

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

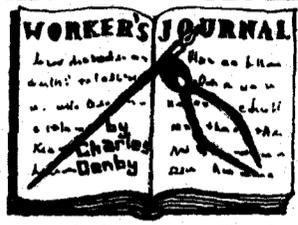
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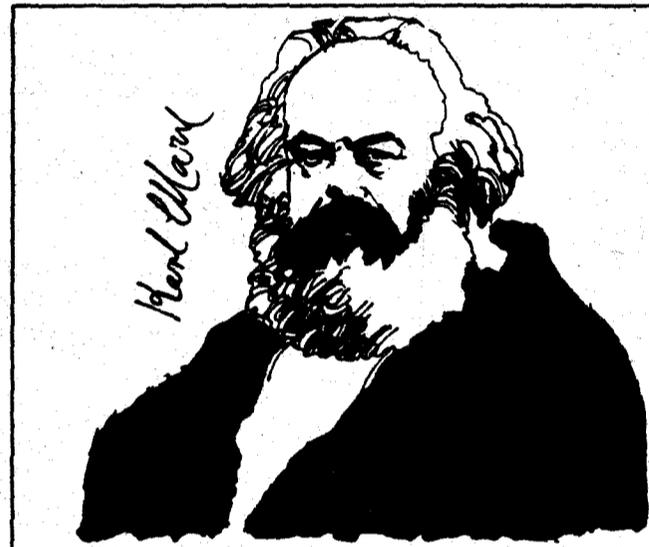
Marx, Labor, Marxist- Humanism



For the Marx Centenary we asked the editor, Charles Denby, and the co-editor, Felix Martin, to talk about Marx, Labor and Marxist-Humanism. Below we print brief excerpts from their conversation.

"Meeting Marx"

CHARLES DENBY: When I got into seeing what Marx really meant in his writing it was the period shortly after I left the Trotskyist movement. They used to repeat this
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Marxist-Humanism, 1983: The Summation That Is A New Beginning, Subjectively and Objectively

by Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman,
National Editorial Board of N&L

News and Letters Committees greeted the Marx Centenary with an expanded Resident Editorial Board meeting on Jan. 1, attended by Marxist-Humanists from all of our committees around the country, at which Raya Dunayevskaya presented "The Summation That is a New Beginning, Subjectively and Objectively." It has been reproduced as a special bulletin, which is available from N&L (see page 9). What follows are brief excerpts from each of the parts of the presentation.

INTRODUCTION: How to Begin Anew?

The reason that we begin, not objectively as usual, but subjectively, is that the "here and now" demands a deeper probing into the creative mind of Marx.

The warp and woof of the Marxian dialectic, the unchained Hegelian dialectic, the dialectic of the revolutionary transformation is true objectively and subjectively. Yet Part III of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution begins the probing of Marx before he fully broke with bourgeois society, when he worked on his doctoral thesis on the "Difference between Democritus and Epicurus." Thus began his very first critique of Hegel, in 1841, as it appeared in the Notes that were known only to himself. What did appear in the doctoral thesis itself was what pervaded those Notes, i.e. the question: How to begin anew?

The crucial truth is that the question: How to begin anew? informed the whole of his dialectic methodology — even after his discovery of a whole new continent of thought, even after the publication of the first edition of Capital as well as the 1875 edition, after the Paris Commune, when he took issue with Mikhailovsky who had written what turned out to be what all post-Marx Marxists likewise accepted as the climax of the work, that is, the "Historic Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation" as a universal. Marx, on the other hand, held that that summation of Western capitalist development was just that — the particular development of capitalism — which need

Unemployed millions, anti-war protests, reveal a Western Europe in crisis

by Kevin A. Barry

Two events in Western Europe — the return of Nazi Klaus Barbie, "the butcher of Lyons," to France, and the national elections in West Germany under the nuclear trigger of Cruise and Pershing missiles from the U.S., SS 20s from Russia, and deep economic crisis — reveal much of the shakiness of the post-World War II social system and of the United

States' role in creating the severe contradictions that wrack West Europe today.

The arrest and extradition to France of Barbie, who was responsible for the deportation of thousands of Jews to extermination camps and the death of other thousands of resistance workers, has raised for open debate within France, the role of the Vichy regime during World War II. As well, it points to the responsibility of the United States government which, in the post-war period, protected and paid Barbie (among other Nazis) for intelligence information, refused to turn him over to French authorities and arranged for his "escape" to South America for 30 long years.

The West German elections are being held at a time when not only West Germany, but all of West Europe, is faced with the most devastating unemployment yet seen in the post-World War II world, as well as being under the nuclear threat of the two superpowers who stand poised to negotiate, not disarmament, but a new round of nuclear death weapons refinement. Neither Reagan's "zero option" nor Andropov's offer to dismantle certain missiles, represent any viable alternative out of the nuclear nightmare for Western Europe's masses.

Although it is the whole continent of Europe which faces economic, political and social crises today — beginning with the tens of millions who are unemployed — we wish to focus on France and Germany which can show both the objective situation and possible revolutionary human pathways out of the crises.

GERMANY: GREENS AND ANTI-NUKE MOVEMENT

As West Germany faced its March 6 elections, it had witnessed the extensive growth of the Greens, a new independent grass-roots political movement talking of social transformation. The Greens include ecologists, anti-war activists, feminists and Leftists. One of the Greens' most popular leaders is none other than the independent Marxist and East German exile Rudi Bahro, who stated last year:

"Why has this peace movement risen up within one year first in Europe, then in Japan, then in North America? And the uprising in Poland, which didn't talk especially about peace, but like every popular revolution dealt with everything, did even more than our West European demonstrations towards the cause of peace, by forcing one of the two military blocs into a political impasse. Real movements are converging in this way, even though their origin and their specific goals lie wide apart."

That such a party has attained a significant share of the votes has upset the equilibrium between the SPD and the Christian Democrats. They have forced the SPD to the Left and helped set the ground for the entire election: making the question of Reagan's Cruise and Pershing II missiles the central one.

The Greens are only one manifestation of the mass movement in West Germany. 1981 and 1982 saw the most massive anti-war demonstrations in West German history — in which the Greens worked alongside religious pacifists and more traditional Left groups — from the CP to the youth wing of the SPD. A new tactic for Germany — mass civil disobedience — began in earnest last December with the blockading of more than 40 military facilities.

In addition, labor disaffection is on the rise. Nearly
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Special issue

On the Occasion of

THE MARX CENTENARY 1983

not be the universal path of human development. Here we have the unique way Marx practiced summation as a new beginning.

The concept of totality as new beginning was true also on the organizational question: How to begin a new organization when it is to express a whole philosophy of revolution . . .

It is high time for Marxist-Humanists to concretize "Where and How to Begin Anew" for our age by looking at those "new moments" in Marx as the trail to the 1980s.

FROM PART I: "New Moments in Marx"

None seem to have even begun to grapple with what it meant for Marx, as he was already completing his economic analysis of capitalism (and pre-capitalist societies) in the Grundrisse in 1857, to have so fully integrated the dialectic and the economics as to articulate that the socialism that would follow the bourgeois form of production signified "the absolute movement of becoming."

That the question of individual self-development and social, revolutionary, historical development would become one manifests itself in the Grundrisse. It is no accident that it was there where Marx stopped speaking of only three universal forms of human development — slave, feudal and capitalist — and included a fourth universal form: the "Asiatic mode of production." That post-Marx Marxists failed to have that as ground for working out the reality of their age and thus anticipate what we now call a whole new Third World is exactly what this age is still suffering from.

MARX NEVER SEPARATED organization forms from his total philosophy of revolution. Indeed, as was shown when we kept stressing the year, 1875, Marx had worked out his whole theory of human development in Capital and in the organizational document, The Critique of the Gotha Programme — because his principle, a philosophy of revolution, was the ground also of organization.

This, history shows, was not understood by the first
(Continued on Page 9)



Centenary
1983

Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* . . . page 4

New passages from Marx's editing of French edition of *Capital* page 5

Marx and the Black world page 8

WOMAN AS REASON

Dear Raya,

I wanted to begin to work out references to the Black Dimension in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution because, in this Marx Centenary year when there are certain to be so many meetings and conferences on Marx's life and work, we need to grasp both Marx's and Marxist-Humanism's relation to that Black Dimension, including that of Black women.

From the title, the book doesn't seem to be about the Black Dimension. And yet the reader feels a tremendous sweep of that Black Dimension within this new work: Africa - the Hereros in what is now called Namibia; the Maji-Maji Revolt in East Africa; the Zulu Rebellion in Southern Africa; the Igbo Women's War in Nigeria; in the United States - 1831 as the year of the Black man Nat Turner and the Black woman Maria Stewart; Abolitionism with John Brown and Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth; to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s with Black women leaders and today's Women's Liberation Movement.

International Women's Day letter from India

Dear Sisters,

New Delhi, India

As an Indian woman participating in the Indian Women's Movement I greet all of you on International Women's Day.* We believe that the women's movement all over the world is commendably successful in being able to combine theory and practice, in overcoming regional boundaries and in moving towards a holistic view of society.

The women's movement in India has had some remarkable achievements in terms of drawing an increasing number of women within its fold. Some significant issues like rape, legal status and employment have been successfully raised and debated at various levels. Women's studies within academia has been nationally acknowledged as an important area of study and research.

Several women's groups engaged in all kinds of activities like organizing, street theatre, legal aid, providing support to battered and destitute women and bringing forth newsletters and journals which have mushroomed and grown with great rapidity all over the country.

And yet so much needs to be done. The more the resonance of our collective slogans, the louder the crack of the backlash on us. The growing evil of dowry as a result of the deteriorating economic conditions has taken its disastrous toll. Several hundred newly-wed brides have been killed in bids to acquire brides with fresh contingents of dowry.

Since abortion is free and legal, female fetuses are being destroyed en masse in clinics which specialize in pre-natal sex detection. While our sisters in the USA and Europe have to fight for their right to abortion, we in India have to fight to prevent the abortion of female fetuses. While our sisters in the West are now being heavily pressured into being housewives and mothers, thus pushing them out of the labour market and into the domestic sphere, we women of the Third World have our reproductive capacities and freedom severely controlled by a highly tight population policy.

Women all over the world are being manipulated. We are manipulated by imperialism, by trans-national companies, by international agencies and by patriarchal values pervading most societies. Therefore, we women need to build up much stronger networks internationally through which we can exchange information, provide support and solidarity to each other, as well as to other struggling peoples of the world. We need more dialogue and contact for we are not alone!

Wishing you all strength and success in your struggle.

In Sisterhood, Jyoti, Manushi, C-1/202
Lajpat Nagar 1, New Delhi, 11 0024

* For a brief history of International Women's Day, see Revolutionary Feminism - Women as Reason, published by Women's Liberation News & Letters, 2632 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, MI, 48211, 75¢.

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Black Dimension and revolutionary dialectics

Yet the fullness of the Black Dimension in the book is focused most precisely in relation to that one word that is stressed throughout - dialectics - the Black Dimension's integrality to any dialectics of revolution, in the U.S. and globally. The Black Dimension is shown within the working out of and the debates on dialectics of revolution, a philosophy of revolution, from Hegel's revolutionary dialectic to Marx's revolution in permanence, and from Lenin's discussion on the National Question to the revolutionary humanism of the Third World theoretician Frantz Fanon.

Here I want to limit myself to seeing how the Black Dimension impinges upon chapter three of the new work, "Marx's and Luxemburg's Theories of Accumulation of Capital, its Crises and its Inevitable Downfall." It is within this chapter that the reader finds it impossible to separate Rosa Luxemburg's theory of Accumulation of Capital (1913) from the very prescient way she scented imperialism in 1899.

In the many developments which you single out in chapter three, we see how Luxemburg's fight against imperialism was so central to her lifelong theoretical and practical fights against the new stage of capitalist accumulation.

INCOMPLETE ON BLACK DIMENSION

And yet it is after seeing Luxemburg's theoretic downfall (when her theory of capitalist accumulation meets Marx's theory) that we can fully grasp how Luxemburg could be so wrong on the National Question. It is true that the national question for her was primarily Poland, but it relates to the incompleteness in how she viewed the Black Dimension as German imperialism went on its rampage in Southern Africa.

I do not want to oversimplify how you work out the relation of Luxemburg's theory of accumulation and her position on the National Question. You express with precision Luxemburg's theory of accumulation always within the context of Marx's "dialectic of accumulation":

Some of the best writing in Luxemburg's Accumulation occurs in her description of the 'real process of accumulation', through the conquest of Algeria and India; the opium wars against China; the Anglo-Boer war and the carving up of the African Empire; and the extermination of the American Indian. Although Luxemburg described concretely how the war between the Boers and the English was fought 'on the backs of the Negroes', she did not draw any conclusions about the Black Africans being a revolutionary force. That revolutionary role was reserved for the proletariat alone. In her critique of Marx's diagrams she saw his economic categories as only economic, rather than as symbols of the class struggle itself. (p.37)

Your critique revolves around the fact that Rosa Luxemburg was so great in her description of the process of accumulation that it led to nothing less than her break with Karl Kautsky's leadership of the German Social Democracy, when he tried to defend what he termed "a century of Prussian glory" against her attack on the German barbarism against the Herero people.

SUBJECT OF REVOLUTION

And yet she did not see Black masses as Subject of revolution, but only saw them as "suffering." Wasn't this related to the fact that she saw Marx's "economic categories as only economic," that she failed to see what Marx was working out as "the dialectics of accumulation" and thus beyond economics alone and into the human forces which would break out of this vicious accumulation cycle? The failure to grasp dialectics in this

Black women continue struggle at Medgar Evers

Brooklyn, N.Y. - The struggle at Medgar Evers College continues. (See News & Letters, June 1982.) Students, faculty and community members are persistent in their efforts to combat the racist and sexist policies of the City University of New York (CUNY) administration as reflected in the "don't rock the boat" attitudes of the mostly Black administration at Medgar Evers College itself.

The student body of Medgar Evers is over 95 percent Black - 73 percent are women, the average age is 29 and 65 percent are parents. An individual's full right to quality education is the issue being raised. Black women have been in the leadership of the Student-Faculty-Community (SFC) Coalition to Save Medgar Evers College whose demands include: immediate upgrading of the college from a two-year to a four-year institution (as it was originally), implementation of Black Studies, an honors program, well-funded childcare, a women's center, and very importantly, a national search for a highly qualified Black woman to be installed as the permanent president of the college.

In November, 1982, the S-F-C Coalition defeated an attempt to deny reappointment to four activist faculty members who had been key in the struggle to oust ex-president Richard Trent and to call attention to the kind of negative educational policies he represented. Due to continual public pressure on the acting president, Dr. Dennis Paul, the non-reappointments of the three women and one man were overturned by Dec. 2, and all four will be teaching at Medgar Evers next year, three of them

way was the tragedy of Luxemburg.

By the time we come to the end of the chapter and are ready to enter into a discussion of Luxemburg's wrong position on the National Question we have come face to face with Luxemburg's greatest contradiction - the fact that as a revolutionary, as a post-Marx Marxist, she was actively engaged in trying to practice a dialectic of revolution, but without having been able to grasp a philosophy of revolution to help guide her. It is precisely there that one sees the greatness of Luxemburg's feeling for the Black Dimension in the peoples of Southern Africa, but at the same time her failure to transform that feeling into working out the integrality of the National Question to the dialectics of revolution.

I know that I have just begun to touch the surface of the Black Dimension in your new work and hope to return to other aspects soon.

- Diane Lee



women-worldwide

Ninety organizations held a news conference recently in Washington, D.C. to protest the Reagan Administration's new "Squeal Law" which will require 5,000 clinics to inform parents within ten days when young women under 18 years of age receive birth control pills, IUDs or diaphragms - or lose Title X funds. While Sec. Richard Schweiker said that this will promote family communication, women see it as one more discriminatory government encroachment upon their lives.

On Nov. 3, in Tokyo, Osaka and Hiroshima, women's groups, associations of women doctors and midwives, family planning organizations and other grassroots groups rallied to protest the government's attempt to tighten abortion laws. Although the new cabinet has announced it will not submit the new limitations to the Diet, Prime Minister Nakasone has long been a member of the Sicho-no-Ie (Family of Growth), an anti-abortion group. For more information contact Japanese Group for Abortion Rights, 509 West 121 Street, No. 804, New York, NY, 10027.

(From Womanews)

On July 4, 1983, a Women's Peace Camp will open at the Seneca Army Depot in New York state. Planned as a sister camp to the one in Greenham Common, England (See N&L, Jan.-Feb. 1983), the site is the departure point for Pershing II missiles destined for Europe and is near Seneca Falls, the site of the first Women's Rights Convention in 1848. For more information, contact Donna Cooper, WILPF, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107.

(From What She Wants)

In Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, 50 women's groups formed a Coalition Against Media Pornography and held outdoor rallies Jan. 22, demanding the revocation of the license of First Choice, a new pay TV channel that plans to air a series of two-hour pornographic installments. Maude Barlow, chairperson, said, "We are not against sex. We are not against nudity. We are against entrenched sexism," and pointed to the increase in violence of all kinds against women and children.

with tenure.

An organization of women called the Medgar Evers College Support Committee, including members of feminist, lesbian, student and progressive groups, sponsored an emergency meeting on Nov. 18 to rally city-wide outcries against the dismissals. Two faculty members and one student from Medgar Evers were the key speakers.

Safiya Bendele, one of the four faculty in question, spoke of the "twin evils" of racism and sexism that pervade the CUNY infrastructure. She did not separate the struggle of Medgar Evers women against these "evils" from the world wide struggle of "women of color."

At this point the major task before the Coalition is finding a new president who will offer the kind of vision and administrative leadership that is necessary to create a true center of Black learning, as Medgar Evers College was first envisioned. This task is meant to be the job of the joint CUNY Board of Trustees-Medgar Evers College Search Committee. But the make-up of the recently appointed body has come under severe criticism for its lack of community members and activist faculty or student membership.

Petitions and other avenues of protest are currently being pursued. For more information please contact: the Medgar Evers College Student Government at (212) 735-1820, 1150 Carroll Street, Brooklyn, NY 11225 or the M.E.C. Support Committee at 192 St. Marks Avenue, Apt. 2, Brooklyn, NY 11238, (212) 638-0597. Maryke Bolyn

Jobs, benefits: an illusion to unemployed

City of Commerce, Cal. — I want to say a few words about the recent independent truckers strike. The media has said plenty about the problems of these drivers, but what they always ignore is what is happening to the local drivers who are being beaten not only by the recession, but by their own union leadership.

First, the Teamsters leadership agreed last year to direct delivery from out-of-state drivers — this means truckers don't have to drop their freight off for unloading and re-loading at a local terminal. It saves the company tons of money — and costs dockworkers and local drivers hundreds of jobs. Second, trucking company after trucking company is trying to farm out their local delivery to independents, because they save money on benefits, pensions, etc.

As a laid-off dockworker I can tell you that it is the guys without the rigs — just the daily loaders and haulers — who are in the biggest mess in this country. And they have the hardest time of all doing something about it, because of the Teamsters' kow-towing to the bosses. What we need is a nationwide truckers and dockworkers strike, whose first provision should be, re-hire all the laid-off drivers and dockworkers.

—Laid-off dockworker

South Gate, Cal. — I knew something fishy was going on as soon as I got called into unemployment this week for a "job interview." I've been laid off from GM South Gate in Los Angeles for over a year, and they never offered me a job yet. When I got to the office, dozens of other GM workers were lined up too — all to get inter-

Agar boners stop line

Chicago, Ill. — In February the boners at Agar stopped work. They said the man was pushing them too hard on a new product, a big account from Jewel. The biggest in a long time.

The company wants this new ham extra clean, with no traces of fat, so the guys on the portion line, who cut the hams into portions after the boners bone the ham out, need to take extra time. A few of the guys can do it, but most can't or won't keep up with the count.

The supervisors wrote up the whole line earlier, and then came over and said they were going to send two guys home. At lunch time the boners whispered around not to go to work, but just stand until the union representatives got to talk to the company. The boners wouldn't stand for it, because they had only been working on the new cut for one week. So they went back to the department, put their work clothes on and just stood there. The company agreed to a meeting.

The boners lost a half hour's pay. The company agreed to tear the tickets up, let the two guys stay and give them two more weeks to come up to count. But if they don't, the company threatened to send home, lay off, fire, or whatever is necessary.

Last year they brought a guy in to show the boners how to do a job. He was actually up there cutting! You could see the smiles on the boners' faces. They looked like, "What is this? I've been doing this for 30 years." I think the company is trying to get the older guys to retire.

—Two women workers

GM plans will expand army of unemployed

South Gate, Cal. — Over the past month we have heard report after report of how GM and Chrysler plan to re-hire about 24,000 laid-off auto workers. Here in California, we are being told that the GM Van Nuys Plant will take on a second shift, and the Fremont plant will re-open under joint operation of GM and Toyota. But I think all this talk of more jobs is just a lot of propaganda.

At the same time GM was promising that it would re-hire 1,000 Van Nuys workers for a second shift, Van Nuys workers inside the plant told me they heard the plant will soon close. At the same time GM promised to find new jobs for auto workers in California, hundreds were called down to unemployment offices to get interviewed for jobs in Oklahoma. And at the same time that GM talks about re-opening its Fremont plant, Toyota announces that it will not hire any UAW members.

It looks to me like the union bureaucrats, the company and the politicians are all conspiring to fool labor into thinking "recovery is on the way." One worker told me it was all about the elections of 1984 being not too far away. Meanwhile, the SUB and GSI benefits are beginning to run dry, if they haven't already.

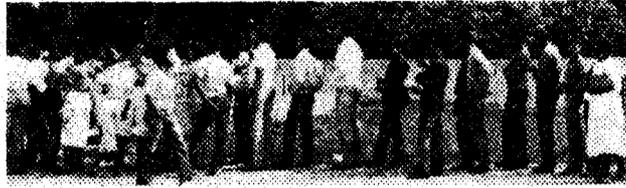
A few years ago, when GM added a second shift onto the South Gate plant, the government paid GM \$600 a head. This was there "reward" for "curing" unemployment. A year later, every one of those workers was out on the street. Could it be that the auto companies are looking for some new sweetheart deal from government?

— Felix Martin

viewed for jobs in Oklahoma!

A bunch of us workers got together to discuss what to do. Some said we should all tell them we refuse to go; they should create jobs for us here in LA instead. But then we got to thinking that the whole thing might be a ploy on the government's part to take our benefits away, since turning a job offer down disqualifies you from receiving them.

—Laid-off auto worker



Unemployment for Chicago workers means joining a line of 20,000 to try for a handful of minimum-wage jobs.

Los Angeles, Cal. — When Reagan gave his "State of the Union" message, I had been unemployed for almost a year. A few days before he gave that speech, I got a letter from the unemployment office asking me to come down and fill out forms for a "new federal extension." When I got down there, they gave me another form — this time to get another 26 weeks worth of benefits.

I thought I had the world coming to me — another half a year without having to worry about starving. But my excitement was short lived. A few days later, I got a letter from unemployment asking me how much money I earned over the past 12 months.

When I was getting benefits, they told me I couldn't work, or else I'd lose the benefits. Now I run out of benefits, and they want to see that I have worked in order to give me an extension of them.

To me, this reveals the real state of the union. Things are getting "better" in the lies thrown around by Reagan and the others who keep dangling the promise of "recovery" before our eyes; things are getting worse everywhere else.

—Unemployed worker

NY bakers on strike

Editor's Note: We received the following story from striking workers at the Patisserie Dumas bakery, who have been on strike for five months. Dumas has three stores and one plant in New York. The owner has hired scabs, refuses to negotiate and uses racist arguments against the union, calling it an "ethnic organization" because the organizers are Latino and justifying low wages because some workers "speak no English."

New York, N.Y. — We voted in the union at Patisserie Dumas — Local 3, Bakery, Confectionary and Tobacco Workers in June with a vote of 24 to 8. We went out on strike Oct. 7. These are some of the reasons we unionized and struck:

- The annual raise was not the same for all the workers. There was favoritism.
- If they didn't like a worker they would fire him, and deny his right to collect unemployment as in the case of Felipe Zalazar.
- We were earning \$4, \$4.08, \$4.25 an hour with no medical benefits. With the low wages we could not pay for any illness in the family.

The union and the workers decided to strike because the owners did not want to negotiate a contract after we had defeated them in the election. Michael Dumas the owner told us at a meeting that if he did happen to sign a contract he would not take back some of the workers.

—Striking Local 3 workers

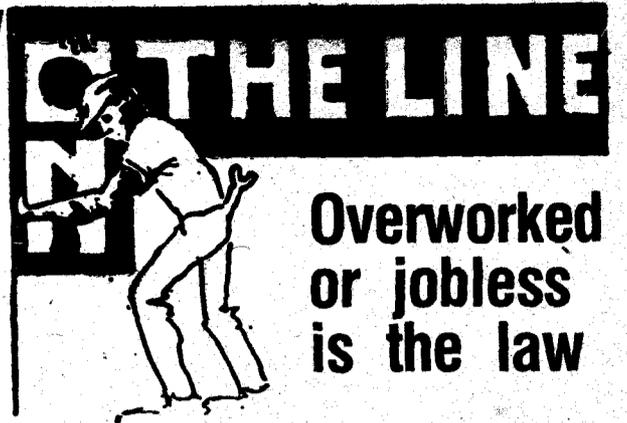
NY TA system decaying

New York, N.Y. — They blame the workers for the subway fare increases. It doesn't go up because of us. Nobody's said anything yet about the \$26 million fence for the yards, or the \$20 million for the loudspeakers that don't work. Railroad Maintenance works for the Transit Authority and rips the public off. This type of corruption is, as they say, as American as apple pie.

George MacDonald, who sold out the TWU opposition in 1979, is now Assistant Safety Director, a very cushy job. This is the guy who spoiled Arnold Cherry's election bid. Now people are intimidated, afraid to speak out. But I'm waiting for all those new workers. Their one year of probation is almost up. I'm sure we'll see a fresh crop of revolutionaries on 207th Street.

Capital in America is always complaining about unions but the union leaders are already in bed with the companies. If this democratic system finds it so hard to tolerate a man like Lane Kirkland, mild as he is, what would they do to someone like Lech Walesa, speaking out and calling for a general strike? Jail or kill him for sure. Workers — whether in steel or in transit — put their lives on the line every day just to do their jobs. We don't want corrupt leaders. It's the companies that corrupt them.

— Transit worker, 207th St.



by John Marcotte

I have been working at a metal stamping and finishing factory right outside New York. They have bought up several companies over the years and have plenty of work. Some departments work overtime from 7 a.m. till 9 p.m., plus Saturdays. They have hired hardly any new workers though because most of the work is done by automatic machines.

A worker in the press department was telling me that he has operated up to 20 machines at one time with one helper, and up to 15 machines alone. We were talking about how this is a cause of all the unemployment. He remarked that all those robots they've installed in the auto factories don't buy any cars, and how desperate the people in the street are getting, that crime and assaults will only go up and up and how it scares him.

BOREDOM LIKE TORTURE

Another worker in the wire department was real angry because he worked so much overtime last year he has to pay the government \$500 in extra taxes. He only makes \$4 an hour but has been working 64 hours a week, on his feet all day, just watching the machines because if they jam up they can break a die. "The boredom is like torture. It's worse than if I was working doing something," he says.

This vicious cycle of overwork for some and unemployment for the others is universal to this system, as was correctly forecast by Karl Marx long ago. I have a friend in a frozen foods factory where they have laid off the whole second shift and are now working the remaining shift forced overtime, up to 14 hours a day plus Saturdays.

It is such a crazy system of working, so contrary to nature and any human sense, it makes you wonder how we got here. In that plant a form the resistance has taken right away is high absenteeism. Now with the contract coming up one of the stewards is wondering if they can make one of their demands a four-day week with two shifts so all can share the work.

But it is also obvious that closing the second shift now just before negotiations is a very political move, to both exclude many of the workers from a say in the contract because they'll be on lay-off, and to try to scare those working that business is bad.

My shop just signed a new three-year contract and workers are hip to how the company cut out all overtime for the first time anyone can remember, just before negotiations. Once the contract, a lousy \$15, \$10 and \$10 for three years, was signed, the overtime came back. "Reagan puts it all on business' back, and business throws it all on the workers," was how a worker in the plating department expressed the way even companies that have plenty of work are using this depression to discipline the workers.

ONLY REVOLUTION IS CONCRETE

There is plenty of work to be done. But as long as the rule of the land is to pay as few workers as possible, as little as possible, to produce as much as possible, this seeming iron law of overwork and unemployment must continue. The revolutionary humanist vision of Karl Marx, of a society where the guiding principle would be "From each according to their ability, to each according to their needs," remains the concrete need now if we are to break out of this cycle. Only the working people, in full control of production, can begin to put it into practice, here and worldwide.

News & Letters

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THEORY / PRACTICE

Marx's unknown *Ethnological Notebooks*

I am turning over my Theory/Practice column this month to my colleague Michael Connolly who has written me a letter on the relationship of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* to my new work. — Raya Dunayevskaya

Dear Raya:

One focus of your new book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* — your treatment of the manuscripts Marx created in the very last years of his life, especially the *Ethnological Notebooks* (1880-82) — has me intrigued. I realized that this Marx centenary year we have come both 100 years since the *Notebooks* were created, and a full decade since they were finally transcribed and published in 1972. Looking at the *Ethnological Notebooks* now, as you have posed them in your book, offers a view of Marx's last decade which must now be closely studied, since we seem to be very nearly alone. Those who have written on them in the years since 1972 — whether that be Lawrence Krader, who did the transcribing, or the French "structuralist Marxism" of Maurice Godelier, or the very different and original views of Mikhail Vitkin — have hardly concerned themselves either with the new light shed on Marx's Marxism as a totality or our age's relationship to it.

Ten years ago an "audience" seemed ready for such a publication — an audience that included newly-radicalized anthropologists who had seen Third World revolutions first-hand; feminist writers and activists who were issuing a stream of works critiquing social science, literature and the Left; as well as "Marx scholars" who for the first time could view the whole of Marx's work. And in the years since then the upheavals in Southern Africa and Portugal, Iran and Poland, Lebanon and Central America, have repeatedly offered new challenges to revolutionary thought, often in precisely the areas Marx had probed in the *Notebooks* and the writings that surrounded them. His attention was riveted on the oppression



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and liberation of women, on the relation of non-capitalist lands to technologically advanced countries, on the peasantry and its forms of organization, and on the world Black Dimension even in far-off Australia.

But today that final vision of Marx remains still largely unstudied, as if Marx's Marxism is not there demonstrated to be profoundly different from Engels' Marxism, on which, unfortunately, all Marxists since Marx were raised. Even now, "party" activists, feminist study groups and Marxist anthropology seminars all take as their text Engels' *Origin of the Family*. Only continuing adherence to the myth of a Marx-Engels theoretical identity can explain the fact that the predominant attitude toward those *Notebooks* has been that of a diversity of voices united in silence.

MARX'S METHODOLOGY; ENGELS' SCIENTISM

Nothing has more disoriented today's movement than this myth, and your labor to replace it with a view of Marx's Marxism as a "new continent of thought" is itself a historic event in the revolutionary movement. Whether or not one accepts the view that the *Ethnological Notebooks* prove how different were the legacies left by Marx and by Engels, what is impossible to escape is the question of methodology. How could Marx and Engels be lifelong revolutionaries and co-workers, yet come to such different conclusions when faced with the new objective stage in the world in the decade after the Paris Commune? Why didn't Marx fall into the "scientism" of a period when new "data," in anthropology, in physical science and in biology became so dominant in Engels' writings? It wasn't that Marx was uninterested in the facts, as the massive collection of notebooks he left testifies. Rather, your analysis of the *Ethnological Notebooks* emphasizes Marx's way of following the empiric facts dialectically, relating them not only to other historic facts, but tracing the development of each fact, its petrification and transformation into opposite."

In placing the problem of "transitions" at the center of the different views of Marx and Engels on the development of human society from primitive commune to caste and class, Marx's lifelong attack on "abstract materialism" is counterposed in your presentation to his constant focus on the "historical environment," to "history and its process." Thus for Marx it is during the period of transitions that new forces of production and new revolutionary Subjects appear on the stage, while for Engels one fully-developed form seems superseded by another.

You demonstrate how thoroughly every society on the globe was permeated with duality for Marx: that there is, as you say, "no unbridgeable gulf between primitive and civilized." All the stagifying theses on the one-way road to revolution from advanced industrial countries to "backward" ones are challenged, as are uncritical "Third

"Worldist" views that present non-capitalist lands as without contradictions.

It strikes me therefore that your discussion of the *Ethnological Notebooks* is so much more penetrating than all the others precisely because it is "situated" in an entirely different methodological context — your re-creation of Marx's nearly-forgotten concept of "revolution in permanence," and your posing that concept as quite opposite to what has been accepted as "permanent revolution" — Trotsky's theory.

MARX'S REVOLUTION IN PERMANENCE AND THE CATEGORY POST-MARX MARXISTS

So completely does "revolution in permanence" — as Marx developed it and as Marxist-Humanism has here re-created it — inform the whole of the book, that much further study of the decade in which you worked it out seems called for. Perhaps it should begin with an examination of Chapter 1 of your 1973 work, *Philosophy and Revolution*, to see how viewing Hegel's Absolute Negativity "as new beginning" became the ground from which to see Marx's "translation" of Absolute Negativity as "revolution in permanence."

Isn't it only through the projection of such a full view of Marx's philosophy of revolution that the way was cleared to take a new measure of the greatest revolutionaries — Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky — and establish what I imagine will become the most controversial category — "post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Frederick Engels"?

That this presentation should center on Marx's last decade is all the more remarkable, since for Marx biographers from Mehring through Ryazanov to McLellan, Marx's work in those years has been disparaged. In recent years others have pointed favorably to the last writings, even calling them "principled new moments," only to then characterize them as a sharp break with Marx's earlier work.

One could argue against this last point by selecting points of continuity from the *Grundrisse* that will reappear in the *Ethnological Notebooks*. For example, in both Marx singles out conquest as a factor in the transformation of the gens, asserting in the *Grundrisse* that "slavery and serfdom are thus only further developments of the form of property resting on the clan system." Marx's concept of the Asiatic Mode of Production, that he developed in those 1850s writings, was after all, one of the questions Engels barely touched when he wrote his *Origin of the Family*. Nevertheless, the key does not appear to

be "proving" continuity between the Marx of the 1850s and the 1880s.

MARX'S NEW MOMENTS

Rather, Marx's new moments in his last decade are presented in your book as so creative that the "Asiatic Mode of Production" is not left as "Asiatic," but becomes non-capitalist forms of production that encompass the whole of what we call today the Third World, and is tied not alone to forces of production, but to new Subjects of revolution. Far from being any academic exercise, Marx's work in the *Ethnological Notebooks* and his other writings of 1880-82 constantly returned to points that illuminated contemporary arenas of revolution, whether that be the Irish Land League uprising and the involvement of peasant women there; the Russian peasant commune (*mir*) and its struggles against the encroachments of capitalism; or Algeria, where Marx spent over two months in 1882, before he penned his last notebook (on Lubbock).

Your inclusion of Marx's description of the Algerians as people who "recognize no subordination" excited me with its todayness, just as his stricture that "they will go to the devil without a revolutionary movement" underlined it in a sobering sense.

What is striking to me as well is that the new moments you labored to single out in Marx are by no means limited either to new parts of the globe or to periods of history. As against Engels, who saw in the fall of the primitive commune the "world historic defeat of the female sex," Marx was tracing women as a revolutionary force in society — in the gens, after the gens and all the way to today. When he pointed to the Iroquois and ancient Irish women as freer than those of modern capitalist society, it was as part of an attack on sexism, racism and colonialism that never let up from the beginning of the *Notebooks* to the end. Yet he does not shrink from demonstrating the limitations on women's freedom in pre-capitalist societies, even in societies where women's role in agricultural production loomed large.

In thinking about how Marx came to investigate such questions one is pulled to the preceding chapter of your book, Chapter 11, where you take up Marx's 1875 *Critique of the Gotha Program*. For it is there that Marx considers what would be required, not only to overthrow capitalism, but to create a truly human society. And at the heart of the problem is how to end the "enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labor and therewith also

(Continued on Page 5)



Raya
Dunayevskaya
on tour

(April-May lectures listed next issue)

West Virginia

- "Civil Rights and the Philosophy of Freedom — from Marx and the First Women's Rights Convention to Martin Luther King and Today" — Wed., March 2, 8 p.m., West Virginia U. Student Association

Detroit Area

- "Women as Revolutionary Force and Reason: from Rosa Luxemburg to Today's Women's Liberation Movement" — for International Women's Day, Tues., March 8, 3 p.m., U. of Windsor, Lambton Dining Lounge, Social Science Society, Depts. of Political Science, Sociology
- "Marx and the Liberation of Women" — Wed., March 9, 1 p.m. Oakland U. Rochester Oakland Center, Crockery Alcove. Departs. of History and Political Science, Women's Studies
- "New Moments in Marx's Last Decade" — Thurs., March 10, 7 p.m. U. of Mich. Ann Arbor. Residential Coll., East Quad., Room 126. Social Science Conc. Prog. and Guild House

New York

- "New Moments in Marx's Humanism and Dialectics: Rosa Luxemburg, and Women's Liberation, Frantz Fanon and the Third World" — Wed. Mar. 16, 2 p.m. Hunter College Playhouse, Hunter College Marxist-Humanists
- "Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*: New Formulations on Women and the Third World" — Fri., Mar. 18, 1 p.m. CUNY Graduate Center, 33 West 42nd Rm. 207, Student Government, Sociology



on the occasion
of the
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- "On the Marx Centenary: Facing the Challenge to All Post-Marx Marxists" — Sun., March 20, 7 p.m. Workmen's Circle 369-8th Ave. (29th St.) NY News & Letters
- "Centenary of Marx's Death — His Relevance to Our Day" — Thurs., March 24, 8 p.m. New School, 5th Ave. & 14th, Rm. 218. Departs. of Philosophy and Political Economy

Washington, D.C.

- "The Todayness of Marx's Humanism on the Centenary of Marx's Death" — Sat., April 2, 8 p.m. at American U. Iran Conf. sponsored by Center for Iranian Research and Analysis

Philadelphia

- "Rosa Luxemburg as Theoretician, as Activist, as Internationalist" — Monday, Mar. 21, 4 p.m. U. of Penn. Departs. of History, Women's Studies, College of Arts and Sciences

Chicago and Ill.

- "On the Marx Centenary: Facing the Challenge to All Post-Marx Marxists" — Tues., April 5, 3 p.m. U. of Ill., at Chicago, Circle Center. Women's Studies, Black Studies, Anthropology
- "Dialectics of Revolution: Confrontations with Marx" — Sat., April 9, Chicago News and Letters Call (312) 663-0839 for info.
- "The Trail from Marx's Philosophy of Revolution to Today's Women's Liberation Movement" — Sun., April 10, 3:30 p.m. U. of Ill. at Urbana-Champaign, Conf. on Third World Women and Feminist Perspectives

Iowa

- "On the Marx Centenary — Facing the Challenge to All Post-Marx Marxists" — Thurs., April 7, 7 p.m. U. of Iowa, Iowa City. All U. Lecture Committee

Passages from Marx's editing of the French edition of Capital

Editor's Note: In this, the Centenary year since Marx's death, we are still lacking in English a definitive edition of Marx's greatest work *Capital*. By "definitive", we refer to the fact that in 1872-73 Marx undertook the editing for publication of the French edition which had been translated from the German by Joseph Roy. Marx had written to Danielson (May 28, 1872): "... Later it will be all the easier to translate the whole from French into English and the romance languages." And he wrote to Engels (Nov. 30, 1873) that there were parts that were "better than in German."

While Engels did incorporate material from the French edition into the fourth German edition (see Appendix I of the English Dona Torr edition for a listing of the changes and additions) and had supervised the first English translation, recent research has shown that Engels' editing which has been the basis of all English editions of *Capital*, including the most recent Ben Fowkes translation, failed to fully incorporate Marx's editing of the French edition. (See especially Kevin A. Barry's "The French edition of *Capital*, 100 years after," *N&L* Oct., 1981.)

The changes Marx made for the French edition were no mere stylistic ones. In his Postface to the French edition Marx calls attention to "a scientific value independent of the original." And since Marx's day serious theoreticians have found new points of departure for their work within Marx's additions to the French *Capital*. Raya Dunayevskaya pointed out sections from the French edition which were crucial for some of her work:

"These changes are crucial, when singled out to distinguish the 1872-75 edition from the 1867 edition — not only in themselves, but because they made it possible to work out the new age of state-capitalism. That is to say, the two major changes — the one in 'Fetishism of Commodities' on Form, and the other in 'Accumulation of Capital', where Marx writes (p.822 in Dona Torr): 'In a given society the limit would not be reached until the moment when the entire social capital was united in the hands either of a single capitalist or a single capitalist company' — are the very ones that:

"(1) allowed me to teach *Capital* as Marx wrote it (for which the Trotskyists began slandering me that I was not teaching *Capital* but the theory of state-capitalism;)

"(2) were the basis for chapter 7 on 'The Humanism and Dialectic of Vol. I of *Capital*' in *Marxism and Freedom*;

"(3) will allow you — if you compare this Chapter 7 with Part V of *Marxism and Freedom* — to work out the dialectic methodology of relating what is 'abstract' as you deal with a Marxian category and what is concrete as you

begin to re-create it for its significance to your age." (Letter to Friends of News & Letters, Feb. 20, 1981)

Below we print a passage which has not appeared in English before, from section 3 of the chapter on Accumulation. The translation is by Kevin A. Barry from *Le Capital*, Marx, *Oeuvres I* (Edited by Maximilien Rubel), Paris: Gallimard.

We wish to call special attention to a second passage — a most significant articulation by Marx on what today we call imperialism — which was only recently translated into English in the Fowkes edition and then only as a footnote rather than in the body of the text as was Marx's intention. We are here using Kevin A. Barry's translation.

The second passage is in larger typeface.

III. Growing Production of a Relative Surplus Population or an Industrial Reserve Army

The absolute demand for labor brought about by capital is not a function of its absolute size, but of its variable part, the only part which is exchangeable with labor-power. The relative demand for labor brought about by capital, that is to say the relation between its own size and the quantity of labor which it absorbs, is determined by the relative size of its variable part. We have just shown that the accumulation, which makes social capital grow, simultaneously reduces the relative size of its variable part and so diminishes the relative demand for labor. Now, what is the effect of this movement on the wage-earning class?

To resolve this problem, it is clear that one must first examine in what manner the reduction suffered by the variable part of capital, which is in the process of accumulation, affects the absolute size of this part, and consequently by what manner a subsequent reduction of the demand for relative labor reacts upon the demand for absolute or effective (real, or actual) labor.

As long as capital does not change in size, any relative decrease of its variable part is at the same time an absolute decrease. For it to be otherwise, the relative decrease must be counterbalanced by a subsequent augmentation of the sum-total of the value-capital advanced. The variable part which functions as a wage (source of wages) therefore diminishes in direct relationship to the reduction of its relative size, and in inverse relationship to the simultaneous growth of the capital as a whole. Starting from this premise, we ob-

tain the following combinations:

First: If the relative size of variable capital decreases in inverse relationship to the growth of capital as a whole the wage fund (source of wages) does not change in absolute size. It will, for example, always total 400 fr., whether it forms 2/5 of a capital of 1,000 fr., or 1/5 of a capital of 2,000 fr.

Secondly: If the relative size of the variable capital decreases at a greater rate than the growth of capital as



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a whole, then the wage fund suffers an absolute decrease, despite the absolute augmentation of the value-capital advanced.

Thirdly: If the relative size of the variable decreases at a lesser rate than that of the growth of capital as a whole, the wage fund experiences an absolute increase, despite the subsequent decrease in its relative size.

From the point of view of social accumulation, these different combinations affect the form, both of the many successive phases that the masses of social capital, (which are) divided among the different spheres of production, go through one after another, often in diverse ways, and in many diverse shapes (conditions) presented simultaneously by different spheres of production. In the chapter on large industry we have considered two aspects of this movement. We recall, for example, factories where the same number of workers sufficed to produce (set in motion) an immense sum of raw materials and finished product. There, the growth of capital resulting only from the extension of its constant part, proportionately reduces the relative size of its variable part or the relative mass of exploited labor-power, but without affecting (diminishing) the absolute size . . .

But it is only in the epoch where mechanical industry, having sunk roots deeply enough, exercised a preponderant influence on the whole national production; where, thanks to it, foreign trade began to take precedence over internal trade; where the universal (world) market annexed for itself vast lands in the New World, in Asia and in Australia; where finally the industrial nations entering the lists become numerous enough: it is from this epoch only that date the renescent cycles whose successive phases embrace years and which converge in a general crisis, the end of one cycle and the point of departure for another. Up to now the average (periodic) duration of these cycles is ten or eleven years, but there is no reason to think of this figure as constant. On the contrary, we should infer from these laws of capitalist production, as we have just developed them, that it is variable and that the length (period) of the cycles will grow shorter gradually.

Ethnological Notebooks

(Continued from Page 4)

the antithesis between mental and physical labor." Is the return to "origins" for Marx thus a path toward fully working out not alone what Marxism is against, but what it is for, in the aftermath of the Paris Commune? To uproot that division between mental and manual labor, what Subjects of revolution will have to take their place alongside the proletariat? Or as you put it: "How total, continuous, global must the concept of revolution be now?"

It is because you have singled out these new moments in Marx's last years that you have the ground to extend that vision to what none had ever seen before, and what Rosa Luxemburg was not herself wholly conscious of — a feminist dimension within her that touched questions first to fully appear in our own time.

As I finished my study of the *Ethnological Notebooks* I was left not only with an appreciation for the trail you have broken to open those most difficult writings to study by us who face today's revolutionary problems, but also with a sense that we are just beginning to see what it means to have what you term "A 1980s View." You say on the last page of the book that our challenge is not only from practice, "but of being able to meet the challenge from the self-determination of the Idea, and of deepening theory to the point where it reaches Marx's concept of revolution in permanence." If that is the view needed in our new decade, I hope that we will have a great deal more discussion on how to achieve it.

— Michael Connolly

Strikes challenge Quebec government

Montreal, Quebec, Canada — On Monday, Feb. 7, I attended a rally of 6,000 striking teachers at Montreal's Olympic Velodrome, an exuberant demonstration of solidarity and determination. Yvon Charbonneau, head of the 100,000-member CEQ (Quebec Teachers Union) compared Premier Rene Levesque to Reagan, and some picket signs compared Levesque to former Quebec dictator Duplessis and worse. The rally ended with the Quebec version of "We shall Overcome."

Things have changed drastically in just 1½ years since Levesque and the Parti Quebecois (PQ) were firmly re-elected, a victory made possible by labor support. "Pequiste" is now one of the worst epithets in town!

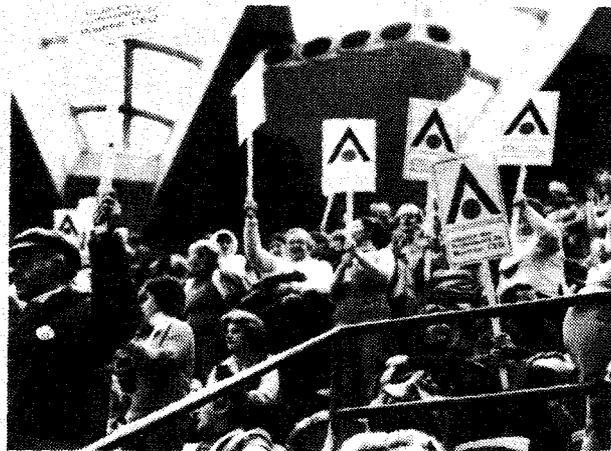
STRIKE OF COMMON FRONT

The teachers are the spearhead of the Common Front on strike against the government, which comprises the CEQ, the FTQ (Quebec Labor Federation), and the CSN (Confederation of National Trade-Unions). Retiring teachers have even risked their pensions to support the strike.

The teachers' old contract expired on Jan. 1, 1983 but in April, 1982 the government refused to negotiate and continues to refuse. They offered only a cutback in salaries and huge take-backs. The PQ government then imposed Bill 70, a decree, unilaterally cutting salaries by 20 percent and setting working conditions. Then came Bill 105, an 80,000-page monster, passed as an "emergency law"! On the same day, the government legislators voted themselves a generous salary increase. On Jan. 29, 50,000 public servants held a spirited demonstration before the National Assembly in Quebec City to protest these laws.

I talked to an activist teacher from a Montreal area high school. He showed me the text of yet another law, now called Bill 111 which was just passed last Friday (Feb. 18) after teachers voted on Wednesday to continue striking. This law is perhaps the worst piece of anti-labor legislation in North American history, the equivalent of martial law. It suspends all due process, sanctuary, civil rights, forbids the collection of union dues from paychecks, abolishes closed shops, and prohibits all union activities during work hours. There are enormous fines and jail sentences for striking and other union activities. What is at issue is not money but basic freedoms — to prevent total dictatorial control by the government. However, he also told me that there were serious divisions in the Common Front to be worked out.

After the teachers' rally, I talked to one couple nearing retirement who told me that these laws would freeze their



— News & Letters photo
Quebec teachers rally at the Olympic Velodrome.

pensions at a low standard of living.

STUDENTS SUPPORT STRIKE

On Wednesday, Feb. 9, I went to a rally of 1,000 students held by the AGEUQAM (the students' Union at the U. of Quebec — Montreal campus) in support of the Common Front. They had shut down the campus on Feb. 1 and had suffered police violence as well as an injunction. They set a "Day of Solidarity" for Feb. 10 and a demonstration for Feb. 15.

Linda Tremblay, an executive member of AGEUQAM, told me that students also had their own grievances about the deterioration of education and about repression in Quebec. The right to education is at stake. She also emphasized that over two-thirds of the strikers were women.

Against all this, Levesque has tried to cover his class war against the Quebec people with the national question. As a ploy, he applied for PQ membership to the Socialist International, hoping that the almost inevitable racist reaction of the NDP (New Democratic Party), which was not long in coming, would detract from his policies. It didn't work. If anything, this struggle has brought English and French workers closer than ever. The latest update is that the teachers, faced with Bill 111, have called a three-week "truce" and are temporarily back at work. We will soon see what new organizational forms the present opposition to PQ-ism will take. The struggle goes on.

—Bernie Gardner

BLACK AMERICA IN STRUGGLE AGAINST REAGANISM

We joined a 2,000-strong multi-issue demonstration in Roxbury, a decaying Black ghetto, while Ronald Reagan was visiting a core-city electronics assembly plant (which under his Administration would never have received government aid). It was the day after his State of the Union address. Then we followed the president's helicopter to suburban Bedford, where he advocated repeal of the corporate income tax. We plastered the factory fence with our signs and "Save Life on Earth" posters, and several people in the small, irreverent crowd lifted our placards on high. Reagan noticed us, fists upraised, and just went on beaming and waving.

Artists for Survival member
Lexington, Mass.

Now that the riot in Miami is over journalists are spending all their time telling us about what happened and hardly a word about why it happened. I think one Black man hit it right on the nose when describing the bankruptcy of our mass media. He said the racism over the riot was most evident when the media kept voicing its concern over how the riot was going to affect the turnout for the Orange Bowl parade.

I can't wait to see Black militancy appear in central and northern Florida, where the KKK is so big that they operate openly... There will be a lot of people in for a rude awakening soon, because the situation is at a boiling point. One can even see the undercurrent of Miami in this small town...

Observer
Ft. Pierce, Fla.

The mayoral election in one-party Chicago, has galvanized the most aggressive racism here. One example: the prestigious Carson Pirie Scott department stores advertised a \$6 special in their beauty salons for shampoo, cut and perm. Women with non-anglo accents calling for appointments were told "this offer is for caucasian women only." Everyone was talking about this at work, and this is what one of the Black women said: "I always knew those beauty salons were for whites only; but if you walk through Carson's downtown, at least half the people shopping there are Black. We buy the same clothes whites do, how come they 'don't know' how to cut our hair? I think it's time we had a boycott. If we stopped giving them our money they'd change their tune fast."

Bottle washer
Chicago

There is good news from White Hall, Ala. We are finally going to get the water system for our community which we have fought for. Construction will begin around Feb. 20 and it will be completed in June. Last year we went many months having to haul water to our homes. The cost of the new system will be approximately \$328,400.

The population is really increasing in the Town of White Hall, therefore the need for industry here is great. But we also have to fight racism at the same time. Mr. Ben Davis, who ran for Probate Judge of Lowndes County, has been fired from his job, and many more Blacks are being fired from high positions, being replaced immediately with whites.

Gardenia White
White Hall, Ala.

I have been re-thinking my ideas. I may be one of those Blacks prejudiced (of all words) against socialism... But let me describe my thoughts. U.S. presidents, as long as they are white, shall remain insensitive to the plight of the Black American. Capitalism definitely compounds the pre-established caste system against Blacks while communism isn't winning any humanitarianism awards either...

The few Blacks who are somewhat prosperous have discontinued their allegiance with the rest. Meanwhile, the Blacks that occupy the middle-income levels are merely an illusion of progress in the

Black community and living token existences in the white context. Black America is an extremely underdeveloped nation held captive and sadistically exploited by a highly developed technological nation. In the future we will be out voted, out-purchased and out-computered not by Jim Crow, nor his present namesake James Crow, but by the ultra-sophisticated Dr. James Crawford, M.D. — unless we do something drastically in our favor.

Black college student
Bloomington, Ind.

LABOR'S LIBERATION IDEAS

The headline "Food stamps mean forced labor under Reagan" (Jan-Feb N&L) should have read "slave labor" instead. All labor is forced labor in this society — we work for the capitalists not because we want to but in order to survive. But to make people without jobs work 30 hours a week for no wages like a prisoner on a road gang just to keep getting a few food stamps, that is nothing less than slavery.

Laid-off auto worker
Pico Rivera, Calif.

I thought it was real cute of Reagan to put in an appearance at an auto plant in St. Louis that was calling back laid-off employees, so he could tell us how the economy is turning around. I'm afraid the auto workers in Ohio weren't impressed. If they could recall as many employees and as fast as they are recalling cars, we could perhaps see some light at the end of the tunnel. And isn't it just great that they are having to import people from Japan to teach the American people how to put out quality work! Boy! Could I tell management an earful about that! 95% of the auto workers in this country are quality-conscious, but when you are slapped down every day of the week by your penny-pinching superiors, you eventually say "The Hell with it."

Retired auto worker
Rural Ohio

I work in an electronics factory. Last week we were informed that our production schedule is being increased by one-third. There is no way we can meet that schedule unless we work more hours. We've also heard that unless we get another contract we may be out of a job in six months. The new production schedule is just the company's way of putting me out of a job sooner.

Young working woman
Los Angeles

Last night I watched my first "State of the Union" since Nixon's last. The address is really a public display of the unity between the various sections of the ruling class. This Democratic-Republican unity is an insurance that the rich will continue to prosper while the workers suffer. As a working person I think it's time to take action and organize the unemployed to demand jobs. We need to get out to the unemployment lines and organize action committees. If it means sitting in, strikes, job actions, it must be done. Yes, I agree with Felix Martin — "No jobs, Revolution!"

Outraged
Upstate New York

HOSPITAL CARE ON WELFARE

In the Jan.-Feb. N&L, I was especially interested in the article "System uses welfare to divide and control" because I have seen how Reagan's health care cuts have divided and controlled patient care where I work. Drugs are no longer prescribed according to need, but according to who can pay for what "Medi-Cal" doesn't cover. When a patient has to be transferred to another hospital, the hospital he is sent to depends on what kind of insurance he has, not what kind of care he needs.

Nurse
Downey, Cal.

Readers' View

LEADERSHIP IN MIDDLE EAST?

We are witnessing here the rising leadership of Pres. Navon, who is supposed to be the new Labor alignment alternative to Begin. A good critique of him was written by Silvi Keshet under the title: "If they are our friends, who needs enemies?" He mentions Navon's four "noes": No to the division of Jerusalem. No to return to 1967 borders. No to negotiations with the PLO. No to a Palestinian state. Where does he differ from Begin - Rabin? Yes, Navon expressed pride that 400,000 protested Lebanon, and he demanded the massacre inquiry, but he insisted that there is no change in Israeli moral attitudes after the war. He praised Begin. He rejected claims of ill treatment of Arabs in Israel and occupied territories. I write this so that you have some idea where our "future alternative" lies here.

Humanist and peace worker
Tel Aviv, Israel

I was so impressed with a Palestinian I met at our literature table. He wanted to know why we were supporting Solidarnosc and what did we think of Lech Walesa. We talked about not taking Reagan's ground and the division between leaders and ranks, how it was the militancy of the rank and file in Solidarnosc who really pushed Walesa. He said, "I agree with you. I don't trust leaders either. I am fiercely nationalistic, but I think that some of my people put too much trust in our leaders." He bought every pamphlet on our table that had to do with women's liberation.

Marxist-Humanist
Univ. of Illinois - Chicago



WOMEN SUPPORT GUATEMALAN FREEDOM

As we enter the New Year, the Guatemala campesino people are suffering a new type of repression, not experienced before in their country — the strategic hamlet. The mostly Indian people are brought into areas where they are kept in camps. In one village the military surrounded about 5,000 people and forced them to the location decided upon. Some 300 were killed...

"Women for Guatemala" is a group of women who love the country of Guatemala and its people. We want women in the USA to know about Guatemala, and maybe come to feel the way we do. We want a dialogue with women who are interested in the liberation of all women in the world. We ask solidarity of Northamerican women with our sisters in Guatemala and with the entire Guatemalan people. Write to us:

Women for Guatemala
P.O. Box 53421
Washington, DC 20009

WHAT PRINCIPLES FOR THE ANTI-NUKE MOVEMENT?

I went to a CND meeting in Oxford where two women from the Greenham Common peace camp were speaking. The people there were mainly university students, and I was struck by how different it was from the meetings I used to go to in my student days. Then most of the speakers from the floor would have been fangardist group members putting up a line, but here those present kept a low profile and people were expressing their own ideas. But I wouldn't regard this as an unqualified change for the better, because no one (except me) spoke explicitly about revolution.

When I got to say my piece I took up a statement that one of the Greenham

women had made, that they regarded non-violence as even more essential than the women-only character of the camp. I suggested that while I could agree that non-violence was a sensible tactic at Greenham, it was wrong to elevate it to an absolute principle, and what ought to be absolute was the struggle for freedom and a truly human society. For example, I support the revolutionaries at war in Central America...

Richard Bunting
Oxford, England

LUXEMBURG'S 'MARTINIQUE'

Rosa Luxemburg's piece on "Martinique" (Jan.-Feb. N&L) was a sarcastic rebuttal of the "humanism" that capitalism never fails to exhibit when nature turns its toll on human lives. Although the article was written in 1902, its echo could still be felt today — in the humanitarian aid given by the U.S. to Nicaraguan dictator Somoza during the Managua earthquake, while arming his National Guard to perpetrate acts of horror. We can also see the "normal" relationship of the IMF with Africa, Asia and Latin America, where the "development" of human and social resources depends on the imposition of austerity measures on the same people — a perverted notion that human misery is a *sine qua non* for "development."

Luxemburg is right that the anger and indignation of the oppressed masses will explode (as did Nicaragua) like a volcano.

Internationalist
West Africa

AS LATIN AMERICA SEES N&L

I am a Puerto Rican who has been involved in the struggle against colonial oppression both on the island and in our communities on the mainland. In the process, I have been affiliated with the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), a "Marxist-Leninist" vanguard-type party. Needless to say I have become disillusioned with their approach to the struggle against colonialism, that is to get in and lead any kind of self-activity initiated by working people. I began to question the whole idea, not only as it applied to the colonial situation of Puerto Rico, but also the U.S. and the world in general. Events in Poland made my doubts about the "orthodox Marxist" movement more serious...

Then I encountered your publication, N&L. What I read was a confirmation of my own thoughts and experiences. I therefore want to subscribe to your paper and hopefully even write for it about Puerto Rican and Hispanic struggles... Let me emphasize certain aspects that I like about your paper: revolutionary feminism (I'm a feminist because I'm a revolutionary socialist and vice-versa), your attention to peasant struggles such as Guatemala, your rank-and-file letters, and your getting back to Marx's basics.

New reader
Washington, D.C.

We very highly value N&L and wish to develop a closer relationship with its editors. We consider we need to develop a deep insight into the programme and policies of your organization. We are particularly keen on the study of Marxist-Humanist ideas, and would wish to be fully informed on them.

We are a Marxist organization working in a coalition with a liberal democratic and a social democratic group. This work gives us new insights into united front work in our situation. We will send you publications of the coalition — known as the Vanguard for Liberation and Democracy — and of our party...

Working People's Vanguard Party
69 Main Street
Georgetown, Guyana

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

I have just begun to study Marxism, and in fact, the first book I've ever read about Marxism has been Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution by Raya Dunayevskaya. One thing I find surprising is the statement in Chapter Nine that Engels' book Origin of the Family was followed by all socialists, despite the fact that it was not Marx's view. How could it be that it has taken 100 years for anyone to ask what Marx said? As a Mexican-American I find it surprising because you'd expect people to want to know what Marx said about Indians, primitive society, non-European countries. It makes me think I'm not the only one who is first starting to find out what Marxism is.

Young Latina
Los Angeles

Your thoroughgoing criticism of the "post-Marx Marxists" is impressive and convincing and all serious students of Marx must feel in your debt.

Hegel scholar
Britain

I have been reading about the Second International in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, and it reminds me of the AFL-CIO today. The Second International was so concerned with becoming a mass organization that it made all kinds of compromises, and ended up by totally betraying the workers. I'm interested in studying Rosa Luxemburg because she was the first to say the Second International would betray, and she was looking for ways to deepen the revolutionary struggle. She was looking at the workers who were "lower and deeper."

Unemployed worker
Los Angeles

In celebration of Black History month I attended a program sponsored by "Black Women for a Better Society." I was excited to hear of such an event because Black women have always been left out of history. But I was very disappointed in the meeting. There was the same old rhetoric: "Black women don't need liberation, should stand back and let the Black man make the revolution. The right to control your own body is genocide for the Black race" . . . There was no discussion of the revolutionary history of Black women either here or in Africa.

I was never so glad that I am studying Raya Dunayevskaya's new book at this

time. It is like the opposite to that meeting, because she sees Black women as force and reason. She shows how Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman refused to follow Frederick Douglass and called him "short-minded" when he told women to wait for the right to vote. I have the feeling in Part II of her book that the voice of the Black woman is not buried as it was in that meeting, but is shouting loud about the need for total change.

Black feminist
Detroit



Centenary
1983

Thanks for sending me Marxism and Freedom. I have read nearly the whole of it and I want to tell you that I think it is amazing to realize that it was written back in the 1950s! There's quite a few Left folks I know who ought to read it now. They talk about "Marxism" but to them it means nationalization or a planned economy. Dunayevskaya shows that that was never Marx's idea: his idea was a society of "freely-associated labor" (I liked the phrase the best). The way some of the Party people I know act, they'd never let you "freely-associate" about anything.

Still learning
Austin, Texas

I have just finished the book, Rosa Luxemburg . . . and I was very glad that it brought out so many questions that need to be discussed. I am most interested in the organizational question; it seems incredible that Lenin's What Is To Be Done? has served as a sort of bible on this for 80 years . . .

What I would like to say in general is that I think the connecting link in the book is the analysis of the first chapter of Capital. Its impact goes from personal relations to nationalism and the special questions of minorities to imperialism, and naturally to the working class — capital/labor. However, how can one define the working-class today? Certainly it is no longer the case to limit the discussion to the production worker. If we are to put the Third World in the midst, we must turn back to the agricultural worker and the agricultural commune.

Long-time reader
Milan, Italy

The statement from Marx that his theory was not "a historical-philosophical" generalization interests me very much. I am from Pakistan, and have long been interested in Marxism, but one problem I had seen was how narrow and dogmatic many Marxists are. They just say, every country has one path to travel to revolution, one group of people to do it, with one kind of leadership. That statement from Marx seems to say that where the conditions are different the road to change will be different. What road to change do we face in the Third World today? This is what Marx's method seems to challenge us to come up with answers to.

Pakistani student
Southern California

I was active in the past in radical (Trotskyist) groups in a large Latin American country. I read with interest Philosophy and Revolution and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. I can say I'm definitely on your side in respect to Marxism as Humanism, opposed to "structuralist" or strictly "materialist." And what appeals strongly to me in American reality is its "individualism," including the proletariat. Internationally, I want to discuss more with you "state capitalism," and Marx's concept of organization.

Hunter student
New York

One thing I have always had trouble with is the concept of the "dictatorship of the proletariat." What does Dunayevskaya think about it? If it is true that near the end of his life Marx started to talk about forces of revolution like women, Blacks, peasants, etc., how does that fit into the idea of a "dictatorship of the proletariat"? I had always tended more towards the anarchists because I didn't like the authoritarian connotations "Marxist-Leninists" give that phrase, but Marxist-Humanists seem to see it differently. What is Dunayevskaya's view of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" now that she has written about the last decade of Marx?

Student
Cal. State - Los Angeles

I have started to read the Luxemburg book and despite my knowledge of sexism still find it hard to believe how such an important figure could be veiled in obscurity. Most parties will not admit to her

feminism. I think Raya is doing a great service for those who seek a clear understanding of history . . .

I also agree with your perspective on many of the Left parties. Very seldom do I meet any feminist men. At first I thought that the fact that a man was "radical" meant that he would treat women with the respect and equality that he afforded the "working man." I was most rudely awakened from this delusion . . . Perhaps I am being naive, but I see women as part of the class struggle, so how far away is Marxism from feminism? Many feminists take offense to Marx's reference to "men" rather than to "people." This is the result of improper translation, I think. In the original, what Marx wrote meant "human beings" . . .

Feminist
Catskill, NY

As we were discussing the 1907 Congress of Russian revolutionaries, in Ch. 1 of Raya's book, I kept thinking about meetings of the Left, particularly the Black Left, today. In 1907 Lenin had to fight others, including Trotsky, who didn't want to discuss "the character of the present moment of revolution." Trotsky said, "Give me a formula for action."

The Left today still doesn't see the importance of discussing the movement from practice, like the Miami revolt. The only question on their agenda is "tactics," formulas for action. What Ch. 1 shows to me is the need to unify the movement from practice with the movement from theory.

Black activist
Los Angeles

I think the new paragraph in the "Who We Are" statement on the three fundamental works of Marxist-Humanism — together with the new stress on the Humanist positive that we stand for — makes the entire account of ourselves new. This is because Dunayevskaya's three books are presented as not only separate re-statements of Marxist-Humanism but as works that were necessitated by and creatively flowed from the experience of News and Letters Committees in the movement. I hope new readers will see Marxist-Humanist literature, not as some sort of know-it-all "required reading," but as a challenge to all in the freedom movement to return to Marx's Marxism..

Marxist-Humanist
New York City

PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "Black Caucuses in the Unions," by Charles Denby 75c per copy
- Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- Working Women for Freedom
By Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
- Latin America's Revolutions
Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America . . . \$1 per copy
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By Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought
By Lou Turner and John Alan \$1 per copy
- La Lucha Latina Para la Libertad y la Filosofia Marxista-Humanista de Liberacion
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BLACK-RED VIEW

I am turning my column over to Lou Turner for this special Marx Centenary issue — John Alan.

From whatever standpoint one regards it, the relationship of the philosophy of Karl Marx to the Black world has determined a new stage of Black thought today. Whether it was the need for a "new interpretation of Negro History," as L.D. Reddick noted in a Negro History Week address in 1937, singling out as a new beginning "DuBois' brilliant attempt to apply the Marxian dialectic to the Reconstruction tumult." Or whether the 1980s impact of Reaganomics has compelled Black intellectuals to "appropriate" Marx's economic analysis of capitalist crisis or enlist Marx in new anthropological studies of the "African continuum" in Black family structure, man/woman relations, Black culture and even recent ap-

Black Chicago unites

Editor's Note: Harold Washington's upset win in the Democratic primary mayor's race in Chicago may mean a startling change in one of America's most race-divided cities. Below a Black woman activist in Chicago comments on what this election means to her and other Blacks.

Chicago, Ill. — I have lived in Chicago my whole life and I have seen a city divided — divided in terms of rights between Blacks and whites. When I was a young girl we could ride the buses, but all the bus drivers were white. Where I lived there were white people too. We went to school with white people but we didn't have the trouble we do today. It was just understood we would go to one school and we got along. The administration tried to separate us, but as "troublemakers" we just decided that we didn't want to be separated.

But we have been under the control of mobsters and crooks. They run this town even though they say that these people are reputable. The Mafia controls this town. That has been historically true. So what is happening now is not so much an attack on an administration, but on the system itself. We want to bring down the system and gain equality across the board. What has been in the past is the complete dominance by the people in power. Those people in power are white and it takes the form of racism. What it is, is the power brokers trying to hang on and keep control of what they have rather than relinquish or share with anybody. Many whites have been locked out too. It's just a few that have power. They can create illusions that Chicago is the "city that works," but it doesn't work for everybody.

Some of the Black youth in my neighborhood who are wearing Washington buttons are being arrested by the police and harassed. And the newspapers are using racist tricks. This is based on the fact that there is this resurgence of Black awareness. It is this new resurgence, this new kind of solidarity that is going to bring about a change no matter who is in power. Part of what we have learned is what we have inherited from this country. It hasn't been good, but it has helped us see some things. We have been at the bottom of the pit and can see the society from that perspective. A lot of whites haven't seen this.

This town is our place. We have a right to this place. People have registered because they see the opportunity to equalize political power — not just Blacks but whites and Hispanics too. Even if Harold Washington doesn't win, he has sparked something. He has stirred up something in people. It is going to be a changed town. We will not stop striving for equality. We will not be snowed by little gimmicks like Jane Byrne's free cheese. We aren't rats!

We want money and jobs, not cheese. If we have that we can buy our own cheese. Now any new administration will be forced to deal with the citizens of Chicago.

Shelter like a jail

New York, N.Y. — The men's shelter where I sleep is like a jail. There's more people out of work now than any time since the Depression. I've been to the 155th St. Armory — they had like an ocean of beds there. It was like an army of homeless men. I didn't know that many people here in New York were homeless. People told me this was nothing — they also got places in Queens, Brooklyn, etc. There's at least 50,000. I'm used to having my own place — even if it's like an icebox.

It wasn't all Black and Puerto Rican — you had every race there — Black, white, even Chinese. There's no such thing as color when everybody's down and out. On the other hand, you got people with so much money they don't know what to do with it. They want to get as much as they can before they die.

I could write a book about that shelter — the cruelty and neglect I've seen. One guy was beat on the head by the guards and he died. I wish I had somebody to take down this story.

—Black and Homeless in New York

Karl Marx and the Black world

proaches in Black literary criticism — we seem to have entered a "Marxian renaissance" in Black studies.

Black History Month this year coincides with the centenary of Marx's death. And both occur at a time when the Black world, from Nigeria to Miami and from the West Indies to Australia, reveals at one and the same time new crises and new forms of revolt. What makes Marx's philosophy of human liberation irresistible to today's Black intellectuals is what made Hegel's revolutionary dialectic urgent for Marx, namely, the need to transform reality. What, however, may not receive as full a development in the recent "application" of Marx's thought in Black studies is how Black reality and the movement from practice had an impact on Marx.

THREE MOMENTS OF MARX AND THE BLACK DIMENSION

We want to concentrate on three moments in Marx's thought which reveal his philosophic grasp of the Black dimension. They are the 1850s when Marx is working on the *Grundrisse* (his early draft of *Capital*) and looking at the West Indies; his 1860s restructuring of *Capital* under the impact of the American Civil War; and Marx's last decade when what our age calls the "Third World" was becoming the subject of the new science of anthropology.

It was our age of Third World revolutions which made the discovery of Marx's economic studies of the 1850s so



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concrete. Not only did they reveal Marx's return to his philosophic beginnings in Hegel, but the *Grundrisse* revealed a most serious concentration on conditions in non-capitalist lands. In one passage on the Jamaican peasantry we read this:

"The Times of November 1857 contains an utterly delightful cry of outrage on the part of a West-Indian plantation owner. This advocate analyzes with great moral indignation — as a plea for the re-introduction of Negro slavery — how the Quashees (the free blacks of Jamaica) content themselves with producing only what is strictly necessary for their own consumption, and, alongside this 'use value', regard loafing (indulgence and idleness) as the real luxury good; how they do not care a damn for the sugar and fixed capital invested in the plantations, but rather observe the planters' impending bankruptcy with an ironic grin of malicious pleasure, and even exploit their acquired Christianity as an embellishment for this mood of malicious glee and indolence. They have ceased to be slaves, but not in order to become wage labourers, but, instead, self-sustaining peasants working for their own consumption."

MARX'S CAPITAL AND THE CIVIL WAR

Throughout the decade of the 1860s Marx kept his atten-

Thousands at King march

Los Angeles, Cal. — As Ronald Reagan marked the nation-wide celebration of Martin Luther King, Jr. Day by saying King's life demonstrated "how much good a single life, well led, can accomplish" while at the same time opposing the effort to make Jan. 15 a national holiday, thousands of Blacks, whites, Latinos and Asian-Americans marched in the streets of Los Angeles. They demanded not only a national holiday in honor of the slain civil rights leader but a change in the politics and economics of America, as well.

The march represented the largest King Day celebration demonstration in the country and was "organized" to celebrate the re-naming of Santa Barbara Avenue Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive. Although the organizers had issued directives placing strict limitations on what would be "acceptable" on signs and banners, the thousands of marchers assembled carrying homemade signs condemning the racism and economic policies of Reagan made it clear that they came with a "purpose, direction and spirit" of their own. The marchers came to express a unified opposition to Reagan's war against the American people.

At the end of the march, the organizers had planned a rally and when one speaker asked the crowd of over 7,000 how many were out of work, over half the hands went up, and the crowd spontaneously took up the chant "Jobs and Justice" drowning out the speaker and temporarily halting the scheduled program. At the conclusion of the march and rally the marchers paid homage to King.

The actions of the marchers themselves provided the most meaningful living tribute to the memory of a man who was dedicated to continuous struggle and who was rooted in the mass movement of his people for freedom and justice. On Jan. 15 people in Los Angeles not only said "Happy birthday to ya!" but A Luta Continua, as well.

—Bobbie Joyce

tion riveted on the events in America. Thus, he sees the coming Civil War in "the movement of slaves in America started by the death of John Brown". When the Civil War was being waged and Engels was pessimistic about its outcome Marx disagreed: "I do not at all share your view . . . I do not believe that all is up . . . A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on southern nerves . . . a war of this kind must be conducted in a revolutionary way, whereas the Yankees have been trying so far to conduct it constitutionally." (Aug. 7, 1862).

Marx's writings on the Civil War are in no way separated from his theoretical work on "economics". The very same letter quoted above as well discusses his work on preparing *Capital*. But as yet we do not have an English translation of Marx's letters in full from this period.

That the Black Movement in America was a decisive factor in Marx's reworking of the manuscripts for *Capital* can be seen in Marx's most dialectic formulation of the vanguard role of Black masses in motion: "Labor in the white skin cannot emancipate itself, where in the black skin it is branded." It appears at the climax of Marx's most original section in *Capital* on the "Working Day." (See Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom*, Ch. V: "The Impact of the Civil War in the United States on the Structure of Capital")

When he turned in his last years to the study of what we call the "Third World" in digging into the new social science of anthropology, we see that Marx erected no confining wall between "advanced" and "backward lands". For Marx it was always a question of the revolutionary consciousness of new subjects in various social formation. Thus in his last writings, the *Ethnological Notebooks*, he discovers new elements of civilization in the Australian aborigine, who would not accept white civilization's Christian story about there being a soul without a body. For the civilized scholars Marx used words such as "rogues" and "blockheads". For the Australian aborigine — "the intelligent black."

It is the development of the organic relationship between Black masses in motion and Marx's thought which stands as a challenge to today's Black revolutionaries, Marxist and non-Marxist alike. What relationship do we feel compelled to develop today between Black masses as vanguard and a philosophy of freedom as full as Marx's?

— Lou Turner

Youth in Black Britain

London, England — On Jan. 12, on the poor East side of London a Black youth, Colin Roach, aged 21, was shot dead by a sawed-off shotgun in Stoke Newington police station in full view of the reception desk. The police stated that it was suicide.

Stoke Newington police are notorious for racist harassment and beatings in the community. Black youth have alleged police interrogation with guns pointing at their heads.

There was a spontaneous demonstration of anger outside the police station on Jan. 14 and again on Jan. 17. Fighting between the hundred demonstrators and police guarding the police station led to 19 arrests. The energy of these spontaneous actions came mainly from young Blacks who knew Colin and were disgusted by attempted cover-up, trying to maintain that Colin Roach was mentally ill and committed suicide.

A demonstration was called for Jan. 22. It was about 1,000 strong, mainly young Blacks calling and shouting to their friends to come off the streets and join the demonstration. The demonstration stopped outside Stoke Newington police station for two minutes silence. After the march the police arrested another 22 Black youths bringing the total arrested to 46 in the protests.

The Colin Roach Family Support Committee has planned another demonstration to pursue their aim of a public enquiry. However, even if they do succeed in getting a public enquiry it does not mean that we will know anymore. Two years ago, Jan. 18, 1981, 13 Black youths were burnt alive in South London. A mass movement forced a public enquiry but still the police never arrested anyone, and nothing is known about those murders to this day.

— Nigel Quinten

South African protest

The "coloured" or mixed-race Labour Party, led by Reverend Allan Hendrickse, has agreed to serve in a planned separate parliament chamber alongside the white minority rulers, as part of a plan by the ruling whites (16 percent of the population) to expand their "base" to include Indians and mixed-race people.

At the same time that the so-called Labour Party was enfranchised by the racist government, it was disenfranchised by its own people. In Cape Town, where 70 percent of South Africa's 2.7 million mixed-race people live, the Labour Party has been unable to hold a single public meeting. Sixty Cape Town mixed-race groups have organized against it, claiming it now represents not them, but the white government.

Marxist-Humanism, 1983: summation that is new beginning

(Continued from Page 1)

post-Marx Marxists. It would take nothing short of the German Social-Democracy's betrayal at the outbreak of WWI before Lenin totally broke with them, and first saw Marx's Critique of the Gotha Programme as most relevant for his day. It was then also that he spelled out most concretely how revolutionaries could not just "take over" the bourgeois state machinery. That had to be smashed to smithereens. Lenin made that revolutionary message both more concrete and more comprehensive — a true concrete Universal — when he saw, as inseparable, Marx's theory of revolution and his theory of human development, concluding: "The whole theory of Marx is an application of the theory of development." Yet, as we know, Lenin still left the concept of the vanguard party in its old (though modified) form.

A new historic age was needed to work out all the ramifications. A new movement from practice as a form of theory had to emerge and be recognized before a new attitude could be worked out, and that meant, far from freeing the movement from theory of its responsibilities, the movement from practice was demanding that theory, too, undergo self-development so that it could concretize for a new age Marx's revolutionary dialectical philosophy, which he had called a "new Humanism." By the time, in 1956, that the Hungarian Revolution brought Marx's philosophy onto the historic stage, we had developed that new Humanism in the U.S. By 1960, the Third World theorist Frantz Fanon had developed his liberation philosophy and called it "a new Humanism." By the 1970s Marx's Ethnological Notebooks were finally transcribed so that Marx's Marxism could be seen as a totality. It is this which Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution is rooted in when it takes a new look at Marx's 1875 Critique. The new book devotes a whole chapter to the Critique, entitling that chapter: "The Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates Ground for Organization."

FROM PART II — "Unchained Dialectic"

It was Marx who unchained the Hegelian dialectic by demystifying the "negation of negation," designating it as a "new Humanism" in 1844, and as "revolution in permanence" in 1850, while in 1857 recreating Hegel's "absolute movement of becoming" as integral to what would follow capitalism when revolutionary socialism came to full bloom.

The "new Humanism" for our age that we represent must not be "taken for granted." It is the recreation of Marx's new Humanism at a time when. It signifies the stage of human development which was brought onto the historic stage of today by actual revolutions in East Europe, in the Middle East, in Africa, in the West; and in multi-colors of Black, Yellow and Brown and Red; with a whole new generation of Youth and of Women's Liberationists — as well as by a movement from theory that, though not from the same origins or as total as ours was nevertheless as philosophic as Frantz Fanon's Wretched of the Earth. Far from being taken for granted, our "new Humanism" must be so fully internalized as to become a second negativity type of "instinct" — that is, reappear at all historic turning points spontaneously.

OUR AGE HAD TO return to Hegel in order to work out that which Marx had not "translated." What had not become concrete for the other age had become imperative and urgent for ours. For our age, however, that philosophical mediation became alive as forces of revolution as Reason rather than needing any further abstract development as that middle which first creates from itself a

whole. I'm referring not to the general question of absolute negativity, which Marx had fully worked out as revolution in permanence, but to the specifics of the final three Syllogisms that Hegel himself had worked out only the year before his death. Even more specifically I'm limiting myself to the final paragraph (#577) of Hegel's Philosophy of Mind, which states "it is the nature of the fact, the Notion, which causes the movement and development. Yet this same movement is equally the action of cognition." We worked this out after we rejected Lenin's stopping on the Absolute Idea before that final paragraph of the Science of Logic, which warned the readers that the "Absolute" has not finished its journey which must still be tested in the Philosophy of Nature and Philosophy of Mind. It was when we turned to the latter that we broke through on the Absolute Idea not only as both not being in the stratosphere and signifying a new unity of theory and practice, but also as disregarding the Party and instead facing the new society. By seeing the new unity as a new relationship — which demanded that the new beginning must rest in the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory, so that theory must first then work out how to reach the heights of philosophy and depth of actual revolution — we succeeded not only in the breakthrough on the Hegelian Absolute, but in reconnecting with Marx's "revolution in permanence."

FROM PART III — "Breakdowns between Theory and Practice"

Our slogan this year — "three books, not one" — demands that we look at Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution not just as a recapitulation of what it meant in the respective historic period, but as that which makes them and the new work a single totality. One of the critical new points in Marxist-Humanism reached with the new book reiterates the point that our theoretic contributions for the past three decades not only parallel the 30-year movement from practice but anticipate the future in the present. It is seen also in the manner in which we reject the party-to-lead concept. We do not stop at rejecting the party-to-lead and accepting the committee-form for a new relationship of theory to practice. It is true that this means we go beyond Luxemburg also, who did raise the quintessential point of socialist democracy after the conquest of power but who still adhered to the Party.

But what is totally new is that we place philosophy of revolution and not just committee — form as ground for organization. In a word, we do not stop, as she did, with full appreciation of the genius of the masses in action. Rather, we deepen that with such a philosophic penetration of that action of the masses that we call their attitude not just force but Reason, and Reason means the totality and new unification with the movement from theory.

FROM PART IV — "The Future in the Present"

Our theoretical contributions are by no means simply a parallel to the movement from practice. Just as the

N&L analysis of the Andropov phenomenon pointed to that truth (see Dec. 1982 issue of N&L), so is it true of each of the three books and the pamphlets that succeeded each other. In each decade, the book moved beyond the "au courant" — that is to say, it anticipated the future in the present, once the movement from practice emerged as a form of theory itself. Thus, the new in Marxism and Freedom was not just state-capitalism but Marxist-Humanism. In a word, it delved further into what was new and developed it theoretically to the point of philosophy. It is high time for us to project that, just that. Until we do so, the elitists will have it over us by sticking to the Party towering over philosophy because supposedly action is not within philosophy's province but is the Party's province which thereby entitles one to "leadership" over the masses.

Now that we have the Ethnological Notebooks of Marx and see Marx as a totality, our activities as well as writings prove themselves over three decades as the basis for our challenge to all post-Marx Marxists. Because we caught the link of historic continuity with Marx's Marxism while participating in the events of 30 years which marked our age's turning point in history, "three books, not one" does not mean merely longevity. Rather, any new adherents coming to Marxist-Humanism only now are likewise on that ground floor of Marx's Marxism which is challenging all post-Marx Marxists.

ONE OF THE UNUSUAL features of N&L is that it has serialized most of our pamphlets before they became pamphlets. Our one and only NEB Statement — American Civilization on Trial, is the one that will require a new edition in 1983, the Marx centenary year. This is its 20th year. Its very subtitle — Black Masses as Vanguard — shows its international as well as national character. Because it sums up two decades, theoretically and practically — and "practically" includes the Black Revolution in the U.S., the Black Revolutions on the African continent, in the West Indies, and the bacillus not only for the revolutions in Latin America but the whole Third World so that even so old a civilization as China and so technologically advanced a land as Japan (which the "West" is suddenly including in the super-powers) as well as such new revolutions as Portugal, on the one hand, and Iran, on the other — all suddenly find an affinity to it.

It is important, therefore, in studying how N&L itself developed with each new theoretical work to see this both in the paper and in the self-development of the members and the growth of the organization. The new book, with its challenge to post-Marx Marxists, will give a still newer, deeper and more historic character to this development.

With this in mind, and fully aware of the fact that we are all being tested in this centenary year — specifically from today to Labor Day — we propose that the Plenum this year be transformed into a Constitutional Convention. Indeed, we have tried to anticipate the addition to the Constitution that will be made there, by proposing that, with the next issue of N&L we have a new, expanded Statement on "Who We Are and What We Stand For."

(See page 12 for our expanded Statement.)

MARXIST-HUMANISM, 1983: THE SUMMATION THAT IS A NEW BEGINNING, SUBJECTIVELY AND OBJECTIVELY

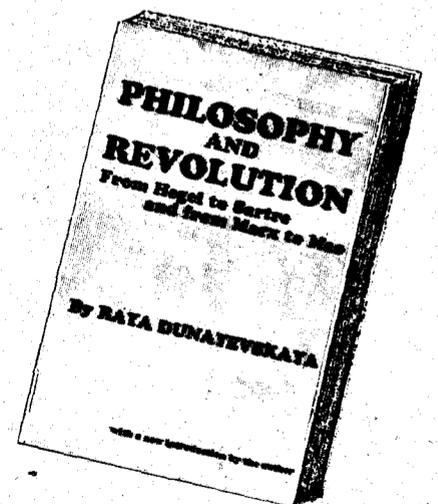
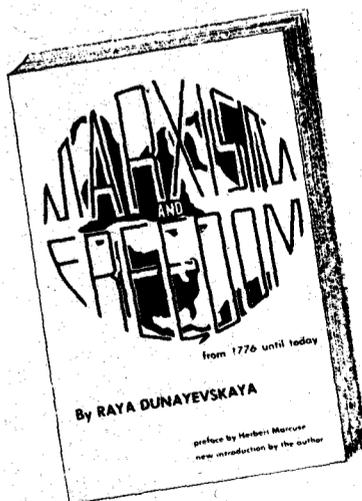
by Raya Dunayevskaya

INTRODUCTION: Where and How to Begin Anew?

- I. The Four New Moments in Marx That Form the Trail to the 1980s
- II. The Unchained Dialectic in Marx, 1843-1883, and in Marxist-Humanism, 1953-1983
- III. Why, then are there still breakdowns between Theory and Practice, between Philosophy and Revolution? The global need for "3 Books, Not 1"
- IV. The Future in the Present, in News & Letters as in all 3 books

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Western Europe in Crisis: unemployed millions, anti-war protests

(continued from page 1)

200,000 workers demonstrated last fall against Christian Democratic Chancellor Helmut Kohl's austerity economics. Local labor protests have opposed the shutdown of mills and plants, particularly in the Ruhr steel district. In December, 1,500 delegates met in Frankfurt to found a congress of unemployed, demanding cuts in the military in favor of social programs. This unemployed organizing has so far centered more around the Greens, the Alternatives and the Churches — but may spill over into the more established labor federation linked to the SPD, the DGB.

MITTERRAND'S NON-ALTERNATIVE

For any who clung to the hope that Socialist French President Francois Mitterrand's regime had any fundamental change in Europe on its agenda, such illusions were shattered when looking at how Mitterrand has chosen to handle France's economic crisis.

The response to burgeoning labor demands has been equivocal at best. France's already weak economy is now faced with nine percent unemployment, and soup lines in the heart of Paris. The greatest labor unrest has come in the auto industry — mainly from North African unskilled workers. There are four million foreign workers in France, two million of them employed. Fully 800,000 of them are Algerian. Immigrant workers have been demanding and winning rights to better pay, to better union representation, and to job mobility off the line. They have also won prayer breaks and added vacation time to make annual trips home. The Communist CGT and the Socialist CFDT unions often backed these strikes, which have been especially frequent since December.

Up to 1983, the government remained neutral or even gave way now and then. But recently, sensing opposition among French white workers, they hit out hard against the foreign workers. In a thinly disguised appeal to French racism as local elections approached in March, Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy said the recent strikes "were agitated by religious and political groups which conduct themselves according to criteria having little to do with French social reality." Marseilles Mayor and Interior (Police) Minister Gaston Defferre spoke of a problem of "fundamentalists, Shiites."

When another strike broke out at Citroen-Aulnay, and a few French workers instigated by the company opposed it, some French workers were injured. Management seized on this to suspend 15 immigrant workers, including the recently elected CGT representative, Akka Ghazzi. Socialist Labor Minister Jean Auroux stated demagogically soon after that "I am against religion at the workplace just as I am against politics there." Akka Ghazzi replied: "Before, they accused us of wanting to destroy the French economy. Today it's our religion that is attacked. At Aulnay, there are only workers who fight for their freedom, their dignity, for working conditions and for wages. Each one has his religion, and I don't know in what way religion bears on any of these problems."

As for nuclear weapons, Mitterrand came out against unnamed forces who "bet on the decoupling of the European continent and the American continent" and called for a continuation of great-power "equilibrium" in nuclear weapons which he called a crucial foundation of "the maintenance of peace."

Mitterrand has so far avoided a large anti-nuclear movement in France, in part by playing on French nationalism, since France's nuclear weapons are controlled by France and not by the U.S. via NATO as in the rest of Western Europe.

A CRITIQUE: THE GREENS IN GERMANY; THE LEFT IN FRANCE

Despite their linking of peace and environmental dimensions, the new German movement has hardly transcended the impasse of 1968. They continue to write off labor, which allows the SPD easily to tear them down. Recently the SPD has been campaigning in the Ruhr with slogans such as: "You want zero growth? We have it.



West German demonstration against nuclear weapons

What are you going to do about the 2.5 million unemployed?" While the Greens belatedly addressed economic and labor issues, they are still burdened down with language such as a call for altering the economy "toward domestic subsistence production," language which is supported not only by narrowly ecologist elements, but also

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

slogan that white labor could never emancipate itself wherein Black labor was branded. I used to use the slogan a lot, but that is as far as I knew. I didn't know its history, and no one in the movement had told me about it.

Then I saw a film about labor history at my local union, and in it they showed that when they had tried to start unions before the Civil War, it didn't get anywhere. It was only after the Civil War that the union started to take hold, started to take form.

So I was sitting in that union hall that night, and I finally saw what Marx had really meant by that expression about white labor and Black labor. It was only then that I saw that Marxism could mean far more than what the Trotskyists had been saying.

From then on, I went into the shop and started talking to workers, white and Black, on a different level. And they were agreeing with me that this is what Marx meant. He hadn't meant you had to hug a white worker, or be a brother to a worker before you could emancipate yourself. All that was in it. But what he really meant was that the freedom of Black workers was crucial for everything. This way of looking at Black-white labor gave me a feeling about Marxism, about Marx's freedom, about what we call Marxist-Humanism.

FELIX MARTIN: When I first "met Marx" I saw that he was recognizing workers as being something in their moving and doing. That was the greatest thing to me, because in this society no one ever sees workers as anything. Here was Marx talking about the workers having their own movement, their own self-development, and it was done so that you could see your own thinking and doing. It was not Marx telling me what to do, but recognizing what I was doing.

I had always been involved with labor, beginning with the miners. When your family is involved in something the kids are involved. So my daddy was a miner organizer; the mines, and the kids were organizers too.

I never thought of labor as something different from growing and living. Labor really meant something to us when someone threatened us. When my daddy went on strike they could throw all of us out in the street because it was a company house you lived in, a company store.

On my first job I ended up organizing. We were working in a shop in a small farm town that was paying only a dollar and a dime. This company was taking advantage of workers who had a little piece of land to farm on. They treated them like the job was something extra; they were robbing them. It was the actual stealing that bothered me. So I wrote away and got some union cards and organized. Even after we got the union in, the main thing became how they discriminated against the women, paying them 40 cents below a man and laying them off the first no matter what their seniority. The women were the most militant in the plant.

"The division of mental and manual labor"

CHARLES DENBY: When I was talked to about becoming the editor of this workers' newspaper, News & Letters, I had no idea, that I could do it. In fact I never even dreamed that I might edit a paper or really write anything. I felt that that was for leaders and intellectuals to do.

But then it was explained to me that I could tell stories, many concrete stories that related to what Marx had said. I thought about it some more and then became editor of News & Letters.

When I started editing the newspaper the whole quest-

by the Marxist Bahro.

And while some such as Bahro support Solidarnosc, other leaders like Petra Kelly are more equivocal, and in any case Bahro did not overly criticize the mainstream of the movement over their failure to organize any significant pro-Solidarnosc demonstrations in the wake of martial law in Poland.

Daniel Cohn-Bendit, a participant in the German Left, argued that the movement's "development is parallel to the relinquishment of the concept of revolution." He continued: "There's a somewhat infantile notion in the Alternative movement, according to which changing oneself and one's tiny social context will eventually bring a real transformation."

In France, Mitterrand has been helped by dozens of "Left" intellectuals, who have joined the government and remained silent as well as others who have launched vicious attacks on the German peace movement.

Whether in Germany or France, or throughout Western Europe, the millions who have joined the anti-war movement, the millions who are facing each day without a job, have begun to seek their own alternatives to the ruling powers. In so doing they need still to be joined by a clarity in working out the ideas of freedom to match the protest activities in factories and in the streets which demand a new direction for our day.

ion of mental and manual labor was raised. In the shop we had sometimes thought about it, but not in the way Marx had talked about it. After I started to understand Marx's concept we had an incident which made it very concrete. We had a contract ratification vote where the union leadership tried to jam the contract through, and I was able to raise questions of mental and manual, of labor power and the laborer, all in relation to the machine on the shop floor and most importantly seeing the worker as thinker.

I took the floor at the meeting and said the company was putting all of its thinking, all of its effort into the machine, and leaving the machine to work the hell out of us, the worker. I talking about there being such a separation of mental and manual labor.

When I spoke of this both at this meeting and on the shop floor, the workers understood it and many times



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tried to carry it further. They would say this division between thinking and doing was what was wrong with everything. We were supposed to do nothing but work and those bastards were supposed to be the thinkers.

FELIX MARTIN: I was at GM almost 20 years and ever since I was there I'd been fighting. But the only way I knew how to fight was by myself. You know, you struck out against whatever there was.

It was back around the 1970 strike that I first met leftists. I had had a fight with my foreman and after the battle a worker came up to me and introduced himself and said he wanted to meet with me after the shift. So after work I and a couple of others met with him in a beer joint. He told me about how students were fighting on the campus and how he was an organizer and invited me to some meeting. I was a little suspicious because I didn't need no organizing to get me fighting. In any case at the meetings was the first time I had heard someone talk about Marx.

But when I decided I wanted to write a little article on what was happening in the shop and thought it was something this group might print in their paper, my leftist friend saw it and said they couldn't use it in their paper, but that he did know of a paper which would print what a worker wrote. That is how I got introduced to News & Letters.

They asked me to come to a meeting and talk. They wanted to hear about conditions at the plant, about what I thought about everything. And that is exactly what I talked about. It wasn't too much later that they brought me the next issue of News & Letters and what I wrote was right in it.

The first book I ever read which dealt with Marx was Marxism and Freedom. When I could understand the words I could begin to understand this question of mental and manual. We who were working at the plant had a head the same as anybody else. Where I had always been looking to the foreman or the union bureaucrats as the thinkers — that they were the head and I was the body — I now saw it very differently.

If there had not been an organization which had both workers and intellectuals like News and Letters, I couldn't have belonged to any organization. At first you are suspicious of intellectuals, but then you see that they can be a great help to you. But also you have a great deal to say to the intellectual, because you are in the plant.

"The press is the ruthless language and manifest image of the historical spirit of the people..."

— Karl Marx

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YOUTH

California student protests

Berkeley, Cal. — Students at University of California-Berkeley cheered speakers (see photo) at a Sproul Plaza rally during a day-long class boycott, Feb. 16, initially organized to protest a \$100 tuition surcharge fee. But that issue didn't inspire the turn-out of about 4,000 students who shouted support for speakers addressing concerns which included defense of Ethnic Studies and support programs for Third World students, preventing linkage of tuition aid to draft registration, and supporting rights of university employees.

UC police harassed boycott leader Roy Werbel by arresting him during the protest. Within ten minutes, nearly 300 people gathered at the UC Police Department in protest, and the next day 500 rallied in support of Werbel's release.

The day before the boycott Students Against Intervention in El Salvador heckled UN Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick, who favors "friendly authoritarian governments" in Latin America.

In other campus actions, 400 UC Berkeley students marched Feb. 3 to Beta Theta Pi fraternity house to protest against both the racist beatings of four Chicanos by a dozen frat members and the slap-on-the-wrist punishment

Teach-in precedes protests

Berkeley, Cal. — A teach-in occurred here just before hundreds of anti-nuclear activists demonstrated at Vandenberg Air Force Base, at the University of California at Berkeley, and at Port Chicago where U.S. arms are shipped to El Salvador. In the past almost purely tactical discussions have preceded actions such as these. This time, however, many of us insisted on the time to discuss our ideas right at the midnight hour before launching into action, and this allowed many contradictions to surface through the teach-in.

The teach-in, titled "One Struggle, Many Friends," was held on Jan. 15-16 and was organized by a group of us from the Livermore Action Group. In the workshop on "Blacks and the Peace Movement," the speakers, John Alan from News & Letters and Willia Gray, discussed the war at home by posing the opposition of millions of Blacks to Reaganomics as "the cutting edge of the opposition to war." But most activists who attended this workshop saw only the oppression of Blacks, and kept trying to reduce the relationship between the anti-nuclear movement and Black liberation to a tactical one.

I organized the workshop "Women Fighting for Freedom," and chose that title to break from the idea that women are only "victims" of Reaganomics. Two young women on the panel gave very exciting talks about their own opposition to militarism which did not separate ideas about nuclear weapons from the draft, the proposed youth sub-minimum wage or sexism with the movement itself.

In contrast, among the women who actually worked on the teach-in, only two regularly attended the planning meetings while the rest of us worked mostly in the traditional areas of registration, childcare and food. Although the anti-nuclear movement claims to be feminist, it takes feminism for granted to such an extent that the recurring division between mental and manual labor was created.

While the teach-in provided a forum for some new ideas to be expressed, they will only become ground for pointing the movement in a new direction this spring if the attitude is broken down which sees Blacks, women, and youth either as auxiliary forces or as mere victims.

— Laurie

Sign-up proof 'a bad law'

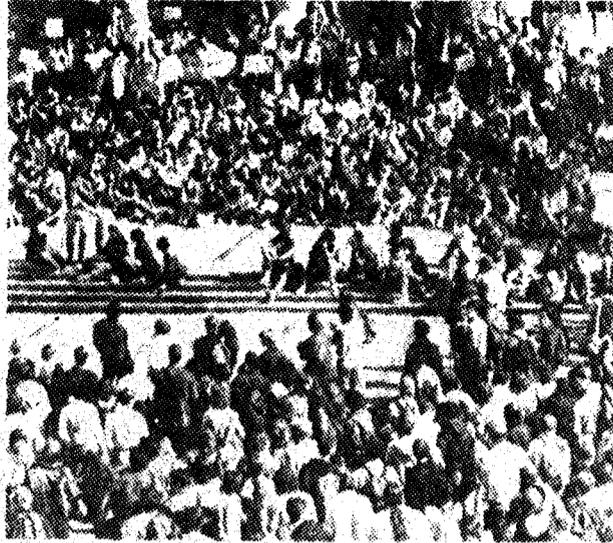
Chicago, Ill. — While still Senator, S.I. Hayakawa tacked a rider on the Senate Appropriations Bill that said all males between 18 and 23 must be able to prove they have registered for the draft before they can get federal money for college or even job training. When I read this in the paper I got very angry.

I was angry because this law isn't fair. The law basically hits the people that always fight the wars — Black people and other minority people — and it also breaks down along class lines. It takes these people and denies them a choice of higher education. Schools have no business enforcing the selective service laws!

When I read about this, I called a bunch of people at Northwestern University. We got a meeting together and are calling on students, faculty and administration to oppose this. We will be holding a rally and have already gotten the financial aid office to agree to replace any federal loans that are lost. We are now trying to do the same thing at the University of Illinois.

The resisters are standing up for what they feel is right. If you see a law that is wrong (and there are plenty of them) you stand up to it. If you just accept it hook, line and sinker, what does freedom mean? I think that going off and fighting a war is no more important than staying home and saying 'this is a bad law and I won't obey it, and I want to tell everyone why I won't obey it.'

— Woman student, Univ. of Illinois



they received. And on Jan. 20, 95 blockaders were arrested as they sat down at University Hall. They were protesting UC's role in training engineers and scientists for the Pentagon.

Los Angeles, Cal. — Numerous rallies and demonstrations have broken out throughout California state colleges protesting draconian measures instituted to save money by new Reaganite Gov. George Deukmejian. Students at UCLA held an afternoon rally the first week of February that drew 200 students. A rally of 500 reported at UC-San Diego the same week, while smaller rallies were reported at several state colleges.

Deukmejian froze all university hiring, jacked up tuition fees as much as \$60 per student per quarter and slapped an additional \$100-a-quarter "surcharge" on university students.

As one student at predominantly Chicano East LA College put it, "Deukmejian's plan is part of Reagan's plan. The higher they raise fees at schools like ELAC, the more students will have to drop out and try to get a job. The more former students looking for work, the harder it will be to get work, and the more unemployment will rise."

The opportunism of many schools' student governments, who almost always try to narrow the struggle into either legislative or single-issue strategies, persists. The emergence of more independent forms of student struggle and involvement will help determine the depth that this new round of anti-cut-back action takes.

Citizens Against Military Injustice

Detroit, Mich. — A national organization has been formed by parents of sons or daughters who have either returned from U.S. military duty seriously hurt or who have died or disappeared mysteriously. These parents have not been able to receive satisfactory or convincing reports as to the cause of their children's illnesses or deaths.

C.A.M.I. would like to select one or two families at random each month and print the story of their loved ones in the organization's newsletter. The Feb. 8, 1983, newsletter carries the story of Marine Cpl. James E. Olson, who died on board the tank landing ship Frederick. He had malaria for ten days, but requests by a hospital corpsman for help were rejected by a doctor on another ship and by Olson's commanding officer.

The story of a sailor who apparently was maliciously thrown overboard and disappeared is also included. A false report at a shipboard muster and reluctance on the part of the captain of the U.S.S. Norton Sound delayed the search for Michael Lockwood when he was finally reported missing.

"One Less N_____ Lover, K.K.K." was found painted on the ship. A trail of blood was found that ended at the railing. And some crew members had heard rumors that Lockwood wouldn't live through the cruise. Because of bad publicity for a stabbing, witch-hunts for lesbians, and alcohol and drug abuse on the Norton Sound, the Navy was quick to deny foul play was involved, and the ship's captain told Lockwood's parents that "the ship didn't need any more bad publicity."

His parents write, "Friends, please support our new organization C.A.M.I. so other families won't have to write stories like this one." Stories for the newsletter and inquiries should be sent to Mrs. Audrey Lockwood, 806B Hollister St., San Diego, CA, 92154.

The Michigan Chapter of C.A.M.I. is holding a meeting Saturday, March 19, 1983, at 1:30 p.m. The location depends on the number of replies received by concerned parents that wish to participate. They should call Mr. or Mrs. Sellers at (517) 676-9074.

When radical plans get watered down

Dear Youth:

Have you ever been involved in activities where you start out with the aim of presenting a radically different alternative but end up with a program that is so watered down that it hardly matches your imagination? I am sure you have. No matter what movement one is involved in, one always faces self-imposed limitations which reduce the conception of revolutionary change.

For example, I have recently been involved in a number of Women's Liberation activities on my college campus. And in each activity, all came together because of their concern about the growing reaction against women nationally and internationally. All wanted a world free of oppression, racism, sexism and ageism.

And yet when it was time for planning an action, whether it was a demonstration or a speech or a panel, the goal was not to attract people on the basis of ideas of liberation but to reduce our aims to the lowest common denominator of change. There is no one who claims that the task of overthrowing oppression in this society is easy. Yet why do we seem to think that when we are discussing ideas which are behind that change, we can get away with narrowness?

In our case, we were a group of women who got together because we felt the need to discuss what Women's Liberation signifies when you are Asian or Black or Latina or from any Third World country. However, what gradually happened was a transformation of the planning procedure into an end in itself.

The ever growing power of the activity and the fetish which was made out of it made me wonder whether some of us were forgetting that this activity had a purpose to it — to discuss ideas of freedom. This isn't the first time that strategy supersedes and gets separated from ideas. However, this tendency always accompanies the claim that the purpose is to "appeal to the masses."

MASSES' THINKING ABILITY

One can easily see how the pull to sacrifice the revolutionary nature of ideas of freedom for strategies or for "mass appeal" really stems from a hidden and sometimes not so hidden conception of the masses as ignorant. The mass appeal which can lead us to freedom (and freedom is always revolutionary) is one that is based on the thinking ability of the masses in freeing themselves.

How can we set ourselves the goal of human liberation and end of oppression when our methodology is so counterposed to our vision that from the very beginning it diverts our path to revolution? Yet doesn't the fact that we do make that separation say something about the incompleteness of our vision?

In our program the aim was to air the voices of Third World women and women of color. But such a conception gradually diminished when on the one hand tokenism replaced a genuine representation of these women, and on the other hand the time for discussion amongst the audience was drastically reduced to fit in another and yet another activity. It is hard to admit, but tokenism does take over when you do not give space to the most revolutionary aspirations of those women. In the same way it is hard to admit that a narrow strategy replaces a broad vision of social transformation.

TOKENISM, OR PREPARATION?

History has shown that the masses, and especially Third World women who are the most oppressed, do come out in search for a total change. But are we going to catch that search for new ideas, new conceptions of revolution, a new humanism on their part if we merely reduce our concern for them to a tokenism? How are we to prepare ourselves for such a movement if we do not search for the most revolutionary elements within them and if we don't take our own discussion of ideas about revolution seriously?

For those of us activists who have time and again witnessed "strategy" stifle our development; for those of us students who are tired of the limitations of classroom discussions about social change; and for those of us draft resisters or unemployed youth who are searching for a new conception of revolution which encompasses our specific demands, it becomes necessary to discover the depths of a philosophy of revolutionary change in order to formulate our own vision of revolution.

— Ida Fuller

Youth in Revolt

A trial of Russian "young socialists" is reported to have begun Feb. 15 in Moscow. The six youths, who were arrested last April, translated and exchanged leftist political literature from abroad and circulated a typescript journal advocating "real socialism" to replace Russian class rule.

When police in Copenhagen, Denmark evicted youths from an abandoned building on Jan. 12, a revolt by 300 young people followed. They threw rocks, smashed windows and battled police who arrested 100 in the rebellion.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

We received the following from a Nigerian activist currently living in the United States.

"It is because of the elections." This was the response of a 20-year-old Ghanaian driver who was among the more than two million recently expelled from Nigeria. Political opponents of Nigeria's President Shehu Shagari had always accused him of being a weakling. Deporting millions of people without the slightest concern for the accompanying misery is a way for him to change that characterization and prepare himself for re-election this summer.

The popularity and stability of the present regime had been shaken over the past two years with strikes by university teachers, water and electricity workers, and lately by medical professionals protesting non-payment of salaries. Periodic revolt by students expressing their discontent, not only with the state of the economy but on such social issues as "indiscipline," have even led to dismissals of students from high schools.

These protests were not directed at "illegal aliens," since the Nigerian masses need no crystal ball to trace their social condition to their "own" ruling class, after experiencing this chaos over a period of 23 years — ever since this ruling class came of age.

It has become customary for the ruling class the world over to blame the recurrent capitalist crisis on "illegal

The big lie about aliens in Nigeria

aliens." In the U.S. the Immigration and Naturalization Service conducted a sweep against "aliens" in March-April, 1982, supposedly to open up jobs for Americans. But, in fact, there has subsequently been an immense increase in unemployment for Americans.

In Africa the slightest excuse is used by ruling classes to deport millions of people — from the Central African Republic, the Cameroons, Ghana, and now Nigeria — with the ruling classes demanding a kind of patriotism which they themselves do not exhibit, as evidenced by their servile relationship to international capital when it comes to "national" development.

In this latest case, it is a patriotism resting on their fear of mass revolts by both the Nigerian and Ghanaian masses whose relationship had been forged by similar experiences under colonial oppression and now under their respective ruling classes. Ghana and Nigeria had been among the top four cocoa producers in the world, with the peasantry in both countries subjected to the whims of the Marketing Boards. The collapse of the cocoa industry, first in Ghana, created not only a mass rural-urban migration but also a systematic migration into Nigeria as that country's oil economy rose.

Conflicts within the African ruling classes are usually resolved by military coups. But the June 4, 1979, coup in Ghana was different — it was a coup against the ruling class and its economic chaos. The Nigerian government was opposed to this move because it feared a disruption

of its own political program, and it did everything it could, including economic blackmail, to force a return to power of those corrupt politicians who had turned the whole of Ghana's economy to their private use . . .

As Ghana is now no longer dependent on Nigeria for oil, Shagari's government could only use this deportation to show its displeasure, hoping that the sheer weight of the problem would force the present military regime in Ghana out of office.

That the Ghanaians and other "illegal" aliens are responsible for Nigeria's economic chaos is a lie. No Ghanaian "alien" was responsible for the "loss" of over \$5 billion in oil revenues in 1980, which was later traced to a private Nigerian bank account in London. Certainly none of the deported millions accompanied a state governor on a private visit to London with over \$9 million in cash in his possession.

Furthermore, none of the "aliens" was responsible for the attempted coup organized by a Nigerian businessman angry over the almost nepotistic disbursement of government contracts. The construction of a new capital in Abuja has divided up billions of dollars in oil revenues among politicians and businessmen eager to get what is commonly referred to in Nigeria as their "share of the national wealth."

The Nigerian economy has turned into private piggy banks for particular members of the ruling class, regardless of party affiliation. It has never been anything but chaotic, with or without "aliens." — Ugokwe

Philippines

In the free enterprise zone of Bataan, the 75 percent female work force earns between \$2.20 and \$3.70 per day from 48 multinational companies such as Mattel and Mitsubishi. At a Mitsubishi plant, workers have 20 minutes rest per eight-hour shift and can be asked to work an additional eight hours per shift. As the world economy has gone into depression, work has been reduced to two days per week. In many places, workers must still show up six days per week at six in the morning.

Since 1980, a new union federation linked to the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU or May 1 Movement), an opposition front, has enrolled 350,000 members. In June 1982 strikes swept the free enterprise zone in Bataan, as workers protested speed-up in one factory and then were set upon by police. Over 3,000 workers went on protest strike and were joined the next day by 8,000 more. Taken by surprise, the Marcos dictatorship and the multinationals were forced to negotiate after the third day — all the workers were freed from jail and the charges against them dropped, the speed-up was modified, and all 10,000 striking workers were to be able to return to their jobs without reprisals.

The struggle continues against the hated Marcos regime, not only in the factories, but also with the guerrilla movements in the countryside, and on the campuses. Instead of deploring the export of industry, why can't U.S. unions support Third World labor struggles such as those in Bataan?

El Salvador

The news that a U.S. Army sergeant had been wounded in El Salvador was designed to create sympathy and throw blame on the fighters for freedom in Salvador. The story backfired when it was learned that he was in a helicopter flying in a battle area. It was further revealed that he had been ordered into battle by his superior officers. As a result, two warrant officers and one sergeant have been ordered back to the states.

At the time, two helicopters supplied by the United States were flying observation missions for the Salvadoran Army in direct opposition to stated U.S. policy. It is quite obvious that U.S. statements to the press and the actual activities of the 46 U.S. "observers and advisors" working with the repressive military forces are quite different.

Nazi butcher jailed

In Lyons, France, Klaus Barbie, the Nazi Gestapo leader who is responsible for the deportation of 7,591 Jews to extermination camps and the death of another 4,000 Resistance workers, is now imprisoned in the same jail that he operated during World War II. For the past 30 years he has hidden in Bolivia.

In Detroit, Professor Erhard Dauringhaus, a former U.S. counter-intelligence officer, has confessed that the U.S. intelligence community was aware of Barbie's whereabouts, and in 1948 had paid him \$1,700 a month on a regular basis to provide information. Barbie fled to Bolivia in 1951. When French authorities questioned Dauringhaus, he told them nothing. He says now that he had been instructed by U.S. intelligence authorities to "keep his mouth shut," which he did up to last month. He talked after recognizing photos of Barbie published when he was captured in Bolivia.

Barbie is not the first Nazi to be under U.S. protection — there are many more still in hiding.

India

The latest reports coming out of India's northeast state of Assam tell of over 1,200 killed in murderous attacks by Assamese farmers and villagers against Moslem settlers. In one attack alone, over 600 were slain on Feb. 18 by attackers armed with guns, machetes and spears in what can only be described as a scene reminiscent of an East European pogrom. Many of the Moslems were refugees who came to comparatively more prosperous Assam fleeing starvation conditions in Bangladesh in the wake of the 1971 India-Pakistan war. Others had lived in Assam as a minority all their lives, yet faced constant harassment from a right-wing student-led movement that demanded their deportation.

The attacks were triggered by a controversy over who was eligible to vote in state elections in Assam, with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's party attempting to enroll many of the Moslem immigrants on the premise that they vote for her, while the Assamese opposition boycotted the election in protest.

Israel

The arrogance of the Begin government knows almost no bounds. Faced with the report of the commission which investigated the massacres at the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila, the Cabinet said nothing for two days and then claimed it was following out the recommendations of the commission. But in a sleight-of-hand maneuver, Ariel Sharon did not leave the Cabinet, but only the Defense Ministry. He remains in the Cabinet as minister without portfolio, and as well remains on cabinet committees dealing with defense and the negotiations in Lebanon.

Sharon lashed out at the committee's report, calling it the mark of Cain. The grenade attack on anti-Begin demonstrators in Israel which killed one was not an isolated incident. It shows the divisive atmosphere which the Begin government has created in the country.

The news commentators and the Reagan Administration were full of praise for Israel as a "democracy" where such a report could be issued. But if all the players in this game remain in place, then such a democracy is certainly most hollow.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

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

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

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