

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

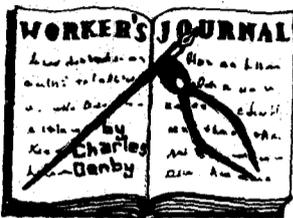
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Two-way road toward freedom in Africa, U.S.



by Charles Denby, Editor

Author of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal
The essay article in the July, N&L, "Nigeria: oil boom, oil doom and crisis" by the young African, Ugokwe, recalled to me how the two-way road for ideas of freedom between Black Africa and Black America has fired the liberation movement on both sides of the Atlantic. I made that two-way road to freedom part of the concluding pages of my autobiography, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, and print excerpts below — Charles Denby.

In the early years of my life, it was a common thing among Blacks to discuss our relations with Africa. Many older ones would remember which tribe in Africa they came from, and the younger ones could not understand their dialect. But it was practically impossible for any Black not to have a feeling of close kinship as he or she sat and listened to the stories of slave ships the old ones told.

In the Depression I was traveling all over the country looking for work. So was everybody else I knew. Yet, next to the question of a job, what Blacks would talk about most was Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia and how Africa was always getting the short end of the stick.

Somewhere between that period and the great independence movements of the Africans in the 1950s, the middle-class Blacks began to preach that Blacks were not really African. They didn't seem to be satisfied just to point to the obvious — that Blacks were American in language and culture and experience. No, they showed they were afraid of the African heritage by talking of Africans as backward, if not still outright head-hunters.

IN 1960 DURING THE CONGO CRISIS, the line
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The Black dimension South and North

TCHULA SEVEN

Editor's Note: Eddie Carthan, mayor of Tchula, Miss. has been on a national speaking tour. While in Los Angeles, he spoke to a meeting of the News and Letters Committee. Samuel Calaham, a member of the Tchula Seven, was marching on the SCLC Pilgrimage from Alabama to Washington, D.C., when he was interviewed by Ray McKay of News & Letters. Below we print excerpts from their talks.

EDDIE CARTHAN

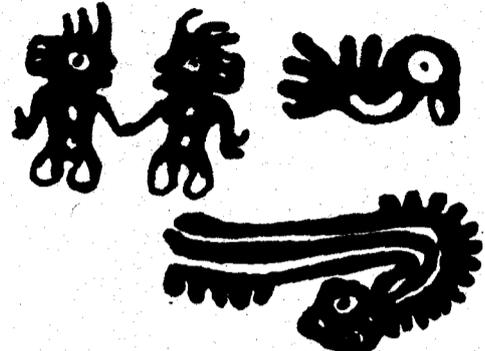
I was elected mayor of Tchula in 1977. Tchula is located in Holmes County, a county that has a 71 percent Black majority population. It is one of the ten poorest counties in the United States. Tchula has an 80 percent Black majority population. More than 60 percent of the citizens receive public aid.

Tchula, like most Southern municipalities, is divided by a railroad track where whites live on one side and Blacks live on the other. And if one would have driven through the white community in 1977 they would have seen the difference of the two communities. On the white side there were beautiful Colonial-type structures with manicured lawns and swimming pools, sidewalks and curbs and gutters, recreation facilities and all the modern facilities one could imagine would be in a community. On the other side of the tracks where the Blacks live there were dirt roads, shacks and shanties, no recreation facilities, no jobs.

WE COULD SEE that in that city, like most cities in the South, the services and funds of the community had not been equally distributed. We began working by trying to attract federal, foundation and private funds



by Jose Venturelli



Drawings from Guatemala's Indian nations

El Salvador: the right wing and the U.S. seek to crush the revolution

by Mary Holmes

Reagan's presidential certification on July 28, that the current murderous ruling regime in El Salvador — headed by the army, by President Alvaro Magana of the right-wing Party of National Conciliation and by death squad leader Maj. Roberto d'Aubuisson, now Constituent Assembly president—has shown enough "progress" on human rights and land redistribution to be granted continuing millions in U.S. aid, comes on the heels of fresh evidence of atrocities, this time the documented testimony of the torture of a Salvadoran Green Cross volunteer who allegedly passed medicine to rebels.

In order to "sanitize" increasing U. S. imperialist intervention in El Salvador, the Reagan Administration is still clinging to the fraudulent March 28 elections, long since discredited by many, including a study made on the spot by the Central American University of El Salvador. Those elections have served to legitimize the

current rule of terror by the Army, in and out of uniform.

Roberto d'Aubuisson, whom Reagan is embracing as the product of "democracy," previously headed the White Warriors, a paramilitary death squad organized to terrorize and carry out mass executions, especially in the countryside. He is directly implicated in the 1980 assassination of Archbishop Romero and was banned as an "undesirable" from entering the U. S. in 1980. During his election campaign, d'Aubuisson requested U. S. assistance to El Salvador be in the form of napalm, and has not hesitated to call for the murder of tens of thousands of Salvadoran peasants as the "final solution."

DISMANTLING AGRICULTURAL REFORM

The flashpoint for the new level of fighting and U. S. intervention within El Salvador today came when d'Aubuisson, in his role as armed overseer for the most reactionary absentee landlords with whom he has always

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The people of Guatemala

by Committee of Solidarity with the People of Guatemala

Today in Guatemala the policy of president Rios Montt is the extermination of the indigenous peoples. Now he is not fighting against the guerrilla, because he knows very well that the guerrilla is not isolated, but is part of the people. Rios Montt is not only following the old scorched earth policies of his predecessor Lucas Garcia. Now, when they bombard a village they also burn the surrounding mountains, the crops, the animals, they burn everything, so that the few survivors will have no place to hide, no food to eat. It is much more terrible now.

—Rigoberta Menchu, Quiche Indian, member of the Vicente Menchu Christian Revolutionaries and the Guatemalan Committee of Patriotic Unity

That is the reality of Guatemala today, where some 5,000 have been killed since the March 23, 1982 coup that resulted in General Efraim Rios Montt usurping the presidency. He promised reforms and an end to repression. Instead, this reactionary fundamentalist Christian who believes himself "called by God" to rule, has imposed a state of siege, press censorship and prohibition

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for Tchula to develop that community. After about a year-and-a-half in office we were able to complete the paving of all the streets in the town. We constructed day care centers. We constructed a medical facility that provided medical care for all of the citizens of that town. We established a transportation program for the elderly and handicapped; a nutrition program; we bought equipment for the entire town, which included

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WILLIE TURKS MURDER

New York, N.Y.—On July 18, 2,000 people marched and rallied in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn to protest the racist murder of Willie Turks, a Black N.Y. City transit worker. Turks was killed last month (see July, 1982 N&L) when he, along with two other Black transit workers, were attacked and beaten by a group of 15 to 20 white youths.

The demonstration began in the Black Marlboro housing project and after a brief rally we marched to the site where Turks was killed. We held a brief rally at the site and marched back to the Marlboro projects for another rally. The marchers were from all parts of the city; many were people from the Marlboro houses, but there were also Asian-American and Latino groups, Left and anti-war groups, white church groups, women's liberation groups, and labor unions.

TURKS NOT THE FIRST

One of the speakers at the assembling rally was Dennis Dixon, one of the two workers who were beaten along with Turks. He said: "I grew up in the South, but I have never seen as much viciousness there as I saw the

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WOMAN AS REASON

by Suzanne Casey

In her biography of Margaret Fuller, *The Woman and the Myth: Margaret Fuller's Life and Writings* (The Feminist Press, 1976)¹ Bell Gale Chevigny presents a most beautiful and moving portrait of this remarkable woman who went beyond being a member of the Transcendentalist literati of New England in the 1830s to take that elite group itself to task for narrow-mindedness and self-imposed isolation from the material/real world.

She did so not only in written criticism but eventually also as an active participant in a revolution which sought to actually bring about the ideal human society which for the Transcendentalists had been realized only in their own thoughts.

BECOMING A SOCIALIST

The chronological form of the book is such that we suffer with Fuller through her stifling youth and early adulthood as a woman of great intelligence who was constantly marvelled at by male intellectuals who were willing to accept her only as an exception. Wit and intellect were so commonly considered "male" traits that Fuller felt herself fragmented into two personalities, one male and one female. While "feminine" qualities and sensitivity were valued in male writers such as Hawthorne,² Fuller's "manly" qualities marked her as "freakish."

But none could deny her intelligence and skill at literary criticism and she became the first woman editor of the Transcendentalist journal *The Dial* in 1840. It was when she began to critique not only society outside the utopians' circle but the narrowness of ideas — especially on women's freedom — within it that she ceased to be their darling (read "token") and became a thorn in their sides.

When she finally was able to leave this circle for Europe as a correspondent for the *New York Tribune* in 1844, she observed life and struggle in the slums of London, and in Paris met the Italian revolutionary-in-exile Giuseppe Mazzini whom she later helped smuggle into Italy.

She was exhilarated by the ferment of ideas surrounding the revolutions of 1848 and Chevigny points out similarities between Fuller's and Marx's reports of the Italian Revolution, but it is not known whether Fuller knew any of Marx's writings.

What is known, however, is that she wrote to her friends Marcus and Rebecca Spring in December, 1849 that she had "become an enthusiastic Socialist; elsewhere is no comfort, no solution for the problems of the times."

WOMAN AS REVOLUTIONARY

Chevigny's bringing out this hidden dimension of Fuller and her lack of hesitance to bring in Marx is much appreciated, since the Women's Liberation Movement has never really looked deeply into Marx's 1844 writings, especially on Man/Woman, and their relationship to this period of revolutions as well as to our day.

It has been one of our grievances that we have been denied our own history, but is it possible that in our anxiety to find that history we have cheated ourselves by being too quick to decide which areas of the lives of past women are relevant for today?

Just as this dimension of Fuller has been buried, the great revolutionary thinker and activist Rosa Luxemburg has been virtually ignored by the Women's Movement either on the grounds that she was not a feminist or that as a Marxist her thought was "male dominated." Nothing could be further from the

Margaret Fuller's life

truth.³

For Margaret Fuller, this period of revolutionary ferment dissolved the gulf she felt between her personal longings and ideas on meaningful human and social relationships and the hope of achieving them.

In Rome in 1847, she met and became the lover of Angelo Ossoli, an Italian partisan whom Larzer Ziff, in his chapter on Fuller in *Literary Democracy*, suggests may have actually been converted to the cause by Fuller. She played an active role in the struggle for Italian independence in 1848-49, both writing dispatches back to America and running a hospital during the siege of Rome, suffering separation from the baby she had had by Ossoli to do so.

Chevigny shows how her full personality coalesced during this period. Her relationship with Ossoli was one of two independent thinker-activists and one which she knew readers of her *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* would not understand unless they could actually see it.

Here is how Fuller herself spoke of her life in Europe: "It was no false instinct that said I might here find an atmosphere to develop me in ways I need. Had I only come ten years earlier! Now my life must be a failure, so much strength has been wasted on abstractions, which only came because I grew not in the right soil."

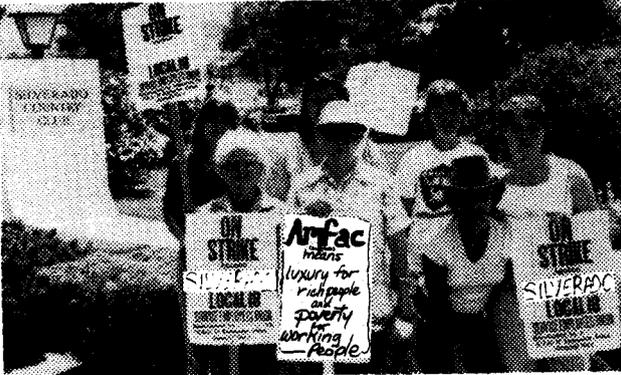
LEGACY FOR TODAY

Amidst these freedom struggles she also changed her attitude toward the Abolitionists whose style she had opposed at home even though she hated slavery: "How it pleases me here to think of the Abolitionists! I could never endure to be with them at home, they

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3. The new work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* by Raya Dunayevskaya is soon to be released by Humanities Press and explores the feminist dimension of Luxemburg.

Silverado maids strike



Napa, Cal. — The maids and laundry workers at the Silverado Country Club have been on strike since June 15. The issues in the strike are wages and workload. We currently make \$4.65 per hour and asked for an increase of 52 cents.

The groundskeepers who went on strike at the same time and make \$7.50 per hour asked for the same increase and got it. Their union, the Laborers, took them back in to work and they are now crossing our lines. This seems to be discrimination against women.

Silverado has also tried to double our workload. We used to do 15 rooms and now they want us to do 30 rooms with more duties in each room. But all they have offered us in negotiations is a three-cent raise, a no strike clause, and a cap on our health insurance. The only new thing they offered us last time is that they now want to fire anyone they want; they don't want to give us amnesty.

They want the union, Service Employees International Local 18, out. They sent us all a notice to go back, asking all of those who would to sign a paper saying they wouldn't have anything to do with the union. Without the union if they tell us to wash windows, we have to wash windows; if they tell us to work seven days a week we have to do it. I'd like to go back, but I'm not going without a union.

Reagan is making so many cutbacks that it's impossible for the poor to get any money, while the corporations are keeping all of theirs. AMFAC, the conglomerate that owns Silverado and C&H Sugar, just bought the biggest barge in the world to transport their sugar. Meanwhile they are talking about cost reductions, and that means reducing the wage increase.

To go back now is pointless. And I won't leave anybody out like the people that were fired. We have had some support from other groups. The Women's Caucus here in Napa supports us on the line and helps us with fundraisers since we don't have a strike fund. We need \$3,000 but have only raised \$300. Contributions can be sent to: Silverado Strike Support Fund, 2042 West F Street, Napa, CA 94558.

— Striking Maid, Silverado Country Club



women-worldwide

The Portuguese revolutionary Isobel do Carmo, the leader of the Peoples' Revolutionary Party-Revolutionary Brigades (PRP-BR) under fascism and during the Revolution of 1974-76, has gone on hunger strike along with ten of her jailed comrades to protest their lengthy imprisonment for "moral complicity" in some of the terrorist actions which followed the defeat of that revolution.

The main witness against do Carmo, a "repentant" member of the PRP-BR, has since disappeared, having conveniently "escaped" from prison. Imprisoned since 1978 for an 11-year sentence, do Carmo has very limited visitation rights, no phone calls, censored mail, and little medical attention. Amnesty bills have twice been voted down by the conservative government now in power.

The hunger strikers, the only prisoners from the days of the revolution still in jail, say they will strike to the death. The case of Isobel do Carmo is something that needs a great deal more attention from the Left and feminist movements.

The Fourth National Conference of Women Miners was held June 25-27 in Owensboro, Ky. Seventy women miners from 11 states attended, setting forth their demands for the 1984 UMWA contract. Stressing that they wanted things which would also benefit their brothers, the demands included maternity/paternity leave without loss of benefits, a shorter work week, light duty for sick or injured miners and strict enforcement of affirmative action requirements.

(Information from Mountain Life and Work)

In Derry, N. Ireland, angry women staged a protest march against the April 16 shooting of 11-year-old Stephen McConomy who was hit by a plastic bullet fired by a British patrol from close range at a group of youths throwing stones. The child died a few days later—the eighth victim of the "plastic terror" in a 12-month period.

(Information from Big Mama Rag)

The Board of the 1900 member National Coalition of American Nuns has announced the group's opposition to the Hatch amendment. While expressing their opposition to abortion "in principle and practice," the women unprecedentedly opposed American bishops by stating that "the responsibility for the decision in this regard resides primarily with those who are directly and personally involved."

(Information from Sojourner)

Rally for abortion rights

Cherry Hill, N.J. — An abortion rights demonstration July 17 brought 5,000 women and men to protest outside the national "Right to Life" convention here, and to demand that abortion be safe, legal, and accessible to all women. As the right-wing "right to lifers" met to learn how to disrupt an abortion in progress and how to pressure the government to outlaw abortion, the demonstrators denounced their vicious, woman-hating theory and practices.

"A woman's right to abortion is akin to her right to be," and "A womb of one's own," read some of the signs. Speakers also made clear that the issue was not only a legal one, but goes to the essence of whether women can control their own lives, body and mind.

The number of young women present showed that they no longer take the right to abortion for granted, and their spirited singing of Civil Rights Movement songs pointed up the relation of women's rights to the issues of race, class, and sexual preference.

Black and white speakers emphasized that the "right to lifers" care nothing about the quality of life — they prefer abused or hungry children to abortion. They advocate the elimination of child care facilities, food stamps, job training programs, and benefits for the disabled. The Family Protection Act they are backing in Congress would end counseling for abortion and birth control, and also attacks other rights of women, people of color, and homosexuals. They are for the build-up of nuclear and conventional weapons, and the death penalty; so much for the right to life!

Their power should not be underestimated. They have already eliminated federal funding for abortion. Speakers described their physical and psychological attacks on women seeking abortions, including their harassment of an 11-year-old girl pregnant by incest.

Groups participating in the demonstration from all over the Atlantic Coast included NOW chapters, lesbian groups, those wanting to "Disarm the patriarchy," Catholics for a Free Choice, activists from the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, and many more. Our immediate aim is to stop the proposed "Human Life Amendment" outlawing abortion, and the other restrictions being imposed by the states.

— Women's Liberation, N&L Comm. participant

News & Letters

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An open letter to Japanese auto workers

The Japanese quarterly *Town Meeting* published by workers in the company town of Toyota City, reprinted and translated five articles from the labor page of *March*, 1982 N&L. The way that Toyota workers responded to articles by U. S. workers on plant closings, union give-backs and unemployment has inspired this letter to deepen the exchange of ideas.—Ed.

Brothers and sisters of Toyota and all auto plants,

Every day we hear more and more reports of workers facing lay-offs, plant closings, and unemployment. In July the government here admitted that one out of every seven Americans is living below the poverty line—over 30 million people. What we constantly hear from the politicians and union bureaucrats is that the reason for this crisis is competition from Japanese imports in auto, steel, computers and other industries.

As a laid-off GM worker I think it's about time the Japanese workers got a chance to hear the voice of the rank-and-file workers, who aren't buying this big lie about the recession being caused by Japanese workers getting rich off of imports to America. What we are suffering from here is a crisis in production, not Japanese imports. And the crisis we face today the capitalists will be bringing to you Japanese workers tomorrow.

The reason our plant closed was because the cars GM was making would not sell because of their high price. One reason they were so expensive was because of all the new automation and unimation GM was investing in to build them. At the same time this unimation reduces the quality of the car produced.

New Chrysler, GM—old story

Detroit, Mich.—After building up some 15 years of seniority with Chrysler, I was laid off from the Huber Ave. Foundry here in the big "shake-down" over a year ago. Now I just got a notice to come in for a physical to come back to work—in Kokomo, Indiana! (If that is the right name of the place.) They said they had no job for me in Detroit.

The job in Indiana is "guaranteed" for 90 days only. For this you are supposed to uproot yourself and move. You don't even take your seniority with you—only for purposes of the pension, not for layoffs and call-back. If you "decline" their kind offer, you are dumped to another list which may never see a Chrysler paycheck again. Well, this is the "New Chrysler".

—Laid-off Chrysler worker

Van Nuys, Cal.—I was over at the GM plant in Van Nuys and talked with some workers who were transferred from the GM South Gate plant when it closed. One worker said, "We used to think that South Gate was a hell-hole to work in, but this place makes South Gate seem like heaven. The company here treats us worse than any slave master treats his slaves. The union leadership is just like management."

He was referring to the workload — the plant is now running nine hours a day, six days a week, in the middle of the sweltering summer. And this when there are thousands of auto workers in Southern California hungering for a job!

But Van Nuys may not last long either. Many workers say the plant will close if sales don't pick up. One worker said, "We are working nine hours a day. You know this will bring a shut-down soon, with all these cars we are producing. If I didn't have that to look forward to, I'd quit right now."

—Former GM South Gate worker

Women strike at Cyanamid

Danbury, Conn. — Six hundred women are on strike at American Cyanamid. They've been out since early July and it looks like a long strike. The company uses vicious union-busting tactics, like putting ads in the paper saying the majority want to go back to work. They've also hired some scabs.

The women are 100 percent behind the strike. They've been picketing night and day. The women are very tough. This is a new problem for the unions and the companies: how to deal with women workers. They don't get fooled easily by labor leaders. They distrust the International. The AFL-CIO ignores them — gives them no support.

I never thought when I came to the U.S. as a refugee after the Hungarian Revolution that I'd see this type of union busting as is going on now. It's terrifying, the type of things they'll do here for money. They're as bad as any Stalinists, Reagan and his men just hate labor. Russian-type Communism and our English-type capitalism are the same thing.

In America it was first built up with a slave system and it seems capital never got over that — they're still looking for that slave labor again. The human race has got to come up with something different from these two systems, capitalism and Communism. — Machinist

But I challenge anyone to tell me that's the fault of the Japanese workers. It's the fault of the capitalists here, who in their hunger for profit invest more and more in dead labor, machines, and less and less in living labor, the worker. Now my plant is closed because GM has built new ones that hardly need any workers.

The crisis in production will show the American and Japanese workers they have the same enemy—the capitalists who are working them to death and promising them nothing more than a future of unemployment.

Today more and more workers are not believing the lies that it is the Japanese worker who's to blame for this crisis. Recently the largest meat packing plant in the world went on strike in Nebraska, and when the company hired in scabs, hundreds of workers got involved and tried to stop those scabs from getting in. They know their jobs are not being taken away by you—they are being stolen by the capitalists who are trying to drive down the wages of all workers.

The same is true in heavy industry like auto. Here, instead of bringing in scabs, they bring in robots. They have the full support of the union bureaucracy in doing this. Workers knew a year-and-a-half ago after we came back to work at GM following a year's layoff that the plant wouldn't be open long, since they did not bring in the most up-to-date robots into the plant. Today cars are produced where they hardly need workers at all.

The only way this will be changed is when workers here uproot this system of production where what happens to the human being at the point of production is considered less important than how many cars the capitalists produce to make their profit. But we cannot make that kind of revolution alone. Japanese workers will feel the recession as deep as we the more the capitalists reap their profits. They will use that wealth to invest in more machinery and automation in Japan.

The road to change for us is the same road to change as for you—a social revolution. I want you to know that there are workers in America waiting for the chance to join hands with you, as well as for you to join hands with us.

—Felix Martin, GM worker

Why British strikes failed

Oxford, England — The past month has seen two separate strikes on the railways go down to defeat. Two main reasons for this debacle: the government's success in using the threat of unemployment to enforce industrial discipline, and the division between the drivers and the other railway workers, in two rival unions.

British Rail's (BR) demand for "flexible rostering" means dropping the eight-hour day in favor of a 40-hour week divided into variable shifts of between seven and nine hours. Rail workers already may work an evening shift one day and a morning shift the next, and flexible rostering will put them under yet greater strain as well as enabling management to eliminate thousands of jobs.

The Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF) has fought against flexible rostering, but put forward "alternative" productivity plans. The National Union of Railwaymen (NUR), station staff and guards, signalmen, etc. as well as some drivers, has accepted flexible rostering.

After the NUR had agreed to such a major productivity measure, BR's offer of only a five percent wage increase was much resented. The NUR struck on Sunday, 27 June. Management threatened that any prolonged strike would mean huge cuts and thousands of jobs axed; they issued an appeal to workers to ignore the union's strike call. In fact, many branches and individuals did break the strike, and others who would not scab nevertheless urged the union to call it off.

Meanwhile BR was forcing a confrontation with the train drivers by insisting they work flexible rosters, or else, ASLEF therefore struck on 4 July, and this time the strike was well supported.

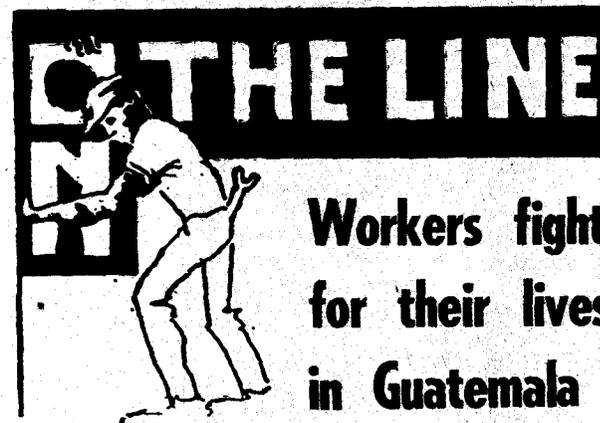
In the second week of the strike, BR announced that all drivers who did not return to work would be fired—although they could be re-employed if they would agree to work on flexible rosters. The TUC's "inner cabinet" refused ASLEF's plea for support. The train drivers have been forced to go back and work the new rosters under protest.

—Richard Bunting

Overtime steals from today, and cuts short tomorrow

Highland Park, Mich. — There is so little time for the things you enjoy — so little time that's yours . . . you go into a factory, expecting to get eight hours and you find out that it's your life!

Some women that I work with said they like working the overtime, to be able to pay their bills. But I said that sometimes, I'd rather do without, because, if you're dead, the overtime won't do you any good anyway. I think more of myself than that factory. All of the hard work with overtime—it cuts more away from your life. Just tell me, what time is there of your own when



by John Marcotte

There is a fierce struggle going on right now in the Central American country of Guatemala, with the military rulers on one side and the workers, peasants, Indians, women and youth on the other. The massacres of whole villages by the army are as savage as anything that is happening in El Salvador, but the news media here is not reporting on it.

Here is what it means to be a worker in Guatemala. Unemployment is officially 34 percent. But with the establishment of vast cattle ranches and the discovery of nickel and oil in the last ten years, thousands of Indian peasants have been driven off their land, joining the migration of landless agricultural workers who follow the coffee and cotton crops, working only several months out of the year. In industry, working conditions are horrible, pay is as low as \$1 for a 12-hour day, and only two percent have unions.

The Coca-Cola bottling plant, until recently owned by Texas lawyer John Trotter, is a good example of the struggle to unionize. In 1968, the workers tried to organize until their leader, Cesar Barillas, was kidnapped, tortured and killed. In 1975 a new organizing drive was started, and when the company fired 152 workers, the workers occupied the plant and got their co-workers re-instated. The National Committee for Trade Union Unity, CNUS, grew out of the solidarity committees for this struggle.

On Dec. 12, 1978, Pedro Quevedo y Quevedo, financial secretary of the union, was murdered as he did his rounds in his delivery truck. From then on other leaders of the union were assassinated, one after the other. In 1979, death threats forced 30 leaders into exile. In May and June of 1980 alone, seven Coca-Cola union members were killed, four more were "disappeared", and three were wounded.

When the company union decided to back up the real union, its president, Efrain Zamora Aroche, was killed too. On June 21, 1980, 27 leaders from various unions were kidnapped and "disappeared" from a meeting at the National Confederation of Workers. Coca-Cola workers responded by occupying their plant.

But this struggle is not unique to this one plant. When a new union was formed at the Ray-O-Vac battery plant, nine members of the union were kidnapped and only three were ever found, tortured and killed.

Despite this terrible repression, unions, cooperatives, peasant leagues, student groups, Christian base communities and so on have continued to organize, so strong is the determination to be free. A very important development was the formation in 1978 of the CUC, the Committee for Peasant Unity, which is the first labor organization in Guatemala to link the Indian peasants with the poor white (Ladino) workers. In February, 1980, CUC called a strike of 70,000 sugar cane and 40,000 cotton workers, and in September, a strike of 10,000 coffee pickers.

But so severe has the repression become in the last two years that these new organizations and unions are not separating themselves from the need for armed resistance. The very survival of their people is now at stake. The unions no longer call mass demonstrations: that would be suicidal. Instead they are reportedly concentrating on forming self-defense committees in factories and neighborhoods, in secretly organizing shops, and in the education of workers.

Our full solidarity is with the workers and peasants of Guatemala as they strive to build a new world. Our first task is to prevent the U.S. from resuming any military aid to the bloody generals.

you work in a factory?

Everyone in the U.S. Auto Radiator plant has lead poisoning to a certain degree. There is lead in the solder, and even if you work near the soldering area, you're getting the fumes. There is no way to rid oneself of lead poisoning. The only way is to quit work.

A lot of older women in the plant said that sometimes you can't quit, because of the children. There are two pregnant women working there — one is forced to do overtime because her financial troubles are so bad.

—Woman worker

THEORY / PRACTICE

Hobsbawm and Rubel on the Marx centenary, but where is Marx?

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

With the approach of the centenary of Marx's death (March 1883), "specialists" are publishing their summations of the 64 years of Marx's life as well as the world impact Marxism still maintains 100 years after his death. Two such works in English are already off the press:

1) *Rubel on Karl Marx*,¹ edited by Joseph O'Malley, consists of five essays by Maximilien Rubel, editor of the volumes of Marx issued by the prestigious French *Bibliothèque de la Pleiade*. Rubel's edition of Marx's works (to which we'll return) attempts to rival the "official" Russian-East German projected 100-volume collected works. Most of Rubel's essays appeared originally as introductions to the three volumes that have thus far appeared.

2) *Marxism in Marx's Day*,² is Volume I of *The History of Marxism*, edited by the English historian, Eric J. Hobsbawm. It consists of eight essays by international scholars plus three essays and a Preface by Hobsbawm, whose contributions range from "Marx, Engels and Pre-Marxian Socialism" (Chapter 1), through "Marx, Engels and Politics" (Chapter 8), to a final Chapter 11 on "The Fortunes of Marx's and Engels' Writings."

Marx and Engels are here presented, if not as identical twins, surely as equal co-founders of Marxism — an attitude characteristic of established Marxism, whether of the period of the Second or of the Third International. Hobsbawm is in the tradition of that same superficial attitude, although on this centenary of Marx's death, when we finally do have substantially all of Marx's works, it is surely time to put an end to this "tradition." Isn't it time to focus on the fact that Marx's heirs kept the voluminous writings that had not been published in Marx's lifetime in that same unpublished state until the Russian Revolution unearthed them? And that soon thereafter — i.e., in Stalin's time — their publication was once again "arrested"? Isn't it time to end the myth that Marx and Engels are very nearly "one" and, instead, let us hear Marx, himself, as he continuously developed his ideas for 40 long creative years?

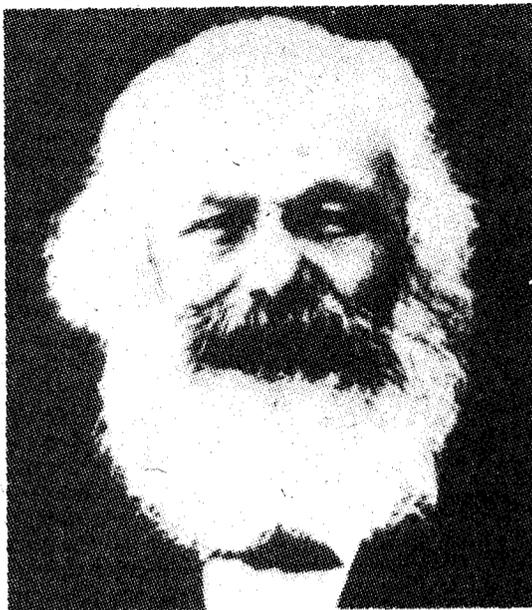
THE STRANGE AFFINITY BETWEEN RUBEL AND HOBSBAWM

What is needed here is to see how such opposites as Hobsbawm and Rubel, who hold to politically opposite conclusions, nevertheless display an equally superficial attitude to Marx's own discoveries. How does it happen that neither Hobsbawm (who treats Marx and Engels as equal co-founders) nor Rubel (who maintains that not only are they not "one" but that Engels alone is the "founder of Marxism" and that, had Engels not invented "the legend of Marxism," there would be no Marxism) allow Marx to speak for himself?

Ignoring that Marx's life, activities and writings add up to a dialectical yet rigorous body of thought that constitute "Marxism," Rubel proceeds on his merry way to attribute his own view on Ethics to Marx, while Hobsbawm, who holds to the "scientific attitude" of Marx (i.e., "Economics" and some history), concludes that Marxism adds up to method alone, not deeply rooted in Hegelian dialectics. Therein, indeed, lies their strange affinity: both are anti-Hegelians.

Hobsbawm does include one essay on philosophy — "Marx, 'Philosopher'," by Istvan Meszaros. Rubel's essays don't have that single redeeming feature. The question is why Rubel's editor, Professor O'Malley,³ who knows both Hegel and Marx's "addiction" to Hegel, glosses over all the contradictory statements in Rubel? In his present Introduction, he declares: "Rubel is one of the world's foremost authorities on Marx" (p.vii).

It is true that Rubel, as editor of the independent French collection of Marx's writings, has brought out some heretofore unpublished works which included needed corrections to those Engels published.⁴ It was



Marx in Algiers, 1882, one year before his death.

especially great to see the re-establishment in toto of the genuine French edition of Marx's Volume I of *Capital* — that is, the one Marx himself checked, edited, and expanded. Unfortunately, though not one-sided in the manner of the Stalinist version, Rubel's is just as one-sided in its vision of Marx, and a great deal more arbitrary in the selections he has made than the liberties Engels allowed himself. Thus, Rubel's Volume II of *Capital*, while it does include some sections and paragraphs Engels left out, takes impermissible liberties with what Rubel chooses to single out. And he leaves out a great deal more than Engels did.⁵

Evidently, the fact that Maximilien Rubel is "an independent Marxist" (independent, that is, of Marx) carries enough attraction for Prof. O'Malley that not only does he not criticize Rubel's substitution of a self-created ethical Humanism for Marx's Humanism as the dialectics of revolution, but he goes to some length to praise Rubel's "Ethics" as if that were Marx's Marxism. The unfortunate result is seen in the very sequence of the five essays, which are not presented in the order in which they were written, but begin (and in a fundamental sense end with the same view) with "The Marx Legend or Engels, Founder of Marxism."

THE SINGLE ARTICLE ON PHILOSOPHY

Does the single article on philosophy in Hobsbawm's collection of 11 essays plus Preface save his book from the myths about Marx? Hardly. First, Istvan Meszaros does not deal with that subject at all. It is true that — in a non-polemical way, concentrating on Marx alone and refusing to limit himself to the young Marx as "philosopher" — Meszaros makes clear that "Marx never stopped stressing the gigantic character of Hegel's achievements, brought to realization at an immensely important juncture of historical development in the aftermath of the French revolution in response to the most complex and dynamic interplay of social forces — including the emergence of labor as a hegemonic movement — in world history."

Furthermore, in showing that the mature Marx, like the young Marx, rooted his dialectic in the Hegelian dialectic, Meszaros opposes the one-sidedness of interpretations which claim that Marx moved away from Hegelian idealism as if that meant a shift from philosophy to "science."

In sharp contrast to the pragmatism and the general scientific orientation that pervades the rest of the Hobsbawm collection, Meszaros writes: "... the speculative verbal supersession of philosophy by 'Theory,' 'Theoretical Practice,' by the so-called 'rigorous scientific concept of experimental reasoning,' and the like, can only lead to a conservative rejection of the unity of theory and practice and to the sceptical dismissal of Marx's values as unrealizable dreams" (p.109).

In documenting his insistence that the young Marx's attitude to philosophy (that one "cannot supersede philosophy without realizing it") characterized the mature Marx as well, Meszaros makes a powerful critique of Lukacs' view that there is an "identical Subject-Object" not only in Hegel, but in Marx. Meszaros writes

that it was precisely Marx's critique of that "identical Subject-Object" which "helped Marx to reconstitute the dialectic on a radically different footing." "In Marx," he stresses, "the movement is open-ended and its fundamental intent is subversive, not reconciliatory." "Quite unlike Hegel," Meszaros concludes, Marx concentrates on "the unity of the ideal and the material, mediated through the dialectic of theory and praxis."

The one weakness of the Meszaros contribution, to this writer, is that it centers around philosophy only "in general," rather than delving into the dialectics of revolution. The "historians" and theorists of political economy proceeded to fill the loophole thus created which allows them to act as if they are the revolutionary realists and true heirs of Marx. In truth, they are the ones — as their editor, Eric J. Hobsbawm, proves all over again by not taking issue with post-Marx Marxists — who practice the most vulgar reductionism not alone of dialectics to "flexibility" but of revolution to statist class-collaborationism.

AHISTORICAL HISTORY

Because he is the editor as well as the author of three essays plus the Preface, it is Hobsbawm who gives his stamp to the entire work, and it is in the final chapter that he attempts to summarize the whole Marx legacy and its relevance for our age. The very title of that summation, "The Fortunes of Marx's and Engels' Writings," tells the ahistoric, empty rhetoric of this noted English historian. Thus, the revolution of 1917, in which Prof. Hobsbawm certainly believes, is mentioned somewhere, but is not seen as the ground for the total change in attitude toward Marx's works, which had remained until then entombed in the Second International's vaults. Instead, he begins with Ryazanov, the scholar entrusted to head the Marx-Engels Institute.

Along with this disregard of the historic, revolutionary motivation for creating the Institute, is the disregard of the philosophic transformation of no less a person than the leader of 1917, Lenin, who was the only one to break with his philosophic past and turn directly to Hegel, not for any scholastic reason, but because of the compulsion that arose from the outbreak of World War I and the Second International's betrayal.

It was this actual historic compulsion to grapple with Marx's origins in the Hegelian dialectic which continued after the revolutionary conquest of power. In the early 1920s Lenin urged the editors of *Under the Banner of Marxism* to call themselves a "Society of the Materialist Friends of Hegelian Dialectics," and to make sure "to print excerpts from Hegel's principal works." And, of course, it was Lenin who inspired the establishment of a Marx-Engels Institute.

While it was the famous scholar-editor Ryazanov who became the first head of that Institute, it was Lenin, not Ryazanov, who had laid the ground for a serious study of Marx, for the publication of all his works, and for never forgetting that the Marxian dialectic is rooted in the Hegelian dialectic. There is no doubt that, both in erudition and in seriousness of excavating many unknown works of Marx, Ryazanov had a name none could equal. But there is also no doubt that Ryazanov displayed the usual intellectual arrogance not only to Lenin but to Marx, as can be seen in his attitude to Marx's work during the last decade of Marx's life — and to the *Ethnological Notebooks* in particular, which he dared to characterize as "sheer pedantry" without ever having read them.⁶ It was this attitude that contributed to their remaining unpublished until our own age.

There can be little doubt today about Stalin's outright revisionism of Marxism, and the total transformation into opposite of the first workers' state into a state-capitalist society. That, however, is not the reason behind Ryazanov's presumptuous attitude to the last writings of Marx. The removal of Ryazanov from his post in 1931 was part of the Stalin retrogressionism. But it was Ryazanov who, when he unearthed Marx's last writings in 1923, set the attitude to that legacy.

THE MYTH OF MARX AND ENGELS AS ONE, AND 'ANTI-DUHRING'

It is not just Ryazanov whom Hobsbawm treats so uncritically. What is far more serious is that he has not a single word of criticism of any "official" post-Marx Marxist, and that Engels is treated very nearly as indistinguishable from Marx, himself. It is true, of course,

(Continued on page 10)

1. *Rubel on Karl Marx*, edited and translated by Joseph O'Malley and Keith Algozin, Cambridge University Press, 1981.

2. *The History of Marxism*, volume 1, edited by Eric J. Hobsbawm, Indiana University Press and Harvester Press (London), 1982.

3. Joseph O'Malley has given us a profound, scholarly, superb translation and editing of Marx's *Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right'*. Perhaps I should have caught a whiff of his dependence on Rubel's "scholarship" when I read that work and called to Prof. O'Malley's attention the fact that he wrongly attributed the end of Marx's creative years to 1878, whereas new moments had been discovered anew by Marx in his *Ethnological Notebooks*, 1880-1882. (See my letter of Aug. 30, 1979 included in the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism 1941 to Today, Its Origin and Development in the U.S.* available on microfilm from the Wayne State University Labor History Archives Library.) In my forthcoming work *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (Humanities Press and Harvester Press, 1982), I have detailed Marx's New Moments in the 1880s of a "Tfai to the 1980s."

4. See Kevin A. Barry's comparison between Engels' editing of Marx's French edition of *Capital*, Vol. I, and Marx's own 1875 edition. (*News & Letters*, October, 1981).

5. Nothing is quite so unwarranted as the so-called volume on Philosophy, Vol. III of Rubel's editions, which has just come off the press in France. But that is not what we are concerned with in these essays, which were written long before.

6. I deal with Ryazanov's 1923 Report on all the new writings he had discovered, in my forthcoming book. The report is available only in Russian and German. However, part of his report, but not including the reference to "sheer pedantry," is quoted in *The Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx*, by its editor, Lawrence Krader. See especially pp. 355, 357, 374.

El Salvador: the right wing and the U.S. seek to crush the revolution

(Continued from page 1)

been tightly connected, began to dismantle the most minimal agrarian reform laws passed by the previous Duarte regime. First to go was the heart of land redistribution. While never put into effect, it would have meant the expropriation of the richest farmland belonging to the oligarchy where the main export crops of coffee, sugar and cotton are grown.

Reagan, for his part, had indicated when he took office that he would not support reform aimed precisely at the class in El Salvador upon which his Cold War imperialist policies in Central America are based. Following this retrogressive move by the new right-wing Constituent Assembly, came the May 20 suspension of the agrarian reform provision effecting the majority of Salvadoran peasant families, the so-called "land to the tiller" program.

Peasants supposedly had the right under this directive to buy up to 17 acres of the land they had been working as tenant farmers or sharecroppers. However, so anxious was the oligarchy not to yield even one inch of land, that they did not wait for the suspension. Immediately following the Constituent Assembly elections, landlords began to evict peasant families at gunpoint. Salvadoran peasant unions now report that well over 10,000 peasants have been evicted.

The truth is that the U.S.-sponsored agrarian reform has always been a sham. From its promulgation in 1980, during the Carter Administration, the leader of

The people of Guatemala

(Continued from page 1)

of all political activity while calling to active duty all former soldiers.

Because of human rights violations, U.S. military aid was suspended in 1977 to the regime of General Lucas Garcia. The recent coup was supposed to change the image of the government so the U. S. Congress would be able to resume military aid. Instead Rios Montt has intensified the genocide. Several Catholic priests have reported recent massacres in the countryside, where reporters cannot go.

Guatemala is Central America's most populous country. Over 70 percent of its people are Indian, forming 22 distinct peoples with their own languages and customs. The non-Indians are called Ladinos. The living conditions of the people have been sharply worsening under the economic crisis since the mid-70s: malnutrition affects 82 percent of the children under five, illiteracy is 53 percent, and in this most unequal of societies, the top 5 percent of the population receives fully 60 percent of the national income, while the poorest 50 percent receives only 7 percent of the national income.

The new today in Guatemala is the multiplicity of genuine, mass organizations that have sprung up since the late '70s. Peasant leagues, cooperatives, labor unions, student associations, Christian-base communities and neighborhood committees are all forms this movement has taken. It is in response to these movements that the massacres have increased.

New is also that we see for the first time that the majority of the guerrilla freedom fighters are Indians, fully half are women, and even the children are involved. It is a very different kind of guerrilla, fully supported by a people who know from their daily experiences that this is the only way open to them if they and their culture are to survive and who have a unique vision of the kind of society they are fighting for.

The fact that a new unity is being forged between Indian and Ladino for the first time, and that with the success of the revolution in Guatemala it would be the first nation in the Americas where a majority indigenous people who have preserved their own culture against all odds would finally have power over their own lives, also makes Guatemala's a very unique struggle.

It is imperative therefore that this multi-faceted freedom movement is allowed to survive and develop, both for itself and for a new stage of freedom for the world.

The most immediate task is to stop the Reagan Administration from resuming direct military aid to Guatemala's generals. The Administration now has before Congress a request for \$250,000 for military training. If this trial balloon passes it will only mean more massacres.

Solidarity is not a one-way road. Let us also listen to the voice of this new Guatemala striving to be born, that it may help us to transform our society too into a more human one. It is precisely this spread of the ideas of freedom that the Reagan Administration fears, both in Central America and at home.

We are open to all who want to work with us in aiding the freedom movements in Guatemala. Share with us whatever time you can, share your ideas.

Committee of Solidarity with the People of Guatemala
19 West 21st Street, 2nd floor
New York, N.Y. 10010

one of the largest peasant organizations reported that over 3,600 peasants were murdered for simply applying for title to their land. Some were found with dirt stuffed in their mouths as a symbol of the junta's and landlords' vicious determination to hold onto all of El Salvador. Not a single full title had ever been certified before the program was suspended.

In fact, the struggle for land by the peasants has always been a cutting edge of the liberation movement in El Salvador, where today the landed oligarchy of less than two percent of the population still controls over 60 percent of the land. Even the peasant families who could afford to go into debt to buy a few acres in 1980 were still forced to work for local landlords to survive.

NEW FORMS OF ORGANIZATION

In the wake of the Nicaraguan Revolution, Salvadoran peasants have joined guerrilla ranks in large numbers, and have taken their own organizations in a different direction. Despite the laws banning agricultural workers from forming unions, peasant leagues were started in the 1960s, often with the aid of the Catholic Church. During the 1970s, these peasant unions have forged new alliances among themselves. At the same time there has been the growth of organizations of urban workers, women's groups, political parties and students.

Today, when the peasants did manage to gain some land under the so-called Phase I plan of the 1980 law, in which the state expropriated a few of the largest farms, they have shown their concerns to be the opposite of the former landlords and the state administrators. Instead of growing export crops for the world market, they began planting beans and corn for their own use.

It was exactly 50 years ago, in 1932, that a growing mass peasant movement rose up and was genocidally crushed by the native rulers and their army, backed by the U. S. Today the army is still following the policy of genocide. The massacres of civilians have increased since the March elections.

In the renewed fighting in Chalatenango province in June, the Salvadoran head of the U. S. Green Berets-trained Atlacatl battalion cynically justified the killing of 600 civilians by stating that the guerrillas "need their 'masses'—women, old people, or children... it's natural that there would be a series of people killed, some without weapons."

This un-natural, genocidal policy is now backed by over 50 U. S. military advisors who are going into combat with Salvadoran army troops; three U. S.-trained battalions, with two more on the way; 14 helicopters,

Report from Peru

Lima, Peru—What is happening with the women is important. Right now there are two protests, one by the women who were fired from National Cash Register; they are on strike. The other is the Micaela Bastidas Group, who are fighting for housing for poor women. It is an organization for young domestic workers who come from the provinces and have difficulty renting a place to live. They decided to rent collective housing in a central area, "all very feminist," without talking much about it. The problem now is that their apartments belong to the Church, which doesn't smile on all that and has started a campaign to evict them, saying that the women want to appropriate the apartments. The women, all very young, are fighting for the right to housing.

What is happening officially? One disaster is the Miss Universe contest, the other plague is soccer, and the Malvinas are left behind, like an echo of something you're supposed to forget. — Peruvian woman

Letter from Nicaragua

Granada, Free Nicaragua — This July 19, the date of commemoration of the third anniversary of the Sandinista Popular Revolution, was a great mobilization of the people organized in the Committee of Sandinista Defense (CDS) and other organizations affiliated with the revolutionary process. The CDS organized all the people in their neighborhoods, meeting parks and leaving for the heroic city of Masaya.

Delegations from sympathizing and friendly countries were present, including a large number of North American, French and Puerto Rican brothers and sisters, all saying "presente" to the people of Nicaragua and to their cause of continuing the fight against imperialism and the counterrevolutionary military units that operate from Honduran territory.

While Reagan continues giving military assistance to the governments of El Salvador and Honduras, it will be very difficult for the Nicaraguan people to reconstruct their country, because above all comes the defense of our homeland's sovereignty. I wish to make an appeal through News & Letters that more North Americans unite with the struggle for liberation with the peoples of Latin America; with the fight against oppression, misery and unemployment.

Fraternally, A.

with three more to come; six ground jet bombers, used to blow up villages, and two troop transports; and untold quantities in arms and other military supplies.

Because not only El Salvador but the entire Central America-Caribbean region is aflame with revolutionary potential, Reagan is now rushing to increase U. S. imperialist subversion throughout the region. His long-awaited "Caribbean Basin Initiative," where Central America is concerned, turns out to be little more than millions of dollars in military aid. This aid is accompanied by alliances that are purely on a military basis.

ARGENTINA, HONDURAS, NICARAGUA

In early July, relations with the post-Malvinas war Argentine military junta were resumed. Though now headed by different generals, it was that regime which worked hand in glove with U. S. imperialism ever since the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution to destabilize the area.

That was followed on July 14 by the meeting with Honduran President Roberto Suazo Cordoba in Washington, to whom Reagan promised millions in military aid for the coming year. Hundreds of right-wing Somocista soldiers, aided by CIA covert actions forces, have crossed the border from Honduras into Nicaragua. In Honduras, U. S. military personnel are already at work widening and reinforcing airport runways to accommodate troop transports.

Honduran government troops have been fighting in concert with the Salvadoran junta against the rebels, while forcibly moving 35,000 Salvadoran peasant refugees away from the border and into Honduras. For its part, the Salvadoran junta signed on June 21 a joint anti-guerrilla pact with Guatemala, now headed by the "born-again Christian" General Efraim Rios-Montt, whose junta declared a state of seige on July 1. In addition 7,000 U. S. rapid deployment troops are now based in what was the old Panama Canal Zone and is now supposedly Panamanian territory.

Despite Reagan's reckless and murderous involvement of U. S. imperialism within El Salvador, sheer military might has not "wiped out" the guerrillas "in a few months" as d'Aubuisson predicted before the elections. Since then, guerrilla forces have held off the armed might of thousands of government troops in Morazan and Chalatenango provinces, and have struck at will around the capital.

A new front of opposition is opening here in the U. S. The reason Reagan has been restrained from all out intervention in Central America is not what his ideologues call "post-Vietnam syndrome," but the mass revulsion within the U. S. to his Cold War policies. That was shown in the June 12 mass anti-war demonstration in the U. S., and it is the growing anti-war opposition which can turn Reagan's attention from his counter-revolutionary front in Central America, to the home-front, and thus support the freedom fighters in El Salvador.

Women's dimension at FLOC

Defiance, Ohio — Several hundred Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) delegates from Ohio, Texas, Florida and their supporters, met here for the FLOC second Constitutional Convention. In the midst of a national campaign to boycott Campbell products, the packer who contracts for the produce of many farmers in Ohio, the atmosphere was like that of the early Civil Rights Movement with rhythmic clapping, chants of Huelga! and songs interspersed throughout the sessions. The women and men farmworkers conducted their convention almost entirely in Spanish.

The most exciting aspect was the participation of women. The convention was "Dedicada a la Mujer Campesina" ("Dedicated to the Farmworker Woman") and a resolution passed which stated, "we recognize the absolutely essential nature of women's contributions to FLOC over the years and that FLOC women be encouraged to organize and to take leadership positions in FLOC." But what gave the resolution real flesh and blood, (for after all, the Executive Board from the first FLOC Convention seated in front of the room was all male), was the fact that at the first session women took the floor and nominated a woman to be vice-president of the union. It was not tokenism. She was elected by beating a male nominee. And more women went to the microphones to nominate and second other women for Executive Board positions. They were not elected, but the presence of the women was felt.

As the second and final session ended after hearing from United Farmworkers President Cesar Chavez, a poem which was written by a woman on farmworker women was read by her, and a second woman followed to say that though she had no money to give, what she would try and create was time for the movement. It was no easy task she explained, as she had three children to raise. The dimension of women at this FLOC Convention was part of the continuing struggle of the farmworkers. — Participant

ON OUR DRAFT PERSPECTIVES THESIS: MASSES OPPOSE REAGANOMICS, NUCLEAR WAR

Soon after I got a copy of the July N&L with the Perspectives, the Census Bureau released the figures on the effects of the economy on workers, especially Black workers. They admitted that real family income dropped again last year, and now is at the lowest level since 1967! But what really shocked me was what they call "median income for Black families." It is now down to only 56 percent of the income for white families, the lowest percentage since 1955. In other words, when it comes to economics, we are back to where we were before the Montgomery Bus Boycott! I looked over the 30 years of struggle in the Perspectives, and I felt that we have to put it all together now, before they try to drive us back to slavery days.

Black woman
Los Angeles

In your draft Perspectives Thesis I was very struck with the statement that "post-Marx Marxists" did not grapple seriously with the new forms of opposition that workers were posing in the 1950s when automation first was introduced. Think how much further we might be today in a relationship of revolutionary intellectuals and workers if they had. Today we have robotics and the crisis is more extreme, but what passes for Marxist analysis is often struck in "economics alone" and does not genuinely search for human revolutionary forces as the Marxist-Humanists seem to be doing.

Reader
Oakland, Cal.

I have been following Raya Dunayevskaya's writings on Marx's last decade, and especially his 1880-82 *Ethnological Notebooks* since her first essay on that subject in N&L, Jan.-Feb. 1979. She showed back then that the relation of women's liberation to human development was what Marx was seeing in the studies of so-called "primitive" cultures like the Iroquois or the ancient Irish clans. They really had more human relationships than the misogynistic ones of today.

The Perspectives Thesis reminded me of all this, especially how I went and tried to study the *Ethnological Notebooks* for myself, as a women's liberationist, and found how much depended on the view from our own age back to Marx, in order to make explicit what Marx was trying to dig out of those ethnologists. I hope that when Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation* and Marx's *Philosophy of Revolution* comes out this Fall, I will be able to discuss with my friends from "Take Back the Night" where this "view from our age" is going to develop now.

Women's liberationist
Chicago

I was very surprised to see you say that Engels was "the first post-Marx Marxist whose talent at popularization far outdistanced his grasp of Marx's Marxism." If this is true, wouldn't it change the whole nature of socialist history? I always thought that Marx and Engels had the same ideas and concepts. And when you say that "no post-Marx Marxist was deeply grounded in Marx's Marxism" I find that hard to believe. What have Marxists been doing for 100 years then?

Anti-nuke activist
Berkeley, Cal.

I have just completed Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought*. Powerful! I am attempting to adapt the concept of humanism to this community. The black-faced politicians have been calling me. (It is election time.) I told them that I would be happy to share a public forum with them at anytime. They as of yet have not accepted my challenge.

A grassroots organization spearheaded by independent child-care mothers and workers has formed here: "Federation United to Usher in Real Equality"

(FUTURE). The politicians are trembling in their "overseers" saddles as they watch this development independent of their autocracy . . .

(Two weeks later.) After reading *Marxism and Freedom* and the Perspectives Thesis, I have gained a wider perspective and a deeper appreciation for the history of masses in motion. Indeed, this reading has sharpened my analytical framework as I re-thought U.S. social evolution from the 1700s to the 1900s . . . On permanent revolution as an indicator that the masses are in motion: I sensed this disturbing omission when I first returned South. Though I was sought after to be part of the "inside," I kept questioning the absence of everyday people . . . but I was not cognizant until after reading N&L literature that this was an assessment of revolutionary content. The breakthrough on the Absolute Idea, on Freedom, on Humanism, will enlarge mass involvement . . .

Black woman activist
Montgomery, Alabama

When I think about the situation for U.S. rulers with the economic recession they have never recovered from, I get the picture of the American giant ruling the world with only one hand. This is the time to finish him off!

Black educator
Chicago

Those "new moments in Marx" that you speak of seem quite exciting: revolutionary forces in underdeveloped lands, "new cultures" including so-called primitive societies, and the multi-dimensionality of civilizations. When you consider that Marx spent the better part of four decades studying and writing about the birth and growth of capitalism, it is quite provocative to now point out that in his search for pathways out of capitalism, he was not at all averse to looking at pre-capitalist societies. And not merely as "remnants of the past" still existing, but as possible indications of ways toward a future without capitalism's seemingly all-encompassing tentacles.

Student
Los Angeles

I liked the third section of the Perspectives very much, because it gave me an idea of what Marxist-Humanists consider important in the post-War period — in the world and in the history of your group. But frankly, the small space devoted to it was not enough. I was left with lots of questions . . .

Reader
New York City

Ed. Note: All readers are invited to get the fullest view of that three-decade development in our pamphlet, 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. and in the Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Marxist-Humanism, 1941 to Today. Both are available from N&L; see ad, p. 7.

LIBERTY FOR HAITIANS

When I saw the first Haitian refugees being released from the Krome Ave. Camp outside Miami last week, my eyes filled with tears. I couldn't believe that this horror might finally be coming to an end. The TV interviewed one young man, who had been in the Camp for a whole year — after he crossed the Caribbean in a small boat, practically drowning and starving, he said, "We all cried for liberty in Haiti, and we thought we could find it here. Then we cried for liberty in the United States. I just want to be a free man, to work and live — not to be in a cage."

Only 18 men and women were released that day, and two weeks later, still almost 2,000 are in the camps and prisons. We have to keep the pressure on Reagan, because he is the worst racist President we have ever seen.

Black retiree
Alabama

Readers' View

LATIN AMERICA'S WOMEN

Since I returned to Germany from the year in Nicaragua I have been active in Latin American solidarity groups here. Next week we are having a meeting about "Health in Nicaragua." You can probably imagine how I am feeling. Very often I have the dream to go back to Nicaragua right now. You can't forget one year in the revolution.

There are still a lot of problems in the revolution. The question of women is a special one. You can't compare it with the European or American movement. The machismo is still very strong.

Socialist-Feminist
West Germany

I really love the way N&L has been reporting the Women's Liberation Movement in Latin America this year. Most of the press — even the Left press or the Women's Liberation press — does not see that women are a lot of the reason Latin America is in such a revolutionary spirit now. The interview with the Guatemalan woman and the story on the Women's Association of El Salvador in New York last issue were great; it makes me wonder when we in North America will catch up to the "underdeveloped" world.

Feminist
San Francisco



LABOR STRIFE IN REAGAN'S U.S.A.

I was very upset to see on TV the way Iowa Beef Processors (the largest in the world) is trying to break the union at their plant in Dakota City, Nebraska. The workers went out on strike June 7, but the real trouble started the last week of July when the company began bringing in scabs to re-start production. When the workers fought back with rocks and bottles, trying to stop the scabs, the company first brought in the police, and then got the governor to call out the National Guard.

There are 2,400 workers out on strike. The company has hired over 1,000 scabs so far, and now have brought out 100 Nebraska police and over 300 National

FROM JAPAN: INTERNATIONAL ANTI-WAR ASSEMBLY

We are going to hold the 20th International Anti-war Assembly on Aug. 1, 1982 in Tokyo. We are fighting now here in Japan under the slogan: "Against both the USA and USSR's nuclear armaments competition! Expand the anti-war movement all over the world." We hope all the comrades who are struggling against the suppression and domination of both the Stalinists and the imperialists will send messages for our assembly. We hope to communicate with all these workers in order to get a solid theory of the struggle . . .

We are now faced with a great danger of world war. Two local wars broke out one after another in South America and in the Middle East within only two months. These wars make it clear that the world situations in the 1980s have changed from those in the preceding 20 years . . .

These military, political and economic conflicts . . . were brought forth by three shocking affairs in the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s — the first war between the "socialist states" in Indochina, the Iranian Revolution in Islam, and the aggression into Afghanistan of the USSR . . . Though the anti-nuclear disarmament movement is widespread today in Europe,

Guardsmen to "protect" the scabs. Meanwhile, the court has limited pickets to pairs 50 feet apart! It is crazy to see these pairs of pickets facing armored personnel carriers in the middle of the Nebraska prairie. I feel that the company is taking their key from Reagan's actions against PATCO.

One striker said, "I will not go back there without the union. It's bad enough with the union. The company attitude is that they hate you, that they're out to get you all the time. When someone has a finger cut off they tell the rest of us to keep going." Is this the way labor will have to live in a future world of Reagan? We will never stand for it.

Furious
Michigan

I saw ex-football player Bubba Smith on Detroit TV blame a lot of the much-publicized cocaine abuse in the NFL on the owners. You take an Earl Campbell or Walter Payton, he busts his ankle and you don't even give them a week away, you have to give them something to send them out there — and some get hooked more than others. When a doubting interviewer asked why they can't say no, he said, "They pay you, and they expect you to be at work on Sunday. They don't regard you as a human being — they treat you just like a Clydesdale horse or any other animal."

What he said has the ring of truth. I remember the open toleration, even encouragement, of alcohol and drugs at the Dodge Truck plant, as management forced workers to the line — the assembly line.

Former truck worker
Detroit

The Ford Motor Co. has decided to build its new V6 engine at its Lima, Ohio plant instead of the engine plant in Detroit. The reason for the selection was that Ford was getting a better deal from the Lima local of the UAW than it could get from Local 600. Recently Ford, who has separated the Steel Division from the Ford Motor Co., announced plans to sell the Rouge steel mill to a Japanese steel firm.

If the UAW permits one local to grant more concessions than another local; if it permits the sale of sections of Ford to outsiders with the goal of re-negotiating contracts at lower wages and standards of labor, then the UAW is greasing the skids on its own path to destruction.

Ex-Ford employee
Detroit

American and in Japan, it faces the danger of being poisoned and twisted around the barbarous logic of "power politics" . . . What matters most is the political, economic and military background that causes the arms race. The movement for "peace" by disarmament is only a reverse to "peace" by balance of terror. It is natural that this movement increases an illusion that even the powers may possibly choose the "peace policy" . . .

Please send your messages and correspondence to:

Kaiho-Sha
24-9, Higashi Nihonbashi,
2-chome
Chuo-ku, Tokyo, Japan

Ed. Note: News and Letters Committees sent our own message of solidarity to the Anti-war Assembly, sharing our ideas on perspectives for the world movement for human liberation. The message was read to the Assembly, as part of the continuing exchange of ideas between American and Japanese revolutionaries. Another such exchange — between workers for General Motors and workers at Toyota, begins on page 3. For a copy of the full statement from the Japanese anti-war activists excerpted above, write to N&L.

ANTI-WAR YOUTH

I recently attended two meetings of antiwar coalitions here. The meeting of the "June 12 Rally Committee" drew over 100 people, and although many were either in the CP or liberals committed to electoral politics, there was also a large presence of new independent young people. Some of the liberals and Stalinists were very arrogant. One woman from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom said the largely poor and Latino Lower East Side needed to have its low level of anti-nuke consciousness raised before she would agree to the Asian-American committee's idea of marching there on Hiroshima-Nagasaki Day.

Around 125 people attended a public planning meeting of the Mobilization for Survival two weeks later. Here independent young people predominated. In October there will be a series of teach-ins, rallies and other protest actions. Both meetings I attended were 100 times more open and democratic than other similar ones in recent years. The new youth want to discuss everything — from women's liberation to jobs and peace, to racism, to Lebanon.

Anti-war activist
New York City

What's in a name? The youth of Chicago continue to evidence real creativity, as can be glimpsed from their rewrite of a billboard advertising "Channel 5 News." Beneath the slogan "News that always hits home" they have added "with all the excitement of Raygun's limited nuclear holocaust."

Older person
Chicago



SOCIALISM MITTERAND- STYLE

I was furious at the Bastille Day parade here. What kind of socialist would parade tanks, rocket launchers, and Mirage jet fighters down the street? I took a picture of "ti-Francois" (Mitterrand). He stood there so rigid I thought they'd embalmed him or he had an iron rod up his butt.

Traveller
Paris, France

BEGIN'S WAR IN LEBANON — AND ITS OPPOSITION

Here are brief excerpts from a press release we received from the Israel Secular Humanist Association against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. We thought readers of N&L might find them interesting:

"The Association warns that one of Israel's goals in Lebanon is liable to be the annexation of the Palestinian West Bank and Gaza Strip as a result of favourable conditions caused by this invasion. The Association warns of the possibility of annexation designs in southern Lebanon under the guise of the so-called "Christian militia". . . The Association warns against the further expansion of militarist and chauvinist tendencies in Israel after this war will be over. We warn against the possible de-facto personality cults of a political or a military leader . . . We express our anger at the wanton devastation and destruction caused by the invasion of Lebanon, which totally contradicts the declared aims of the Israeli government at the start of its most recent Lebanon adventure."

Israel Secular Humanist
Association
P.O. Box 36965
Tel-Aviv 61369, Israel

What is happening in the Middle East is of grave concern to us all, and a topic of continual, heated discussion. In Canada there are also pockets of Jewish protest against Israel's unforgivable action in Lebanon. In Toronto two weeks ago, members of the Jewish community including several activist rabbis held a public demonstration to protest the Israeli invasion. From time to time one sees letters to the editor on the subject, written by Jews; clearly anguished but unfavorable to Israel . . .

When Menachem Begin's Likud Party ran against the incumbent Labour Party several years ago, it hardly seemed possible that the voting public would elect an ultra-right-wing nationalist party, even as a backlash to the scandals then rocking Labour . . . No people can consider itself superior in its needs to another; in the end we are all human beings striving for the same basic needs and even rights. One of those needs is to survive, the other is the right to self-determination as a people.

Jewish reader
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

HIROSHIMA DAY IN NEVADA

Could anything be more disgusting than the fact that the United States government chose one day before the anniversary date of the Hiroshima bombing to explode an atomic weapon? Secretary of Energy James Edwards, who witnessed the test found it "exciting." The vulgarity and arrogance of the Reagan Administration is almost beyond words.

Sickened,
Detroit

BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN TWO OCEANS

Just received the July copy of N&L and found it most thought-provoking. The article on Mauritius, however, gives a wrong impression. The people of Diego Garcia were flung off the island, with Britain arguing that they were migrant workers and not from Diego Garcia at all! The last I heard the British had offered L30 million on condition the islanders give up all claims to going back. Meanwhile the islanders are living in slums in Mauritius . . .

After the Falklands war, those other islanders are not so happy with the British troops there. They have had to ban them from the Port Stanley pubs. The confusion of the Left here was incredible. One said to me that "we had to support Argentina because South America was going socialist whilst Britain was going fascist"! I got so sick of it that I started going to my local pub where the people didn't regard themselves as leaders of anything . . .

Correspondent
Newcastle, England

APPEAL TO REBUILD 'GAY COMMUNITY NEWS'

On July 7, a seven-alarm blaze believed to be the work of arsonists swept through the offices of Gay Community News in Boston, leaving little but ashes and debris in its path. Ten years of GCN's history has gone up in flames. The fire that destroyed the office claimed most of their archives, irreplaceable files, typewriters, layout equipment, and most importantly, their workplace.

The gay and lesbian community has generously responded with offers of assistance. Temporary office space and equipment, short term loans and hundreds of hours of time have been provided. GCN continues to publish. But they must rebuild, in order to continue to function effectively. An attack against GCN is an attack against the entire community. Your donation is needed now. Please write to:

Gay Community News
22 Bromfield St.
Boston, MA 02108

EDITORIAL

Government reports and the ongoing Black revolt

Two recent events — the just-concluded SCLC March from Alabama to Washington, D.C. for voting rights, jobs and peace, and the release of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report on the Miami youth revolt of 1980 — underline once again the way the contradictory Black Dimension tears the facade of civilization from these uncivilized United States. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference-sponsored march, like the Miami revolt, disclosed the never-ending continuous Black revolutionary struggle for freedom. The report, on the other hand, continues the persistent counter-revolutionary do-nothingness of the U.S. government.

The Commission on Civil Rights has finally completed its report on Miami 1980 and transmitted it to the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives. It is unlikely that any of these precincts of government are going to have an immediate response to this report, short of a new Black mass movement in opposition to Reaganomics.

'CONFRONTING RACIAL ISOLATION IN MIAMI'

The bourgeois news media has given the report scant attention, and very little has come from Black and white civil rights organizations. This is incredible because the report — "Confronting Racial Isolation in Miami" — begins with the premise that the causes of the Miami Black revolt "are identical to those documented in the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder of 1968," the now famous Kerner report. And that "Current conditions in the nation's cities indicate that discrimination based on race and ethnicity continue to permeate and undermine the lives of the urban poor." Moreover the report raises the question whether the "nation only treats the symptoms of protest and unrest without achieving lasting structural changes."

No attempt was made to answer this question in the 353 pages of the report. In the end the Commission totally relied upon the concept that racism can be managed out of existence if the proper commitment is made by "public and private interest" in a united front with Black and Hispanic leadership in Miami.

The lie of the claim that racism can be "managed out of existence" is one that we have been exposing ever since the Kennedy Administration tried taking advantage of the centenary of the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation to fraudulently declare its affinity to Black freedom struggles. It was then that we wrote the section of American Civilization on Trial entitled "Of Patriots, Scoundrels and Slavemasters," pointing to the real wellsprings of the fight against racism:

"A new Governor came to the helm in a state that vies with the magnolia jungle as the staunchest outpost of racism . . . Not only, says this paragon of "law and order" in the state of Alabama, is he, Gov. Wallace, for "Segregation, today, tomorrow and forever," but he will organize to spread this doctrine to the North. He judges by the manner in which the KKK, after World War I, spread North. He forgets that this ambition is out of tune with the times — and beyond his capacities. This is so not because of the established powers at Washington, D.C., but because the self-activity of the Negroes has made it so. Indeed, all this white Southern howling at the winds is due to the unbridgeable gulf between the post-World War I era and the post-World War II age, when the Negro, far from running defensively away from lynching, has taken the offensive for his full rights on all fronts, and most of all in the South."

What Reagan retrogressionism has now disclosed is the end of any credibility in that "Great Delusion." The only value in the present report on Miami's 1980 mass youth revolt lies in the fact that it gives a detailed picture of how racism operates in the school system, in employment, in the police department and in the administration of justice in Miami and Dade county. This racism is so extreme, as the report points out, that "Blacks are in the city, but in a crucial sense they are not a part of Miami." The report makes it clear that this was the condition in Miami before the Black revolt of 1980 and it remains fundamentally the same condition that Blacks are facing in Miami today.

GOVERNMENT REPORTS — FROM KERNER TO MIAMI

Like all government reports, this one is solely concerned with "causes and solutions"; with the empiricism of observable facts that led to the Black revolt in Miami in May of 1980. There is no serious interest in real human beings involved in that revolt, the voices that were coming from below that were seeking a total change in race relationships in this country. The report gives no indication that a single Black youth was interviewed by the Commission, while statements and opinions from politicians, judges, lawyers, Florida's Governor Graham, Citizens Committee and businessmen appear on every page.

In this sense the report is inferior to the 1968 Kerner Commission report that was occasionally forced to reveal Blacks in revolt as reasoning human beings, and which admitted that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal." All that has changed in the 14 years since then is the intensification of Black America's determination to be free.

In the North the summer of 1982 has already seen marches against white mob violence in Brooklyn and Chicago, Boston and Milwaukee. In the South, the voting rights marches have been a prelude to new mobilizations from Tchula, Miss. Blacks driving for political power, to rural Alabama struggles against the continuing rip-off of Black-owned land. (See articles, pgs. 1, 8, 9).

Nor will the long hot summer end with the November elections and the new crop of political fakers they will bring. As Marxist-Humanists who have printed to "Black masses as vanguard" as the true history of this country, we foresee the Black freedom movement continuing ceaselessly until it has finally inspired the needed American revolution.

MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

Marxist-Humanism, 1941 to Today Its Origin and Development in the U.S.

The Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection prepared by News & Letters
is available for \$1.00.

25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.— A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments

By Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairwoman,
News and Letters Committees \$1.50

Order from News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48211.

The Black dimension: Tchula Seven

(Continued from page 1)

fire trucks and police cars and sanitation equipment.

After about a year in office, the white power structure—the plantation owners, the businessmen, the elected officials who had been part of the same system that had been in office for over 100 years—the power structure at that time called a meeting at the local bank in Tchula asking for my resignation. When I refused to resign from my job, telling them that I had been elected by the majority of the people in Tchula, and planned to serve my entire term, they launched a campaign to force me out of office. They said they did not want me to be the mayor of the town because they disapproved of the programs and of the things we were doing, that the programs interfered with their labor force on the farms, and that I was hardheaded and would not listen to them.

They locked city hall several months. I was unable to get into the mayor's office. They had the bank stop payment on all city funds, so we were unable to pay either the bills of the town or the employees. The legislature of the state passed a law that would allow two board members of the city government to run the town without my input. The governor attempted several times to declare the town under martial law, and appoint an administrator.

On May 1, 1981, 30 days prior to the end of my term, I along with six other officials of the town were framed, convicted and sentenced to three years in the state penitentiary for arresting a white man in Tchula. The case has come to be known as the Tchula Seven case. It involves seven Black officials of the town of Tchula, including the chief of police and five other police officers.

WHAT HAPPENED IS that the chief of police resigned from office because even though he had been paid, the check payments had been halted and the city hall had been locked. It was my responsibility under the laws and codes of Mississippi to appoint a chief of police and I did. I appointed a Black chief of police. When one of the alderman of the town, John Edgar Hayes, a white man, learned of that appointment he appointed a white chief of police, a Mr. Andrews, the person I ran against in 1977 for the position of mayor. Andrews went and formed an armed mob and came to city hall to take over.

We asked him to leave and he failed to do so. He pulled his gun and we began to struggle in an attempt to disarm him. We were able to do that and take the guns away from him and his followers and take them to jail. Andrews got out of jail, went before his sister-in-law who was the justice court judge of that district and made out papers against the seven of us for arresting



Working in the Mississippi delta

him. And that is how we got arrested for simple assault on a police officer.

DURING THE COURSE of the trial, the charges we had against Andrews were dropped. The district attorney said that rather than we being officials of the town, we were a bunch of hoodlums, who formed a mob and jumped on the innocent Andrews.

This case represents more than just the Tchula Seven, more than just people in the South, it represents people all over this country who believe in justice. Anyone who does not become a little boy to the power structure, will be attacked the same way—white as well as Black. This is a case they are using as an example. This is being used to discourage Blacks from voting, from running for office. It is one thing to pass a Voting Rights Act, it is another thing to overcome the threats and the harassment that constantly go on.

SAMUEL CALAHAM

For the first time since Reconstruction, a Black mayor was elected in the delta part of Mississippi in a bi-racial town, along with other Black officials. The power structure began to see people changing their views about what was leadership and decided to put a stop to it. The seven of us began speaking across the country telling what had happened.

What the system is telling the people of Tchula and all across the country is this is what we do to n...er mayors. Right now you can't get anyone in our county to run for anything because of what is happening. We have 60 or 70 percent Black elected officials, but since our case it has dropped to 30 percent and less. And since the mayor has been indicted on other charges, they have also indicted other Black officials.

THE COUNTY IS still for the most part in white hands. The only Black officials not being harassed are ones that take orders from the whites. All of the people who stand up are being harassed.

The power structure did not want new factories in town and worked to prevent them from coming. Because the way it stands now, all of the employees here are agricultural — farmworkers, tractor drivers — they take orders directly from the boss. This is the type of thing they would like to keep going, because if you speak out you lose your job. I was forced out of business because Blacks were afraid to come to my place, scared they would lose their job. This is the type of mentality that Tchula has, this is the type of thing we were working to change.

A national march has been called from Oct. 11 to Oct. 16 going from Tchula, Miss. to Jackson. For more information write National Campaign to Free Mayor Eddie Carthan and the Tchula 7 and to Preserve Black Political Rights, P. O. Box 29, Tchula, MS 39169

Willie Turks murder

(Continued from page 1)

night we were attacked. And believe me, if it had not been for the fact that we were transit workers we would not be here today". He then went on to say that many Blacks had been beaten and assaulted in that neighborhood, but the city covered it up. However, because they were city employees it became big news and could not be swept under the rug.

Another speaker, Sonia Simms Bey, a tenant in the Marlboro projects, spoke about the attacks on her two girls in the neighborhood. She then told of the very non-cooperative attitude of the police and city agencies when she reported the attacks. Other speakers from different Black organizations documented other attacks that have taken place.

One of the aims of the march was to get white residents of the area to also protest the racism of their neighborhood. However, although the march was peaceful, you could feel the deep hostility and hate of the whites who gathered along the march route. And at several points it looked as if we would be attacked.

There were, however, some positive signs. At one point a white woman started to speak up in favor of the march. She was immediately surrounded by a group of white youths who hustled her away. Also, there were some along the route who kept asking other whites not to start trouble as we marched by.

LINK TO OTHER STRUGGLES

After the return to the Marlboro projects, several more people spoke. One, an official of the Transit Workers Union, announced the creation of a trust fund for Turks' children. And a speaker from the Medgar Evers College connected their struggle, (see page 11), one of women's liberation, with the struggle to end racist violence. She said in effect that the City University's attack on the majority of the students (Black single mothers) at Medgar Evers is but the other side of the coin that allowed Turks to be murdered.

The demonstration was a very successful one, however it will not be the last. For there are still many unanswered questions. How come, after a whole month has past, only four of Turks' murderers have been arrested? Why is it that even these four have not yet been brought to trial? —Ray McKay

Woodlawn struggle today

Chicago, Ill. — Workers employed by a Black South Side community organization called The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) are engaged in a continuing struggle to organize themselves for better pay, working conditions and an end to harassment and arbitrary treatment at the hands of TWO management.

The drive toward self-organization began last October when security guards walked off the job followed by day care and detox workers. TWO, whose motto is "self-determination," responded by firing 20 security guards, 8 detox workers, and attempting to evict some strike leaders from TWO-owned apartments. In addition management hired a local law firm, Fox and Grove, which specializes in combatting unionization and charges by workers of discrimination on the job.

TWO was founded in 1960. The University of Chicago (located adjacent to the Woodlawn community) was instrumental, along with the federal government, in TWO's founding. TWO collected huge amounts of poverty program funds, with which it grew from a coalition of church and community groups to a multi-million dollar corporation owning housing complexes, a day care center and a detoxification center among other ventures.

When I was an activist in the 1960s, I witnessed with dismay the federal government's efforts to utilize federal funds to neutralize the Black mass liberation movement. TWO was an example. On the surface, the strategy seemed successful. Yet, today, nearly 20 years later, as the total crisis of capitalism manifests itself, Black masses are again demonstrating that the movement for freedom cannot be stopped. TWO, founded as a mechanism to coopt the freedom struggle, is being turned inside out by the very people it was meant to coopt.

The security guards have been successful in getting their jobs reinstated with back pay. "And we're not giving up at that," stated one worker. "The first order of business now is to organize."

In response to a TWO official's statement that TWO workers are basically "unemployables," a woman worker responded, "How could he make a statement like that? Most of us have had other jobs. Some have other jobs now; we have to with what they pay us, I am the type of person that if I'm wrong, I'll admit it, but if I'm right, I'll fight all the way. I don't care who it touches. And I always have been like that. Every time I get up I think about my children. I'm single. I've raised my children 12 years by myself and I have encountered a lot of things, you know, just trying to keep my little family together. I'm just not going to let nobody come in and walk over me." —David Park

INDIGNANT HEART

Indignant Heart:
A Black Worker's
Journal—\$7.50

By
Charles Denby

Order from: News & Letters,
2832 E. Grand Blvd.,
Detroit, Mich. 48211

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.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

between the middle-class and working-class Blacks became very sharp. Where the middle-class Black was very quiet, working class Blacks first began to speak their minds during the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, lining up solidly behind him and his nationalist movement. The workers in my shop eagerly followed all developments, both in the Congo and the UN, warmly supporting the demonstrations before that body, and holding it responsible for Lumumba's murder. But American trade union leaders were going around telling Africans how high the standard of living is in America, and how the Blacks here do not feel anything in common with Africans.

THE EXPERIENCE THE AFRICAN PEOPLE have made with their revolutions, and the problems they are still facing after all the great advance they made with "Negritude," have much to teach us here. We, too, are facing a new stage, and have much to learn.

I recently had a chance to talk for some time with two Africans, a young man from Nigeria and a woman from South Africa. Nobody has to be told that very deep changes are taking place in the thought and actions of Africans. We can see it in those who have gotten rid of colonialism, but most of all in the South Africans, where the actions are the most revolutionary.

The Nigerian said what practically every Black in U.S. industry knows — that skin color doesn't mean anything where the capitalists and working class are concerned. Just as a Black foreman or Black businessman can oppress and exploit the workers, so do the Africans in power oppress their own masses.

"**THERE IS A CLASS IN AFRICA,**" he said, "in whose interest it is to have neo-colonialism, for us to still be divided into tribes. There is an enormous gap in wages — you cannot fool the workers about whether you have a new society." He said that Nigeria has the most people and the most industry in Africa, and shows what will happen in other African nations if they don't act to stop the development of capitalist class relations.

The South African woman talked most about the youth in Soweto, but also about others in South Africa, and said nothing can stop them from gaining control of their country. Here too, she said, class not race is the main issue. But what hides the class relations, and makes it appear to be race, is that whites are the capitalist rulers, keeping control over the African majority through their brutal apartheid policies.

Just how vicious and almost overwhelming this battle for a new world is hit me again with great force when the reports came out on the horrible murder of Steven Biko, the young leader of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa. But even here, the revolutionary opposite comes through very sharply. Because nobody outside of South Africa had even heard of Steve Biko, and now the whole world knows about him.

It's what could be called the "shock of recognition" — when strangers from different countries react so much in the same way to ideas that they feel like they have always known each other. I know I felt this way toward Steve Biko, and know he felt the same way about Frantz Fanon, who he quoted on one of his last interviews. In that interview, Biko gave his ideas on Black Conscious-

Racial attack in Chicago

Chicago, Ill. — After the murder of Willie Turks by a white gang in Brooklyn last month, it nearly happened again in an all-white neighborhood of Chicago called Bridgeport — Mayor Daley's home area. Thomas Young, a 24-year-old Black man was shopping in Bridgeport on July 17 when he was deliberately run down by a gang of racist whites in a car. They then backed the car over him. When he was still alive, they got out of the car and beat him with baseball bats. He is paralyzed in the hospital.

"Bridgeport is a place you just don't go if you're Black" is what one friend told me. He should know; he's lived in a Black neighborhood near there for years. News of the near-murder spread throughout the city quickly. On July 24 a small group of demonstrators decided to do something about it. They called a march from the Black neighborhood into the heart of Bridgeport. Some 150 cops "escorted" the march. There was plenty of hatred to be seen when the march reached the white area, with signs saying "N—rs beware." Rev. Turner, who led the march, did try to speak to the whites as well as the marchers, but I don't think there was much response.

Evidently the publicity for the march was not good. That may be one reason the turnout was low. But several people who didn't come said they didn't see how the one march could make it safer for Black Chicagoans. Maybe people want to connect the demonstrations with a movement for a total change in this society.

ness and referred to Fanon's idea on the internationalism of true revolutionary consciousness. Biko said:

"**BY BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS** I mean the cultural and political revival of an oppressed people. This must be related to the emancipation of the entire continent of Africa since the Second World War. Africa had experienced the death of white invincibility.

"The Black Consciousness movement does not want to accept the dilemma of capitalism versus communism. It will opt for a socialist solution.

"As Fanon puts it, 'the consciousness of the self is not the closing of a door to communication . . . National consciousness, which is not nationalism, is the only thing that will give us an international dimension.'"

What both Fanon and Biko are saying is that the struggle for freedom has no national boundaries, and everywhere that you have a battle for human liberty helps the worldwide movement for freedom.

As Others See Us

The Montgomery-Tuskegee Times 25¢

MEDIA REVIEW: (for community organizers, workers, politicians, political and social scientists) by Gwendolyn M. Patton

A review of **Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal** by Charles Denby (South End Press/Boston, 1978).

This autobiography by a Black Son of Alabama, born and raised in Lowndes County, movingly recounts his victories, his disappointments, his fortitude to persevere as a husband, a father, an auto worker and a freedom fighter in a society institutionally burdened with economic inequities and social inequalities.

The Denby family was a renter on Berger's plantation. Though there was plenty of food, even during the Great Depression, this contemporary slavery mode of tenant farming gnawed Young Denby's consciousness: What should be people's relationships to each other, particularly between Blacks and Whites; and just as important, what should people's relationship be to work, to production?

His not finding answers to these questions in the fertile dirt of Lowndes County, his developing manhood constantly threatened to be hung (lynched) from magnolia trees if ever manifested, and his disgust of White men's abuse of southern Black women served as his driving forces to pull up from the South.

In regard to too many ups in the South, Denby asks his friend what did he mean by "ups".

The friend replied: "The first thing in the morning, before day breaks, you have to wake up. Then you have to get up, then you have to feed up, gear up. You go to the field before the sun is up and hitch up, the first words you say to the mules is 'git up.' And you start to bedding up. When night comes you look over how much of the earth you have turned up. After you plant up, you start getting ready to round up. When you're through with that it's time to go to chopping up. When you get through with that it's time to go to the hayfield and start bailing up. When that is done you come back to the field and start gathering up. Then you start hauling up to the white man to have your settling up. And you don't get a damn thing in return, but a big mess up. No, I'm not telling a mule 'get up' no more, if he's sitting on my lap."

The substances of Denby's life, a mirror of our lives regardless of position, revealed the humiliating relations he underwent while serving as a "handy boy" to a prominent White lawyer in an urban, southern city; yet his sense of dignity mixed with his sense of humor always reversed situations on his behalf—the humanist stuff of Brer Rabbit and Jess B. Semple in all of us.

In Detroit he found the land of opportunity to be a contemporary horror chamber of foundries and factories. The questions of social relations to work became more complex, and perplexing. He became a natural union organizer in the true and pure sense.

His recount of the Detroit 1943 race riots led by Black workers and soldiers, who were outraged by the murder of a Black woman and a child, places Black discontent in a larger perspective. Indeed, the mistreatment of Black women, particularly in the factory, was his impetus to organize people around the humanist goals of honor, dignity, respect and freedom.

Indignant Heart narrates like a story, your story and my story. This easy to read and down to earth story traces World War I, The Great Depression, union organizing, World War II, the Black rebellions against racism and the contemporary Civil Rights Movement. **Indignant Heart** is a resource tool and a beacon source of inspiration for us to hold fast to the principles of freedom and dignity.

Attempted coup in Kenya

Kenya, Africa's "model of democracy," has experienced an attempted coup organized by air force officers on July 31. Over 1,000 persons have been arrested and these include students and military personnel. This signifies the frustration of a country whose real experience of democracy is the tight-fisted rule of Kenya's oligarchy, personified by the Kikuyu elite. It is a "democracy" that does not even allow mild criticism from members of parliament, which led to the murders of two members in 1973.

The sole legal party, the Kenyan African National Union, is tightly controlled by this elite which also decides who runs for office. Oginga Odinga, the former vice-president, was removed from parliament, and had been systematically denied the right to be voted for. His offense? Having a different view from the elite.

Opposition has been mounting, especially since the mid-seventies, mostly centered around the National University in Nairobi, which has witnessed periodic closures, especially in 1978-79 and 1980. A high point of oppositionist activity was reached in 1979, with the detention of Ngugi Wa Thiongo, the well known Kenyan novelist, for daring to write a play — in Swahili — to be performed by workers and peasants, exposing the corruption and bankruptcy of the ruling class.

The Kenyan ruling class is perhaps the most anachronistic in Africa, utilizing archaic cultural values as its justification for being in power, while turning teenage women on the east coast into objects of pleasure, especially for the U.S. Navy. Settler colonists control the land directly, while the Masai are kept in a state of amusement for tourists. Kenyatta's family is in virtual control of local businesses in cooperation with Asian merchants. Nairobi itself is a city of slums and shanty towns, with the 38-story Kenyatta Conference Center, facing Mt. Kenya, dominating the center city to cater to U.S. agencies and foreign tourists.

The coup, while not the revolutionary answer to the neo-colony called Kenya, is once more an indication of the pressures faced by the African ruling classes, and we definitely have not heard the last word. —Ugokwe

Nigerian crisis

Ugokwe's article on Nigeria (July N&L) was very instructive in exposing the contradictions in that country which has been presented to the world by the bourgeois press as "Black Africa's economic giant."

Oil suddenly pushed Nigeria into the ranks of the so-called "middle class countries" much-coveted by global capitalism, which has sought desperately to co-opt her political leadership in order to guarantee supplies upon which private capital's industries depend.

Reagan did not decide to cut off oil supplies from Libya until he had been assured that Nigeria would increase supplies to offset the embargo on Libyan oil.

That apart, much of the energies of global capital has been directed towards winning Nigeria's leadership into using the oil money to award both necessary and unnecessary development and military contracts to those pernicious consortia and cartels of capital. When early this year Nigeria's federal government came out publicly to admit that Nigeria's imports far exceeded exports, we knew the game had been played to the hilt.

At this point, the duty imposed on Nigeria's leadership by the global corporations is for them to hold the country in the interest of global capital. Certainly, the leadership is not averse to that role because, having lost touch with the workers and peasants, it is aware that its acquisitive interests would best be served by aligning with global capital.

For that reason it will continue to brutalize the workers, peasants and students until the victims are able to resolve their own organizational and ideological contradictions and put an end to the rule by the culturally expatriate indigenous aristocracy

— A reader from Ghana

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THEORY / PRACTICE

Hobsbawm and Rubel on the Marx centenary

(Continued from page 4)

that without Engels we would not have had Volumes II and III of *Capital*; and it is true Engels was Marx's life-long collaborator. It is not true that their close collaboration differed only to the extent that there was an agreed upon "division of labor" between them or that the difference was only a question that Marx was a genius and the others were, at best, only talented. Engels himself admitted that. Now that we do have the over 500 pages of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* as against the few paragraphs Engels cites in his *Origin of the Family*, in which he claims he is presenting their joint views, the myth must surely be ended, and the truth disclosed. This is not for academic reasons, but because of the urgency and relevance for our age, when a whole new Third World has emerged and a new Women's Liberation has moved from an Idea whose time has come to a movement, and because Marx laid the ground for penetration and action on both of these problematics.

It is a question not only of the *Origin*, published after Marx's death, which Engels claimed was a "bequest" of Marx, but of Engels' famous *Anti-Duhring*, which was published during Marx's lifetime when no claim was made that it represented both Marx and Engels. It was only in the editions published after Marx's death that Engels suddenly claimed the work represented both of them. This, unfortunately, became the ground of Engels' "Marxism" which was accepted by all post-Marx Marxists as such. Here is what Hobsbawm claims: "There is no evidence whatever that Karl Marx expressed or felt any reservations about such works as Engels' *Anti-Duhring*, which is today often considered to embody specifically Engelsian positions."

The actual facts about *Anti-Duhring* begin in 1868 when Marx, after reading Duhring's review of *Capital*, called Engels' attention to that professor most critically (Letter of Jan. 8, 1868), but got no response from Engels. It was not until 1875-76, when Duhring's works got a following in the socialist movement and Wilhelm Liebknecht appealed to Engels to answer Duhring, that Engels turned to a review of all of Duhring's writings.

Margaret Fuller's revolutionary life

(Continued from page 2)

were . . . often so narrow, always so rabid and exaggerated in their tone. But . . . they had a high motive . . . worth thinking of . . . worth living and dying for, to free a great nation from such a terrible blot . . ."

And just as Fuller went beyond her Transcendentalist tutors, she also outdistanced her revolutionary colleague Mazzini in her judgment on the real heroes of the revolution. She wrote to the people of America: "You may learn the real meaning of the words Fraternity, Equality; you may, despite the apes of the past who strive to tutor you, learn the needs of a true democracy. You may in time learn to reverence, learn to guard, the true aristocracy of a nation, the only real nobles — the Laboring Classes."

After the defeat of the 1848 revolutions, Fuller was anxious not just to return to her friends in America

But, far from submitting a plan for his work to Marx, he simply asked Marx to write a piece, not on Duhring's philosophy, but on his political economy. This Marx did; Engels cut it; and, without acknowledging Marx's contribution, it was made into Chapter 10, "Out of the *Critical History*."

Serious study and documentation about Marx's limited knowledge of Engels' *Anti-Duhring* has been done by Terrell Carver in his essay, "Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and Dialectics," which was published in the September 1980 issue of *Political Studies*. Why does Eric Hobsbawm persist in the "official" myth? Hand in hand with philosophic indifference to the distinctions between Marx and Engels goes Hobsbawm's ahistorical attitude to questions of polemics.

Whenever this historian reaches a fundamental "polemical" divide, he searches not for its meaning, but for how to escape taking a position. The isolation of "scholarship" on Marx from the Russian Revolution was not the only instance. By skipping from the 1920s all the way to 1956, he avoided a single word about the very first opposition to Stalin by no less a person than Lenin's co-leader of the Russian Revolution, Leon Trotsky. Hobsbawm's attempt to disregard all differences within Marxism by claiming that his work is not "polemical" doesn't stand up when another state arises — Mao's China — and Hobsbawm finally uses the term "polycentric Marxism," which he has assigned to a future volume.

Thus far, the English reader has only the first volume of *The History of Marxism* — which was supposed to center on "Marxism in Marx's Day." The question is: Where, then, is Marx? We don't see him. What we are given are today's interpretations by a select few who deal with some aspects of Marx's multidimensional new continent of thought and of revolution. Far from expanding the expression, "polycentric Marxism," Hobsbawm has used it as a way to take back his one admission — that he hasn't paid attention to Marxists who have "attracted insignificant numerical support" — by also claiming: "but this statement implies no judgement about the relative contributions of the various organiza-

tions, large or tiny, to the Marxist analysis."

Hobsbawm's way of omitting history that he calls "polemical" is hardly distinguishable from expunging history as it is being made. Historians have ever been more adept at rewriting than at writing history. For that we must return to Marx and let him speak for himself.

Detroit, Mich.
July 30, 1982

poem by a jewish revolutionary on the israeli war against the palestinian and lebanese peoples

summer city evening, (america): the cool summer air here blows gentle on my face but the edge of my mind is strung on fine wire, is tuned to a high-pitched ringing: i can't escape the jewish bombs/they crowd the sky. blast and terror: now the children scream and the men and women weep. the dust and rubble are the grave of my mother, and my brother was burned to death by steel.

"if i forget thee o jerusalem. let my right hand forget its cunning" my tongue is dry and even my eyes are (mostly) dry. a crazy sorrow eats my heart and eats my soul, it clings inside my skin: i am a jew. i am a jew, and i was birthed into a fevered love of freedom! "let my people go" through all the ages — till came the death camps with the showers breathing gas the children screamed and clutched their naked mothers. those children sing in my dreams. at times i think i cannot bear the sorrow, and they sing to me: but now they are weeping as they hold the tender bodies of the young ones killed/by israeli fire. (burned in the name of those who burned in the ovens. nothing is holy to those who send/fire/from the sky, no child's name is holy.) the dark-eyed girl wanders through the rubble; the summer air is hot.

(i wish crying or laughing or holding someone close would help ease the sorrow eating at my heart. i wish my mind weren't tuned to this high-pitched ringing.)

i shall learn and i shall sing a desperate song of songs: come: i rise and make haste through the hills to the gates of the city. the morning dawns and my head is sweating with fever. the birds that once sang here are still, and the trees that gave shade once are gone. the wind is blowing from the west and from the east. tonight i renew in love and blood my vows: i am wedded to a wild lust, a passion-song of freedom.

—michelle landau/june 1982

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YOUTH**Today's new campus activism**

by Ida Fuller

Recently there's been a lot of discussion about the new stage of youth protest reached with the massive anti-nuclear demonstrations in New York this June. But this new stage is not limited to either New York or anti-nuke. It extends to many campuses nationwide which have experienced a re-birth of activism this year.

At the school I go to, UCLA, you see this all over. Students who are affected by Reagan's deep cuts in financial aid for education are looking for ways to show their anger. Some are so threatened by the probable \$100 increase in quarterly registration fees that they are planning to transfer.

In addition, a leaky nuclear reactor on campus has made the threat of nuclear war so real that many have become active in the nuclear freeze movement.

NEW ATTITUDES FROM CAMPUS ACTIONS

These concerns, along with support activity for Polish and El Salvador's freedom struggles, have helped give a "new air" to the UCLA campus, visible not only in outright activities but in attitudes of students.

One Black youth I spoke with asked a fundamental question: "what kind of new society do we want to live in?" He knew that he was looking for a "human society" but said he wanted to find out "how to make sure we overcome barriers of racism and sexism on our road to a new society."

A young Black feminist felt that "everybody will work with the issues that are closest to home" but saw the need for a different kind of communication in the 1980s between forces that are fighting for freedom so that women's "autonomy" would not be sacrificed in subservience to "larger movements."

She felt the movement in the 1960s was very sexist. But as part of a new generation of feminists, she felt that because of the 1982 defeat of the ERA, which is so shocking to us, we need to think of changing our definition of feminism so it does not separate itself from the experiences of Black women.

The depth of such questions and activity has begun to forge some important new alliances by many at UCLA. During the past year coalitions that included Black, women's, and Latino groups were formed for support activities around El Salvador, Reagan's militarism, and for protests over university registration fees. Afterwards many students saw the need to never separate these kinds of protests from the Black and Latino youth. As one woman said, "sooner or later the 'minorities' who are really the majority in this country are going to rise up and when that happens I want to be on their side."

It is precisely this coming together of different groups of students which raises the question of what

Youth in Revolt

A Black anti-militarist musician active in W. Germany, was extradited to Detroit on July 21, by the Wayne County, Mich. prosecutor. Darnell Summers was charged in 1968 with shooting a State Police officer during a rebellion against police harassment in Inkster, Mich. Although those charges were dropped, Summers spent 14 months in prison in the frame-up. But Summers was arrested again in December after a new trial witness was found. She has since publicly recanted her story, given under police coercion.

Summers supporters have cited factors in his arrest that are more political than criminal. He was kept for an unusually long time in a West German jail and was kept 20 extra days on an affidavit signed by then Secretary of State Alexander Haig.

Summers was organizing Black soldiers in W. Germany and formed Afrodisia, a leftist jazz band. For information, contact Darnell Summers Defense Fund, 2900 Cadillac Tower, Detroit, Mich. 48226.

The Labor Department proposed in July lowering the wages of 14- and 15-year-olds and "permitting" them to work longer hours, up to 24 per week. In these times when all in a family who can work must work, this measure represents a gift from Reagan to his small business supporters who would go for the cheaper, younger labor.

Scattered protests broke out nationwide in July following the indictment of Benjamin Sasway of San Diego, June 30. Sasway, and three others indicted so far, had publicly announced their refusal to register for the draft. They are in good company — 700,000 non-registrants and growing. In Detroit, a picket line and guerrilla theater at the Armed Forces Testing and Evaluation Center, July 27, protested the prosecutions as well as Reagan's continued support of the genocidal war in El Salvador.

type of alliance is needed. One major coalition that has emerged is the Federation for Progress, a nationwide group which sponsored a large anti-Reagan rally in May.

"BROADNESS" HIDES NEWNESS

The trouble with the Federation is that it does not know what it stands for. And many of its leaders do not want it to find out. It can then be "broad" enough to take in the Democratic Party. The result is that many of its activities, such as the May 25 rally in Los Angeles, provided not a whiff of the radicalism many of its members and participants embody.

This single issue reductionism — of trying to unite all under the umbrella of "anti-Reagan" alone — threatens to compromise the group with the Democratic Party rather than basing itself on the creative ideas of freedom so many of its different dimensions have.

The many protests and events this year at UCLA show a new student activism is on the rise. Now that it has risen, how can we ensure it will be so new as not to be diverted from its passion for change by the kind of alliances that bury what students are for? Seeing that new kind of activism develop will depend on how seriously students involve themselves in working out their ideas of freedom, and measuring them against the ideas and experiences of other youth and other movement organizations. Such a critical confrontation can be a way for youth to be able to express the fullness of what they are for.

From an Iranian 14-year-old

Dear struggling youth:

I think in a time when that executioner Khomeini is shooting hundreds of youth every day, youth are much more conscious. I mean it is not just "a feeling" anymore.

I am also a youth and one of our struggles is also at home. Especially because parents think that whatever they say is correct and whatever we say they reply: you don't know anything. What you're saying is of no use. But this is wrong. We do know something and we don't say things without a reason. It isn't true that someone who is bigger is always right. If your parents don't allow you to participate in activities, don't despair, talk to other youth, get books and papers. If you don't want your parents to see them either give them back or keep them away.

Dear youth, I wish I could go to the university so I could participate in demonstrations. But I think we have to read books and increase our consciousness now and not wait to go to college. If we don't we will again have to buy medicine and other things from U.S. and Russia and we'll be trapped again in their nets.

If you say my parents don't let me read progressive books you're fooling yourself. Don't be afraid to ask. If you don't get an answer don't just leave it at that. If your parents say there are no answers to these questions this is wrong. This is what the imperialists have told them so no one looks for answers.

Sorry for all the mistakes in this letter, I couldn't get any help because they would say, this stuff is not good for you. I think it is.

West German anti-nuclear activist views the movement

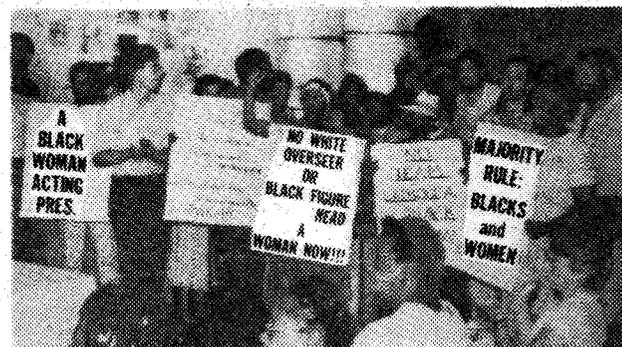
Editor's Note: Below we print excerpts from an interview with a German anti-war activist visiting the U.S.

In the big cities in Germany, you are confronted with so many different issues you can work on. Some people come from the women's movement for example. Most of the women's groups now have taken up working for disarmament, and they are a strong force in the peace movement.

All these people do make the links. The women who come from the women's movement are still fighting sexism. They make both demands because they think nuclear weapons and sexism have to be eliminated. They really want to go to the root of the problems. Not everybody connects all the different issues while working for disarmament.

I don't think strong links have been made with Polish Solidarity support. There are groups making the links, but it's not a main strategic policy. The big demonstration in Bonn only focused on the deployment of the Cruise and Pershing missiles. There were individual groups who came with other slogans and banners, but the official slogan was to get rid of the medium-range missiles.

I think the June 12 New York demonstration was very good. There were contingents of minorities, though still not many, and demonstrators individually addressed other issues. I tried to organize Chicago people to go with the June 12 Coalition here, and I didn't expect such a massive turnout. I think this kind of mass manifesta-

**At Medgar Evers College****Black women continue protest**

Brooklyn, N.Y. — Richard Trent resigned as President of Medgar Evers College on July 6, after the successful efforts of the Student, Faculty, Community Coalition to Save Medgar Evers College to achieve its first objective — the removal of Richard Trent as President of the college. Its second goal is to rebuild the college.

Medgar Evers College, located in central Brooklyn, is more than 95 percent Black, with 73 percent of its student body Black and female, most of whom have children. One of the charges of the coalition against Trent was his refusal to allow Black women equal educational opportunities by failing to establish child care for female students.

From Day 1 — March 11, 1982 — Black women have been central to the struggle for quality education at the college. Since April 20, the beginning of one of the longest continuous sit-ins in the country when students sat in the President's office demanding his resignation, Black women have continued to practice their commitment to the emancipation of women at the college.

On July 12, the Steering Committee of the Coalition recommended that the interim president of the college be a Black woman and then submitted the name of a woman faculty member who qualified for the position. The Board's response was racist and sexist. On July 14, they appointed two men, one white and one Black who had previously worked at the college.

That decision, along with the failure of the ERA and the set-backs around abortion, are linked. And lest we forget, these same resisters to women's demands also reinforce and continue to allow a climate of racial violence and exploitation. The Board of Trustees and the Central Administration of C.U.N.Y. is a bastion of white male power, with Black male puppets, that women have not previously challenged.

All women should stand up and stand with the women of Medgar Evers College in a united feminist effort to say no to the Board of Trustees. We do not want two more men—the white one accused of sexual harassment by the only Black woman working under his supervision when he was at the college. Stand With Us. Stand For Us. The Struggle Continues. Spread the Word.

—Student, Faculty, Community Coalition
To Save Medgar Evers College

tion of the U. S. peace movement is what the Europeans have been waiting for since the big demonstrations in Europe last Fall.

There are more severe problems to fight here than in Germany. For example, we have racism, but it's much more extreme here. We have an economic crisis, but we don't have it as hard as you do here. So if you don't have a revolutionary perspective and try to address everything at once, this makes it much harder to focus on one thing.

In the German election campaigns last year there was really a buildup of racism against immigrant workers. The economic situation we're in lets this kind of feeling rise. Because of the escalation of these problems, more and more people realize that if you don't connect with other issues you aren't going to solve the problem.

Especially the young people react strongly and try to do something because they can't believe their parents didn't do anything against fascism and the Holocaust.

I'd like to see more outreach to minorities here in the U. S. The peace issue is on the agenda of the Black community, too, but they're working on it in a different way. We have to unite a wide range of issues in order to solve the problem.

But the disarmament movement doesn't connect very deeply with racism. You have to tie in the issue of racism, try to get the workers involved and reach out to minorities. It's true that there's no separating the peace movement from the needed social revolution.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

Despite Israel's genocidal invasion and siege of Beirut and superpower sabre-rattling, there are two human realities in the Middle East that will not go away no matter how militaristic Begin-Sharon's regime in Israel becomes — the Palestinian diaspora and the class divisions inside the Arab world.

There are no less than 4.6 million Palestinians scattered around the world. None of them have self-rule or self-determination. These include two million in Israel and in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip; 1.2 million in Jordan; 600,000 in Lebanon, plus close to one million in other Middle Eastern countries and over 100,000 in the United States. Millions of these people live in squalid refugee camps and are denied normal citizenship rights in the countries where they reside. They will not go away or blend into the countries where they are living, but demand a homeland.

This is not to say that Begin and his madman General Sharon are not bent on destroying the Palestinians as a people. Day after day West Beirut is pounded from land, sea and air. The 14-hour assault from 3 a.m. to 5 p.m., Sunday, Aug. 1 was the worst yet. The casualty figures mount and mount. One of the discrepancies in the figures of dead and wounded is that Israeli figures refuse to account for Palestinians! It is as if for Begin-Sharon they no longer exist.

Then there is Lebanon itself, an example of a class-divided Arab land. Ruled ever since the French left in the 1940s by its Christian minority, in which the leading political-military group is the openly fascist Phalangist Party, Lebanon in 1958 and in 1975-76 was wracked by two civil wars in which the poor Muslim and Druze majority (and some Christians) fought against the

Begin's genocidal war and Arab class divisions

largely Maronite Christian ruling class. In 1958 Eisenhower sent the Marines to crush the revolutionaries, who then sympathized with Nasser's Egypt, while in 1976 they were crushed by Syria. In 1976 the PLO first helped the revolutionaries, but then refused to fight the Syrian troops on the grounds of Arab solidarity, since they all were supposedly against Israel. The result was the betrayal of the Lebanese revolution by Arafat, as Syria moved in and restored much of the old "order."

For its refusal to fight another Arab army — in this case, Syria — the PLO gained more financial aid and more diplomatic recognition. An entire network of schools and hospitals was set up in Lebanon by the Palestinians. All of that was destroyed by the Israeli invasion.

In June the Arab and Islamic backers of the PLO had varying reactions. Khomeini said he really wanted to help, but prepared to invade Iraq instead. Qaddafi suggested that the PLO commit "revolutionary suicide" in Beirut. Syria blustered but pulled back its troops and did nothing. Saudi Arabia counselled acceptance of surrender on American terms.

Despite years of diplomacy in the UN and lots of oil money, plus Russian backing as well, there was really only partial support for the Palestinian masses in their hour of need. The Lebanese Muslim, Druze and Left alliance, battered by the 1976 defeat and recently divided by Lebanese-Palestinian and Sunni-Shiite-Druze conflicts did unite in the face of Israel's genocidal invasion. The "Lebanese" seen on American TV welcoming the Israeli army were usually of the right-wing Christian minority.

Inside tiny Israel itself, no less than 100,000 people

demonstrated on July 3 against the genocidal invasion, preceded by week of smaller rallies, and including uniformed Israeli soldiers, creating the greatest division inside that country since its founding. At the same time, none should underestimate Begin's "mass base" for genocide in Lebanon.

Inside the Arab world while rulers kept silent, masses showed their solidarity where they could. The biggest protests occurred among Palestinians on the West Bank. But no large demonstrations took place inside any Arab countries because of the rulers' fear of their own masses. This was illustrated for all when faraway Morocco did dare to hold a public mass meeting on June 27. Fully 1,000 students packed the hall at the university in Rabat, and as they drove King Hassan's hand-picked speakers off the stage, they shouted: "Down with reactionary regimes in the Arab world, long live peoples' rule!" and "No more talk about Lebanon, rather action!" The students were met by police who beat them savagely. The regime then called the students "Zionist provocateurs".

Another type of solidarity shown was that of the worldwide Left, from Europe to the U.S. and the Third World, and of some sectors of the anti-nuclear movement. The class nature and anti-revolution solidarity of all of the regimes involved — from Russia to Israel, and from Iran to Libya, Syria, and Saudi Arabia, with Reagan's America first and foremost — has never stood out so starkly in the Middle East. The coming weeks will see whether the rekindling of class battles inside Lebanon, and the new Palestinian consciousness of who are their allies, and the new type of Israeli opposition can in fact join hands to make the Middle East a cauldron not of imperialist war but of social revolution.

Poland

The military government in Poland announced late in July that it was freeing 1,200 of the 6,000 political prisoners. This is surely more an attempt to gain a bit of popular support than a sign of self-confidence in government rule.

During the last several months, resistance has become even better organized, and the underground Solidarnosc organization now clearly has the power to call a nationwide general strike. Even minor government "victories," like shutting down Radio Solidarnosc, turn out to be only temporary as a new group of underground broadcasters replaced those arrested within a week.

In June the movement was able to: (1) Show that it was capable of underground guerrilla action by freeing an important prisoner; (2) call mass demonstrations on the streets in several towns, which ended in barricade fighting by youths in Nowa Huta; (3) call totally successful 15-minute general strikes in Gdansk and other cities.

Rather than pushing forward at this time to try and break the military government, the main tendency in the Solidarnosc underground seems to be awaiting an easing of martial law by the government, while other tendencies urge that a more militant stance be taken.

Steel in crisis

The American steel industry is in a deep crisis with production at the lowest point since the Great Depression of the '30s. U.S. Steel, the giant of the industry, has announced a five percent pay cut for its 20,000 salaried workers, and is trying to sell off its new central office building in Pittsburgh, along with many of the company assets. Yet they went into debt to the tune of \$2.3 billion recently to buy out Marathon Oil Co.

Thirty percent of the 400,000 workers in the industry are on lay-off while production is down to less than 35 percent of capacity in some mills.

The basic problem with the industry is the Reagan-inspired depression. The auto industry is consuming less steel, shipbuilding is in a slump, all manufacturing is consuming less steel. Foreign steel producers, who were early to modernize their production systems, have been getting orders, while the U.S. industry which dragged its heels and resisted modernization must do it now or face extinction. Where will the U.S. steel industry find the capital it needs for that mammoth job?

Argentina

The "Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo," several hundred women who for years have held weekly vigils for Argentina's 20,000 "disappeared" — including their own children, were the true heroines of the Falklands/Malvinas war. While agreeing that the Malvinas are Argentine, the women refused to put aside their differences with the fascist military during the crisis — as had the Peronists, the other political parties including the Left, and the labor unions. The mothers kept insisting on an accounting for all the disappeared.

Some of them also asked from the beginning for an accounting by "those responsible for this absurd war,"



Mother and relatives of the 'disappeared' demonstrate in Buenos Aires June 28. Two men were abducted the week before.

and pointed out the hypocrisy of the sudden friendship of the military for Castro — "the same military who had kidnapped and tortured our children because they read the speeches of Fidel Castro. If our children were here, they would be the first to struggle against the British."

For taking the courageous step of continuing their struggle against the government in wartime, the women suffered even greater insults, harassment, and threats, this time not only from the military and police, but also from some "patriotic" civilians.

When in June thousands fought with the police after the fall of Stanley to the British, the stand of the "Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo" was vindicated. They are certain to have an important voice in deciding the future direction of Argentina. They have won the respect of the whole country by their principled and unbelievably courageous actions over many years of fascist rule.

Gas pipeline

Ronald Reagan's vindictive attempt to block the construction of a natural gas pipeline from the Russian oil fields to Europe, where it would serve Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands, has met with utter and complete defeat.

He first attempted to block European credits for the purchase of gas line equipment. Since the deal meant multi-million dollar contracts for Germany, France, England and thousands of jobs for European workers in those countries, Reagan's demands were rejected. Reagan then prohibited American firms from supplying tractors for the project. Net result was a loss of jobs for Caterpillar Tractor, now on the verge of bankruptcy.

Next he forbade European firms, operating under U.S. licenses from supplying gas compressors and other materials. When the Russians declared that they would build their own equipment if Germany and France failed to live up to their contracts, the European nations capitulated and will defy Reagan to supply the equipment.

When it comes to grain sales, the shoe is on the other foot. Reagan has been under heavy pressure from American farmers to negotiate a new grain treaty with the Russians to sell greater tonnage. The U.S. grain elevators are filled and overflowing, grain is being stored in open fields and the new harvest is just starting. The threat from the American farmer to vote against him, appears to be greater than the "threat of communism." He has extended the grain treaty for another year.

South Africa

The Black trade unions in South Africa are steadily gaining new membership and with it, an increasingly greater role in the resistance to white rule, despite the continuation of police harassment and jailing of union leaders. Some 262,000 have joined the Black trade unions. Another 98,000 belong to unions that are white-dominated in racially separated branches.

There are two main currents in the Black union movement, one that refuses to recognize the official labor relations system and the other that tries to work within the government system. The South African Allied Workers Union, which is a dominant force in East London, has trouble finding office space or getting phone service. Thozamile Gqweta, the president, has been arrested seven times since 1980 and is still being held. The President of the Motor Assembly Component Workers Union, Dumile Makanda, spent 271 days in jail without trial and is banned from a factory or union office.

A Black union which did register with the government, the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union, went on strike at Ford, General Motors and Volkswagen for a 75 percent wage increase. They struck Volkswagen 36 times since 1981 and shut down the entire industry at Port Elizabeth last month.

There is a strong movement to enlarge the Federation of South African Trade Unions, which now has 95,000 members, by including the Food and Canning Workers Union, the Metal and Allied Workers and the General Workers Union which are organizing the dock workers.

The gold mines exploded this July with Black miners enraged over low pay increases keeping their wages one-fifth that of white miners. The South African government and employers responded to the rebellion by killing at least 11, wounding 150 and firing 5,000 who are forced back to their "homelands."

Iran-Iraq War

Notwithstanding Khomeini's claim that his invasion of Iraq does not aim at "a single inch" of Iraq's territory, he, like Begin, nevertheless means by that something a great deal worse than "an inch of territory." It means the whole of Iraq becoming his puppet, the Iraqi masses not to have destiny in their hands. Rather they must subordinate to him who sacrilegiously claims a sort of direct line to Allah. Thus imprisoned in what the mullahs blasphemously declare to be "true Islam," to make Iran the dominant power for the whole Middle East, Arab as well as Persian, Kurds as well as Bahai, with no tolerance whatever for other interpretations, much less other religions, be that Jewish or none at all; to stamp out free thought, individual as well as mass desire for liberation of humanity and its revolutionary struggles for truly human relations.

Despite Reagan's claim of "neutrality" between Iran and Iraq in the ongoing war there, he is, in fact, supporting Iraq. This has likewise been made clear beyond the peradventure of a doubt by his offer to bring "stability" into the Middle East by massive military "exercises." Is that why U.S. imperialism developed the Rapid Deployment Force, and had the 7th Nuclear Fleet force there during the imperialist threats to Iran at the time of the hostage crisis?