the oil reserves, are changing the lives of the millions of poor, hungry and unemployed. The economy is in the same grip of international capital as Nicaragua's and Peru's; in fact Mexico, Brazil and Venezuela together owe 30 percent of the total debt service of the Third World.

Like Peru, there are strikes everywhere, and the government's response is repression. Even the intellectuals are not safe. The professors of the Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana were on strike in November, after the government passed a new anti-labor law which invalidated 102 clauses of their union contract. The law, which contravenes constitutional guarantees of workers' rights, takes away such protections of the professors' autonomy as their having an independent group to decide on admissions of students and promotions of professors. When the professors refused to accept the changes and struck, two were jailed and more were threatened. Other unions and students in all the universities were holding meetings, demonstrations and raising money in support.

At the same time, 12,800 Volkswagen of Mexico factory workers were on strike in various parts of the country, in opposition to the lay-off of 800 workers and in support of a change in union leadership. In a union election at the end of October they had voted out the president of the union for compromising with the bosses, but he was trying to retain control of the union. A demonstration in support of the striking workers on Nov. 10 in Mexico City turned out 10,000 unionists, Leftists and others.

In a country without enough food for its people, the conditions of the peasants and small farmers are getting worse. A new law "to increase production" resulted in the further erosion of small farm holdings, and increased concentration and capitalization of the land for export production. When peasant protests broke out the government suspended the law, at least until after next year's elections.

Peasants are organizing cooperatives and land takeovers, but it is still common for private capitalist armies to murder peasants for trying to organize and even for refusing to sell their land or demanding a decent price. One of the poorest states, Oaxaca, has had a strong peasant movement, including land takeovers, for the past two years, and many have been killed.

The women's liberation groups have creative approaches to Mexico's problems. One group, the Collective of Solidarity Action with Domestic Workers, is helping to organize women whom unions and Left alike have ignored. There are one-half million domestic workers in Mexico City alone, and women's groups in other cities are working in this area as well. They are trying to enforce the minimum wage as well as to encourage skills and dignity in these forgotten women. Other women's liberation organizations are fighting to legalize abortion, protesting violence against women on Nov. 25, the international day set by the first Latin American women's conference in July, and doing theoretical work.

Discussions in all three countries found feminists, intellectuals and ordinary people concerned with the relationship between men and women at home and in the workplace; about the effects of imperialism and the limitations of nationalism; about the question of world revolution. Everywhere there was hunger for news of the "other U.S." which opposes Reagan, and an interest in Marxist-Humanist philosophy. The dialogue between North and South American revolutionaries is more necessary than ever.

## PERU INFORMATION

\* Readers who wish to keep informed of political and economic conditions in Peru should send a contribution to Peru Solidarity in return for its newsletter. The group is trying to educate people to the problems of hunger and repression which are killing people just as surely, though less dramatically, than the bullets elsewhere in Latin America. Write to Peru Solidarity at PO Box 3580, Grand Central Sta., New York, NY 10163, or call in New York, 212-964-6730.

\* ALIMUPER (Action for the Liberation of the Peruvian Woman) is a group of socialist feminist women in Peru. They can be contacted at: ALIMUPER, Jr. Quilca 431, Apartado 2211, Lima, 100, Peru.

## News & Letters

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**THEORY / PRACTICE****On the 150th anniversary since Hegel's death:  
How valid for our day are Marx's Hegelian roots?**

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

On the surface, any concern for the 150th anniversary of Hegel's death seems irrelevant and totally abstract in a period of Reaganomics when the deep recession at home seems on the verge of the Depression abyss; and, abroad, U.S. imperialism is, at one and the same time, propping up a genocidal war by the El Salvador neo-fascist regime against its own people, and, in West Europe, trying to introduce nuclear missiles in a competitive drive with the other nuclear titan, Russia. A careful examination, however, of the totality of the crisis — economic, political, military, ideological — that seems to spell out "Apocalypse, Now!", reveals a theoretic void on the Left that is very nearly as abysmal as that among the capitalist ideologues. This makes imperative the working out of a totally new relationship between the opposition movement from below — practice—and philosophy and revolution.

The one thing we learned from the turbulent 1960s is this: without a philosophy of revolution, near-revolutions abort. It is a fact that, because those near-revolutions had ended so disastrously, the New Left finally ended their Cohn-Bendit-like delusion that theory can be picked up "en route." A new, deeper look into Marx's philosophy of revolution was begun.

Thus, 1970, which was the 200th anniversary of Hegel's birth and 100th of Lenin's, saw a revival of both Marx and Hegel studies with conferences of each criss-crossing.<sup>1</sup> The flood of new studies, new editions, new translations that have followed that Hegeljahre (year of Hegel) extended into a full decade. It is still growing. Along with the Hegel studies, new studies of Marxian dialectics were published—though nowhere as comprehensive and serious as the Hegel studies.

**RUSSIA'S HOSTILITY TO INDEPENDENT MARXISM**

No doubt part of the reason for the gap in seriousness between the two types of studies is due to the Russian hostility to the claim of independent Marxists about the live and so-to-speak continuing relationship of the Marxian to the Hegelian dialectic. After all, beginning in the mid-1950s and continuing to this day, the East European workers have revolted against Russian totalitarianism. Furthermore, these revolts were accompanied ideologically by a challenge to the Communist perversion of Marx's Marxism to force it to fit into the procrustean bed of Russian state-capitalist ideology. In order to separate Marx's concept of revolution from the actual revolutions against their tyranny, these state-capitalist ideologues calling themselves Communist attributed Marx's Humanism to some idealist left-over from the "mystical" Hegelian "negation of the negation." That, too, couldn't stop the revolutionaries in East Europe from translating the Hegelian phrase, as had Marx, as "revolution in permanence."



Once those revolts from below placed Marx's Humanism on the historic stage of their age, there was no way to keep hidden that relationship of the Hegelian revolution in philosophy to Marx's philosophy of revolution.

Not all the blame for not developing this relationship of the Hegelian dialectics to the Marxian dialectics of liberation, however, can be blamed on the "Russians." The truth is that the heirs of Marx, so designated by Engels who had entrusted Marx's unpublished works (and his own) to the German Social Democracy, had entombed them, christened their own mechanical materialism as "Marxism"—an heirloom towards which one needs to bow, but not actualize as the transformation of reality by revolution.

It took nothing short of the outbreak of World War I and, with it, the collapse of the Second International,

with the German Social Democracy at its head as the main betrayer of the proletariat, before a single revolutionary Marxist — Lenin — felt a compulsion to probe into Marx's origins in Hegel.<sup>2</sup> It was first then that Lenin grasped the need to study the Hegelian dialectic not alone as "source" of the Marxian dialectic, but to be probed "in and for itself." Lenin's emphasis on "the dialectic proper, as a philosophic science"<sup>3</sup> separated him from all other post-Marx Marxists. It need hardly be stressed that the greatest practical revolutionary in the midst of the imperialist war was not studying Hegel for scholarly reasons.<sup>4</sup>

No, as Lenin expressed it, "without having thoroughly studied and understood the whole of the Science of Logic . . . it is impossible completely to understand Capital, especially the first chapter." And Lenin concluded that "none of the Marxists understood Marx!" And that too was not merely a question of scholarship. Had they understood the core of the dialectic — the "transformation into opposite," "the unity and struggle of opposites" — they would have understood the imperativeness of his slogan, "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war."

Unfortunately, Lenin had no followers on the question of Hegelian dialectic, though the followers, Stalinist and deStalinized, and Trotskyist, never stopped being the most orthodox elitists in following him on the vanguard party. But then vanguardism has nothing whatever to do either with dialectics or with revolutionary spontaneism. In my new work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, I go into detail on the whole question of post-Marx Marxists. All that concerns us here, however, in this 150th year since Hegel's death is, how, in the last decade of Marx's life, he clung tenaciously to the Hegelian dialectic and his indebtedness to it.

Specifically, what we wish here to call attention to is the fact that Marx, even after he published his greatest theoretic work, *Capital, Vol. I*, didn't depart from his indebtedness to Hegel, though he had discovered a whole new continent of thought and of revolution that, on the surface, seems to have nothing whatever to do with "idealism." Marx was working on the seemingly "purely" materialistic Volume II of *Capital*. In a paragraph that Engels had left out of Marx's manuscripts for Volume II here is what Marx wrote: "In a review of the first volume of *Capital*, Mr. Duhring notes that, in my zealous devotion to the schema of the Hegelian logic, I even discovered the Hegelian forms of the syllogism in the process of circulation.

"My relationship with Hegel is quite simple. I am a disciple of Hegel, and the presumptuous prattling of those epigones who believe they have buried this great thinker appear frankly ridiculous to me. Nevertheless, I took the liberty of adopting a critical attitude toward my master, to rid his dialectic of its mysticism and in this way to make it undergo a deep transformation, etc."<sup>5</sup>

Contrast this to the empty methodology of Roman Rosdolsky who, after his forced identification of the

1857-58 *Grundrisse* with the 1867-1875 *Capital*, concluded that one "no longer has to bite into the sour apple and 'thoroughly study the whole of Hegel's Logic' in order to understand Marx's *Capital* — one can arrive at the same end, directly, by studying the *Rough Draft*" (i.e., of *Capital*), which is Rosdolsky's title for the *Grundrisse*.<sup>6</sup>

**HEGEL'S DIALECTIC: SOURCE OF ALL DIALECTIC**

Naturally, Marx's reference to Hegel as "master" was not meant in any schoolboy sense. Even when the young Marx had considered himself a Left Hegelian and belonged to the Doctors' Club of the Young Hegelians, he was neither imitative nor arbitrary in his attitude to Hegel. Rather, as we saw from the time he worked on his doctoral thesis, he was approaching the threshold of his new continent of thought and revolution while seeing revolution lodged in the Hegelian dialectic. This is why the mature Marx kept repeating that Hegel's dialectic was the source "of all dialectic."

Instead of using the dialectic as if it were a tool to be "applied," Marx recreated it on the objective-subjective basis as it emerged out of the production relations of labor and capital, with labor as the "grave-digger." Clearly, the unifying whole of Marx's world view was the new Subject—the proletariat. The idea of history was not only as past but as that which live working men and women achieve in transforming reality, here and now—transforming themselves, as well, in the process of revolution into new, all-rounded individuals of a classless society. He would not let the Duhring treat Hegel as a "dead dog"; he wanted to confront them with the fact that the long, arduous, 2,500-year trek of human development that Hegel had dialectically traced was, indeed, the basis of the new developments in their day.

The revolutions Marx participated in in his day and those Marxist revolutionaries who have ever since followed, are proof enough of how far distant is Marx's new continent of thought and of revolution from Hegel's bourgeois world and its idealism. The fact, however, is that the Hegelian dialectic, rooted in history and the power of negativity, remained with Marx and gained ever new creativity, whether it was in the 1844 *Humanist Essays*, or the outright revolutions of 1848, or even as Marx returned to the Hegelian dialectic in the 1860s and 1870s after he worked out the economic laws of capitalism, discerning the "law of motion" of capitalism to its collapse while its absolute opposite — the "new passions and new forces"—worked to reconstruct society on totally new, human beginnings, like the Paris Commune.

(Continued on Page 10)

3 Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 277.

4 Ibid, p. 180.

5 Quoted by Rubel in *Karl Marx Oeuvres: Economie Vol. II*, p. 528.6 R. Rosdolsky, *The Making of Marx's 'Capital'*, p. 570.**Who We Are and What We Stand For**

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stand for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. *News & Letters* was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, is the editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

*News & Letters* was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as

Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "a new Humanism," as well as individuality "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead."

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

1 For a fairly comprehensive summation of a decade of Hegel studies see James Schmidt in a three article study, the first two of which have already been published in *Telos*, Winter, 1980-81, and *Summer*, 1981, entitled "Recent Hegel Literature, Parts I and II."2 Elsewhere I have developed this in full. See "The Collapse of the Second International and the Break in Lenin's Thought" in *Marxism and Freedom*, pp. 167-176; and "The Shock of Recognition and the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin" in *Philosophy and Revolution*.

## WILL THE UNTHINKABLE BECOME THINKABLE?

Here's a small contribution to N&L. I felt that it was the least I could do in view of Reagan and Haig's military madness. Each day I turn on the news expecting to find out that the U. S. government has launched a war in Central America, or the Middle East, or somewhere else. Brezhnev is no better—he is ready for war too.

It's not that I think N&L getting printed is going to stop war. But I guess what I feel is that someone has to be out there showing a view of how the world could be, of what is creative and human today . . .

Old friend  
Ann Arbor, Mich.

The unthinkable is rapidly becoming the thinkable in Washington. Do these policy-makers understand the consequences of the policies they propose? In a full-scale nuclear war as many as 140,000,000 Americans would die. More destructive power than in all of World War II would be unleashed every second for the brief hours it would take for the missiles to fall. And more people would be killed in the first few hours than in all the wars of history put together.

In March, 1980, more than 700 leading physicians, in an action organized by Physicians for Social Responsibility, signed an open letter to President Carter and Chairman Brezhnev on the medical effects of a nuclear holocaust. As the Reagan administration is now committed to the biggest arms buildup in history, we are compelled to renew this warning . . .

Your help is needed now for the continuation of our efforts to avert nuclear catastrophe.

Physicians for Social Responsibility  
P. O. Box 144, 23 Main St.  
Watertown, Mass. 02172

Can you believe what happened to that Soviet submarine off the Swedish coast? "Navigational errors", that caught my eye, I know from my own experience in the Navy that it's extremely difficult to get "lost" in those waters. (We were in Norway for a few weeks.) There are a lot of islands, and anyone with a chart could tell where they were . . .

It's possible that the equipment really did fail. But think — it could just as easily have been an American ship or sub which ran aground in Russia. Or a Russian vessel in U. S. territory. Except the consequences — how different they would have been! World War III, IV. . . In sailor jargon we call it "running amuck", in case you're interested.

Ex-Navy woman  
Kalamazoo, Michigan

An article in the Chicago Sun-Times recently entitled "Kent State Forgets—ROTC losing baby-killer image" really angered me. It stated that ROTC enrollment was way up at Kent State. Nationally, more than 92,000 U. S. students were in ROTC programs last year, up 73 percent from 1973. A ROTC officer at KSU said, "We were the bad guys in Nam, and I think the bad-guy image has worn off."

Last weekend Olga Domanski, National Organizer of News and Letters Committees, came here from Detroit to give a speech. She had also seen something in the paper that bothered her. A survey stated that two out of three Americans believe we'll be in a war in a few years. She said, "You can ask whether they have been Reagan-brainwashed already. Don't they realize the next war is not going to be 'just another war'?"

Yet here in Chicago, we are still arguing with Citizens Against Nuclear Power about opposing nuclear weapons. I don't understand how they can oppose nuclear power plants and not realize how that is inseparable from opposing H-bombs that could destroy not just a Three-Mile Island, but the world.

Rickie Rae  
Chicago

Here at Hunter College there was a series of anti-nuclear films shown free throughout several days, organized by students and faculty, and culminating in a program of speakers opposing both "civilian" nuclear power plants and the nuclear arms race.

In general, I thought the program, called "The Fire This Time?", was great. But I was disturbed by the speech of a professor of physics who obviously knows about nuclear power, but was confused about who would oppose it.

He "warned" the audience that high school graduates run our nuclear power plants, and high school drop-outs have their hands on the nuclear weapons. This is so, he said, because the government wants people, "who don't think". I thought of my sister who hasn't finished high school, but certainly knows how to think.

Hunter Student  
New York

Did Eugene Rostow (the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency) really say "Didn't Japan survive the nuclear attacks?" as an argument for "limited nuclear war"? If that is true (as you reported in Nov. N&L), it is surely one of the most disgusting, shameless statements ever made by U. S. imperialism. I was born during World War II. When I was growing up the two Japanese words we all knew were Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They filled me with horror that my country could have done such a thing. Secretly I felt that it was done only because the people of Japan weren't white. To say now that Japan "survived" is beyond belief, beyond shame.

Horrified  
New York

## U.S. LABOR FERMENT

It looks like Lane Kirkland is trying to get out of the shadow of his do-nothing predecessor, George Meany. Times are so hard that Kirkland is trying to look radical by calling Reagan "cold-hearted and hard-fisted". Is there anything behind Kirkland's "militant" speech attacking Reagan? Against so-called "free-enterprise" Reagan, is Kirkland posing schemes for nationalization of industries?

GM South Gate worker  
Los Angeles

I disagree with the way you presented your comments on the UAW and Blue Cross-Blue Shield workers (Nov. N&L). It appears that the UAW has indeed negotiated a poor contract. However, the workers voted to ratify it, so apparently they felt it was all they could get. Besides, it was their first contract. In these union-busting times, I see this as a victory, not a defeat, no matter how small the gains. . .

New reader  
Utah

On the morning T.V. they had five young white women telling how they have to take a cut in food stamps, and how their Medicaid was cut so badly that if any of their families had to go to the hospital it would be impossible for them to pay the bill.

That very evening Reagan is on TV and he comes on smiling and saying that if someone was sick and in a hospital it costs thousands upon thousands, but if they would be able to come home and have their family provide for them it would save the government money. I wonder about his family, would they have to go home before the doctor releases them because they couldn't afford to stay?

Many people do not realize what a fix Reagan has put poor people and working people in. You do not have to look back to Black Africa or India to find or see people with malnutrition from hunger.

Black Worker  
Detroit

# Readers' View



## WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND THE THIRD WORLD

I have been listening to the voices of Black women as they express their growing political consciousness. In particular, an article and letter in Spare Rib (a women's liberation journal here) gave me some basis for assessing the situation. The letter was from a Southall Black woman and illuminated the difficulty of the women's situation. They are faced with a majority of men in the community who, however "politically active" (against police repression, etc.) miraculously ignore their own blatant sexism.

The political-personal theory and practice of groups like the Asian Youth Movement has to be questioned long and hard when they do things like shutting the women behind closed doors in the July riots. The truly horrific nature of the situation hit home to me when the letter-writer reminded us that we are talking about a society that still practices arranged marriages . . . I'll be keeping my ear to the ground and see what happens with women's groups like Southall Black Sisters.

Jane Tomlinson  
London, England

I went to the national convention of the Reproductive Rights Network. More than 200 women came. But I was disappointed in the meeting. The slide show was long and didn't give a lot of information. It focused particularly on the forced sterilization in Puerto Rico and of American Indians.

There was also a lot of unquestioning "Third Worldism", as though that would help counter-act the racism in the Wo-

## MIDDLE EAST CONTRADICTIONS: BEFORE AND AFTER SADAT

I appreciated your analysis of the situation in the Middle East after Sadat's death, especially the integrality of the dimension of Women's Liberation. For a region so fraught with contradictions, only a clear vision of a genuinely classless society can point a pathway out of the innumerable false alternatives posing as "revolution." Why would we accept Reagan's ground that Qaddafi is his "opposite?" Have people learned nothing from Khomeini's counter-revolution in Iran?

Women's liberationist  
Michigan

The rogue's gallery of Sadat's mourners, from Nixon to Begin, was matched by dry eyes in impoverished Egypt, rejoicing in Beirut, and indifference in this observer. What was instructive were the preoccupations of the U.S. media with this autocrat who solved his problems by betraying the Palestinians and joining the U.S. Empire, and the grief felt by many Jews for this "man of peace" (sic) who had so frightened them with the surprise Yom Kippur War.

What Sadat had achieved after finding war fruitless was to shake an element in Zionist propaganda that had equated Arabs with Nazis. They were stunned to see an Arab who did not hate Jews, who broke bread (and maps) with them.

This reader will always remember Sadat instead by the cry of workers who streamed into the streets of Cairo one day in 1975: "Hero of the crossing, where is our breakfast?"

Lebanese-American  
California

men's Liberation Movement. For example, while pointing out how many Indian women had been sterilized, they made the point that it is particularly devastating to a people that places so much value on life and nature. Then as an example, they quote that one tribe supposedly had a saying that when you kill a man you kill one warrior, but when you kill a woman, you kill 10 potential warriors!

Women's liberationist  
Berkeley, Calif.

Why doesn't anyone seem to notice what is going on these days with the way Black youth are shown on TV? You would think every killer, rapist, and pickpocket was Black. No white youth are ever shown as criminals. They are trying to make women, Black and white, and especially older women, afraid of all Black youth. I feel that this hurts both the women (by scaring them into staying home), and the youth (who get picked up just for walking down the street). Isn't this a women's liberation issue? Or will it continue to be ignored?

Black working woman  
Detroit

## FROM A NEW COLLEGE STUDENT

This year at UCLA is a very new experience for me. The first thing that I noticed was the utter feeling of alienation of classes that have 350 other people in them. There is also such a deep separation of mental and manual. One person teaches, one corrects your papers, and another one answers your questions. There is absolutely no relationship between the professor and the students. I wonder how teaching can be enjoyable.

New college student  
Los Angeles

On my job at the university what was shocking was the level of discussion that followed Sadat's assassination. There just wasn't any critical thought at all. Everyone had more or less swallowed the U.S. government line that pictured him as a benevolent and beloved soul. There was never any thought given to internal conditions in Egypt. The news commentators seemed ever-bewildered that there was no mass outpouring of grief.

I think I know why. Did they close their eyes during the 1977 food riots and the current mass arrests?

Disgusted  
Berkeley, Calif.

The information in your Nov. lead on the shakiness of the Saudi Arabian rulers is important to know now that Reagan-Haig and company are off chasing the Saudi's "peace proposal." With Sadat out and Mubarak in, the U. S. is more worried than ever about the non-viability of the Camp David agreements. But the same shifting sand that that agreement was built on, is at the basis of Saudi society. In Saudi Arabia as in Egypt, and in all the Middle East, not excluding Israel, the masses are at odds with the rulers. Each country has its own contradictions, most especially of class, but including sex and national and religious minorities. It is those contradictions which none of the powers, super or small, can solve. In the end only the masses in revolutionary motion in each country can. But meanwhile the danger of war, especially in light of the U. S.'s militaristic foreign policy, is very real.

Worried  
Seattle, Wash.

## ANTI-ZIONISM OR ANTI-SEMITISM?

I commend N&L for having the best analysis of the situation in Iran of any leftist publication in the United States. I must, however, take exception to your article on the last page of the Nov. N&L which criticizes the position of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) concerning Iran.

As a former member of the SWP, I agree with your criticism of the SWP's analysis of Iran. Nevertheless, I take strong exception to your characterizing SWP writer David Frankel as an anti-Semite. Frankel is anti-Zionist, not anti-Semitic. By equating anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism, you have taken a dogmatic, if not right-wing stance, not to mention engaging in character assassination that does your tendency little credit.

Concerned  
Utah

I am sure you will get letters attacking Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry for calling the SWP's David Frankel an anti-Semite. I want you to know I think it's about time someone said it openly. Several years ago I heard a lecture by Frankel on the Middle East. He described the situation in Palestine in 1947-48 with lots of comments on "Zionist imperialism", in a period only two or three years removed from Auschwitz. Yet incredibly, he never once mentioned the fact that Palestine was suffering under British imperialism, much less that there was a struggle against British imperialism.

Everything Jewish was equated to Ben-Gurion's right-wing terror, as though no other tendencies existed in Israel then or now. You don't have to be Moslem or Christian background to be an anti-Semite, and repeating that it is "anti-Zionism" doesn't cleanse it of anti-Semitism.

Not a Zionist either  
New York

## BRITISH LABOR NEWS

Recent events at British Leyland have been complex. The Cowley (Oxford) plant was out on strike in a dispute over layoff pay, but returned to work when Edwards threatened mass sackings. Then there was a corporation-wide strike over wages, which began very militantly, with 2,000 pickets at Cowley the first day. However, it ended after about four days, and the only improvement over management's pre-strike offer of 3.8 percent was a guaranteed bonus of L7.50.

Most of the workers at Cowley voted to continue the strike, but they were outvoted by others. The main factor behind the return to work was the threat (exploited by both management and the union leaders) of Leyland going bankrupt. Now, however, there is another strike at the Longbridge plant in Birmingham.

Richard Bunting  
Oxford, England



The people of Vieques (Puerto Rico) have been struggling since 1941 against the occupation of their land by the U. S. Navy and conditions that are an extreme example of what Reagan's politics hold in store for us in this country. The Navy's use of the lands for air to ground, ship to shore bombing practices, amphibious assault exercises, and storing of bombs weighing up to 2,000 lbs. has had a devastating effect on their lives and society. The human rights of the Viequesenses were brutally violated in 1941 when they were driven off their lands by force.

One of the main purposes of Navy activities on Vieques is to develop and test

new armaments. Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Colombia and Brazil participate with the U. S. military practice sessions on Vieques, making it a training area for "counter-insurgency" operations. Active support for the people of Vieques struggling against the occupation of their island is growing. To give your support, contact:

New York Committee in support of  
Vieques  
P. O. Box 1017, NY, NY 10009

One item on the TV news last night made me proud of being a Latin American. I watched the students at the University of Brasilia throw eggs, tomatoes and rocks at Henry Kissinger when he spoke there. They heard that Kissinger was being paid \$15,000 for one lecture by a mass murderer while the school was claiming to be broke. I say it made me proud because they did what students here need to do about all the cuts in programs we are suffering. When they shouted, "We need food", they were telling the real truth about daily life in the world, a truth Kissinger and his friends try to cover up every day.

Latin American student  
California

## AS OUR READERS SEE US

Thanks for your response to my order. I am originally from Detroit and was active in the Black student movement at Wayne State and around issues like community control of education and police terror. . . . Since then I've become well read in CLR James' writings. In searching for the roots of those ideas, I became aware of Marxist-Humanism as a movement; a movement whose literature is hard to get. My feeling is that I've objectively been a Marxist-Humanist without having the subjective analysis and definition. I am very interested in the work of N&L and your ideas and notions of where we are and where we need to go. . . .

In the struggle  
Washington, D.C.

The general articles in N&L are very interesting. The one on Marx's French edition of *Capital* (Oct. N&L) was very good. It has started me off on a new path to study. It is logical that his writings should bring out new ideas. The general impression thrust upon us by so many writers that after, say, 1860, his ideas did not change much is all wrong.

Reader  
Victoria, Australia

Freedom and victory. Greetings to the Editor and staff of N&L. Your paper is very dynamic and can truly and easily be called a liberating force, a sea of freedom, a spring of consolation, a river of enlightenment to all enslaved and oppressed peoples. . . . A luta continua. On behalf of the Rastafari Brethren movements,

Ras Eli  
St. Kitts, West Indies

Received the Nov. N&L today. As an impoverished Black, thoroughly Communist prisoner in the U.S., and as a man starved for knowledge of the world, your paper is a welcome addition to my little domain. (We've been on strike here since Sept. 15, 1980.) I must admit I need clarification on the subject of Marxist-Humanism. Specifically, why is the term "Humanism" even necessary? Does not revolutionary scientific socialism aim for and embrace the highest humanistic principles? And if not, where is the principal area of failure?

Prisoner  
Marion, Illinois

DID YOU REMEMBER  
N & L IN YOUR  
HOLIDAY GIVING?

# EDITORIAL UAW at crossroads

The deep recession that is hanging over the country as the UAW begins negotiating for a new contract is being used both by management and the union leadership to keep the membership from engaging in any class struggle actions. The only question that seems to concern the labor bureaucracy is how great a loss can the workers be made to accept from management.

The main problem for auto workers is the entrenched labor bureaucrats who are incapable of reviving what was once the most militant union in the country from what they have converted it into — the instrument of class collaboration. More than 300,000 former auto workers will never again see the inside of an auto factory.

The union bureaucracy places the blame for the worst slump in auto history on Japanese imports. They seek through boycotts and by legislation to ban the imports. They do nothing to stop the closing of U.S. plants while the U.S. companies build auto plants abroad. Ford is closing its Flat Rock, Mich. engine plant while at the same time expanding its plant in Mexico.

The manufacturers complain about high labor costs in cars that they are now pricing at \$10,000 and up. Yet the cost of management, which is included in their labor costs, is never discussed. The Big Three have at least three more layers of management than the Japanese companies. The U.S. auto companies are run for the profit of their managers. High salaries, bonuses, stock options, etc. all add to the cost of the car. GM has three executives for every available post; if one falls dead, his assistant steps into the spot.

The majority of the troubles of the auto industry can be traced to capitalism in general and its auto management in particular. They are four years behind the Japanese in technology. They refused to recognize the oil shortage and continued to push large fashionable gas guzzlers. The yearly model changes consume vast capital outlays, reducing poor profits to staggering losses.

## SELL WORKERS THE PLANTS THAT SUCKED THEIR LABOR

As the demand for roller bearings in new cars evaporates, GM proposes to sell its Hyatt bearing plant to the UAW workers and have them take a 30 percent wage cut. Ford claims it can no longer operate an aluminum engine facility in Sheffield, Ala. and has asked for no less than a 50 percent wage cut from its workers with another counter-offer to sell them the plant. (See On the Line, p. 3). Ford has closed at least three major plants permanently, while hundreds of parts suppliers have closed their doors.

What is the UAW answer to widespread unemployment and union busting? Instead of learning from their own experience in first establishing their union by strikes, sit-downs, demonstrations, they are engaging in advertising, in conducting a nationwide campaign against the Japanese, ignoring the conditions of the Japanese auto workers.

As if conditions of the workers and the unemployment situation were not as bad under Carter, they are engaging in a campaign to elect Democrats as if they could achieve through legislation what they cannot achieve through negotiations and strikes. Their failure to achieve results through electing Democrats was highlighted recently when their favorite Senator in Michigan — Senator Riegle — voted for the Reagan budget cutting proposals which dug deep into all social welfare programs.

Far from consulting production line workers, the UAW leadership has selected the Madison Avenue firm of Sawyer & Associates to concoct an anti-Japanese restraint scheme so reactionary that it was rejected by the U.S. International Trade Commission. They are a part of a "brain trust" consisting of highpriced petty bourgeois consultants called "Future of the Auto Industry Committee," assembled by Doug Fraser, to study what the auto industry will look like in the next decade. Their real goal is to find methods of diverting the restless membership from the blows they will get in the next contract.

## UAW GIVEBACKS UNDERCUT NEXT CONTRACT

With a three-month supply of cars on the lots, the prospect of a successful strike is very remote. With the UAW leadership selling concessions in the workplace as they have just done at Ford plants in Livonia and Sterling Heights, Mich. in advance of the contract, prospects are dim.

Seats on the Boards of Directors for UAW leaders hardly equal workers' control of the industry. Neither do schemes for sharing the non-existent profits of the industry hold any allure for the unemployed auto worker.

The leadership is working hand-in-glove with auto management in a program of giving up past hard-won benefits under company threats to close the plants and take the jobs to foreign countries.

Re-called is not the only scabbing, union-busting, reactionary capitalist leader. The so-called liberal Democrats are on the same side of the class struggle—the enemy, the capitalist exploiters. Wasn't the recession here when Carter was the President? Unless the labor bureaucracy stops playing capitalist politics, and, instead engages in class struggle actions the UAW members will find themselves back in the open shop sweat shop Hoover era, except that now it is called Reaganomics. Resistance by an aroused UAW membership is the only way out of the capitalistic blows aimed at them.

Detroit readers, come celebrate with us—

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# An exchange of ideas on 'Ireland: Revolution and Theory'

*Editor's Note: Michael Connolly's Ireland: Revolution and Theory drew a lengthy response from the Irish activist Eibhlin Ni Sheidhir. Below we print brief excerpts from both. For full pamphlet, see ad below.*

## Michael Connolly

Ever since the death of Bobby Sands in May, after 66 days on hunger strike in the "H-Blocks" of Belfast's Long Kesh prison, a succession of outpourings have focused the attention of the world on the struggle for freedom in Northern Ireland.

In the light of the new questions now being raised for the Irish freedom movement, and for those in Britain and elsewhere who offer solidarity, let's take a look, however briefly, at "Ireland: Revolution and Theory" in three historic periods: (1) the Fenian movement of the 1860s and Karl Marx; (2) the Uprising of 1916-21—Connolly and Lenin; and (3) today's movement, from its origins in the Ulster civil rights protests of the late 1960s until today . . .

### THE FENIAN MOVEMENT AND KARL MARX

When Marx arrived in exile in Britain in the fall of 1849 as the counter-revolution in Germany intensified, Ireland was already more than three years into the famine. The whole of the country was wracked by starvation and exile in unprecedented numbers . . .

Again and again in the years leading to the publication of *Capital*, Marx returned to not only the question of the true nature of the depopulation of Ireland, but as well to the social forces unleashed by that depopulation . . .

In 200 years, Ireland had lost fully one-third of its people. That Marx chose to take up this precise question at the conclusion of his chapter in *Capital* on "The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation" sheds light on not only his intense interest in Ireland, but in the way Marx viewed all the "latest data" with an eye to subjects of revolution.

Thus Marx follows the waves of emigration to the USA, and the consequences for Irish laborers left behind. Far from being freed by emigration from the category of "relative surplus population," Marx shows, "wages are just as low; the oppression of the laborers had increased; misery is forcing the country toward a new crisis. The reasons are simple. The revolution in agriculture has kept pace with emigration. The production of a relative surplus population has more than kept pace with the absolute depopulation . . ."

"The accumulation of the Irish in America keeps pace with the accumulation of rents in Ireland. The Irishman, banished by the sheep and the ox, re-appears on the other side of the ocean as a Fenian . . ."

Even before Marx's conclusions on Ireland appeared in print, the British government launched a series of mass arrests calculated to destroy the Fenian movement. Prime Minister Gladstone refused to recognize political status for any of those arrested. Marx entered the struggle for their release, and castigated government spokesmen: "Those revolting swine boast of their English humanity because they do not treat their political prisoners any worse than murderers, footpads, forgers and sodomists."

And no sooner was *Capital* safely on the presses than the attention of all Britain and Ireland focused on four prisoners sentenced to death for an alleged attack on a prison van. Marx led the International Workingmen's Association (IWA) in an unsuccessful campaign to free them. After they were hung he wrote, "The political executions at Manchester remind us of the fate of John Brown at Harpers Ferry."

At the same time, Marx denounced the Fenian bombing of a wall around London's Clerkenwell prison, an act which killed 12 and wounded hundreds in a working class neighborhood, pointing out that it served only as an obstacle to British workers' support for Irish freedom. Indeed, throughout the period of the Fenian movement, Marx's support for Irish freedom was never equated to support for what he called the "empty conspiracies and small coups" to which Irish nationalism was prone.

Thus, Marx had to fight both within the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association

(IWA) against those tendencies who opposed the Irish movement on the grounds of an abstract formulation of "workers' unity" or as outright British chauvinists, as well as against those in the Irish movement who constantly hatched plots without ever involving the Irish masses. Marx refused to separate the struggle for Irish independence from the need for an "agrarian revolution" in Ireland.

By 1869, Marx's involvement in the ongoing Irish struggle, on the one hand, and his continuing research into everything from land-holding patterns to Irish workers' wages in England on the other, led him to write a "confidential circular" for the IWA . . . Here is how Marx summarized the new perspective in his famous letter to Meyer and Vogt:

"After occupying myself with the Irish question for many years I have come to the conclusion that the decisive blow against the English ruling classes (and it will be decisive for the workers movement all over the world) cannot be delivered in England, but only in Ireland . . . To hasten the social revolution in England is the foremost object of the IWA. The sole means of hastening it is to make Ireland independent . . ."

So began a new type of "campaign" by the International, both agitation in Britain and other countries for the release of Irish political prisoners, and the posing of a challenge within the Irish national movement to all elements that held back its development . . .

It is important to underline that Marx's perspective was not limited to the agitation within Britain and against the British government. No, the organizational ramifications that flowed from Marx's new analysis in the crucial years 1869-71 included the establishment and growth of branches of the IWA in Ireland—in Dublin, in Cork, and in several smaller cities.

For Marx what was crucial there was: (1) opposition to the lawyers and merchant politicians, with their rhetoric; (2) opposition to the priests, who had proven again and again their betrayal of the Irish freedom movement; and (3) support for the agricultural laboring class in their ferment for an agrarian revolution, including revolution against Irish native landlordism . . .

### TODAY'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE: 1968-72; 1972-81

Nineteen-sixty-eight marked the rebirth of a mass Irish freedom movement demanding "civil rights." That movement arose, not from the South, the Republic, but from within Northern Ireland's police state itself. In 1968 and 1969 civil rights organizations sprang up everywhere across the North in Belfast and Derry, in Armagh and Newry. The speed with which they grew and the spirit of "impudent confrontation" they developed stunned everyone, from the Unionist government of Northern Ireland through the police and the judges to the politicians of the "responsible" Catholic opposition. Even the organizers were constantly reporting that everything from housing actions to discussion groups on socialist ideas "organized themselves."

The spirit of independence, the fresh air of new ideas, that swept across Northern Ireland led the new civil rights activists to challenge all the conventional concepts of what kind of politics was possible in those six counties. They demanded abolition of the pervasive religious discrimination and segregation in housing, in jobs, and in treatment by state agencies. They devised new ways to bring together Protestant and Catholic workers in opposition to the entrenched Unionist political machine. In protests against slum housing quite a few Protestant families were willing to join demonstrations sponsored by organizations widely regarded as "Catholic," like the Derry Housing Action Committee . . .

From 1968-71 what characterized the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland was activity, and more activity. It was often very creative activity. But nowhere was the upsurge in the movement accompanied by a serious attempt to transcend in theory all the old, failed ideas of the Irish Left and the Irish nationalist organizations that the new generation of activists had rejected in practice.

Included among those old organizations which the civil rights movement activists criticized was the IRA. The fact is that at the start of the new activity in Northern Ireland in 1968 and 1969, the IRA was not involved. Many IRA leaders even scorned the new marches and demonstrations as attempts to "reform" Northern Ireland, insisting that only the abolition of the border be the focal point of the struggle.

What tested all the organizations in the Irish movement, whether old or new, was the introduction of the hated policy of internment without trial by the British on Aug. 9, 1971. Immediately, Northern Ireland erupted in near-civil war, blocking off whole sections of the cities of Belfast and Derry, under the slogan: "Man your barricade; don't let them take any more." . . . In Derry, where the struggle reached its highest point, fully half the population lived in an area they proudly called "Free Derry," off-limits to the British army. Not even the British army's slaughter of 13 marchers in

Derry on "Bloody Sunday," Jan. 30, 1972, could stop the mass resistance and self-organization.

The ground for the ultimate destruction of Free Derry and other "no go" areas, however, was laid by the policies of the IRA provisionals, who followed Bloody Sunday with a campaign of random anti-people bomb attacks in the downtowns and the Protestant areas of Northern Ireland's cities. The resulting mood of disgust and revulsion, not alone among the British population, but as well among the Republican masses in the North, created the climate that allowed the British army to bulldoze the barricades of Free Derry and re-assert their control. In the process, the IRA bombing campaign ended, at least temporarily, all prospects for Protestant/Catholic working class organization, all prospects for a movement for a socialist Ireland against religious sectarianism. In short, many of the new openings created by the civil rights movement 1968-72 were suddenly closed . . .

What then began was a period of nine long years, 1972-81 in which the whole of the Irish freedom struggle became subsumed under the guerrilla campaign . . . As for women's liberation, under the IRA, it became reduced from women as independent thinkers questioning the direction of the movement and pointing the way to a fuller uprooting, to women as "national heroines," as prisoners at Armagh.

Today's generation of youth activists have, in the last months, developed a new mass movement in Ireland, not through the continuing military engagement with the British army, but through the campaign to gain political status for Republican prisoners in Long Kesh's "H-Blocks" and in Armagh. The hunger strike,



H-Block protest in Dublin.

on the one hand, and the vicious anti-human policies of Margaret Thatcher on the other, have mobilized hundreds of thousands in Ireland, North and South.

They in turn have posed far deeper questions for the freedom movement than political status for the prisoners alone, questions that do not stop either at a refusal to accept the border British imperialism created. Instead, within the massive crowds that have been seen at the funerals of each of the hunger strikers, within the ranks of the unemployed or underpaid workers in the Republic, voices are being raised for a total change in society, for a revolutionary transformation on both sides of the border . . .

## Eibhlin Ni Sheidhir

In Ireland there is virtually no theoretical Left tradition as in other European countries, possibly because the existence of an independent state—even a neo-colonial one—is relatively very recent. Also the independence struggle which has lasted through centuries of setbacks has relied on a basic resilience provided by a strong traditional rural conservative, Catholic Church-dominated culture.

The church element continues to be powerful because, as in Poland, it is a vehicle by which people have always expressed their nationalism. Due to this, the traditional opposition of the Catholic Church to Marxism, and indeed at one stage all "socialism," has had its effect on the lack of development of a left with a more theoretical basis than, say, trade unions and more progressive nationalist elements . . .

Marx is only read by a few very tiny groups based in Dublin/Belfast mostly and is completely unknown to the vast majority of people. Even those interested in historical perspectives of nationalism/republicanism would for the most part not see any relevance or know much about his writing on this.

Things are beginning to change, but slowly, and mostly among frontline young activists of the Republican Movement . . .

Most of my criticisms are of parts of the section on the present situation which does contain some inaccuracies, mostly in not taking account of changes of political direction within the Republican Movement (Continued on Page 9)

### IRELAND: REVOLUTION AND THEORY

by Michael Connolly

- I. New Wave of Revolt, New Questions for Irish Freedom Movement
- II. The Fenian Movement and Karl Marx
- III. Connolly, Lenin and the Irish Uprising of 1916-21
- IV. Today's Irish Freedom Struggle: 1968-72; 1972-81

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# Nicaraguan women's cooperative: 'Beyond the four walls'

*Editor's Note: The following interview with women of the Pre-Cooperative Nueva Nicaragua was obtained by Anne Molly Jackson on her recent trip to Latin America.*

Managua, Nicaragua — We started this cooperative six months ago. We were organized in AMNLAE (Asociación de Mujeres Nicaraguenses Luisa Amanda Espinoza, the Sandinista women's organization) and we decided to do something. First we thought of a child care center, but for help the priority goes to the poorest neighborhoods. So we thought of a sewing cooperative. It is AMNLAE's first one.

We had no money so we raised a little by cooking the typical Nicaraguan dish and forming committees to sell it. After we collected 4,000 cordobas we started to buy material and thread. Each woman sewed at home on her own machine and often gave the cloth, all without earning any money.

When we had a certain amount of clothes we were able to get this building, only at the time it had no windows — it had been sacked in the war. So we had to bring the clothes here in the morning and take them home again at night. But we were well received in the neighborhood and started to sell our clothes, and with the first money we made we bought windows.

## A COOPERATIVE DECISION

We began with five women; now we are 12. Everything is done cooperatively. We meet together and decide, for example, the style we're going to make this week. Two women do the buying, others do the designing, one is in charge of bookkeeping, one is in charge of production, one is secretary, one watches the quality control of the clothes. In a cooperative a decision is not made by one person, but by all. It's a way of having work for the compañeras with decent pay; it's something very big.

We decided to work eight hours a day, from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. This allows us to organize our households in the morning, to make breakfast and leave the house somewhat in order. We don't have to spend time or money on transportation. We have time in the evenings — right now we are in the anti-malaria campaign. Every two weeks we have a meeting to discuss the future of the country.

We try to sell the clothes directly to people so the working woman can buy them at low prices. We have gotten some advice from the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Small Industry. In the beginning we got some work making uniforms. Workers in some of the ministries have formed food co-ops to buy more cheaply, and we have been allowed to sell clothing there. We

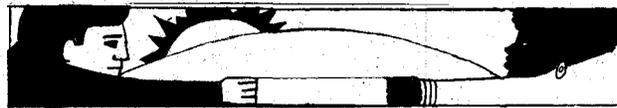
refuse to sell to retailers in the commercial centers who would triple the price they paid us. In December we are going to participate in a fair called La Pina of small industries and artisans' crafts.

## BEYOND THE FOUR WALLS

The problem used to be getting the woman out of the house. The customs we have in these countries are that the man keeps the woman in the home, the woman sees nothing beyond the four walls of her house, always washing, ironing, caring for children. With the revolution we have achieved great things. The participation of the women is enormous now.

We still have problems with some of the husbands, yes. We have to educate them. Other women have no problems because their husbands are also organized and are working for the revolution, so they understand. The men have changed a lot, but many remain to be changed. We see one of the tasks in our organization is to change men and the education of our children. When children are small it used to be the "mujercita" (little woman) that helped the mother clean and care for the other children, not the father or boys. Now we know it has to be done in a cooperative form, that the husband cooperates as well, and the boys equally with the girls.

We are fighting to get out of the marginal area in



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which women used to live. Before a woman could only be a secretary or garment worker or nurse, something like that. If there was not enough money in the home to educate all the children, the boys were favored over the girls. The male studied while you prepared for nothing but housework.

We plan some day to have a child care center; there are a number of them here in Managua. It's only two years since the revolution; we are going to have to sacrifice so our children can benefit. We would like to start a child care center and a dining hall. The idea is that the woman can leave the home in peace and participate in production and in all the tasks of the revolution.

Before the revolution we had no interest in politics or getting involved in such things, but we reached a moment in which the people saw the need to organize themselves to fight against the dictatorship. The participation of women was massive. Here, it is the women and the young who made the revolution.

Before, many of the women could not read a newspaper. Now they have educated themselves and read the papers every day, because we have to be up on what is happening here and in the world. Most went through primary school but are just going to secondary school now, at night. That's what the revolution wants too, that the woman raise her cultural level.

We are making a library right here in the shop. We've been collecting books from home and from what people give us. It's for ourselves and for the neighborhood. We are going to take a free day and visit all the embassies, asking them to give us books. Because the compañeras are also interested in the struggles of other countries as well.

## Puerto Rican student movement

New York, N.Y.—The following letter is to correct a few errors or misconceptions about the student movement at the University of Puerto Rico printed in News & Letters, November, 1981 . . .

Informing the readers about the recent repressive actions taken by the University of Puerto Rico administration against the striking students, News & Letters states: "For the first time in history, police have been brought onto the campus . . ." This historical information is by all means incorrect. This is not the first time that the police have been brought onto the campus. And of course, given the contradictions of colonialism in Puerto Rico, we can assume that it would not be the last.

Historically, the police have been brought onto the campus on more than enough occasions to suppress the students—in 1948, in 1968, in 1969, and in 1971 the police were called to maintain the so-called law and order of the University. Some of these confrontations have ended in various casualties. Students as well as policemen have paid with their lives.

At the end of the article, News & Letters states: "At first the student groups were just chapters of political parties, but then they changed to independent positions . . ." For the readers who do not know the historical development of the Puerto Rican student movement this can be a very misleading statement.

To understand the present relationship of the student groups to the political parties, one must study the historical development of the student movement and the movement for liberation. But even a simple historical analysis indicates that the development of some of the present parties and the transformation of others came after, and not before, the realization of a student movement. Students groups such as the F.U.P.I. (University Federation of Pro-Independence) developed independently from all political parties. . . .

The reality is that there has always been a constant struggle among the students to maintain their independent position. But, of course, faced with the need to integrate their struggle with the over-all national and working class movement the students have been forced to go beyond the boundaries of the university. Therefore, it is in the ways used to satisfy this need, of going beyond the boundaries of the university, that one can see how the relationship of the student groups to the political parties developed.

True, there are student groups that owe their formation and development to specific political parties. But as a whole, the movement for liberation (and many political organizations) owe a lot to a continuous student movement. After all, it is from the student movement that the political parties recruit some of their cadres. Thus, one finds in the political parties a great number of people who politically developed in the student movement. Some of these former students have become leaders of the parties or organizations that they have chosen to work with.

—Jose E. Figueroa

## Ireland: revolution and theory—an exchange

(Continued from Page 8)

(IRA and its political wing, Sinn Fein), over the past six to eight years, and your swallowing of some British propaganda on the bombing campaign. . . .

Your comment that the IRA accepts the "ground of British imperialism, in narrowing the issue to the border" was probably true in the 1950s, possibly even during the 1960s; though even then detailed social policies were being worked out by the Republican Movement, and by the late '70s and early '80s has become completely untrue. The present generation of (Northern) Irish Republican soldiers are very committed to radical social change. . . .

A personal friend of mine involved in the Republican Movement in the Six Counties told me once that it would not be worth it to risk one's life, etc., merely for national independence per se without socialist revolution. If the movement were as you describe it, this person would simply not be in it. I would suggest that one would receive the same comment from front line people generally. . . .

More or less the same comment applies to IRA attitudes to the women's movement. It is not true to say that the latter has been "reduced" from any advanced stage. There has been no regression. The women's movement as understood in modern society has never been strong in Ireland. Though for at least the past 200 years of the struggle there have always been several strong individual women who have insisted on an equal place, and have met with far more progressive attitudes from men within the Republican Movement than men not so involved. (This remains true today. One must remember the generally very conservative attitudes existing in Ireland when making judgments of this sort.) However the patronizing attitudes you allude to which are derived from society as a whole are giving way to genuine acceptance of women as independent thinkers; and the Republican Movement is one of the areas where a lot of progress has been made.

The other major criticism is the reason you give for the destruction of free Derry and free Belfast in

1972. I have asked people who lived in the areas at the time. Such people can be critical of the IRA, but seldom opposed to the bombing campaign. It is people living outside the immediate situation who mention it most. This is because if there is bombing it is directly against commercial premises in city centers, for the purpose of economic pressure on the British establishment. . . .

Criticisms can, of course, be made of the IRA campaign. For instance, the fact that there are many part-time members of the Northern Ireland security forces who are local people from the Loyalist (Protestant) community means that their killing by the IRA, though not sectarian in intent, can have the effect of increasing division between the communities and thus playing into the hands of British imperialism.

People living in the free Derry and free Belfast areas give as the main reason for the collapse of these in 1972 that the IRA tended to try to impose its control over these to the exclusion of encouraging broad local initiative to organize itself. At that time IRA members and leadership were far less politically aware than now and maybe it would be different now. . . .

I do feel that the Republican Movement does need to develop further as a political rather than military-dominated instrument of change. Hence the great importance of H-Blocks campaign where wider support from youth, women's groups, trade unionists and people in the arts as well as activists from smaller but more essentially "political" groups has led to a useful cross-fertilization of ideas, ideals and strategy and the beginnings of a broad-front/mass movement approach. . . .

It seems to me that, regrettably, short of a real political upheaval in Britain, a continued guerrilla campaign with its attendant problems and disadvantages, not to mention incredible hardship sustained by the nationalist working class in Northern Ireland, is the only way to keep pressure at a sufficient level to make Britain move. However, it goes without saying that it is equally essential to build the strongest possible socialist and republican mass-political movement in Ireland here and now.

# BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

In the San Francisco area last month, two well-attended campus meetings were held around the issue of Third World revolutions as they battle the current political and economic threats from world imperialism.

At San Francisco State University, Michael Manley, the former prime minister of Jamaica, spoke on the subject of "Destabilization, the World Bankers and Hard Choices for Third World Economies." At UC Berkeley, Fernando H. Cardoso, a visiting Brazilian professor, and Saeed Kadivar, a visiting Iranian scholar, spoke on "Dependent Development."

Though these speakers were of different races and are separated in their origins by great geographical distance, they all presented, in various ways, a "theory of self-limiting revolutions" under the guise of confronting rationally the realities of world imperialism. None of the speakers came near to seeing the need for transforming the capitalist system of production, both in their home countries and in the imperial countries, before imperialism would cease to exist.

Manley opened his talk by tracing the history of imperialism from the 17th century to the present, without once mentioning the class category of slavery upon which the edifice of imperialism was built. He concluded that imperialism, both historical and modern, was nothing more than the fact that Third World countries are forced to "produce what somebody else wants and nothing is produced to satisfy home needs."

Upon this simplistic, one-sided definition of imperialism, expressed in terms of inequality in the production of commodities for the world market, Manley moved to the position that structural changes can be made in the World Bank and in the International Monetary Fund so that the Third World can realize its productive capabilities by giving them "a productive capacity." Manley went on to say that "the only body that you can turn to is the International Monetary Fund—you get it or you die." And the only way to avoid the abuses of this Fund is to restructure world economy under "independent management."

This back door capitulation to imperialism, which stems from the fact Manley and his party adhere to a capitalist production relationship in Jamaica, went unchallenged by those that managed to get the floor during the question period. The center of the discussion was focused only on the "dirty tricks" that imperialism uses to destabilize Third World economies, without relating these dirty tricks to the dominance of the world market upon which the bourgeois class and states of the Third World are dependent.

At Berkeley, Cardoso and Kadivar gave a "class analysis" of Third World "dependent development" by analyzing the "marginal" or lumpen bourgeois classes that imperialism has given birth to in the Third World, while completely ignoring the revolutionary forces in their own country. There is no doubt that Cardoso has all the facts about economic dependency, the vast gap between the production of capital goods and consumer goods in Brazil, and how the state is the prime partner of the multinational corporations. But he fails to develop a theory of revolutionary praxis from all of these facts, because he does not take seriously the forces of revolution in Brazil.

He ignores the working class and reduces the

# Third World revolutions

women's movement to "a middle class movement" that is concerned with abortion and housework. And the Blacks in Brazil — though they represent one-third of the population and are severely exploited—are, in Cardoso's opinion, "politically not an important issue." "When you speak about Blacks," Cardoso said, "you fall into an open space."

Kadivar, like Cardoso, is addicted to analyzing bourgeois class formations. He goes to great lengths to refute Mao's "three class formation" by reading from a book by Bijan Jazani to show that Iran has a "four class formation." The conclusion of all of this tediousness is the discovery that the "principal contradiction in Iran is between the national liberation movement and imperialism."

When an objection was raised from the floor that there were indeed other very real contradictions within the Iranian revolution, such as the contradiction between capital and labor, between women's liberation and the reactionary mullahs, and between the national minorities and the Khomeini Islamic State, both Cardoso and Kadivar denounced the objecter with the epithet of being a "super revolutionary" who would accomplish nothing.

All of this theorizing comes to naught. None of these gentlemen wants to wage a genuine struggle against imperialism. This would mean that they would have to oppose in a revolutionary way the exploitative classes and rulers in their own countries.

# THEORY / PRACTICE

(Continued from Page 5)

That is the significance of the 1870 footnote in the manuscripts for Volume II of Capital on which Marx worked in 1870-78 but had to leave unpublished. That volume has become the one most debated to this day. Is it too much to expect the post-Marx Marxists of our era, in this, the 150th year since Hegel's death, to recreate the Hegelian dialectic in the manner of Marx? After all, it is not the death of Hegel we are celebrating, but his philosophy. And it is a fact that the year before his death (1830), Hegel was still adding three final syllogisms to his *Philosophy of Mind*. It is these that point to the fact that, not just the "method," but the "system" itself, is a process, an incessant becoming which the revolutionary materialist and founder of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution — Karl Marx — judged to be the socialist goal: "the absolute movement of becoming."

<sup>7</sup> Elsewhere I have developed this statement of Marx from the *Grundrisse* (1857), in the context of the struggles of the 1870s. See especially Ch. I of *Philosophy and Revolution*, and my paper, "Absolute Idea As New Beginning", to the Hegel Society of America, included in *Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy* (Humanities Press).

## Read about the Hegelian-Marxist Dialectic in PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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# WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

When they could not buy Carthan, the clique set out to destroy him, trying to impeach him, threatening him and his family and supporters. In the summer of 1979 they had City Hall locked for eight weeks and put a known Klansman at the door with orders to shoot anyone who tried to enter. They forced Blacks holding city jobs to resign and hired whites in their place at higher pay. They rehired the old white police chief and gave him \$3,400 in back pay. They lowered Carthan's salary from \$600 to \$60 a month, refused to pay his phone bill and had the phone removed from the Mayor's office.

They forced a confrontation with the mayor by illegally appointing another police chief. When Mayor Carthan had this man disarmed and arrested, he and six others were charged and then convicted of assault. Carthan now faces three years in prison.

You read about such a case and then you see Reagan saying the Voting Rights Act must be changed so that you have to show intent to discriminate. I do not see what he means by intent. There is always intent. Sure they can say before a judge there was no intent. So now you have to absolutely prove it. You can see how tricky Reagan is with words.

A second article I read reported on recent elections all over the South in which most Blacks lost. In Greensboro, N.C. white reactionaries defeated Blacks. The same thing happened in Birmingham, Ala. where voters elected four whites and one Black to the city council, giving whites seven out of nine posts in a mostly Black city.

## WHERE IS UNCLE SAM?

As one Black writer put it, I am wondering where is Uncle Sam, who in time of war, points and says I need you, and who is also sworn to protect your individual rights. But he never seems to have anything to say about these racist and KKK elements who are destroying everything Blacks are doing for their rights.

And a third article was analyzing the redistricting plans now underway and saying that in the deep South Blacks were going to be bitterly disappointed if they thought they would make any gains.

Many Blacks in the South have said that reapportionment dealt them fewer legislative seats than they should control by percentage of the population. It seems that white legislators in the South who are hostile to Black voters have learned their constitutional law well and are creating districts which keep Black political strength at a minimum while staying within the "law".

Look at the facts: Arkansas has 35 legislators and only 1 is Black, but 16 percent of the population is Black. Georgia has 2 Black state senators out of 56 with 26 percent Black population. The figures are the same or worse for Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Florida.

And all these states are the ones that Reagan is saying should be eliminated from the Voting Rights Act unless you can prove they intended to discriminate. Don't the figures speak loud enough?

Soon after Reagan was elected he said that he was going to change the government back to where it was before President Roosevelt. Some of us are convinced that he meant he wanted to change it back to the days when no one had anything for themselves.

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## YOUTH

by Jim Mills

Iran leads all other countries this year in the number of people executed, sent before firing squads of the Islamic Republican Party. In recent months, more and more victims of the summary executions have been teenagers and younger children. But the return to employing the death penalty in the U.S. and a certain case now before the Supreme Court compel many to ask if the U.S. is any more civilized.

Last month, the Supreme Court heard arguments in a case whose outcome would determine whether people who commit capital crimes and who are under 18 will be executed. They will decide the case of Monty Eddings, a runaway who, at 16, killed an Oklahoma highway patrolman. He was sentenced to die.

State after state — there are 38 at the moment — is rewriting its laws to resume executing prisoners. There are over 800 on death row nationwide, with three quarters in the Southern states. The death row population exposes a far greater truth than whether capital punishment deters "crime." It is that 40 percent of the prisoners awaiting execution are Black.

Weighing the reasons for making the age of 18 a condition for capital punishment reveals that the establishment somewhat recognizes that youth are not responsible for the world they are entering. By merely judging what is the "correct" age of responsibility, the justices bow to the truth that murderers live and learn in a society that murders.

### POLICE FIRING SQUADS

And for our society, the death penalty has never gone away. It has always been used against young people, principally minorities — by police who act as judge, jury and executioner. In Milwaukee, mass protests have demanded justice for Ernest Lacey, 22, who was suffocated by officers on a city sidewalk. In Ypsilanti, Mich. high school students sat down on the city hall lawn to protest the police murder of a classmate, Michael O'Neill, who was shot at a stoplight after arguing with a cop.

Justice Thurgood Marshall was not so far from reality when, to counter Justice William Rehnquist who said executing Monty Eddings would be cheaper than incarcerating him, he responded, "It would have been cheaper to just shoot him right after he was arrested." The truth is that police are responsible for four to seven percent of all homicides. And for every white person killed by the police, 22 Black people are killed.

Whether carried out by state governors or by local police, the upsurge of executions in America is symbolized by the pending federal death penalty bill, S 114

## Protest fee hikes at UCLA

Los Angeles, Cal. — UCLA's Nov. 11 teach-in on "Preventing Nuclear War" got an unexpected response from students when over 1,000 interrupted the teach-in to demand an end to college cutbacks and a scheduled increase in student fees of \$100 a quarter. As Gov. Jerry Brown, the architect of these latest rounds of cuts rose to speak at the teach-in, the demonstrators forced their way into the meeting, shouting "No Cuts, No Way!"

Brown was forced to put aside his prepared speech and address the "budget issue" because of the sheer force of the demonstrating students, who subsequently greeted his "explanation" on why the budget had to be cut with catcalls and boos. Brown's "conciliatory gesture" in agreeing to meet with a committee of students afterwards to discuss the issue, however, was clearly hypocritical; campus security earlier had barred the demonstrators from entering the teach-in. They got in only by slipping in through a side door.

Many of the students said they came with no intention of disrupting the teach-in, only that they wanted to bring live issues that mattered to them on campus to the attention of the anti-nuclear movement. "I was coming anyway" one student said, "so I decided to stop off at the demonstration along the way."

The teach-in itself was marked by panel after panel presenting the horrors of nuclear war in the most statistical, inhuman, and boring fashion imaginable. More than one speaker at the teach-in spoke of how the anti-nuclear movement needed to "remain pure" from contact with other issues and freedom struggles, as if the struggle against nuclear war couldn't use some of that spirit of opposition and mass protest manifested by the protesting students.

It is the reason displayed in these youth who did not want to separate anti-nuclear agitation from opposition to the concrete attacks on our lives and minds at home, that points a way forward for anti-nuclear struggles everywhere.

—Peter Wermuth

## A society that thirsts to kill its young

The link to racism at each level of government makes this clear. Sen. Strom Thurmond, S.C., is championing S 114. Thurmond himself was a hanging judge in South Carolina in the 1940s. He ordered the electrocution of four people, three of whom were Black, including one who was 17. The youth was convicted of murdering his employer who had come after him with a .32 caliber pistol. Later, Thurmond, as governor of South Carolina, sent 21 men to the electric chair. All were Black.

S 114 will designate espionage and treason as capital crimes, as well as certain crimes committed on federal property. Framing revolutionaries for treason and crushing military mutinies can be seen as objectives of S 114.

## Youth in Revolt



In immediate response to Reagan's attempt to defuse the opposition to nuclear arms by his "disarmament plan" beamed to Europe, over 300,000 marched in Amsterdam on Nov. 21 (above). This was the largest demonstration in Europe since the end of World War II, and it continued massive and genuinely international protests, led by youth, against the dangerous war plans of the Reagan administration as well as Brezhnev's war preparations:

- Spain—500,000 march against affiliation to NATO on Oct. 24, making clear their opposition to Russian militarism as well.
- Germany—Over 200,000 march in the West Oct. 10 against nuclear weapons, while East German Church groups and dissidents make a stand in favor of Russian disarmament.
- Italy—Over 100,000 march against Reagan's new missiles in Rome Oct. 24, stunning the established Left parties whose "job" it is in postwar Italy to control and channel such movements.
- France—Despite heavy pressure from the new Mitterrand government to boycott it, and the fact that France has its very own nuclear weapons and is not in NATO, 50,000 march in Paris Oct. 24 against nuclear weapons.
- Sweden—Over the last year, a massive peace movement has grown, led by women's groups and opposed to both superpowers.
- Britain—On Oct. 24, 250,000 march once again in London to protest nuclear weapons.

## Demonstrators confront Reagan's henchmen

San Francisco, Cal. — On Oct. 27 about 500 people demonstrated against the appearance of Edwin Meese at the Hastings College of Law. Many groups participated in this event opposing cuts in legal aid and other of Reagan's policies. They included Gray Panthers, ACLU, El Salvador support group, Native Americans and PATCO strikers in addition to the Hastings students.

The speakers all agreed on what we are facing, the rise in militarism at the expense of social programs, yet there was very little direction for where to go other than asserting the "need to unite and organize." The one speaker who debated pacifism, saying it's not enough, was loudly applauded but the discussion ended there.

What was evident to this participant was how easy it is to spend all of one's energy on anti-Reaganism. Every person who came was already protesting against Reagan and Meese. There was no need to insult us by endlessly repeating how terrible the objective situation is. Yes, the objective situation is terrible, but if you stop at saying that we protest it, without actively working out an alternative, where are you going?

Opposition to Reagan needs a new banner of the total opposite, the totally new human relations that remain to be worked out.

—Marxist-Humanist participant

For now though, the bill is the signal for proceeding with the "usual" state murders.

### STATE'S DEFENDER—THE HANGMAN

The opportunist politicians who back capital punishment more likely want to control society than crime. Plenty of studies show that executions do not deter crime. Most recently, researchers William Bowers and Glen Pierce demonstrated that the murder rate rose in the U.S. in the months after each of its executions.

This effect has been known for a long time. Marx reported the same results of a similar survey in 1853. Against the idea that a person would be responsible for his or her own hanging, he maintained, "Is it not a delusion to substitute for the individual with his real motives with multifarious social circumstances pressing upon him, the abstraction of 'free will' — one of the many qualities of man for man himself!"

Against the government that would reach into the teenage population to fill death rows, I would only add what else Marx said: "Plainly speaking, and dispensing with all paraphrases, punishment is nothing but a means of society to defend itself against the infraction of its vital conditions, whatever be their character. Now what a state of society is that, which knows of no better instrument for its own defense than the hangman, and which proclaims through the leading journal of the world its own brutality as eternal law?"

## Cal State expels Iranians

Editor's Note: Below we print excerpts from a leaflet distributed by Cal State News & Letters on the Los Angeles campus defending 52 foreign students expelled for inability to pay their tuition on time.

In expelling these students who could not pay their fees, most will lose their legal permit to stay here, many will be deported to their native lands, and some will face political persecution or even execution upon arriving home. We must oppose this callous move of the administration to risk student lives for the sake of university profits!

Most of the 52 involved are Iranian. The ruling Islamic regime there has decided that only those students who agree to the letter with the government's policies can get money out of Iran. Religious minorities like Jews and Bahai's or political dissidents are prevented from being sent money from Iran. This is why these students can't meet the fee deadline.

Let us remember that the Khomeini regime has executed some 2,000 in recent months, most of them students and youth who demanded that a new, human society follow the revolution against the Shah. Here at CSLA, pro-Khomeini students (often with aid and encouragement from Iranian government agents) have beaten up anti-Khomeini students and given names of dissenters to their government. And recently four Iranian students expelled from West Germany were executed by the authorities upon arriving in Tehran airport.

We American students have a stake in aiding the foreign students, for the way ruling authorities will treat the majority tomorrow is always measured by how they treat the minority today. We will all be forced to pay an additional \$46 in fees next quarter: what will happen to those of us here who can't afford to pay?

Cambridge, Mass. — On October 30, over 2,000 demonstrators gathered at Massachusetts Institute of Technology to protest a visit by George Bush. Bush was there to give a speech restricted to a group of wealthy alumni each of whom had contributed in excess of \$2,500. The demonstration was sponsored by the M.I.T. Committee on Central America and the Anti-War Organizing League.

Demonstrators came from all over Boston and M.I.T. itself to protest many facets of Reagan policy, including U.S. intervention in El Salvador, Reagan's opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, the administration's economic policies, draft registration, and the arms race. All but the last of these issues seem to have escaped Mr. Bush's attention; his speech centered on proposed U.S. deployment of theater nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

He called the protestors well-intentioned young men and women who unfortunately had succumbed to Soviet propaganda. From what I saw, the demonstrators were certainly not all young, and many were very well informed in their areas of concern. The Reagan administration will have to learn not to dismiss the majority of Americans, as tools of Soviet propaganda and recognize that concern for human beings is not anachronistic.

—M.I.T. undergraduate

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

# Will Britain's anti-nuke movement go beyond single issue politics?

We received the following report from a correspondent in Britain:

Before getting anywhere near the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament rally in London on Oct. 24, you could tell it was going to be enormous. The trains on the London Underground were packed tight with people wearing badges such as "Send Thatcher on a Cruise" and "Together we can stop the bomb." An estimated quarter of a million people took part in the biggest demonstration in Britain for decades and the greatest protest against the nuclear war threat this country has ever seen.

What is yet to be resolved is whether the movement can break out of the narrow channels laid down for it by single issue campaigners and Labour Party politicians and aim itself towards a new human society as the true alternative to capitalism's arms race.

Among the forest of banners from local anti-war groups, trade union banners were relatively few and far between. The proportion of Black and Asian people in the crowd was extremely low. Vital links with the workers' movement and the racial minorities remain to be made.

The failure to connect opposition to Trident and Cruise missiles with a demand for withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland was utterly scandalous. Indeed, one of the main speakers was Labour leader Michael Foot, who fully supported Thatcher's hard line against the Long Kesh hunger strikers. How is it that such a man can speak from an anti-war platform, and moreover get applause? Aren't the H-blocks as much part of British militarism as the H-bomb?

The appearance of Tony Benn, the messiah of the Labour left, aroused great enthusiasm, indicating an altogether unhealthy tendency towards leader-worship, overlooking the fact that as Minister for Energy he was responsible for importing uranium from South African-ruled Namibia. There were not enough new voices from working men and women, or from youth, and too many old voices from the former Labour government.

Of the speeches I heard, the best was by Ann Pettitt, of the Women for Life on Earth group, who described how this group of about 40 women, with a few men and some children, had marched from Cardiff to the planned Cruise missile base at Greenham Common

in Berkshire, where they have set up a "peace camp" at the gates. She stressed that only mass activity could head off the drive to nuclear catastrophe, and that it was no use relying on leaders. She spoke of the "crazy joy" they had shared on the march, and of their "utter determination" to end the "winter of evil that grips the whole world." (Address of Women's Peace Camp: Outside Greenham Common Air Base, Nr. Newbury, Berkshire, England).

The Tories' plan for a new generation of British nuclear weapons has stirred up far more opposition than they can possibly have expected. There is no end of argument about it in letters to the press and radio and TV phone-ins, and few towns of any size are without their own anti-missile campaign. On the Roseneath peninsula in Scotland, protesters tore up survey posts and markers where the government plans to build a base for its new Trident submarines. Everywhere, the feeling is growing that we have lived too long in the shadow of the bomb, and the time has come to call a halt to the mad fantasies of the powers that be.

—Richard Bunting

## El Salvador

Reagan's General henchman, Haig, has characterized the present situation in El Salvador as a "stalemate," a lie which is the pretext for giving the genocidal ruling regime another \$26 million in military aid for the coming year, and at the same time, threatening a naval blockage of Nicaragua.

Since March, when 4,000 Salvadoran peasants were bombed and strafed by U.S.-supplied Army helicopters as they crossed into Honduras, Salvadoran soldiers have followed the refugees, crossing the border at will to raid the camps and murder those they suspect of aiding guerrillas.

In mid-November, around 40 soldiers from the Salvadoran Army and the paramilitary death squads crossed into La Virtud, where 11,000 Salvadorans fled to escape Army bombings in Cabanas Province. This time the soldiers were prevented from kidnapping and executing 30 refugees, due to the presence of UN relief personnel. But the policy of terrorizing refugees has not been stopped and has the blessings of the Honduran and U.S. governments.

Reagan-Haig have been forced to admit that the U.S. people would not tolerate an outright invasion. It is this revulsion to war which is, for now, staying their hand against the growing Central American freedom struggles.

## Canada

More than 100,000 people marched on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, on Nov. 21, protesting Canada's continually rising high interest rates. Called by the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC), the demonstration was the largest ever held at Parliament, surprising even the organizers.

Ignoring the freezing weather, men and women, young and old heard CLC President Dennis McDermott and other speakers attack the government's economic policies. Although many there were union members, the protest was also supported by a coalition of groups including pensioners, women's organizations, consumer activists, and the National Farmers Union.

Nine hundred buses and cars came from Ontario and Quebec, while people traveled across country by train and chartered planes to make their anger known to the government. A banner behind the speakers' platform read: "We can't take it anymore. Victims of government bungling." McDermott indicated that the protest would not end here as he stated "The Poles have their Solidarity union. Here begins Canada's."

## South Africa

At least 14 persons were arrested in pre-dawn raids by security police in Johannesburg, on Nov. 27, under a law allowing detention without charge for 14 days with the ability to extend that period indefinitely. Among those arrested were students, researchers, political activists, and Black trade unionists including Sam Kikane, of the South African Allied Workers Union and Emma Mashinini of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union. The jailings are part of the continual harassment by that racist government of Black unions, that not only want labor reform, but demand political change.

## Iran

The regime of the Ayatollah Khomeini, who is beset on all sides by internal revolt and a disorderly economy, has invited a Russian mission of 36 advisors to help him beef up his security forces and help manage the economy.

They are housed appropriately in Saltanatabad, a northern suburb of Tehran in the former headquarters of SAVAK, the Shah's secret police. They are building a new secret police force of some Islamic guards, former SAVAK agents and Muslim clergymen, based on the structure and experience of the KGB.

The call for help came from the Islamic Republican Party, who could not trust the Islamic Guards, its private army. The Russian agents strictly observe Islamic law, speak Farsi, and finger their prayer beads while praying with their students.

The Tudeh, the official Communist Party in Iran, has been purged of what were called "bourgeois-minded reformers," and new hard-line Stalinists have been put in charge who support Khomeini 100 percent.

## Greece

Shouting slogans against U.S. imperialism, nuclear weapons and NATO, over 200,000 Greeks marched by the U.S. Embassy in Athens on Nov. 15 to commemorate the anniversary of the bloodily-suppressed student uprising at Athens Polytechnic University against the U.S.-backed military junta in 1973. At that time the fascist junta killed 36 protesters, beginning with the officer at the head of the military column, who was shot on the spot for refusing to move forward. This year the masses chanted "The people don't want you, take your embassy and go" and "NATO-CIA betrayal."

The crowd was quite disciplined despite its anger,

refraining from any physical attacks on U.S. property so as not to give Reagan an excuse to attack Greece immediately. It was that same anger, pent-up for eight years under the military junta and then five years of rightist "democracy" which swept the social democrat Andreas Papandreou to victory in the Oct. 18 election.

With an eye on this mass demonstration, Papandreou announced, on Nov. 22, his government's intention to set a timetable for the removal of the four U.S. military bases in Greece, with stricter Greek control of their operation until this removal is accomplished. He also called for removal of all nuclear arms from Greece, and rejection of a 1980 agreement to return the country to NATO's military wing.

NATO officials fear a chain reaction as hundreds of thousands of people daily show their opposition to nuclear weapons, militarism and all imperialism as the peace movement grows throughout Europe.

## Anti-Semitism

Thousands of Ethiopian Black Jews, known as Falashas, are being tortured and even killed by the Russian-Cuban-backed military junta which is also murdering all political opponents including independent Marxists, and engaging in a colonial war against the Eritrean guerrilla fighters. Next May a conference will be held on the Falashas in Israel.

While much of the Left—especially those who "strategically" support Russia, Cuba and the PLO, like the Trotskyists—have forgotten that the word anti-Semitism exists and thus remain silent on the Falashas, it is even more curious that little has been heard from Begin's Israel. Besides "ordinary" anti-Black racism, there may be another aspect to Begin's silence. Ethiopia and Israel quietly share weapons and some military trading across the Red Sea, since both oppose the Arab-supported Eritrean war of national independence.

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From "War and Peace," Draft Perspectives Resolution, News and Letters Committees, July, 1960.

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